



# **ANALYSIS OF INTEGRATION OF LATVIAN NON-CITIZENS**

Riga, 2014



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Sciences

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## Introduction

Citizenship issues are the issues on the agenda of political discourse and integration policy in Latvia already since restoration of independence in 1991, but especially after adoption of Citizenship Law in 1994. Theoretically citizenship defines belonging to some political community – nation, and thereby it includes dialectical process of “inclusion - exclusion” (one part of the society – citizens – is being included, while other – immigrants, foreigners - excluded).

In Latvian case, especially within the political discourse, the status of the citizen and the concept of the citizenship have not been uniting, but rather excluding one comparatively big part of society. By adopting the law “On the Status of those Former U.S.S.R. Citizens who do not have the Citizenship of Latvia or that of any Other State” (adopted on 12.04.1995.), a contrast had been made in the political discourse - citizens of Latvia and non-citizens.

Precise name of the non-citizens is “former U.S.S.R. citizens, who do not have the citizenship of the Republic of Latvia or that of any other country”<sup>1</sup>; however for the better comprehensibility of the text hereinafter in this monograph the shortest and commonly used within the society of Latvia name “non-citizens” shall be used.

In 1995 the number of non-citizens in Latvia was 735 000 and made 29% of the totality of the population. On 1 January, 2014 Latvian non-citizens made 13% or 282 876 people out of all Latvian population.

The total decrease of the number of non-citizens is for more than 450 000 non-citizens during this time, at the same time since 1996 only 141 618 non-citizens have obtained citizenship by naturalisation. Factors of birth – death have a greater impact on the decrease of the number of non-citizens. Latvian citizenship is obtained also by 14 288 under-age children of non-citizens, who make 10% of the totality of those, who were granted citizenship through naturalisation procedure.

In European context, the only country, whose situation could be compared to the one in Latvia regarding settlement of non-citizen issue, is Estonia. Although inhabitants without citizenship of the respective country live also in other European countries, it was only in Latvia and Estonia, where at the beginning of the nineties a large part of population did not have citizenship of any other country, but was set a status – non-citizens of Latvia or Estonia (in 1992 in Estonia – 32%, in 1994 in Latvia – 29%). According to the data of Estonian

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<sup>1</sup> Tiesībsarga 05.12.2013. vēstule EDSO. Available at: [http://www.tiesibsargs.lv/files/content/vestules/EDSO\\_TS\\_vestule\\_2013\\_dec\\_LV.pdf](http://www.tiesibsargs.lv/files/content/vestules/EDSO_TS_vestule_2013_dec_LV.pdf) (Last viewed 04.03.2014.).

statistics<sup>2</sup>, there are currently 84% citizens, 7% non-citizens (87 833 persons) and 9% – citizens of other countries (7% – Russian citizens; 93 267 persons) in Estonia. The number of Russian citizens in Latvia currently is 48 873 persons that makes 1, 8 % of the population, however the number of Russian citizens in Latvia grows each year<sup>3</sup>.

Altogether the status and rights of Latvian non-citizens are significantly more extensive than those of the third countries in Latvia, who reside with permanent or terminated residence permits.

The main restrictions determined by the status of non-citizen refer to the opportunity to work in definite professions that are connected with national security and management, as well as to participate at the elections of the parliament and local government. At the same time differences between the citizens and non-citizens within the sphere of social rights are minimal, and the non-citizens are provided an opportunity to obtain Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation.

Since 1995, when the naturalisation process began, also several essential changes have been carried out for the facilitation of the process of naturalisation (amendments of the Law on Citizenship in 1999, exam facilitation, courses of naturalisation and Latvian language). Amendments that are made to the Law on Citizenship in 2013 facilitate recognition of the children born in Latvia after 21 August, 1991 as the citizens of Latvia. Now it is possible just upon the wish expressed by one of the parents (previously it was necessary to have the consent of the both parents), together with the entry on the birth of the child. It means that decision on registration or non-registration of the child as Latvian citizen must be taken already at the moment of the registration of the child, and according to the information provided by the Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs (OCMA) 88% from the newborn children chose to adopt Latvian citizenship.

## On the project

However the number of non-citizens is still very high and the existence of so big group of non-citizens – a group separated in a certain way from the national and civil participation - is not advisable for any society. Being aware of the topicality of the non-citizen issue, researchers of the foundation “Baltic Institute of Social Sciences” (BISS) prepared and submitted project “The analysis of integration of Latvian non-citizens:

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<sup>2</sup> Estonia. Citizenship. Data on 01.02.2014. Available at: <http://estonia.eu/about-estonia/society/citizenship.html> (Last viewed 07.03.2014.).

<sup>3</sup> Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs. Statistics of population register. Data on 01.01.2014. Available at: <http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/sakums/statistika/iedzivotaju-registrs/> (Last viewed 04.03.2014.).

RESEARCH, PROGNOSIS, SOLUTIONS AND DIALOGUE” to the Society Integration Foundation and received support from the programme for 2009 – 2014 “NGO projects programme” by EEA Financial Mechanism.

The aim of the project is promotion of obtaining the citizenship and promotion of dialogue with non-citizens, by implementation of such project activities as research, prognosis, solutions and dialogue. Project’s research objectives are to acquire in-depth understanding on the motivation of non-citizens either to become naturalised or not to become naturalised, as well as the main obstacles to become naturalised. Practical objectives of the project are to develop recommendations based into research, knowledge and participation of the target group for the improvement of the policy on integration of non-citizens, as well as to make a dialogue between non-citizens, researchers, experts and representatives of national and municipal institutions.

Although also other non-governmental organisations have initiated organising of the dialogue, to our mind, discussions and dialogue is the way, how to deal with such issues within a democratic society, and activities intended towards the dialogue will never be too many. Involvement of non-citizens in the dialogue, by motivating them to study Latvian language and obtain Latvian citizenship, is the main contribution of our project. On the one hand, the dialogue intertwines all the activities of the project – both research and prognosis, as well as development of the policy, by implementing these activities through direct participation of non-citizens, as well as representatives of national and municipal institutions (*action research* or approach principles of the research on participation). On the other hand, there was discussion circles within the scope of the project on the integration of non-citizens into Latvian society organised in the cities with the most non-citizens. Discussion circles were held as a constructive exchange of opinions on non-citizen situation in Latvia, on necessity for non-citizens to collaborate with representatives of the national and municipal institutions, as well as on developed recommendations for improvement of the policy. Time and venue of the discussion circles: April – June, 2014, Riga, Daugavpils, Liepāja and Jelgava. The main findings and conclusions obtained from these discussions have been enclosed in the part of conclusions of this monograph. The issue of the monograph also forms one part of this project.

Following employees of the foundation “Baltic Institute of Social Sciences” were involved at the implementation of the project: Dr.sc.soc. Inese Šūpule, manager of the project and chief researcher, Dr.sc.soc. Evija Kļave, researcher, responsible for the organising of the dialogue, Mg. soc. Iveta Bebriša, researcher, responsible for publicity, Mg. pol. Lelde Jansone, researcher, Mg. soc. Elīna Kozule, researcher.

## Methodology notes

The contents of the monograph consist of summary on research performed within the project, prognosis and discussion results. It is based on the following information sources and data obtaining methods:

1. research of theoretical literature on the citizenship issues;
2. analysis of the available statistical data;
3. secondary analysis of the data of previously made surveys with non-citizens;
4. carrying out in-depth interviews with non-citizens (total number of interviews – 40 interviews);
5. forecasting of the change in numbers of non-citizens for the next 5, 10 and 20 years, basing on the statistical analysis and data of interviews;
6. findings obtained at the approbation workshop in Riga and discussion circles in Jelgava, Liepāja, Daugavpils and Riga;
7. integrated analysis of the obtained information.

The main task of the research of theoretical literature on citizenship issues is to shortly describe the diversity within the meaning of the citizenship concept available at the Western literature of social sciences, as well as to describe the various dimensions of the citizenship that are important in the analysis of the issue on citizens/non-citizens. Diversity of the discussion on citizenship is described by an insight into the version of Peter Kivisto and Thomas Faist<sup>4</sup> on the main themes of the issue on citizenship available at the literature of social sciences, however description of the citizenship dimensions employs the approach of Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey<sup>5</sup>, according to which citizenship may be viewed both as a status and sense of belonging, as well as practice.

The main data source at the statistical data analysis is information of OCMA from the Population Register, as well as data of OCMA Naturalisation Board on the process of naturalisation. Only publicly available data from OCMA home page have been used in the statistical data analysis. The main stress in the analysis has been placed on the analysis of the most recent information available at the moment of formation of the research regarding data on 01.01.2014. It is supplemented by analysis of changes by years.

Secondary analysis of the data of the previously made surveys includes both data of non-citizen surveys and also data of the surveys of all Latvian residents. Analysis of non-

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<sup>4</sup> Kivisto, Peter; Faist, Thomas (2007) *Citizenship: Discourse, Theory and Transnational Prospects*. Blackwell Publishing.

<sup>5</sup> Osler, Audrey; Starkey, Hugh (2005) *Changing Citizenship. Democracy and Inclusion in Education*. Open University Press.

citizen surveys are based on the data of non-citizen surveys performed within the Research and action programme “Towards Civic Society” on attitudes in 1997 and 2000, as well as survey of OCMA performed in 2012. In 1997 there were 1502 Latvian citizens between 15 and 75 years old surveyed, in 2000 – 1002 Latvian non-citizens between 15 and 75 age old (multistage random stratified sampling in the whole territory of Latvia has been used in both surveys), but in 2012 – 1570 Latvian non-citizens, by employing inquiry of the respondents at the territorial sections of OCMA. Opinion of citizens and non-citizens on sense of belonging has been analysed by employing the data from surveys of 1997 of Research and action programme “Towards Civic Society”, data from survey performed in 2004 within research by foundation “Baltic Institute of Social Sciences” named “Ethno-political Tension in Latvia: Looking for the Conflict Solution”, as well as data of the surveys performed within the scope of the National research programme by University of Latvia, Faculty of Social sciences “National Identity: Language, Latvian History, Culture and Human Safety” on years 2010 and 2013. Survey of 2013 is also survey of the module of International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) “National Identity”. Number of non-citizens, as well as other characteristics of the surveys (sample size and method, time of survey), has been provided in the text of analysis at the footnotes.

In-depth interviews with non-citizens were carried out in November – December of 2013, as well as in January – February, 2014. In total there were 40 in-depth interviews performed – 10 in Riga, 10 in Daugavpils, 10 in Jelgava and 10 in Liepāja. Those Latvian cities were chosen for the interviews, where numerically the most non-citizens live (52% out of all Latvian non-citizens live in Riga, in Daugavpils – 6%, in Jelgava – 3% and in Liepāja – 5%). Interviews were made in the groups of different age and gender. Two respondents within the age group 15-24, two respondents within the age group 25-44, three respondents within the age group 45-64 and three respondents aged 65 and older were interviewed in each city. Interviews were held in Russian and in a place convenient for the respondent. Guidelines of the interviews in Russian have been attached to the monograph.

Forecasting of changes in numbers of non-citizens for the next 5, 10 and 20 years is based on research of statistical data on the tendencies regarding decline of the number of non-citizens, as well as on the in-depth interviews with non-citizens. Basis of the forecasting is made of calculations of the loss of the numbers of non-citizens for the last five years, and each following forecasted value has been calculated basing on the ratio of the loss of the number of non-citizens applied to the previous values. Idea of forecasting the changes in the numbers of non-citizens is based on presumption that the same currently existing tendencies of naturalisation, birth – death and adoption of citizenships of other countries will remain.

Findings obtained at the approbation workshop in Riga and discussion circles in Jelgava, Liepāja, Daugavpils and Riga. Approbation workshop and discussion circles were organised by using the principles of focus group discussion, as well as principles of participation research approach. It means that representatives of various target groups – experts for the issues on society integration (researchers, specialists, representatives of NGOs), employees of state institutions, whose scope of activities is related to the integration of non-citizens, employees of municipalities of major cities, whose duties include dealing with social integration issues, but, the most important, also non-citizens themselves were invited to take part at all activities. Due to this reason discussions were held bilingually – in Latvian and Russian, allowing each of the speakers to choose the language to express more conveniently. Discussions were organised in two parts – at the first part data and conclusions obtained at the research were described in short, while at the second part discussion was held on solutions proposed by the researchers on promotion of non-citizen integration for specific non-citizen target groups – non-citizen youth up to 15 years old; non-citizens with poor Latvian language skills, but willing to obtain Latvian citizenship; non-citizens with wrong information on the procedure of naturalisation (costs, requirements and advantages); non-citizens having taken offence; non-citizens considering opportunity to obtain Russian citizenship. Time of discussion circles: April – June, 2014. Discussion was continued also at the internet portal Politika.lv, where, basing on results from the discussions, the main findings were published<sup>6</sup>.

Integrated analysis of the obtained information provides that information in whole within analysis is not separated by its obtaining method, but is described in themes, referring to various data sources – statistics, surveys, in-depth interviews and discussions.

## **On the structure of monograph**

Monograph is made of six chapters, introduction, conclusions and recommendations, list of bibliography and sources, as well as attachments. First chapter is devoted to a short insight into theoretical study and analysis of the citizenship issue. The main focus in this chapter is made on the dimensions of citizenship, examining citizenship both as status and sense of belonging, as well as practice, influencing from such authors in theoretical literature as Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey. Second chapter provides demographical portrait of Latvian non-citizens, including on changes in numbers of non-citizens, domicile, age and

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<sup>6</sup> Šūpule, I. (2014). *Nepilsoņi Latvijā: nostiprinājusies vai izzūdoša tradīcija?* <http://politika.lv/article/nepilsoni-latvija-nostiprinajusies-vai-izzudosa-tradicija> (last viewed on 28.05.2014.).

nationality of non-citizens. Socially demographical description of non-citizens is given basing on the information of OCMA from the Population Register. Third chapter summarizes tendencies in regard to naturalisation of non-citizens – both tendencies observed in the analysis of statistics on naturalisation pace, age and gender groups and data of surveys on the attitude of non-citizens towards naturalisation. Fourth chapter of the monograph presents insight into analysis of argumentation obtained from the in-depth interviews with non-citizens pro and con obtaining of Latvian citizenship through naturalisation. The aim of this chapter is to understand motivation of non-citizens either to naturalise or not. However the fifth and sixth chapter is devoted to the analysis of the sense of belonging to Latvia of non-citizens and other attitudes, basing both on data acquired from the in-depth interviews and surveys. Tendencies of decline of numbers of non-citizens and prognosis for the next 5, 10 and 20 years have been analysed in the seventh chapter of the monograph. At the end of the monograph there are conclusions with summarized main findings and recommendations obtained at the research and discussions.

# 1. Theoretical analysis of the citizenship issue: main findings

## 1.1. Diverse understanding of the concept of citizenship

Citizenship Law, adopted on 22.07.1994, defines that Latvian citizenship is an enduring legal connection of a person with the State of Latvia and that the content of Latvian citizenship is formed by the entirety of interrelated rights and obligations between a citizen and the State (version in force, article 1<sup>1</sup>). Also in daily life the citizenship in Latvia is most often understood as a certain status in relation to the State that determines both obligations and rights and opportunities to influence political decisions, however at the same time it does not guarantee welfare, equality and social justice. Concept of citizenship in many countries representing Western democracy is being viewed significantly broader, although one must note at once – differently and contradictory.

Interest on the phenomenon of citizenship among the Western representatives of social sciences within the academic circles increased in nineties. During this time very varied understanding on, what is citizenship, appeared. Only few concepts found in the texts of social sciences are mentioned here, those that are referred to different expressions of the forms of citizenship within the modern society: *world citizenship*, Heater 2002<sup>7</sup>, *global citizenship*, Falk 1994<sup>8</sup>, *universal citizenship*, Young 1989<sup>9</sup>, *cosmopolitan citizenship*, Linklater 1998<sup>10</sup>, *multiple citizenship*, Held 1995<sup>11</sup>, *postnational citizenship*, Soysal 1994<sup>12</sup>, *transnational citizenship*, Johnston 2001<sup>13</sup>, *dual citizenship*, Miller 1991<sup>14</sup>, *nested citizenship*, Faist 2000<sup>15</sup>, *multilayered citizenship*, Yuval-Davis 2000<sup>16</sup>, *cultural citizenship*, Stevenson 1997<sup>17</sup>, *multicultural citizenship*, Delgado-Moreira 2000<sup>18</sup>, *cybercitizenship*, Tambini 1997<sup>19</sup>,

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<sup>7</sup> Heater, Derek (2002) *World Citizenship: Cosmopolitan Thinking and Its Opponents*. London: Continuum.

<sup>8</sup> Falk, Richard (1994) The Making of Global Citizenship. In: Bart Van Steenbergen (ed.), *The Condition of Citizenship*. London: Sage. pp. 42-61.

<sup>9</sup> Young, Iris Marion (1989) Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship. *Ethics*, 99 (January). pp. 250-274.

<sup>10</sup> Linklater, Andrew (1998) Cosmopolitan Citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, 2(1). pp. 23-41.

<sup>11</sup> Held, David (1995) *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

<sup>12</sup> Soysal, Yasemin (1994) *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>13</sup> Johnston, Paul (2001) The Emergence of Transnational Citizenship among Mexican Immigrants In California. In: T. Alexander Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer (eds.), *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. pp. 253-277.

<sup>14</sup> Miller, Mark J. (1991) Dual Citizenship: A European Norm? *International Migration Review*, 33(4): 945-950.

<sup>15</sup> Faist, Thomas (2000) Social Citizenship in the European Union: Residual Post-National, and Nested membership? *Institute für Interkulturelle and Internationale Studien, Arbeitspapier* Nr. 17/2000.

<sup>16</sup> Yuval-Davis, Nira (2000) Multi-layered Citizenship and the Boundaries of the 'Nation-State'. *International Social Science Review*, 1(1): 112-127.

<sup>17</sup> Stevenson, Nick (1997) Globalization, Natural Cultures, and Cultural Citizenship. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 38(1): 41-66.

*environmental citizenship*, Jelin 2000<sup>20</sup>, *feminist citizenship*, Lister 1997<sup>21</sup>, *gendered citizenship*, Seidman 1999<sup>22</sup>, *flexible citizenship*, Ong 1999<sup>23</sup>, *traditional citizenship*, Bloemraad 2004<sup>24</sup>, *intimate citizenship*, Plummer 2003<sup>25</sup>, *protective citizenship*, Gilbertson and Singer 2003<sup>26</sup> and many more.

Several authors relate the concept of citizenship with minority rights and multiculturalism (Kymlicka 1995<sup>27</sup>; Kymlicka & Norman 2000<sup>28</sup>) and advocate the idea of “civic nation”.

Another different approach raises the issue on *active citizenship* that shows not only as participation at the elections, but also at different non-governmental organisations and groups of interests.

Citizenship is being viewed as changing phenomenon (*changing citizenship*), because citizenship’s institution is forced to adapt to the challenges of globalisation<sup>29</sup>. Illustrative example for that is increasingly widespread and adopted dual citizenship, as well as formation of such phenomenon as European citizenship.

Peter Kivisto and Thomas Faist, when analysing discourses dominating within the literature of social sciences on the phenomenon of citizenship in modern society, point to four main themes on citizenship – **inclusion**, **erosion** (decrease of social rights granted by the State under the influence of regimes of neoliberalism), **withdrawal** (phenomenon of decrease of civic participation) and **expansion**<sup>30</sup>.

**Theme of inclusion** is being activated in many papers through the rights of different groups that, looking over an extended period of time in democratic societies, have expanded. Altogether citizenship within the Western democratic societies has become more inclusive in

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<sup>18</sup> Delgado-Moreira, Juan M. (2000) *Multicultural Citizenship of the European Union*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

<sup>19</sup> Tambini, Damian (1997) Universal Cybercitizenship. In: R. Tsagarousiannou, D. Tambini, and C. Bryan (eds.), *Cyberdemocracy: Technology, Cities, and Civic Networks*. London: Routledge. pp. 84-109

<sup>20</sup> Jelin, Elizabeth (2000) Towards a Global Environmental Citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, 4(1): 47-63.

<sup>21</sup> Lister, Ruth (1997) *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*. New York: New York University Press.

<sup>22</sup> Seidman, Gay (1999) Gendered Citizenship: South Africa’s Democratic Transformation and the Constitution of a Gendered State. *Gender & Society*, 13(3): 287-307.

<sup>23</sup> Ong, Aihwa (1999) *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logic of Transnationality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

<sup>24</sup> Bloemraad, Irene (2004) Who Claims Dual Citizenship? The Limits of Postnationalism, the Possibilities of Transnationalism, and the Persistence of Traditional Citizenship. *International Migration Review*, 38(2): 389-426.

<sup>25</sup> Plummer, Ken (2003) *Intimate Citizenship: Private Decisions and Public Dialogues*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

<sup>26</sup> Gilbertson, Greta; Singer, Audrey (2003) The Emergence of Protective Citizenship in the USA: Naturalisation among Dominican Immigrants in the Post-1966 Welfare Reform Era. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 26(1): 25-51.

<sup>27</sup> Kymlicka, Will (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>28</sup> Kymlicka, Will; Norman, Wayne (2000) Citizenship in Diverse Societies: Issues, Contexts, Concepts. In: Kymlicka, Will; Norman, Wayne (eds.). *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*. Oxford University Press. pp. 1-44.

<sup>29</sup> Kivisto, Peter; Faist, Thomas (2007) *Citizenship: Discourse, Theory and Transnational Prospects*. Blackwell Publishing.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

the sense that sometimes marginalised and banished groups, for example, women, immigrants, and ethnic minorities, at least formally are being more drawn into the social processes and have more opportunities to express their political stands.

Those, who activate **erosion** discourse of citizenship, see citizenship through the dimension of welfare provided by the State for its citizens. Concept “social citizenship” is being used here, and “erosion of social citizenship” refers to the situation, when the social rights of individuals are being restricted. This process can be observed starting from the eighties, when in many places within Western democracies, but the most strikingly – in Great Britain and USA, the idea of welfare country was exchanged for the ideas of neoliberalism. This approach is connected with the critique of the regimes of neoliberalism, but at the same time it intertwines also with the third theme – **withdrawal** or phenomenon of decrease of civic participation. Many researchers have observed that common citizens become socially more passive – get less involved into public life – both at the elections and non-governmental organisations. The more famous authors having written on this phenomenon are Robert Putnam, Anthony Giddens, Alen Turen. According to opinions of P. Kivisto and T. Faist, the observed passivity is closely connected with the alienation from political processes and state.

Fourth theme – **expansion** – is connected with the fact that the sense of belonging to a certain country of nation has gradually transformed into belonging to a global society or several countries (dual citizenship) in a result of globalisation, migration and transnational relations. There are increasingly more countries, including Latvia, who have adopted laws that provide for dual citizenship or allow that people residing within the territory of the country have the dual citizenship. Such designation as “*citizenship beyond the state*” is being used. Special case in this context is also European citizenship. Everybody, who has a citizenship of some EU country, automatically has EU citizenship as well. So all Latvian citizens are also EU citizens with definite rights, including, to move free around the territory of EU and to take part at the elections of the European Parliament.

## 1.2. Dimensions of citizenship

Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey begin their research<sup>31</sup> on citizenship with a finding that the concept of citizenship has significantly evolutioned during the past 50 years and not only the normative frame stating the status of citizen, his/her obligations and rights is important, but also attitudes and action, for example, sense of belonging to the State, ability to accept the different, willingness to take part at political processes in order to further common welfare

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<sup>31</sup> Osler, Audrey; Starkey, Hugh (2005) *Changing Citizenship. Democracy and Inclusion in Education*. Open University Press.

and controlled political elite, and also responsible attitude towards oneself, own health, material well-being and environment.

In their book “Changing Citizenship” A. Osler and H. Starkey distinguish three mutually completing dimensions of citizenship that include the above mentioned aspects, – status of citizenship, citizenship as sense of belonging and practice of citizenship.

### *1.2.1. Citizenship as status*

One of the basic principles of organization within the totality of society is states, and the basis of the universal classification of people is formed of national belonging – status of a citizen of certain state. That determines relationship of the individual with the definite country, whose citizens he/she is, as well as with other countries. Citizenship as status is being defined politically and legally, and exists as a theme of political discourse in many democratic countries.

Obligation of the State is to provide its citizens with security, education, health care, transport infrastructure, while the citizens of the State have to invest into the common welfare in return, by paying taxes.

Citizenship and citizens are increasingly more talked about not as passive subjects of power, who have to fulfil decisions taken by the government, but as “active citizenship”, where citizens are active individuals, who pay influence decisions by uniting.

Such active citizenship approach provides for certain capacities of citizens, as well as faith in the opportunity to influence decisions of government and municipality, however citizen’s status is not clear in many places and does not cause positive emotions (for example, in Great Britain – see Osler & Starkey 2005, 11 p.).

### *1.2.2. Citizenship as sense of belonging*

Sense of belonging to the community of citizens and identification with a certain country can be more or less pronounced. National identity as the sense of belonging to a certain country is influenced by various agents, for example, state institutions and mass media that try to strengthen national identity by celebrating national holidays, making national teams or teams of sportsmen at the sport games, by developing and using national symbols, etc.

Sense of belonging is a requirement in order to take part at the social processes and implement “participative citizenship”, but sense of belonging is reduced by such feelings as injustice, opinion on unequal approach to the common resources and discrimination.

For many it is easier to identify themselves with a certain city or populated area, where he/she lives, not with a country. For example, non-citizen at the discussion of focus group in Jelgava indicates that “my home is in Jelgava”.

It must be noted that not all the citizens, although having obtained the status of citizen, are accepted within the definite society. It is due to xenophobic attitudes and discrimination that acquiring of the status of citizen does not guarantee inclusion in the society.

### *1.2.3. Citizenship as practice*

Citizenship as practice does not have to be seen narrowly only as taking part at the elections of parliament or local government. It is wider participation at the adoption of decisions on issues that concern the life of citizens. Citizen recognizes himself as such, who lives in one community together with the others. It is acting together with the others in the name of achieving certain political, social, cultural or economic targets.

Practicing of citizenship provides for a certain solidarity feelings with others and strengthens sense of citizenship as sense of belonging. It can be seen as economical citizenship – responsible consumption, by shopping to reduce the negative impact on the nature or unfair trade, by supporting, for example, production of “fair trade” that does its best to eliminate inequality of the salary and slave labour. Political citizenship provides for participation at the elections, as well as active following that the power delegated to the politicians is not employed unfairly. However active citizenship is being connected with protection of human rights and nature, where people muster themselves in cases, when human rights are not followed or their following is endangered<sup>32</sup>. In all cases practicing of citizenship is connected with forming of some kind of solidarity and more or less active involvement.

However it must be emphasized that citizen status and rights, what this status provides, are the first precondition for an active civic participation. A. Osler and H. Starkey analyse Great Britain’s approach in particular on the citizenship issue, and the concept “earned citizenship” appears here.

Concept “earned citizenship” in Great Britain’s Green Book “The Path to Citizenship” (Home Office 2008<sup>33</sup>) is being defined as the basis of naturalisation system of Great Britain, and its aim is to provide that the entrant into society of Great Britain “has earned” citizenship, because of his/her participation into the socially significant activities and encouraged the unity of community. Immigrants have to demonstrate their contribution by actively involving

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<sup>32</sup> Osler, Audrey; Starkey, Hugh (2005) *Changing Citizenship. Democracy and Inclusion in Education*. Open University Press. p. 16.

<sup>33</sup> Home Office (2008) *The Path to Citizenship: Next Steps in Reforming the Immigration System*: Government Response to Consultation (July). London: UK Border Agency.

into the life of community, for example, by doing voluntary work, and, of course, also by passing naturalisation tests. Active participation at the voluntary work is being awarded so that the period of “trial citizenship” is shortened and there is an opportunity to become a full-fledged citizen sooner (trial citizenship period may last up to 10 years)<sup>34</sup>.

Dominating discussions on citizenship among the representatives of social sciences reflect in the expressions and opinions of common people. They resound also into the talks of Latvian respondents – non-citizens (for example, lack of interest on political processes and opportunities of political participation, inability of service basket offered by Latvian citizenship to compete with the other EU countries, emigration as motivation for obtaining citizenship, etc.), but also other themes show up, all of which can be seen within the context of Audrey Osler’s and Hugh Starkey’s identified citizenship dimensions<sup>35</sup>, chosen as theoretical approach for the analysis of the results of in-depth interviews.

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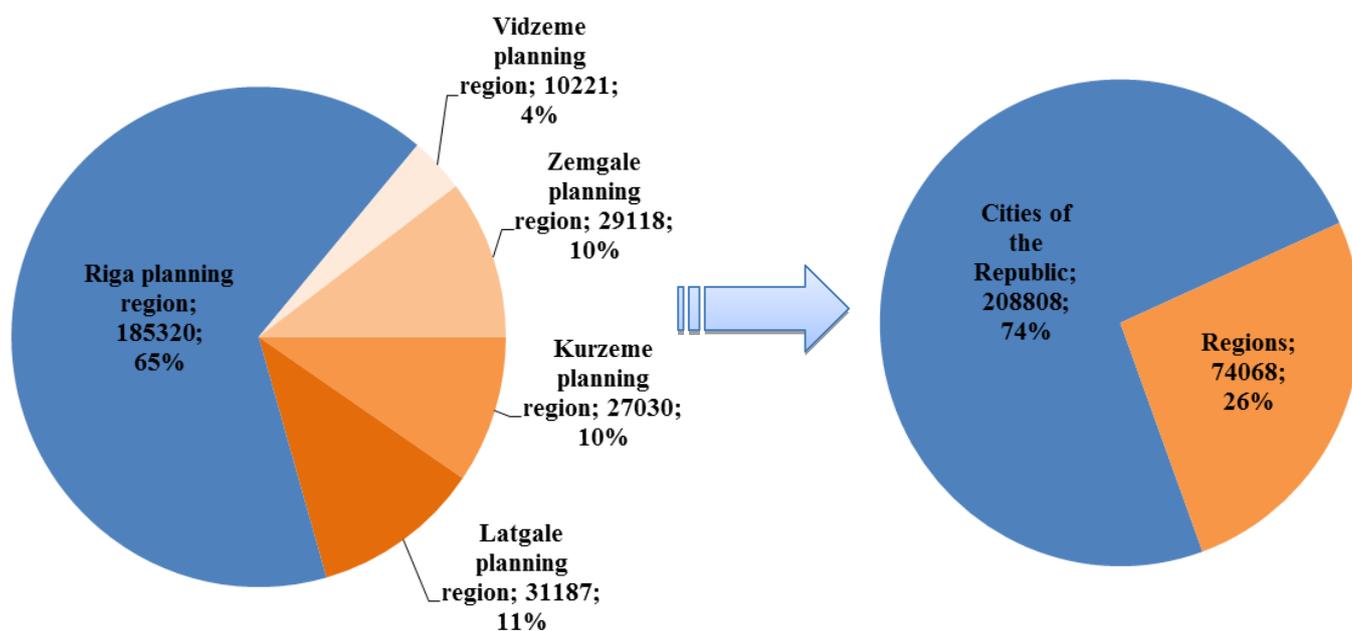
<sup>34</sup> Osler, Audrey (2009) Testing Citizenship and Allegiance. Policy, Politics and the Education of Adult Migrants in the UK. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 4(1): 63-79.

<sup>35</sup> Osler, Audrey; Starkey, Hugh (2005) *Changing citizenship. Democracy and Inclusion in Education*. Open University Press.

## 2. Demographic portray of Latvian non-citizens: place of residence, age, nationality and other figures in 2014

Information from Population Register collected by OCMA shows that on 1 January, 2014 there were 282 876 non-citizens in Latvia, two thirds of which (65%) live within Riga Planning Region, directly in Riga – 145 825 non-citizens or 52% out of all non-citizens (see figure 1). 11% non-citizens live within Latgale Planning Region, while 10% non-citizens live both in Kurzeme and Zemgale Planning Regions. Comparatively little number of non-citizens – 10 221 or 4% – live within Vidzeme Planning Region.

*Figure 1. Place of residence of Latvian non-citizens according to region and type of populated area in 2014*

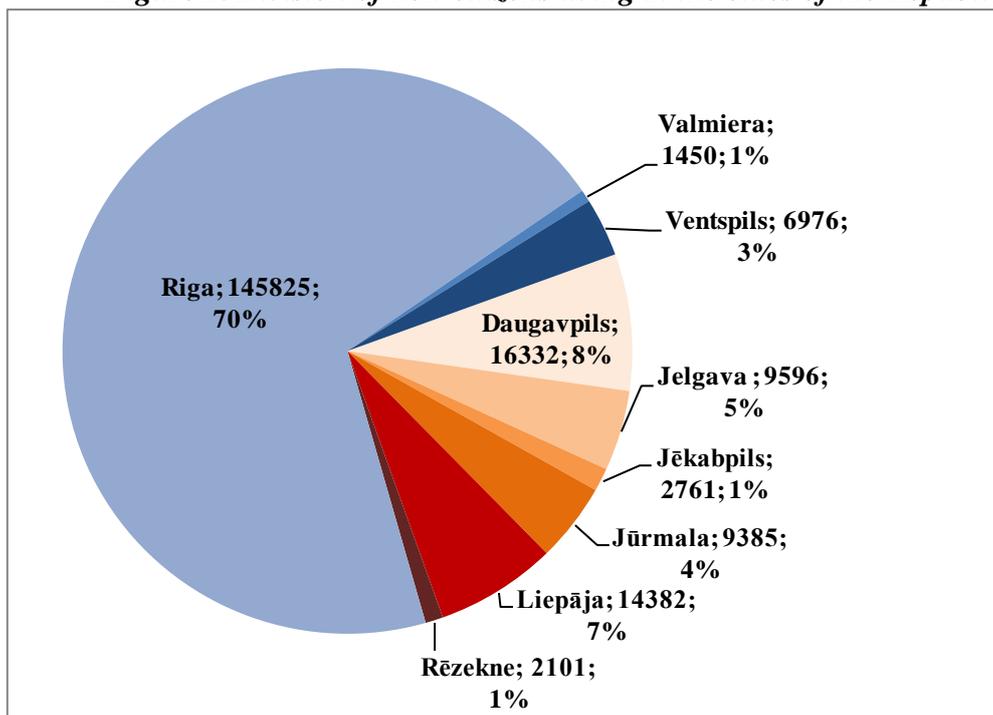


*Source: statistics of Population Register collected by OCMA*

Most non-citizens (208 808 or 74%) live in the cities of the Republic – Daugavpils, Jelgava, Jēkabpils, Jūrmala, Liepāja, Rēzekne, Riga, Valmiera and Ventspils. 74 068 or 26% Latvian non-citizens live in the regions.

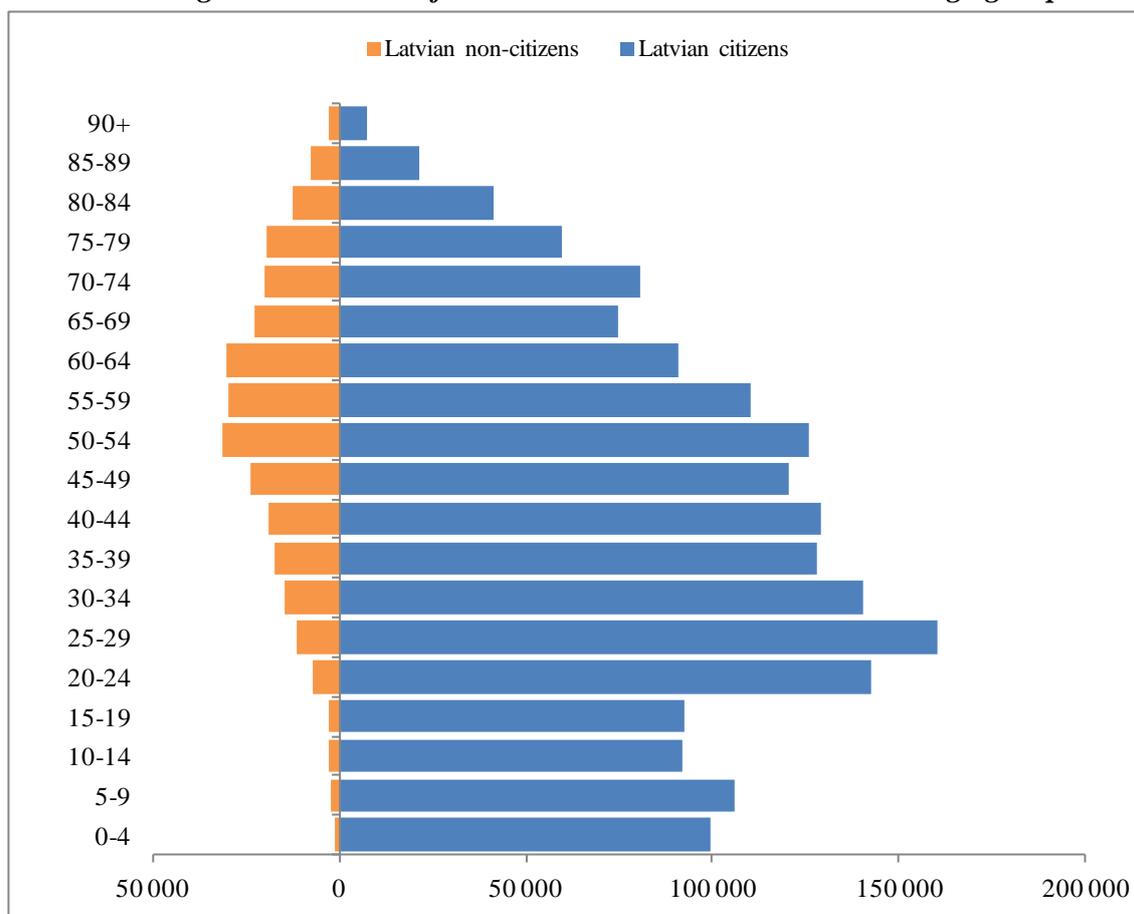
As it can be seen from the figure 2, 70% from non-citizens living in the cities of the Republic have chosen Latvian capital as their place of residence. Comparatively many non-citizens live also in Daugavpils (8% out of non-citizens living in the cities of the Republic), in Liepāja (7%), Jelgava (5%) and Jūrmala (4%).

**Figure 2. Division of non-citizens living in the cities of the Republic in 2014**



Source: statistics of Population Register collected by OCMA

**Figure 3. Division of Latvian citizens and non-citizens in age groups in 2014**



Source: statistics of Population Register collected by OCMA

Statistical data show that on 1 January, 2014 92 036 or every third non-citizen (32, 5%) was aged from 50 to 64. Comparing division of Latvian citizens and non-citizens in age groups, it has to be concluded that there is significantly higher proportion of elder people among non-citizens. If those aged 60 and above make 20% among citizens, then they are 41% among non-citizens. In its turn, the proportion of children and youth among non-citizens is significantly lower – if the number of children and youth aged up to 19 is 22% among citizens, then they make just 4% among non-citizens (see figure 3 and table 1).

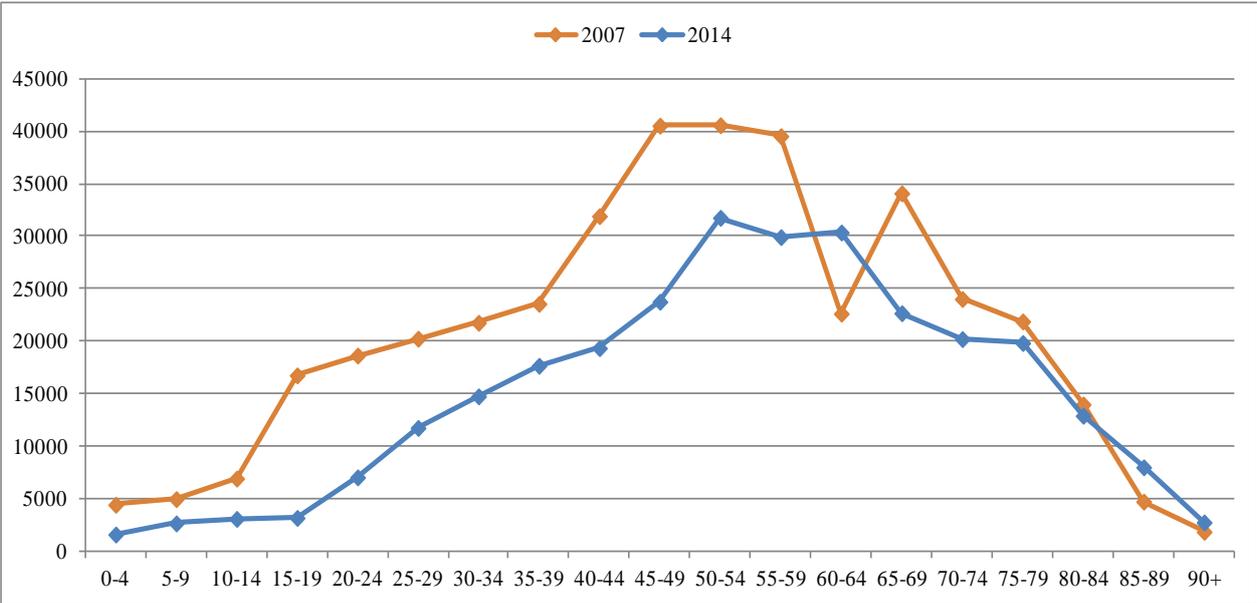
**Table 1. Division of Latvian citizens and non-citizens in age groups in 2014**

Age groups	Citizens		Non-citizens	
	Number	%	Number	%
0-19	389 775	21,5	10 379	3,7
20-39	571 626	31,5	51 120	18,1
40-59	485 946	26,8	104 764	37,0
60 and above	368 248	20,3	116 613	41,2
TOTAL	1 815 595		282 876	

Source: statistics of Population Register collected by OCMA

Comparing division of non-citizens in age groups in 2007 and 2014, it can be seen, how fast non-citizens age – if in 2007 every third non-citizen was aged from 45 to 59, then in 2014 every third non-citizen is aged from 50 to 64 (see figure 4). Altogether during these seven years the proportion of those non-citizens aged 60 and over has increased for 10% (from 31% to 41%) (see table 2), but the proportion of those youth aged from 15 to 24 has decreased (from 8% to 4%).

**Figure 4. Division of non-citizens in age groups in 2007 and 2014**



Source: statistics of Population Register collected by OCMA

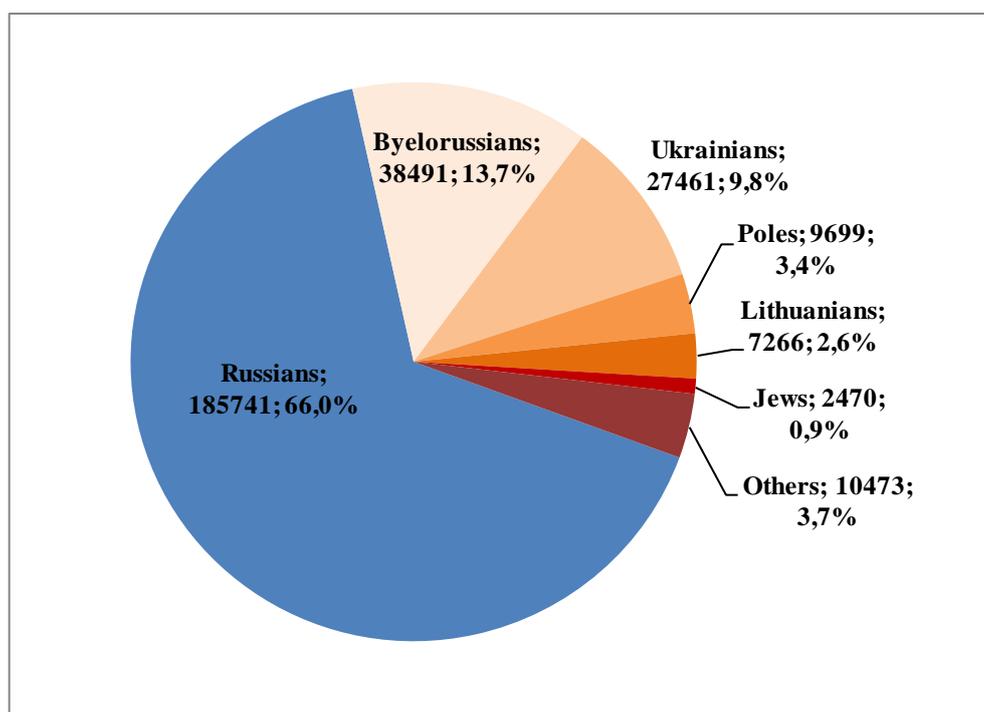
**Table 2. Division of non-citizens in age groups in 2007 and 2014**

Age groups	2007		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
0-19	32 970	8,4	10 379	3,7
20-39	84 166	21,4	51 120	18,1
40-59	152 594	38,8	104 764	37,0
60 and over	123 086	31,3	116 613	41,2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>392 816</b>		<b>282 876</b>	

*Source: statistics of Population Register collected by OCMA*

On 1 January, 2014 there were representatives of 106 different nationalities among Latvian non-citizens. Out of those non-citizens, whose nationality is indicated at the Population Register, 66% are Russians, 14% – Byelorussians, 10% – Ukrainians, 3% – Poles, 3% – Lithuanians and 1% – Jews (see figure 5).

**Figure 5. Breakdown of non-citizens according to nationality in 2014**



*Note. Those non-citizens, who have not indicated their nationality, are not included into the figure – on 1 January, 2014 these were 1289 persons.*

*Source: statistics of Population Register collected by OCMA*

4% of non-citizens represent other nationalities – the most represented among them are Tatars (0,5% or 1302), Germans (0,4% or 1104), Armenians (0,3% or 952), Moldavians (0,3% or 893), Azerbaijani (0,3% or 852), Chuvashians (0,1% or 416), Roma people (0,1% or 412), Estonians (0,1% or 409), Georgians (0,1% or 402), Mordovians (0,1% or 314) and Rumanians (0,1% or 314). However 0, 3% or 739 non-citizens have indicated Latvian as their nationality.

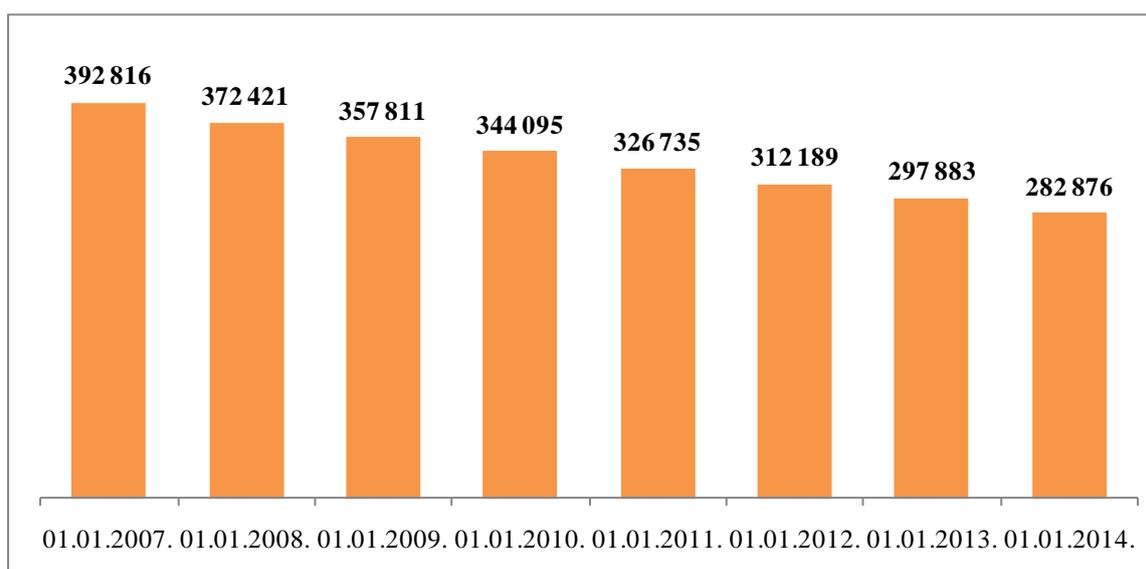
During the period between 1 January, 2007 and 1 January, 2014 division of non-citizens according to nationality has not significantly changed. Seven years ago there was just a little bit wider represented spectrum of various nationalities among Latvian non-citizens – altogether 114 nationalities.

### 3. Attitudes and opinions of Latvian non-citizens on procedure of naturalisation: statistics and data of surveys

#### 3.1. Decrease of the number of non-citizens and description of the process of naturalisation

On 1 January, 2007 17% or 392 816 inhabitants of Latvia were Latvian non-citizens, while on 1 January, 2014 the number of non-citizens had dropped to 282 876 or 13% (see figure 6). During seven years the number of non-citizens has dropped each year for 15,7 thousand on average, and for almost 110 thousand in total.

*Figure 6. Dynamics of the changes of non-citizen number, years 2007 - 2014*



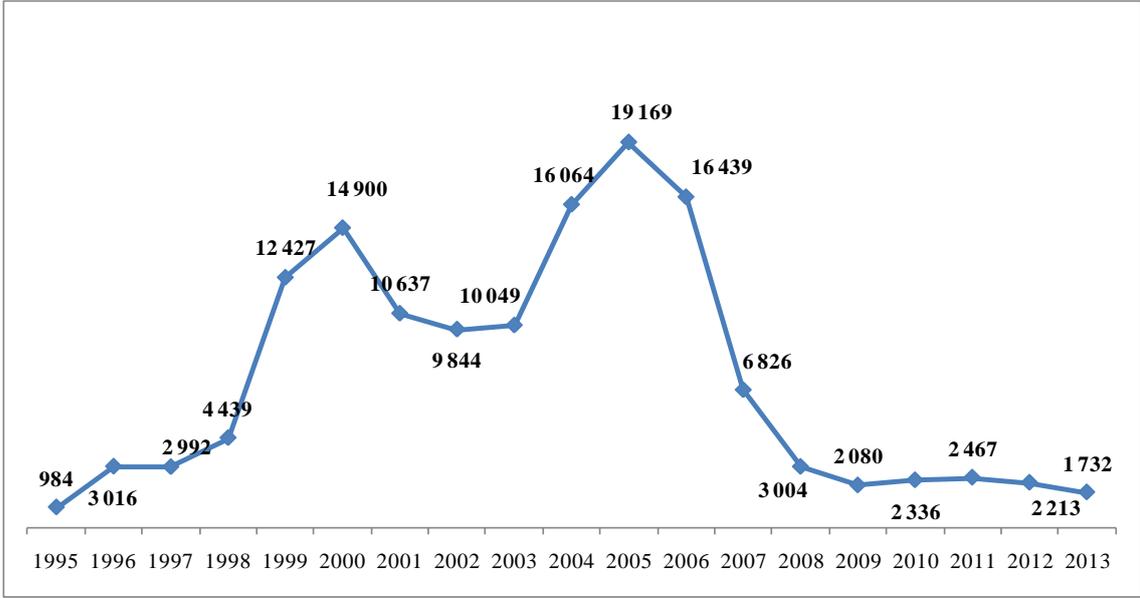
*Source: statistics of Population Register collected by OCMA*

Information on naturalisation collected by OCMA shows that since 1995 there are 141 618 persons, who have obtained Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation, but during the period from 2007 to 2013 – **20 658 persons**. It must be pointed out that during the last seven years a drop of the interest of non-citizens for obtaining Latvian citizenship can be observed – if in 2006 there were 16 439 persons, who obtained Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation, then in 2013 the number of persons having obtained Latvian citizenship – 1732 – was one of the lowest indicators since initiation of the naturalisation process (see figure 7).

The number of non-citizens drops also due to the fact that Latvian non-citizens accept citizenship of some other country. Information collected by OCMA from the Population Register shows that during the period from 1 January, 2007 to 1 January, 2014 the number of Lithuanian citizens living in Latvia has increased (for 1,2 thousand), the number of Ukrainian citizens (for 1,3 thousand) and especially the number of Russian citizens (for 21,5 thousand)

has increased. If in 2007 there were 27 380 Russian citizens, who resided in Latvia as permanent Latvian inhabitants, then in 2014 this number has increased to 48 873 persons, and frequently they are Latvian non-citizens, who have obtained Russian citizenship with the main motivation – to receive retirement pensions provided by Russia.

**Figure 7. Dynamics of the number of persons, who were granted Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation, 1995 – 2013**



Source: statistics by OCMA on naturalisation

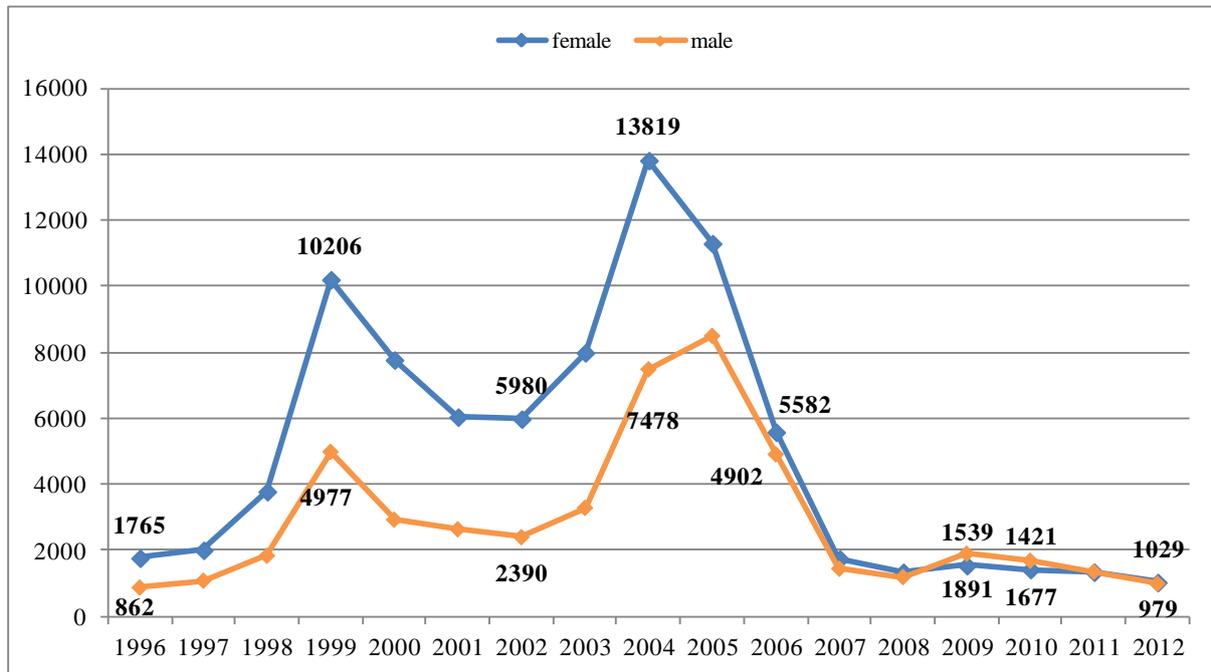
Upon analysing naturalisation process on demographic basis, it can be seen that during a period from 1996 to 2012<sup>36</sup> 63% out of all applicants, who wanted to obtain Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation, were women. Until 2005, every year the number of women among those persons, who wanted to obtain Latvian citizenship, was on average twice as big as the number of men (see figure 8). Starting from 2006, the number of men among the applicants for Latvian citizenship has increased – in 2009 and 2010 men among the applicants were even a little bit more than women. In 2012 44% out of all applicants for Latvian citizenship were between 18 and 30 years old (see figure 9). 22% of those, who wanted to obtain Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation, were between 31 and 40 years old, 15% were between 41 and 50 years old, but 18% applicants for Latvian citizenship were aged 51 and over. 2% of applicants for Latvian citizenship were between 15 and 17 years old.

Upon examining age structure of the applicants within the period from 1996 to 2012, it can be seen that the proportion of those among the applicants, who, upon reaching the age of

<sup>36</sup> OCMA started collecting data on naturalisation on demographic basis since 1996. At the moment of drafting analysis the most recent available information was for 2012.

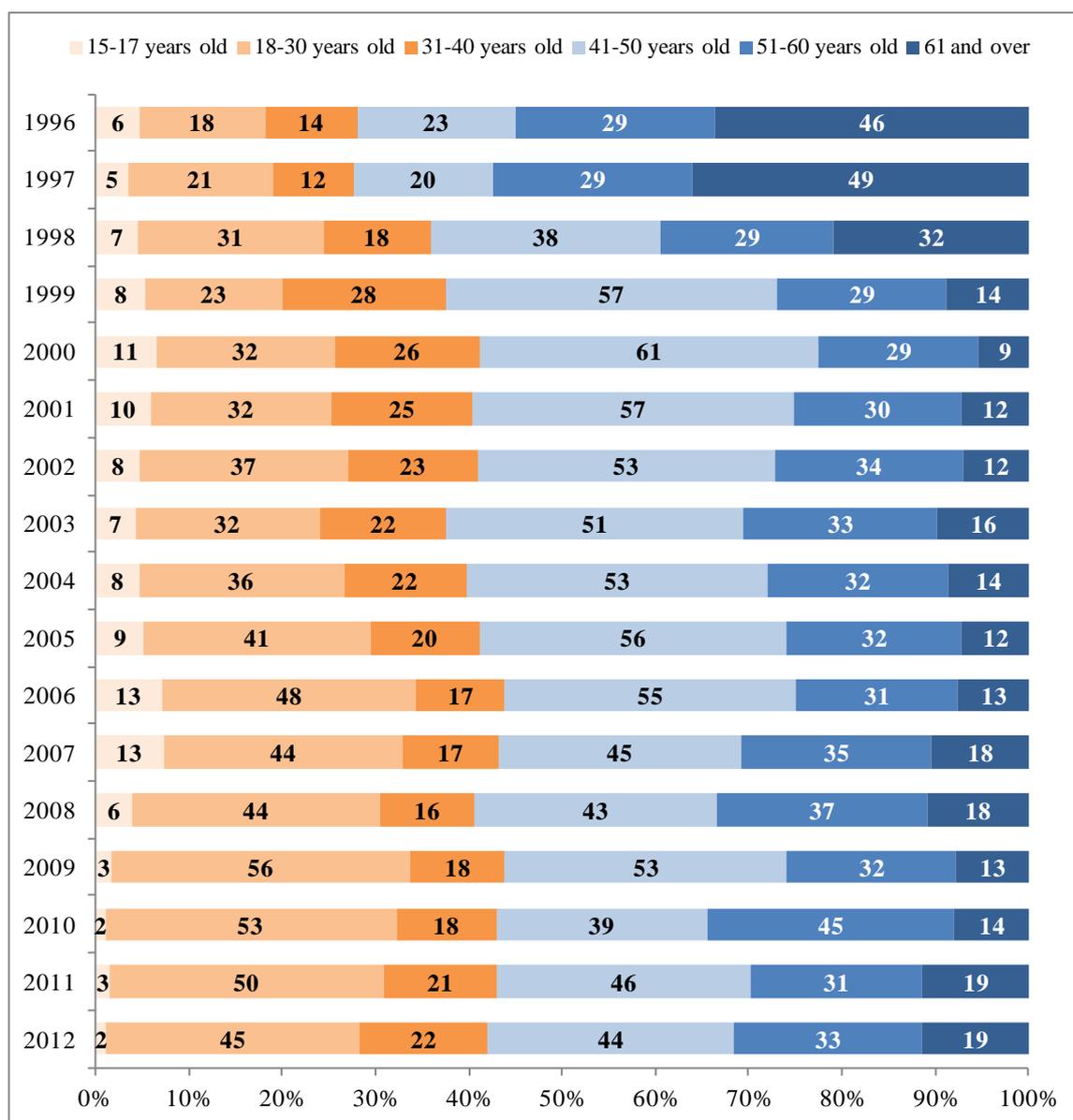
41 and over, wish to obtain Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation, has decreased.

**Figure 8. Dynamics of number of women and men, who wish to obtain Latvian citizenship, 1996 – 2012**



Source: statistics by OCMA on naturalisation

*Figure 9. Division of applicants for Latvian citizenship in age groups in 1996 – 2012*



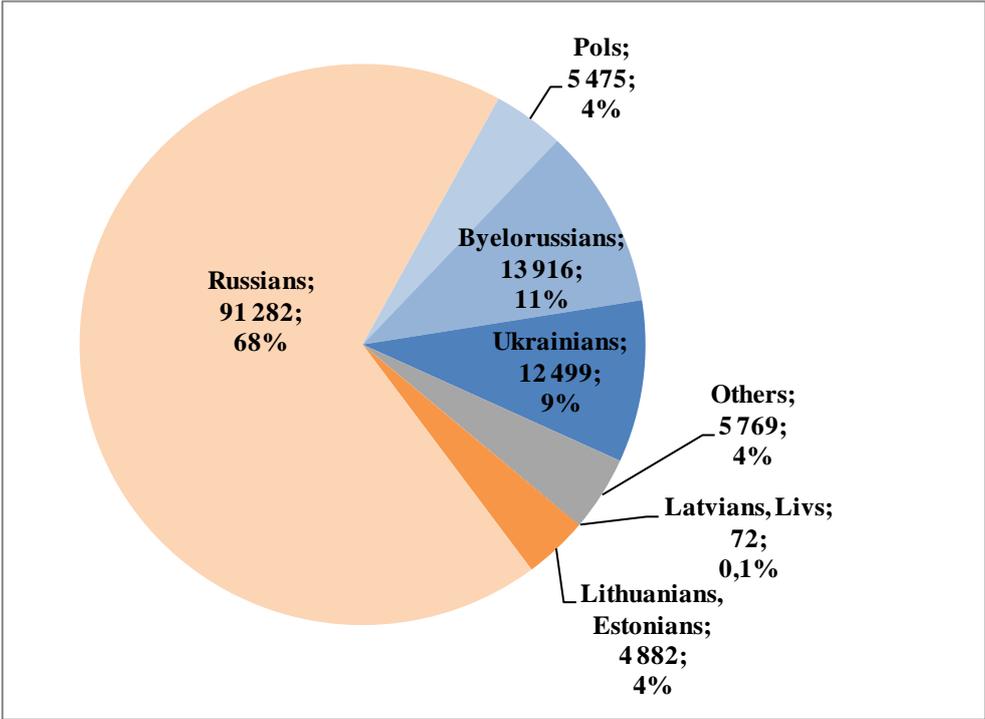
*Source: statistics by OCMA on naturalisation*

During the period from 1996 to 2012 68% out of all applicants, who wanted to obtain Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation, were Russians (see figure 10). 11% out of all applicants for Latvian citizenship were Byelorussians, 9% – Ukrainians, 4% – Poles and 4% – Lithuanians and Estonians. During the above period there were also 0,1% or 72 Latvians and Livs among the applicants, as well as 4% – representatives of other nationalities.

During the said period of time the proportion of representatives of various nationalities among the applicants for Latvian citizenship has changed. The proportion of Russians and Ukrainians among the applicants has increased – accordingly from 50% in 1996 to 69% in 2012 and from 4% in 1996 to 10% in 2012 – however proportion of Byelorussians has remained stable (within the limits of 9-11%). At the same time the number of Poles (from 8%

in 1996 to 3% in 2012), Lithuanians and Estonians (from 26% in 1996 to 3% in 2012) has dropped, as well as proportion of Latvians and Livs (from 0,7% in 1996 to none in 2012) among the applicants. Proportion of other nationalities among the applicants for Latvian citizenship has increased from 3% in 1996 to 6% in 2012.

**Figure 10. Division of applicants for Latvian citizenship according to nationality in 1996 – 2012**



*Note. Those applicants for Latvian citizenship, who have not indicated their nationality, are not included into the figure – during the period from 1996 to 2012 these were 89 persons.  
Source: statistics by OCMA on naturalisation*

Upon analysing naturalisation process for the number of applicants and those, who are granted citizenship, it can be seen that during the period from 1996 to 2013 Latvian citizenship is obtained by 90% of those, who had applied for obtaining citizenship through the process of naturalisation. There are in total 141 618 persons, including 14 288 underage children, who were granted Latvian citizenship by the order of the Cabinet of Ministers.

**3.2. Opinion of non-citizens on the process of naturalisation: data of surveys**

Opinion of non-citizens on naturalisation procedure has been studied in Latvia since 1997. Several big studies were carried out from 1997 – 2000 within the scope of Research and action programme “Towards Civic Society”, initiated by Naturalisation Board, but implemented by researchers of the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences. In 1997 a group of non-

citizen consisting of 1502 respondents<sup>37</sup> was surveyed at the first survey of such a scale that was performed by using the method of multistage random stratified sampling. In 2000, already after the cancellation of age restrictions applicable for citizenship, a repeated study was carried out<sup>38</sup>. However one of the last studies, where non-citizens have been surveyed, is survey performed in 2012 by OCMA, where 1570 Latvian non-citizens were surveyed, by using survey within the territorial divisions of OCMA<sup>39</sup>. Survey of 1997, survey of 2001 and survey of 2012 are the main data sources for the further analysis of the secondary data that, upon necessity, have been supplemented also by the data of other surveys.

### *3.2.1. Obstacles to naturalise*

In 1997 obstacles to naturalise at the survey were determined also by age restrictions (only non-citizen youth between 17 and 30 years old had opportunities to obtain citizenship), therefore the data of survey of 2000, when age restrictions had already been cancelled, are more appropriate for comparison.

Upon comparing data of surveys of 2000 and 2012, it can be seen that the main reasons, why Latvian citizenship is not being obtained, remain the same, but more often mentioned answers change. It must be however emphasized that direct comparison is not possible due to the differences in the formulation of the questions (in 2000 it is a question with multiple answers, in 2012 respondents had to choose one answer, formulation of the question itself also differs – see figures 11 and 12).

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<sup>37</sup> Research data obtained by surveying 1502 Latvian non-citizens between 15 and 75 years old. Survey method – direct interviews at the place of residence of the respondents. Method of sample – multistage random stratified sampling within the whole territory of Latvia. Period of survey: 20 November, 1997 – 9 January, 1998.

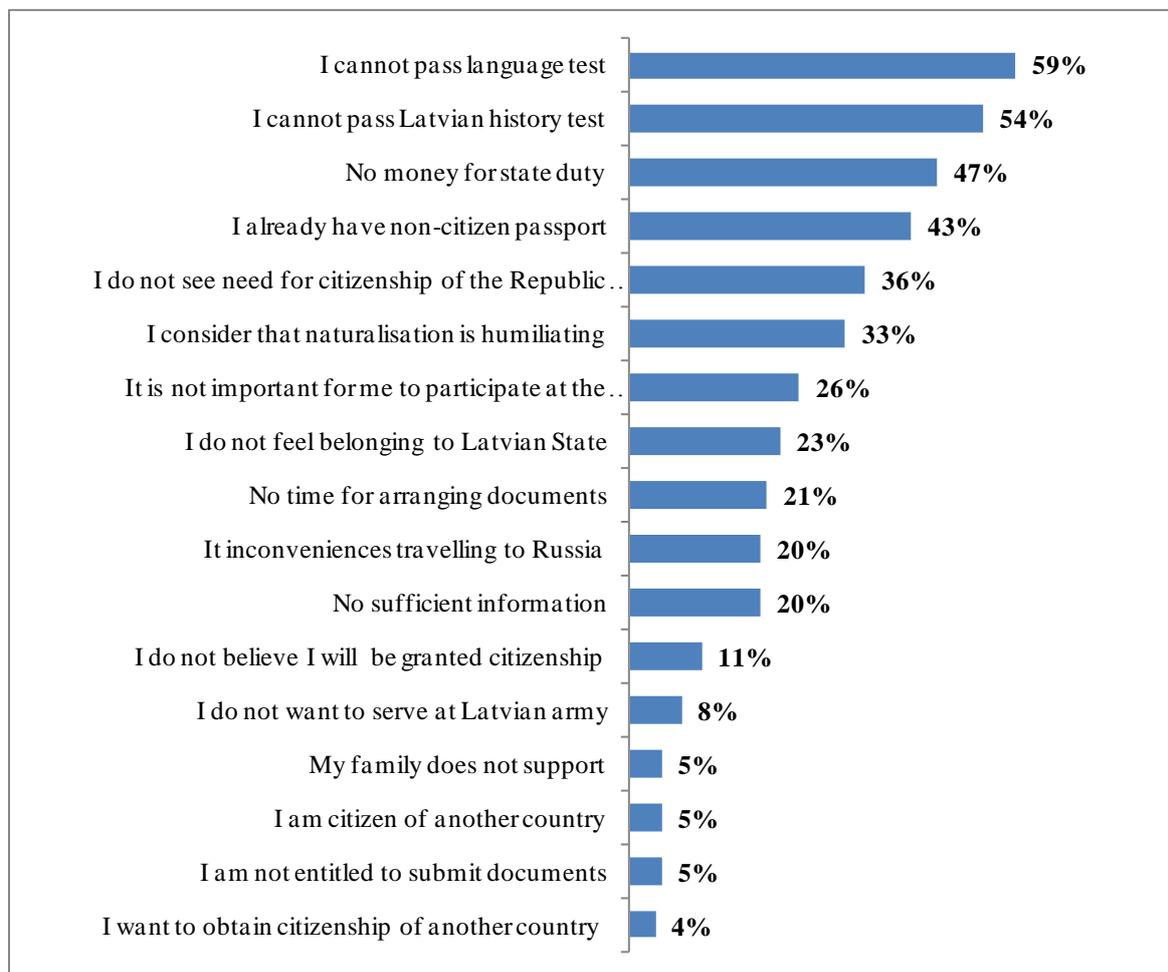
<sup>38</sup> Research data obtained by surveying 1005 Latvian non-citizens between 15 and 75 years old. Method of survey – direct interviews at the place of residence of the respondents. Method of sample – multistage random stratified and quota sampling within the whole territory of Latvia. Period of survey: 4-26 November, 2000.

<sup>39</sup> Research data obtained by surveying 1570 Latvian non-citizens between 18 and 89 years old. Method of survey – survey of respondents at the territorial divisions of OCMA. Period of survey: November 2011 – August 2012.

**Figure 11. Reasons, why non-citizens do not plan to obtain Latvian citizenship, 2000**

*Why are you not planning to obtain citizenship?*

(% out of those, who are not citizens of the Republic of Latvia and who do not plan to become citizens of the Republic of Latvia within the next 12 months, n=803)



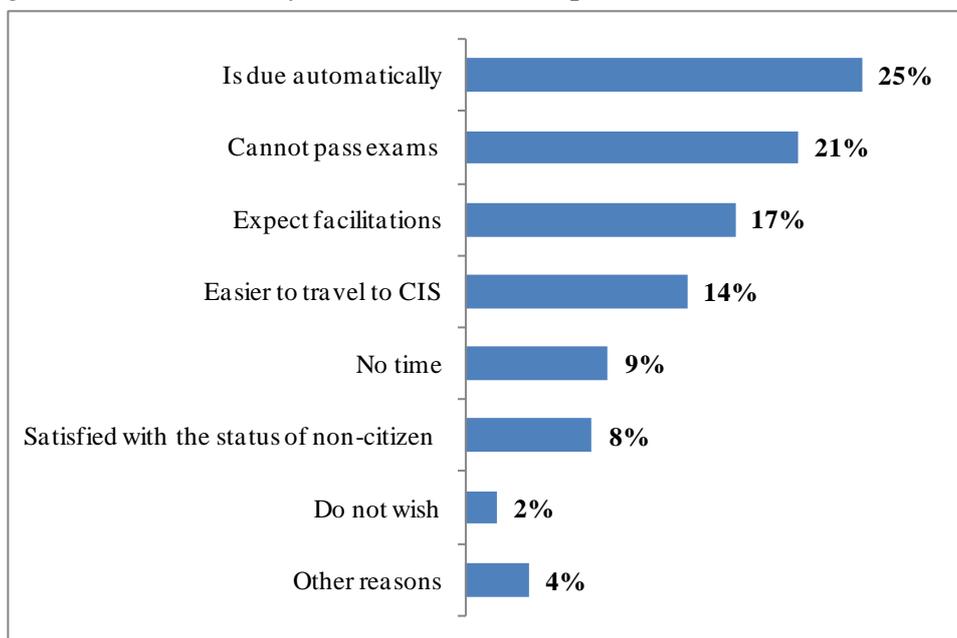
*Source: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2001). Research and action programme "Towards Civic Society". Survey of Latvian residents*

Altogether, according to survey data, the main obstacles to naturalise are following:

- 1) opinion that citizenship is due automatically, and hope for some amendments to normative regulation – for automatical granting of citizenship or for facilitations (responses in 2012: 25% do not apply for Latvian citizenship, because consider that citizenship is due automatically, 17% expect facilitations);
- 2) difficulties to pass exams (in 2000 it was the most often mentioned reason, why they do not naturalise; in 2012 21% answer that they do not apply for Latvian citizenship, because consider that cannot pass exams);
- 3) it is more beneficial to keep the status of non-citizen, because of travelling to Russia, Belarus and other CIS countries (responses in 2012: 14% do not apply for Latvian citizenship, because it is easier to travel to CIS with a passport of non-citizen);

- 4) are satisfied with the status of non-citizen, there is no necessity to obtain citizenship (responses in 2012: 8% are satisfied with the status of non-citizen);
- 5) do not have time to arrange citizenship (9% in 2012).

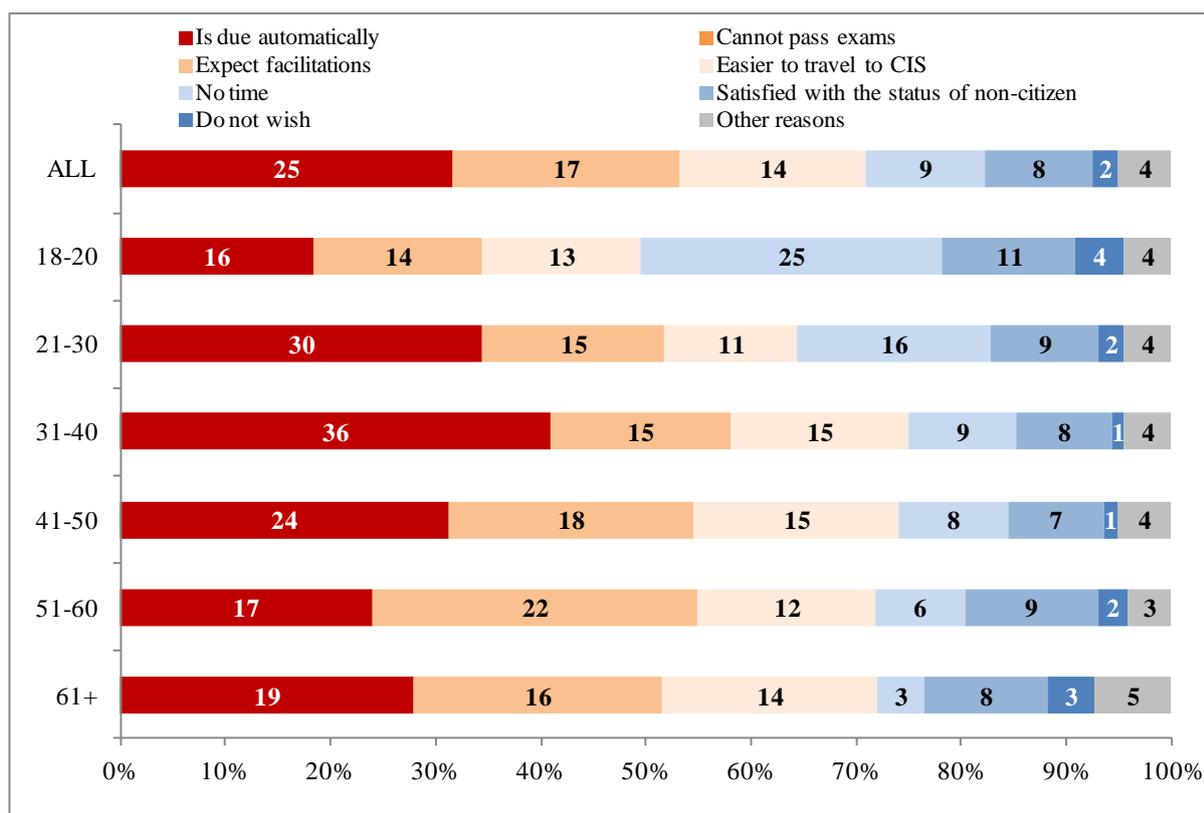
**Figure 12. Reasons, why non-citizens do not plan to obtain Latvian citizenship, 2012**



*Source: Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs (2012) Coefficient and disturbing factors for obtaining Latvian citizenship*

Upon analysing data of 2012 in different age groups, it can be seen that non-citizens between 21 and 40 years old most often indicate that citizenship is due to them automatically, but more seldom – the fact that they cannot pass exams (see figure 13). Regarding age group 21-30 it is also reasoned, because according to their self-appraisal on the skills of Latvian language, this age group has the best Latvian language skills.

**Figure 13. Reasons, why non-citizens of different age groups do not plan to obtain Latvian citizenship, 2012**



Source: Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs (2012) Coefficient and disturbing factors for obtaining Latvian citizenship

Altogether survey data approve that the main reasons, why non-citizens between 21 and 40 years old do not obtain citizenship, are expectations for some facilitations and opinion that citizenship is due automatically, as well as also lack of practical necessity (responses: “do not have time”, “easier to travel to CIS”, “satisfied by the status of non-citizen”). Significant obstacle for non-citizens over 40 is also poor Latvian skills that has also served as a basis to choose the answer “cannot pass exams”.

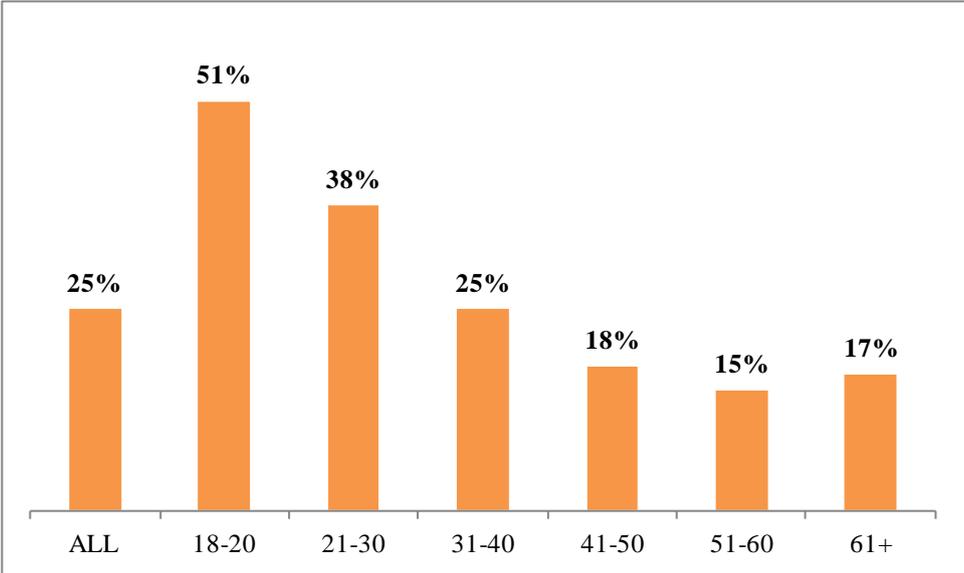
### 3.2.2. Planning on obtaining Latvian citizenship

Responses from surveys prove that altogether non-citizens are tended to idealize their intentions to obtain Latvian citizenship during the next year. In survey of 2000 20% out of all non-citizens answered that they plan to obtain Latvian citizenship, but in 2012 – 25%.

In reality possibility that big part of non-citizens will really demonstrate activity and submit the documents for the procedure or naturalisation, is very small, because in-depth analysis of the survey of 2012 shows that part of these 25%, who as if plan to obtain Latvian citizenship within the next year, do not know Latvian language, as well as are satisfied with their status of non-citizen – thereby part of them could have insufficient motivation and also chances to pass test of Latvian language.

Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation is planned to be obtained during the next year more often by younger non-citizens: at the age group from 21 to 30 – 38%, but at the age group after 41 – only 15-18% (see figure 14), more often non-citizens of Kurzeme, Zemgale and Vidzeme.

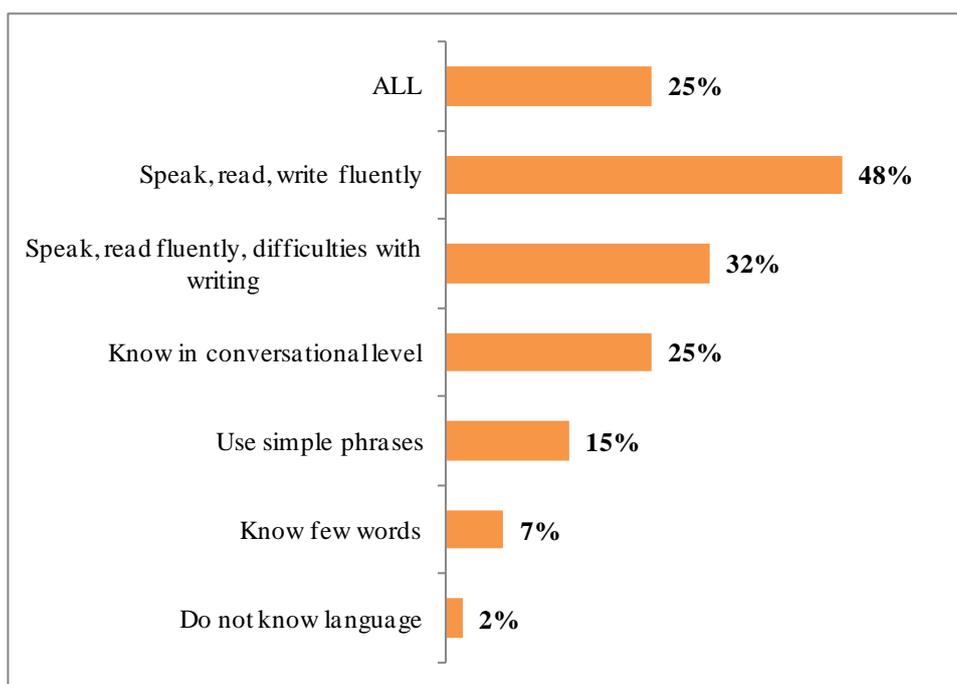
**Figure 14. Division of non-citizens, who plan to obtain Latvian citizenship during the next year, in age groups in 2012**



*Source: Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs (2012) Coefficient and disturbing factors for obtaining Latvian citizenship*

At the same time however it must be emphasized that the number of non-citizens, who say that they are planning to obtain Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation, significantly increases at those age groups that have better command of Latvian language (see figure 15).

**Figure 15. Number of non-citizens, who plan to obtain Latvian citizenship during the next year, at different groups of Latvian language skills in 2012**

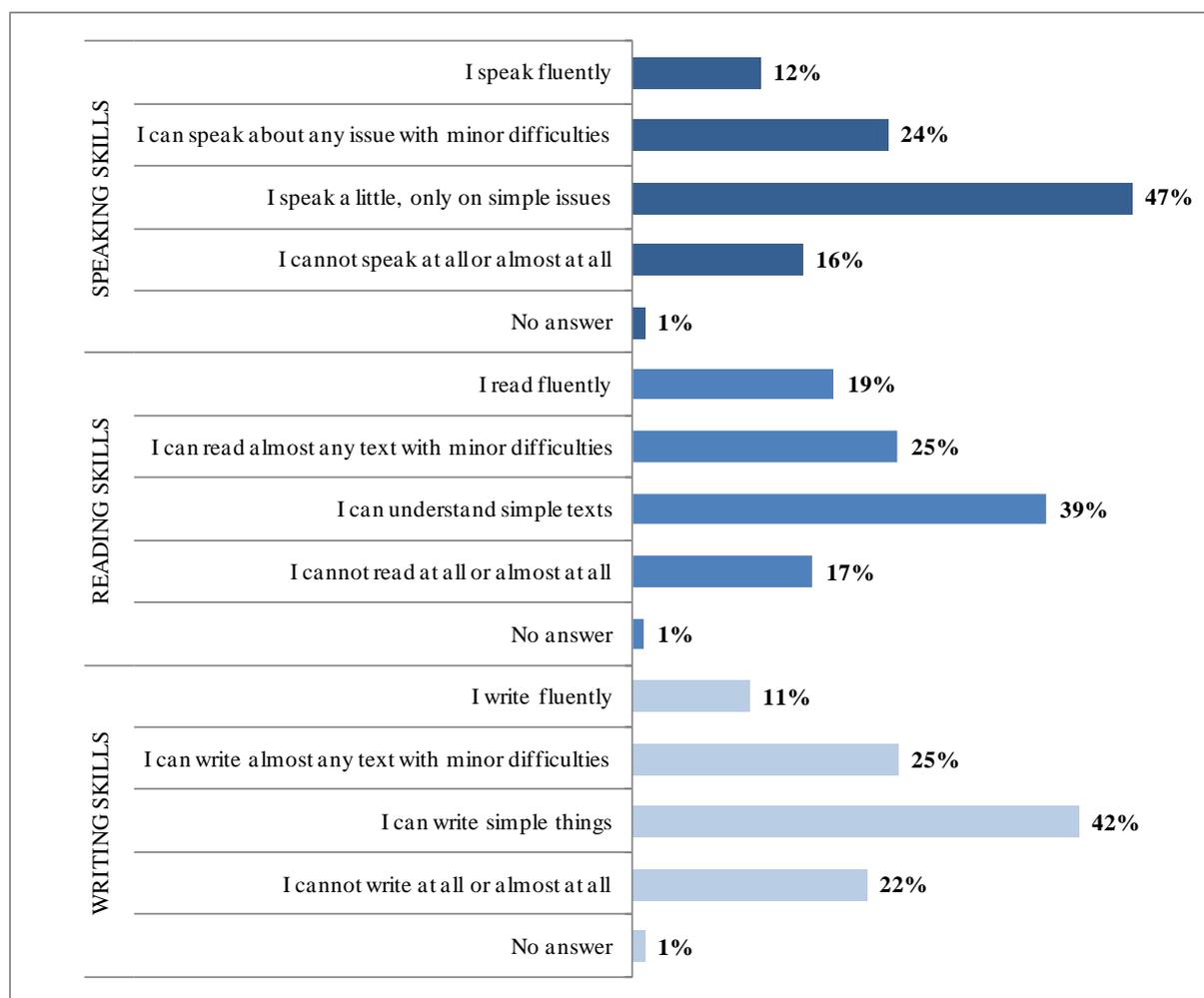


Source: Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs (2012) *Coefficient and disturbing factors for obtaining Latvian citizenship*

### 3.2.3. Latvian language skills

Latvian language skills are assessed at the surveys, basing on the self-appraisal method, when respondent assess his language skills in speaking, reading and writing. Data of survey of 1997 indicate that at that time approximately 12% non-citizens had a fluent command of Latvian language (spoke fluently), 24% could talk about any issue with some difficulties (see figure 16), but approximately two thirds of non-citizens knew Latvian language poorly or not at all.

**Figure 16. Self-appraisal of Latvian language skills by non-citizens in 1997**

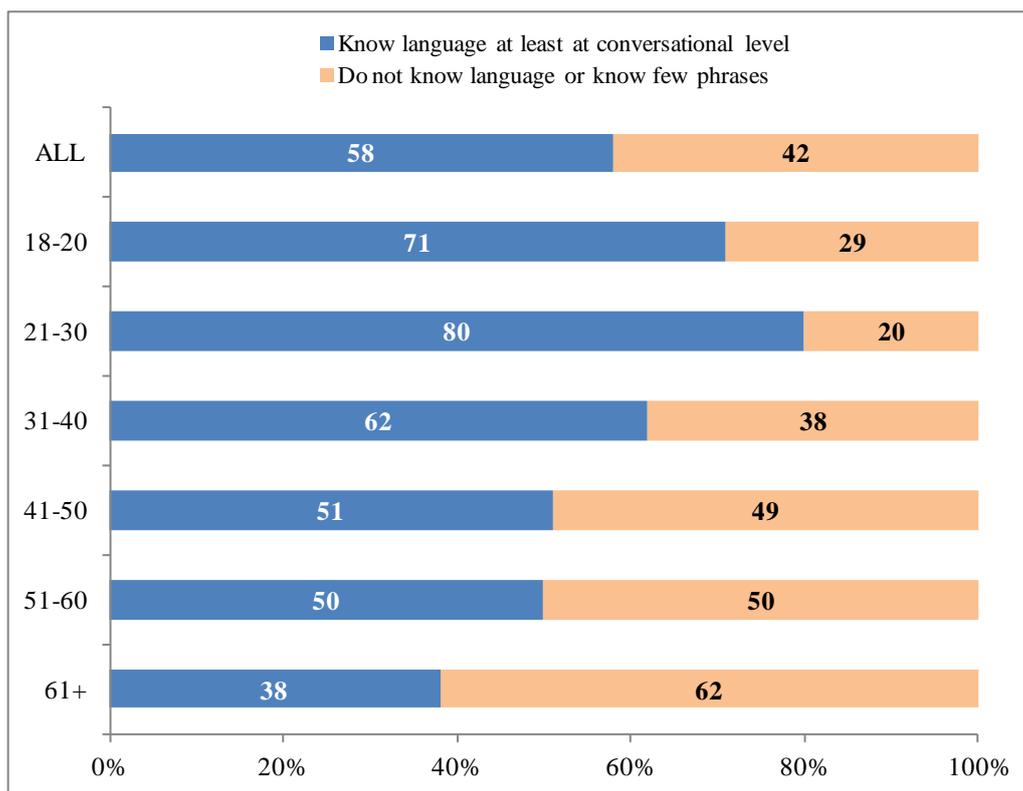


*Source: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (1999). Research and action programme "Towards Civic Society". Survey of Latvian residents*

In 2012 17% non-citizens fluently speak, read, write in Latvian, 13% fluently speak, read, but have problems with writing, 27% know Latvian language in conversational level. Those are in total 57% out of all non-citizens. 43% do not know Latvian language or know separate phrases or words.

Latvian language skills differ in different age groups – those above 60 know Latvian language the worst, non-citizens between 21 and 30 years old – the best (see figure 17 and table 3).

**Figure 17. Self-appraisal of Latvian language skills by non-citizens from different age groups in 2012**



Source: Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs (2012) Coefficient and disturbing factors for obtaining Latvian citizenship

**Table 3. Self-appraisal of Latvian language skills by non-citizens from different age groups in 2012**

Age groups	Fluently speak, read, write	Fluently speak, read, problems with writing	Know at conversational level	Use simple phrases	Know some words	Do not know language
Total	18%	13%	27%	30%	9%	3%
18-20	37%	17%	17%	25%	3%	1%
21-30	36%	17%	28%	16%	2%	1%
31-40	18%	15%	29%	31%	5%	2%
41-50	10%	13%	28%	34%	11%	4%
51-60	8%	12%	30%	38%	9%	3%
61 and over	9%	6%	22%	35%	21%	7%

Source: Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs (2012) Coefficient and disturbing factors for obtaining Latvian citizenship

There are altogether not only comparatively few those, who do not know Latvian language or know just few phrases, among non-citizens between 21 and 30 years old (19%), but there is also significantly bigger number of those in this age, who fluently speak, read and write in Latvian (36%), in comparison to elder non-citizens. Self-appraisal of Latvian language among women and men does not differ significantly.

Significant differences in the self-appraisal of Latvian language skills can be observed also in the answers of non-citizens of different regions in 2012. Non-citizens of Riga and Latgale know Latvian language comparatively worse (do not know language or know few phrases: in Riga region – 46%; in Latgale region – 53%), non-citizens of Vidzeme and Zemgale have slightly better skills of Latvian language (do not know language or know few phrases: in Vidzeme region – 33%; in Zemgale region also – 33%), but the non-citizens of Kurzeme have the highest self-appraisal of Latvian language skills (do not know language or know few phrases – 24%).

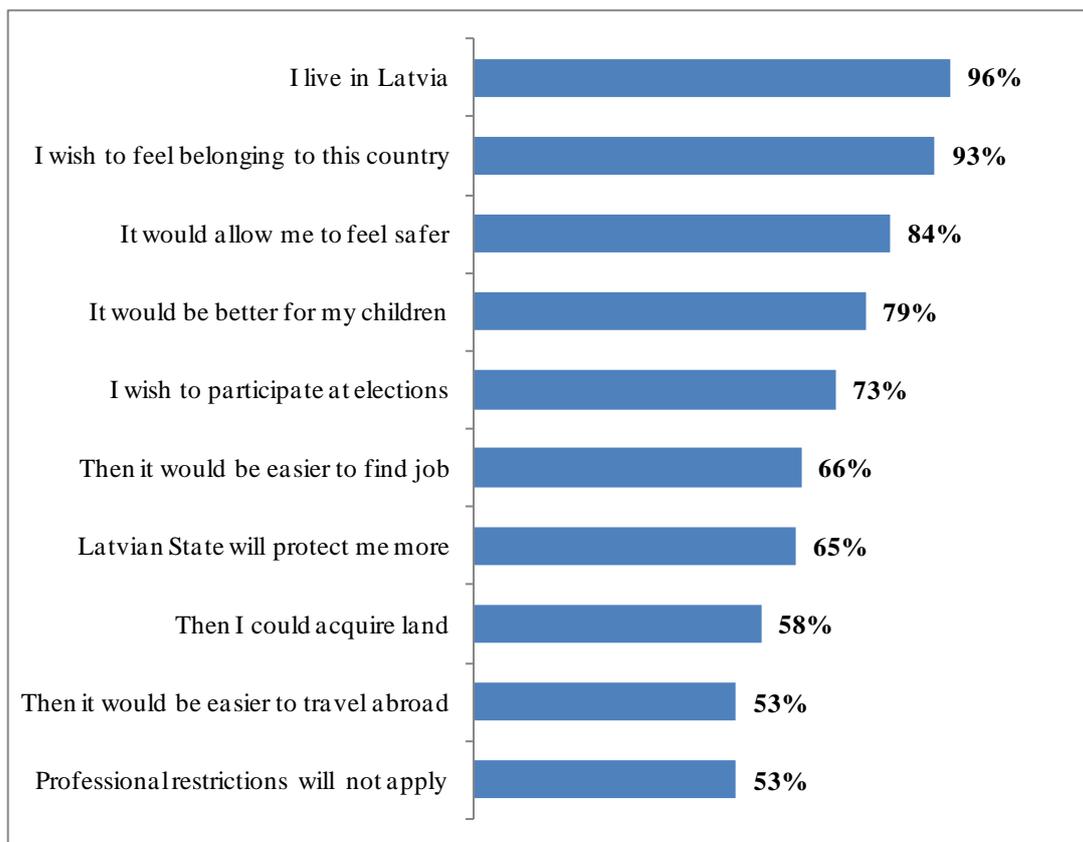
#### *3.2.4. Motives for naturalisation*

Upon comparing of the results of surveys in 2000 and 2012, the main reasons, why non-citizens plan to become Latvian citizens, remain similar, and the wish to obtain Latvian citizenship because of living in Latvia, is in the first place. In 2000 this reason was ticked by 96% non-citizens, who plan to obtain Latvian citizenship (see figure 18). In 2012 it was ticked as very important or rather important by 94% applicants for the citizenship (see figure 19). Belonging to Latvia is in the second place (in 2000 93%, in 2012 – 87%, accordingly: 53% very important, 34% rather important).

**Figure 18. Reasons, why non-citizens plan to become Latvian citizens, 2000**

*Why are you planning to obtain citizenship?*

(% out of those, who are not citizens of the Republic of Latvia and who plan to become citizens of the Republic of Latvia within the next 12 months, n=202)

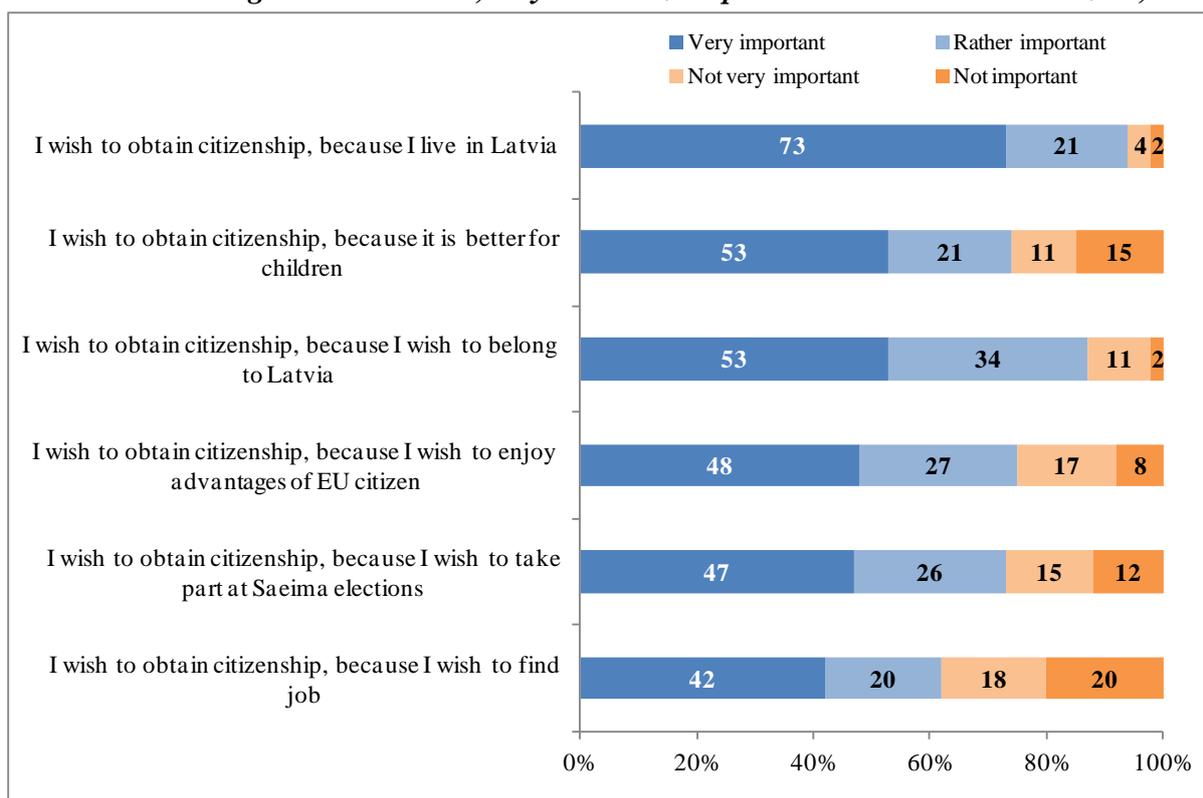


Source: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2001). Research and action programme "Towards Civic Society". Survey of Latvian residents

Importance of other motives altogether in both surveys is also evaluated similarly, although it must be emphasized that the formulation of the question slightly differs and the surveyed target group is also a little different. In 2000 these are non-citizens, who indicate at the survey that they plan to become citizens within the next 12 months (N=202), but in 2012 these are applicants for citizenship or non-citizens, who have already taken decision to try obtaining citizenship through the process of naturalisation and surveyed at OCMA<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Research data acquired, by surveying 752 applicants for Latvian citizenship between 17 and 82 years old. Method of survey – survey of respondents at the territorial divisions of OCMA. Period of survey: March – July, 2012.

**Figure 19. Reasons, why non-citizens plan to become Latvian citizens, 2012**



*Source: Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs (2012) Coefficient and disturbing factors for obtaining Latvian citizenship*

However in contradiction to survey of 2000, the third most important reason for obtaining citizenship is the fact that Latvian citizenship is also citizenship of European Union (75%, accordingly: 48% very important, 27% rather important). In 2000 such version of the response was not topical, because Latvia was not yet member state of EU. It must be noted that similar number indicates also other reasons as important – better for children (74%) and opportunity to participate at the elections of the Saeima (73%). Comparatively most seldom reason indicated by citizenship applicants as important is that the status of citizen would allow finding job easier (66%).

## 4. “Yes” or “No” for naturalisation: analysis of argumentation of Latvian non-citizens

### 4.1. Practical benefit

When analysing attitude towards naturalisation among non-citizens, it must be emphasized that it is instrumental attitude towards this issue that dominates altogether among non-citizens. Data of both surveys and in-depth interviews with non-citizens certify it.

Practical benefit in the interviews is being actualized in very many and different ways. Many respondents point out that they have no need for Latvian citizenship, because the status of non-citizen in any way does not deny them doing, what they want to do:

*“No. At the moment the fact that I am not citizen does not limit me. It is not that I cannot settle at work somewhere. At least that, what I plan to do, everything is fine with having a status of non-citizen. [...] I can travel around European countries the same way, but to go working at governmental institutions – I do not have plans like this. For example, it is compulsory to be citizen at firemen organization. I do not have such plans, therefore I do not see reason going to apply for citizenship.” (Daugavpils, 30, male)*

*“I am more satisfied with my [non-citizen] status. [...] Currently I do not have such objective reasons to become citizen. [...] I gave birth to three children here. They all are Latvian citizens; I am just non-citizen (laughs). At the moment I am satisfied with my [non-citizen] status. [...] What will citizenship give to me? Opportunity to go working abroad? I know people, who naturalise in order to be able to go working. I do not have such desire.” (Liepāja, 51, female)*

Obtaining of citizenship through the process of naturalisation requires certain effort (to deal with the documents, take exams) and also certain expenses (state duty<sup>41</sup> and travel expenses to arrive at OCMA affiliate) that cannot be considered big, however those, who do not have any need for citizenship, have no motivation to make this effort:

*“I am planning [to obtain citizenship through the process of naturalisation]. But somehow I do not need it at the moment. When I need it, then I will also naturalise.” (Liepāja, 26, male)*

For those, who often travel to Russia, status of non-citizen is more beneficial than the status of citizen, because non-citizens can travel to Russia without visa (up to 90 days within a period of 180 days). Travelling to Russia is topical both in relation to visiting relatives living there, as well as to working:

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<sup>41</sup> According to the effective regulation state duty on naturalisation is determined EUR 28,46. Politically repressed persons, disabled persons of the first group, orphans, and children left without parents' care, persons admitted at the public and local social care institutions are released from it. Deprived persons, unemployed persons registered at State Employment Agency, members of the families with three and more underaged children, age and retirement pensioners, disabled persons of the second and third group, students of state accredited institutions of general and professional education, as well as full-time students of state accredited institutions of higher education may apply for reduced state duty EUR 4,27.

*“If government faces non-citizens, then I might possibly think. I will think over all the pros and cons, because... I travel to Russia; I do not need Russian visa. But, **if I become Latvian citizen, I will have problems; will have to apply for visa.** At the beginning temporary visa will have to be taken, but afterwards permanent. That does not satisfy me. **I am satisfied with the current situation.** I am not intended to travel to Ireland for working.” (Daugavpils, 38, male)*

*“At the moment I do not need it. But my mum and dad usually say that we will not apply for citizenship ourselves, until we are not granted it. I do not know, how it is now, if they want that, but previously it was so. [...] But, if I need that, I will try to arrange that... [...] If I, for example, go to study in Riga, then, I think, it will come handy for me. But **now non-citizens are the same as citizens, only non-citizens can travel to Russia without visa,** they can travel to Europe without visa just like citizens, the same with America. Everywhere is equal for them.” (Liepāja, 15, male)*

*“No, I do not plan [obtaining Latvian citizenship]. I still have plans to travel to Russia. It is easier for me for the documents. **So far I have not had such necessity.** [...] Now it is more beneficial for me to remain non-citizen in the sense that I have plenty of friends from Russia. To pay crazy amounts for visa and wait in a very long row – I cannot afford it now.” (Riga, 36, female)*

*“No [I do not plan to obtain Latvian citizenship]. Why should I need that? In future it will not be necessary. All my relatives are in Russia. I go there and back, for me Europe - so. If I move to live to some other place, then to Russia, not Europe. I do not need anything. **I travel free everywhere – both to Russia and Europe.** [...] **No advantages of any kind. Just minuses could be** [from obtaining Latvian citizenship by naturalising].” (Liepāja, 36, male)*

*“I have no such necessity now [to obtain Latvian citizenship]. **It is convenient for me being non-citizen, because I can travel to Russia,** I travel across Europe without limitations. It is convenient for me now. Previously it was not conveniently for me, because I had an idea to leave for abroad. **Previously I planned to naturalise in order to leave for England. Only for this reason.** In fact that must have been the only reason.” (Riga, 28, male)*

Several interviewed non-citizens are employed at the companies that are occupied with export to Russia or are such entrepreneurs themselves:

*“It is not priority at the moment. A lot of work, have to make money. If we speak about this, **I do not see any benefit from the citizenship.** When working at the export field with Russia, **it is easier to travel to Russia, if you do not have citizenship.** [...] From the view of the business, it is more beneficial to be non-citizen or to obtain Russian citizenship. My parents are Russian citizens. [...] For the time being it is beneficial for me as it is.” (Daugavpils, 26, male)*

*“I have a lot of travels to Russia, Belarus. **It is beneficial for me being non-citizen, when I travel to Russia,** because then I do not have to make visa. [...] In fact all the theme of my work is Russia – both business and relationship, and family. Wife and all the relatives are from Russia. Therefore it satisfies me.” (Liepāja, 51, male)*

Major part of non-citizens in one or another way has weighed, obtaining of which state's citizenship is more beneficial for him. It is especially topical for non-citizens being at the age of preretirement and retirement in connection with the calculation of the pensions. Considering that it is comparatively easy for Latvian non-citizens to obtain Russian

citizenship, many have considered on Russian citizenship, especially women at the age of 55 are interested on that, because Russian system of retirement provides that pension is allocated to the women starting from the age of 55. Several respondents tell that there are such Latvian non-citizens among their acquaintances, who, due to the consideration of retirement, have accepted Russian citizenship, or also they themselves have considered accepting Russian citizenship:

***“People have such aim to leave for retirement earlier. It is their main aim, upon obtaining Russian citizenship.”*** (Jelgava, 53, female)

*“At times I wanted to accept Russian citizenship due to the pension, but my conscience does not allow me, because I am Byelorussian. Something kept me from that. And when the eldest daughter moved to live to Belarus for family reasons, I wanted to accept Byelorussian citizenship, but... I decided so that I would not be able to go there often, thereby I did not have a need.”* (Liepāja, 65, female)

*“I do not know, what citizenship exactly I would need – maybe Ukrainian, maybe Latvian, maybe Russian. It is not a secret that many have accepted Russian citizenship and also want to obtain Russian citizenship. Why? Because females start receiving pension from the age of 55.”* (Liepāja, 44, female)

One of the interviewed respondents has purposefully compared benefits and expenses that are connected with obtaining Latvian citizenship and the status of Italian permanent resident. During the interview the choice of the respondent leant in favour of Italy, because Italy offers comparatively easy available and free integration programme, including courses of Italian, what for this person seems also economically more beneficial “offer”:

*“Last time, when I wanted to file for citizenship, I went, learned about all the costs [...]. I took all the normative regulations, how to apply for it, how much state duty to pay, where to address better. I was recommended that school. I went there. The programme was interesting. There was a very good teacher. But I received an answer from Italy (previously I had already inquired) that integration there is free. **I calculate financial contributions in Latvia, because I perform integration. [...] I calculated that, if I move to permanent living in Italy and I am offered free courses in any community, I attend them and learn in that language, in which I speak. I am offered teacher, also in Russian language. Even at the smallest communities, somewhere at the Southern villages of Italy, they will form groups, file applications and everything that is for free.**”* (Riga, 42, female)

For other non-citizens, however, it is beneficial to obtain exactly Latvian and thereby also citizenship of European Union for the travelling reasons, because it allows moving around more freely and staying in certain EU countries, for example, in England, Ireland, Spain, as well as other countries, for example, Ukraine and Israel:

***“I have my own aim. Aim to obtain citizenship – so that I could go with my daughter to Ukraine and be independent from their visas. My pension is 90 LVL, and, if I have to give it all for obtaining visa, then it is already robbery.”*** (Jelgava, 53, female)

*“Yes [I plan to obtain Latvian citizenship]. Because **necessity turned up to travel abroad. There, where it is not allowed to go with non-citizen passport.**” (Jelgava, 53, female)*

*“Yes [I plan to obtain Latvian citizenship]. I do not know, children all seem to be citizens. My daughter gave birth to grand-daughter abroad; I have not seen her once. On 16th grand-daughter was one month old. **Would like to fly there and look at grand-daughter, but I cannot, because I am non-citizen.** To the country, where she is. For example, I can easily fly to Germany, but **I cannot freely fly to Ireland, since I am not citizen.**” (Jelgava, 42, female)*

*“My daughter lives in Spain. I am flying there now without visa, of course, but the age is approaching, she calls me there. But, **in order to move to live there, of course, one must be citizen of European Union. Then there will be all the advantages, Latvian pension, they pay the difference arising in comparison with the pension of Spain. There are a lot of advantages unlike in Latvia. I simply need it.**” (Liepaja, 62, female)*

Also non-citizen youth subordinate naturalisation and choice of citizenship to their other plans of life that for the moment being are unclear for many, but in their view could be connected both with emigration to some other country and also business interests in Russia. Latvian citizenship is one of choices that are topical then, if it is planned to stay for living and working in Latvia in future, or it is necessary in order to go to some other country, where the status of Latvian citizen – EU citizen provides better opportunities:

*“When I grow up, I will probably choose some citizenship. I will think over, what is better for me – where, maybe in some other country, in Europe. **Whatever is better for me, I will also choose that.** [...] Latvian [citizenship] could be, if I stay for living here, but otherwise – I do not know.” (Jelgava, 15, male)*

*“Probably [will obtain citizenship], but that is not a fact that it will be Latvian citizenship. So far I am studying, **for the time being it is not clear, what happens next in life.** Meanwhile let it be, as it is. [...] I do not know, if I stay in this country or not.” (Riga, 19, female)*

*“I guess I am going to accept citizenship of another country. [...] Either Dutch or Russian. I will fly to Holland for working, but in Russia I have intended to start my business. These are my plans. I have not intended accepting Latvian citizenship. [...] **Other countries have more opportunities.** At least I value it so. We have a lot of unemployed, and hoping for something here – one cannot earn for a flat here in Latvia by honest work, if only to start own business.” (Daugavpils, 18, male)*

Some young man from Liepaja plans to obtain Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation, due to the educational reasons, because, to his mind, citizens have better chances to study at the university free of charge:

*“I will file for [citizenship], because my parents want me to, and in order that it is easier for me to find a job in future. [...] Being non-citizen is beneficial in the case, if I went abroad, to Russia, I would not need to apply for visa and pay some amount. But obtaining citizenship will be beneficial for me, because then I do not have to pay at the university for studying there.” (Liepāja, 17, male)*

It is necessary to add that youth mainly do not see big difficulties in passing all tests in case of necessity. It can be illustrated by such quotation from the interview with some young man in Daugavpils, who has also decided to naturalise, because of seeing some benefit from Latvian citizenship, although he does not want to explain in detail at the interview:

*“Yes [I plan to obtain Latvian citizenship]. In the end it has to be obtained, due to all the reasons. Firstly, it looks like there are no advantages without citizenship, something is missing. [...] Now it is **necessary, therefore I will go, naturalise and everything will be allright.** [...] I think that it [citizenship] will not be unnecessary. I have all the documents; I have graduated from everywhere well. It is necessary to go there, to tell Latvian history and that is it.” (Daugavpils, 26, male)*

At the interview respondents were also asked, how the State, Latvian society could motivate non-citizens to obtain citizenship through the process of naturalisation. An answer of one young man from Jelgava explicitly demonstrates the instrumental motivation of many non-citizens:

*“What could motivate you to apply for citizenship? What would encourage you? – It could be some kind of remuneration, it seems. I do not know, maybe expressed in money. But remuneration. [...] **If given something of value.**” (Jelgava, 15, male)*

It has to be concluded that, upon assessing practical benefit of Latvian citizenship, it is very rarely that somebody even mentions the chance for citizens to take part at the elections of the Saeima, local government or EU parliament. Existing restrictions for working in certain professions or purchasing land are not topical among the interviewed non-citizens. Also social rights altogether are very similar for citizens and non-citizens in Latvia, and the motive to obtain Latvian citizenship is not essential. At the same time offer by the other countries within the sphere of social rights seems to be more favourable for many, also from Russia, because retirement age for women there is from the age of 55. Altogether the main benefit from Latvian citizenship is mainly connected with more favourable conditions to travel and live in EU countries. However as the main plus of the status of non-citizen is being indicated chance to travel to Russia without visa.

## **4.2. Sense of belonging**

Non-citizens speak little about the sense of belonging to Latvia as motive for naturalising. Argumentations within the strategies to obtain Latvian citizenship show up indirectly – several female respondents indicate that “there does have to be some citizenship”, and since they live in Latvia, then it rather has to be Latvian citizenship:

*“Yes. I am going to [obtain citizenship]. One though has to be citizen of some country. I am attending courses right now.” (Riga, 52, female)*

*“How to tell you... One does need some kind of citizenship in this life (laughs). Child will be citizen. It is necessary that I am citizen as well. Actually some privileges also*

*exist. To travel somewhere without visas. Possibility also to vote. Pension will be soon, and then there will be other calculations. It is necessary.” (Jelgava, 60, female)*

Some non-citizen from Daugavpils points out that, when living in Latvia without Latvian citizenship, she feels like “little balloon” and the status of citizen could give her kind of a sense of belonging and sense of full-fledged person:

*“I would like to obtain citizenship a lot, only in order to feel like a human. I feel like a little balloon. I am nobody in Belarus. Then there was such an environment, where we could move around freely. Now, when this freedom was liquidated, barriers were put up, I no longer can fly over there, but also here I do not have support, not even considering that I have a real estate, I have a job, **I have everything, but I am nobody.** [...] But I would like to become a citizen a lot, would really like. Yes, I can return to Belarus, but starting life anew at the age of 50 is also not an option. You have already devoted yourself to this place, you live there, and then you have to pass through it all from the beginning to the end. If you have arrived to a country and living conditions satisfy you, then I consider that you have to stay.” (Daugavpils, 49, female)*

Several female non-citizens, when speaking about obtaining citizenship through the process of naturalisation, note that they have a discomfort due to the fact that other members of the family are citizens, and it also strengthens the wish to obtain Latvian citizenship:

*“I want to become Latvian citizen a lot. Because everybody is citizen in my family. Husband, three children. Everybody is citizen and me alone as...how to say, I also have to become Latvian citizen. I live already very long. And I like here. I am used to. Whyever not?” (Jelgava, 60, female)*

Sense of belonging to Latvia in an indirect way is being expressed also in the substantiation: *“I have no desire to live in another country.” (Jelgava, 38, female)*

At the same time attention should be drawn to the fact that there are also people among non-citizens, who sense closer belonging not to Latvia, but Russia and Belarus, therefore plan to obtain citizenship of those countries, by employing similar logics of argumentation, as mentioned in relation to the obtaining of Latvian citizenship:

*“I am thinking about obtaining citizenship, but that will not be Latvian citizenship. It will either be Byelorussian or Russian [citizenship]. I am at such an age, when I have to be a citizen of some country. To feel... Who knows, what and how... **So that I feel that my country is standing behind me, the country, whose part, cell I am.** [...] They offer obtaining citizenship for the ones like me.” (Liepāja, 51, female)*

It must be noted that at the in-depth interviews necessity to belong to some bigger totality or to share their status with a family could be heard only in the responses by female non-citizens.

Non-citizens express themselves more on sense of belonging to Latvia or some other country (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus), when they are asked direct questions: “Which country do

you consider your motherland?” and “Do you feel belonging to Latvian society?” Answers to these questions are described in chapter 6.

### 4.3. Resentment and hope for facilitations

Many interviewed respondents still consider that the fact that they were allocated the status of non-citizen at the beginning of 90ties is injustice and the requirement to take naturalisation exams, in order to obtain Latvian citizenship, is offensive and discriminating. The main arguments, why Latvian citizenship should be due for them automatically, in the view of non-citizens, are as follows: “I am born here” or “I have lived here the most part of my life”; “I have worked here for the benefit of Latvia and paid the taxes”; “there are no such non-citizens in other countries, status of non-citizen is discriminating”; “I voted for restoration of the independence of Latvia”<sup>42</sup>.

*“I am born here, and the issue “citizen - non-citizen” is not clear to me. If I was born here, so this is my motherland. I do not have to prove anything. [...] To prove that I am citizen or non-citizen, it is against my conception of life. The one, who considers himself guilty, can prove. I do not see, why I have to prove, whether I have to be citizen or not. I have contributed for the benefit of Latvia during my whole life. I have been working here for ages, **paying taxes**. In 1992, when it was necessary to vote, I voted for independent Latvia. In result it turned out that I am nobody.” (Daugavpils, 47, female)*

*“I positively do not agree with the politics that is being managed in Latvia in regard to those, who were born and have grown up here. I am 51 and I am forced to apply for the citizenship. Why should I apply for citizenship? **I am born and have grown up here. And it is not my fault that I did not have Latvian language at school. It is the fault of those persons, who governed at the time.**” (Riga, 51, female)*

*“Firstly, I live here since 1962. I have worked for the benefit of Latvia, my length of employment is 30 years. I had to be granted citizenship without any exams. It is my opinion. I have paid taxes; I am living here and working permanently. It has not been so that I would sit without employment. I hold a view that I do not have to take exam. **I should be granted that automatically.** [...] No country has such – non-citizen. Therefore it must be decided – to take some other citizenship or to take Latvian citizenship.” (Riga, 53, female)*

*“If I had not lived in Latvia since by birth and came to live here, then I would go to file for citizenship. But since I have been living here all my life... That is also the reason, why I am not filing. I do not remember, where it is – in Lithuania or Estonia – everybody was automatically granted citizenship. Why we could not be given? That is one of the reasons, why personally I do not want to go to file for that. Exactly due to the attitude. **If the country does not give on principle, then I also would not go to beg you for. Say thanks that I live here and pay taxes, that I have not left.**” (Riga, 28, male)*

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<sup>42</sup> On 3 March, 1991 87,56% from Latvian permanent residents with voting rights took part at the referendum and 73,68% voted “for”. Considering that at that moment only 52% of all population in Latvia were Latvians, results of the referendum certify that part of population belonging to other nationalities in Latvia also supported Latvian independence.

*“I was not given citizenship at once, upon being born in this country, paying taxes here. I would not say it takes me effort – to go and naturalise. Firstly, it is time. It is wasted time, wasted effort to prepare for this exam. Those questions that can be found in the questionnaire of the naturalisation exams – it is not at all the same, what I learned at the history lessons at school. I have forgotten some information. Latvian anthem, of course, I can sing. It is a waste of time for me. It is such moment of breaking yourself. I even do not know, how to explain you that. **It is a humiliation for me – go and file for the citizenship of the country, where I am born.** It generally seems like paradox and nonsense to me.” (Riga, 36, female)*

*“I am born here, but they did not give me citizenship. Where is the justice? It is not. Even then, if flying over another country and a child is born in the airplane, he is granted citizenship. But born here, living whole life, and nothing. **If not, then I do not need it.**” (Liepāja, 36, male)*

*“I have devoted all my length of employment here. **I am working here for whole my life.** I have just two unfinished years of employment in Russia and one year I have in Ukraine, but all the remaining 47 years of employment are here. **How else can I prove the government that I am a loyal person to Latvia?** [...] **Have not I earned the citizenship during the period of 50 years without taking language exam?** Why? It kills me. Those, who will arrive from Europe now... Now the refugees are accepted, now Europe makes our government to accept those people. He, after spending five years here, in Latvia, will be given citizenship irrespectible of, whether he will file for it or not. By what I, who have been living here all my life and giving away my length of employment, am worse than people, who will be granted citizenship after five years?” (Riga, 52, female)*

Although major part of the interviewed non-citizens admits that they do not feel any difference between citizens and non-citizens in daily life, still they see the status of non-citizen as discriminating and such that makes feel as “*second class people*”:

*“Political power seems to have some kind of wounded feeling towards Soviet Union. What does it have to do with the country of Russia and inhabitants, who were born here in Latvia, even if after 1941? I cannot understand, why such offence towards non-citizens. They were born here during post-war years and lived here all their life. [...] Yes, I was born in Daugavpils, **I am born here, and why am I non-citizen here?** While the attitude of politics does not change, does not face non-citizens, sorry... They do not want to make the first step. They try to turn it in different ways, to put their citizen status above non-citizens. We are like **second class people**. Have pride, have own “I”. To get onto knees and to prove that you are the one, who is worthy to live in Latvia... To prove something, when living here the whole life. It is absurdity.” (Daugavpils, 38, male)*

Young male from Daugavpils exemplifies this situation by the following – on the one hand he is non-citizen, although born in Latvia, on the other hand, at the sport competitions he represents Latvia – “*colours of his country*”. It must though be noted that in this case the status of non-citizen is mainly the choice of the parents of the youth or not knowing, what had to be done (where and to whom to write an application) to be granted Latvian citizenship for a child, who was born in Latvia after 1991.

*“Yes, in principle, that is my motherland. I am doing sports, **I am representing the colours of my country, and I am non-citizen. It is offending.**” (Daugavpils, 18, male)*

Quantitative survey of non-citizens shows that many non-citizens still hope for facilitations or that they will be granted Latvian citizenship automatically. Although automatic granting of citizenship to the non-citizens has not been on the political agenda of leading parties since adoption of the Law on Citizenship, still activities of defendants of Russian rights, for example, Non-Citizen Congress and sometimes also information published by mass media in Russian language maintain idea among non-citizens that institutions of European Union will make Latvia to grant Latvian non-citizens the status of citizen automatically. That is illustrated by such quotation of some young non-citizen from Jelgava:

*“I heard that citizenship should be given, because we entered European Union. There should not be non-citizens. **Last, what I have heard that non-citizens in Latvia will be given citizenship** – either citizenship of European Union or Latvian citizenship, or citizenship of another country, and we will not be Latvian citizens anymore. I think that it is beneficial to give citizenship to us. But, to be sure, I will go to take [Latvian language] courses.” (Jelgava, 25, male)*

Those, for whom obtaining Latvian citizenship is not that important due to some practical reasons, are ready to also keep hoping that they will be maybe granted citizenship automatically:

*“When Latvia separated from Soviet Union, I became non-citizen. My children are citizens, I am non-citizen. I thought over – would take Russian citizenship, then got afraid, because I thought: but, what if I am not given Latvian pension? And so at the end I did not take Russian citizenship. **I will wait, while I am given citizenship.** Will give or not – I do not know.” (Daugavpils, 66, male)*

#### **4.4. Difficulties to pass naturalisation exams**

Evaluation of difficulty of naturalisation exams is very different among respondents. It is characteristic that naturalisation exams, especially Latvian language exam, seem difficult for elder non-citizens, and there are such non-citizens, who consider it as unsurpassable obstacle.

*“During the next 12 months I do not plan [to obtain Latvian citizenship], because, in order to file for it, it is necessary to know well Latvian language and know completely Latvian history.” (Daugavpils, 47, female)*

*“I am 51, and I do not have such memory anymore. Yes, now I attend Latvian language courses, but nothing stays in my head. I cannot remember new words. I have that vocabulary since Latvian language lessons that I had during primary school.” (Riga, 51, female)*

*“I do not have language learning skills. I cannot learn any language. There are people, who do not succeed, and I am one of them. I try my best and wish. Time will show, how it goes.” (Jelgava, 53, female).*

*“I would file for very gladly [to obtain Latvian citizenship], if that all was easier... that exam taking. When person is older, then it is though not so easy. [...] If I was younger, maybe I could have done it already long time ago. [...] Everything stumbles across this exam. If everything was easier... Firstly, I do not know Latvian history in official state language. One must sit and study there.” (Liepāja, 62, female)*

Non-citizens relate the difficulties to pass naturalisation exam with, firstly, that they, while studying at school in Latvian during USSR times, were insufficiently and imperfectly taught Latvian language. Secondly, many complain that they are missing Latvian environment, where to practice Latvian language. Many note that in daily life Latvians themselves switch to Russian language, and insufficiently support efforts of foreigners to learn Latvian language, for example, Russian children are not accepted at Latvian stream kindergartens:

*“I do not want to offend anybody, but my personal opinion is that **Latvians themselves do not want us to know that language.** [...] They refused to admit Russian children at Latvian kindergartens, otherwise all children at the kindergarten would start talking Russian due to one or two children. [...] I wanted to send child to Latvian kindergarten, but I was answered: “No, we will not take the child, because the whole kindergarten will start talking Russian.” That is it.” (Riga, 51, female)*

There are also respondents, who take the procedure itself of exam as humiliation, and the negative experience in taking exams of other non-citizens – relatives or friends keep them from taking initiative themselves and going to take naturalisation exams:

*“I would like to obtain a lot [citizenship], but I am sure that in circumstances like these I will not get citizenship, because of very strong naturalisation terms. It is very difficult to pass. And I consider that it is humiliation of a kind. Yes, language must be known compulsory, one must strive to file for citizenship, however still those people, who have lived in the country long enough, must have some kind of facilitations or understanding. My husband tried to pass three times. He was born here, he is 51. Tried to take three times, and he always missed one mark. He said: “I do not want to take that anymore, that is humiliation.”” (Daugavpils, 49, female)*

It must be admitted that several of interviewed respondents still have very negative associations from the school times regarding any exam or studying for exam, and that prevents from naturalising:

*“In a time, when I was at school, taking exam was like death, up to the loss of conscience. I feared it so much...” (Liepāja, 65, female)*

Exams and naturalisation requirements altogether do not seem anything difficult among younger people. The most topical issue for them is to understand, what their further plans of life are and according them – which advantages offered by citizenship are more significant.

#### 4.5. Age, diseases and lack of money

Arguments, why not to naturalise, among the interviewed older respondents are connected also with age, diseases and lack of money. Elderly person, who does not obtain anything special from the process of naturalisation in his view, does not have motivation to burden himself with this procedure:

*“No [not planning to obtain citizenship]. I even do not know, how long I am left. **Why should I file for, if I am going to die the next year?**” (Jelgava, 75, male)*

*“Well, to tell the truth, what should I now go filing for. [...] That is unnecessary trouble, unnecessary twitching. I decided not to twitch myself, besides, I have undergone heart operation – shunting. **This is unnecessary trouble for me.** I just quietly go, occupy myself, sing, perform. It is normal for me.” (Liepāja, 78, male)*

One of the female non-citizens, who were interviewed at the project, considers that these are costs necessary for the procedure that hinder naturalisation procedure for her; however, most probably this particular respondent was not informed that certain groups are free from state duty, as well as that she can claim for reduced duty and privileges:

*“You see, **I want to naturalise a lot, but at the moment I do not have so big amount, no money,** pension small, medicine very expensive. I am very ill now. I even do not know, how to live.” (Jelgava, 71, female)*

#### 4.6. Conclusions

The basis of the argumentation for “yes” or “no” to naturalisation among non-citizens is the considerations of practical benefit that indicate on expressly instrumental attitude towards Latvian citizenship. Many non-citizens do not have practical need to obtain Latvian citizenship, thereby filing naturalisation documents and taking exams are great burden for them.

The answers of non-citizens on plans to obtain or not to obtain Latvian citizenship indicate that non-citizens from any age group assess the benefit they would have from obtaining Latvian citizenship and whether obtaining of other countries’ citizenship is not more attractive.

The answers of non-citizens show that currently Latvian citizenship is in a competitive situation with citizenship of other countries, but, depending on various considerations and individual situations, Latvian citizenship might be more beneficial for ones, Russian – for others, the status of permanent resident of some EU country – for still others.

Obtaining of Latvian citizenship among non-citizens is mainly being viewed as status that either provides or does not provide some advantages. Obtaining of citizenship is much less often related to the sense of belonging. Also those non-citizens, who consider Latvia their

motherland and feel belonging to Latvia, still avoid describing the status of citizen as certification for the fact that a person belongs to Latvian State.

At the same time the status of non-citizen is being perceived as discriminating and the non-citizen himself – as a castaway from country, although judging for the amount of rights, Latvian non-citizen enjoys more rights than permanent resident of Latvia, not to even mention those, who reside in Latvia with term residence permits:

*“Citizen’s passport is citizen’s passport, but non-citizen’s passport means that you are nobody.” (Jelgava, 42, female)*

It must be emphasized that attitude towards obtaining Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation is mainly formed by the group of aspects essential for people themselves, and during one interview person may point also to mutually conflicting positions, defining them both as his/her own<sup>43</sup>. For example, some young man with unclear plans for life reviews opportunity to obtain both Dutch and Russian citizenship and insists also that belonging to Latvia is important to him at the same time.

Several persons from the interviewed non-citizens were recruited for Latvian language courses for non-citizens, intended for learning Latvian language for taking naturalisation tests. There is a strong motivation among those respondents to study Latvian language that not always is connected with desire to naturalise. Altogether it must be concluded that availability of Latvian language courses (free of charge or with very little co-payment) in Latvia is still topical.

The told by several young non-citizens (17-18 years old) shows that their parents have not known on the opportunity for Latvian non-citizens, who are born after 1991, to obtain citizenship by writing application. Thus it has to be concluded that previously such information has been insufficiently spread. Theoretically parents should to be informed on this opportunity already at the moment, when child’s birth certificate is being issued.

*“I did not get citizenship, because my mum did not know about this law. It happened. Of course, at the passport office we were cursed at.” (Daugavpils, 18, male)*

*“Yes, I plan to obtain citizenship in summer, because my parents did not manage until the age of 14 or whatever the term to sign so that I would automatically get the citizenship.” (Liepāja, 17, male)*

Expressions by non-citizens indicate also lack of true information, because ideas that naturalisation is expensive, can be encountered among them, as well as there is no awareness

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<sup>43</sup> It relates to findings of discursive psychology that people use different, even conflicting, interpretative repertoires, when arguing. See, for example, Billig, M. (1996/1987) *Arguing and Thinking: A Rhetorical Approach to Social Psychology*. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Potter, J., Wetherell, M. (1987) *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*. London: Sage Publications.

on naturalisation facilitation for elder persons. Also such false notions that EU will enforce Latvia to grant citizenship to non-citizens automatically and that people with refugee's status are granted Latvian citizenship just so (status of citizen is confused with status of permanent resident). Basing of the findings mentioned in this chapter, solutions are offered for improvement of non-citizen integration, summarized in the chapter of recommendations.

## 5. Bonds of Latvian non-citizens with Latvia: pride, sense of belonging to Latvia and plans for emigration

Four different surveys were used for quantitative research of the motherland's understanding and sense of belonging of non-citizens. Survey data of the Research and action programme "Towards Civic Society" were used for description of the opinion of 1997<sup>44</sup>. Situation of 2004 is described by survey data obtained at the research "Ethno-political Tension in Latvia: Looking for the Conflict Solution"<sup>45</sup>, carried out by foundation "Baltic Institute of Social Sciences". While for analysis of attitudes of 2010 and 2013, data from surveys carried out within the scope of the National research programme by University of Latvia, Faculty of Social sciences "National Identity: Language, Latvian History, Culture and Human Safety" in 2010<sup>46</sup> and 2013<sup>47</sup> were used. Survey of 2013 is also survey of the module of International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) "National Identity".

### 5.1. Pride and sense of belonging

Results of survey of 2013 demonstrate that in total two thirds Latvian non-citizens feel connected to Latvia "very closely" or "closely". Unfortunately, results of surveys show that sense of belonging of non-citizens to Latvia has dropped since 2010 (see figure 20). However sense of belonging of non-citizens to Europe has grown – if in 2004 5% non-citizens felt connected to Europe very closely or closely, then in 2013 it was every fifth non-citizen (20%), who felt the sense of belonging to Europe.

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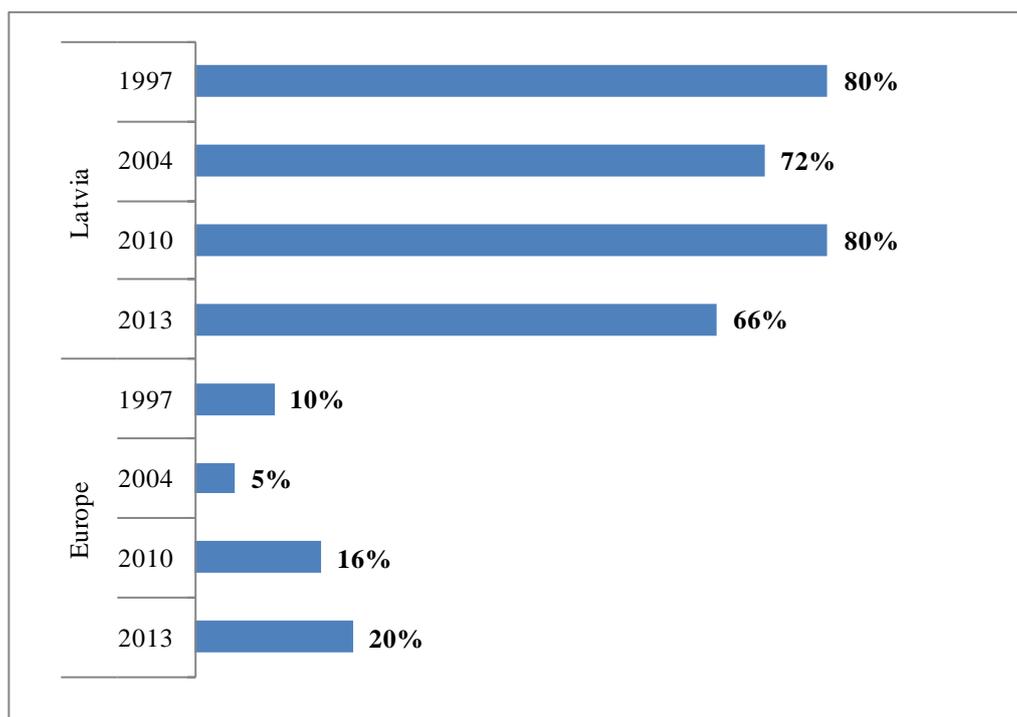
<sup>44</sup> Research data are obtained by surveying 1502 Latvian non-citizens between 15 and 74 years old. Method of survey – direct interviews at the place of residence of respondents. Method of sample – multistage random stratified sampling within the whole territory of Latvia. Period of survey: 20 November, 1997 – 9 January, 1998.

<sup>45</sup> Research data are obtained by surveying 1018 Latvian inhabitants, between 15 and 74 years old. Method of survey – direct interviews at the place of residence of respondents. Number of non-citizens at the sample – 257 respondents. Method of sample – multistage random stratified sampling within the whole territory of Latvia. Period of survey: March – April, 2004.

<sup>46</sup> Research data are obtained by surveying 1004 Latvian inhabitants, between 18 and 74 years old. Method of survey – direct interviews at the place of residence of respondents. Number of non-citizens at the sample – 176 respondents. Method of sample – multistage random stratified sampling within the whole territory of Latvia. Period of survey: November, 2010.

<sup>47</sup> Research data are obtained by surveying 1002 Latvian inhabitants, between 18 and 74 years old. Method of survey – direct interviews at the place of residence of respondents. Number of non-citizens at the sample – 143 respondents. Method of sample – multistage random stratified sampling within the whole territory of Latvia. Period of survey: spring of 2013.

**Figure 20. Sense of belonging of non-citizens to Latvia and Europe**  
*How closely connected do you feel to ...?*

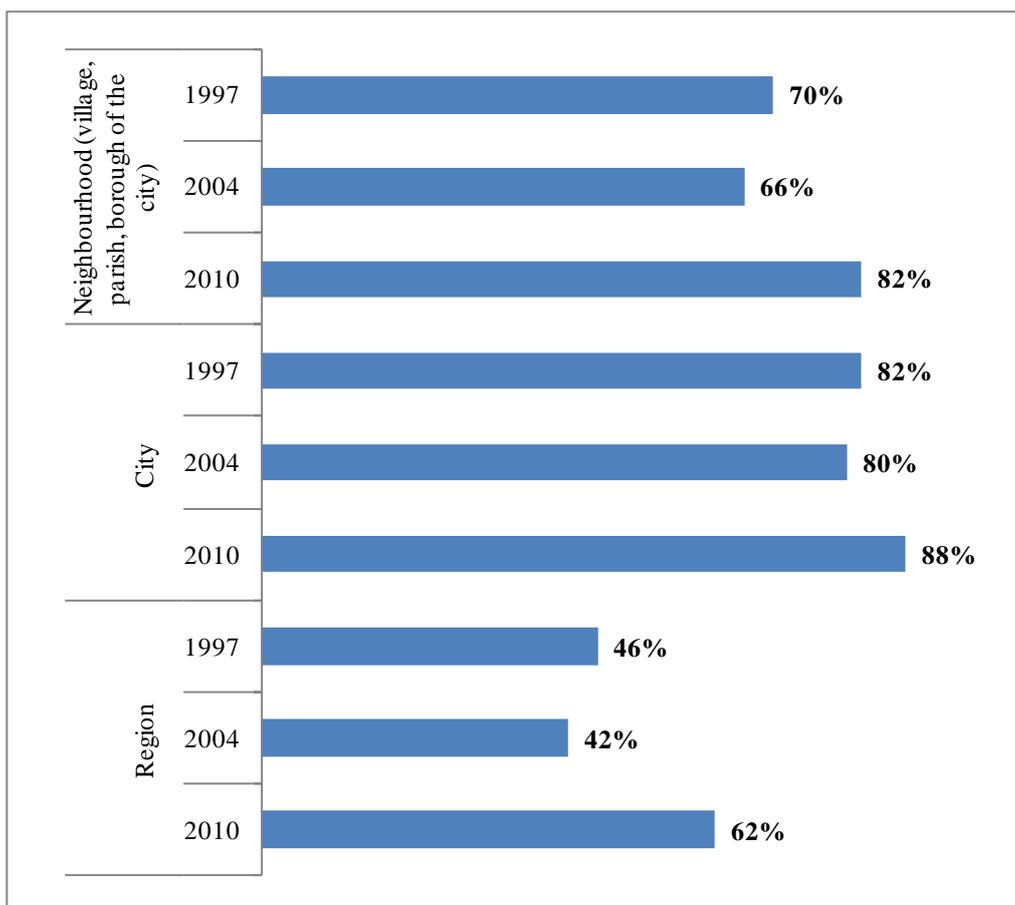


*Note: Figure summarizes responses “very closely” and “closely”*

As it can be seen from the figure 21, also sense of belonging of non-citizens to the neighbourhood has increased (to the village, parish, borough of the city) – if in 1997 70% non-citizens felt very closely or closely connected to the neighbourhood of their place of residence, then in 2010 sense of belonging to it was felt by 82% non-citizens. Also sense of belonging of non-citizens living in the cities to their own city has grown (from 82% in 1997 to 88% in 2010), as well as sense of belonging of non-citizens living outside Riga to their region – Vidzeme, Latgale, Zemgale or Kurzeme (from 46% in 1997 to 62% in 2010).

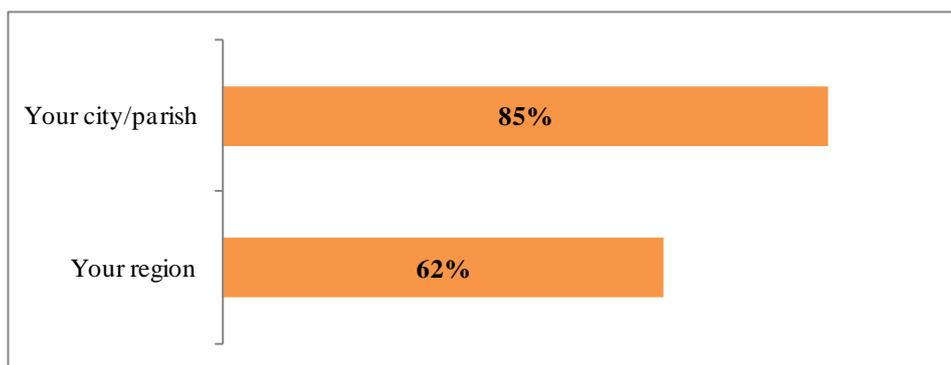
Differences in formulation of the questions however do not allow to directly compare the above results on sense of belonging to the neighbourhood, city and region with the results of survey of 2013. If in surveys of 1997, 2004 and 2010 it was asked on sense of belonging to the own city to non-citizens living in cities and on sense of belonging to their region – to non-citizens living outside Riga, then in survey of 2013, irrespective of the place of residence of respondents, they were asked on sense of belonging to their city or parish and sense of belonging to region. In 2013 85% non-citizens felt very closely or closely connected to their city or parish. Sense of belonging to their region – Vidzeme, Latgale, Zemgale or Kurzemei – was felt by 62% non-citizens (see figure 22).

**Figure 21. Sense of belonging of non-citizens to neighbourhood, city and region**  
*How closely connected do you feel to...?*



*Note: Figure summarizes responses “very closely” and “closely”*

**Figure 22. Sense of belonging of non-citizens to city/parish and region, 2013**  
*How closely connected do you feel to...?*

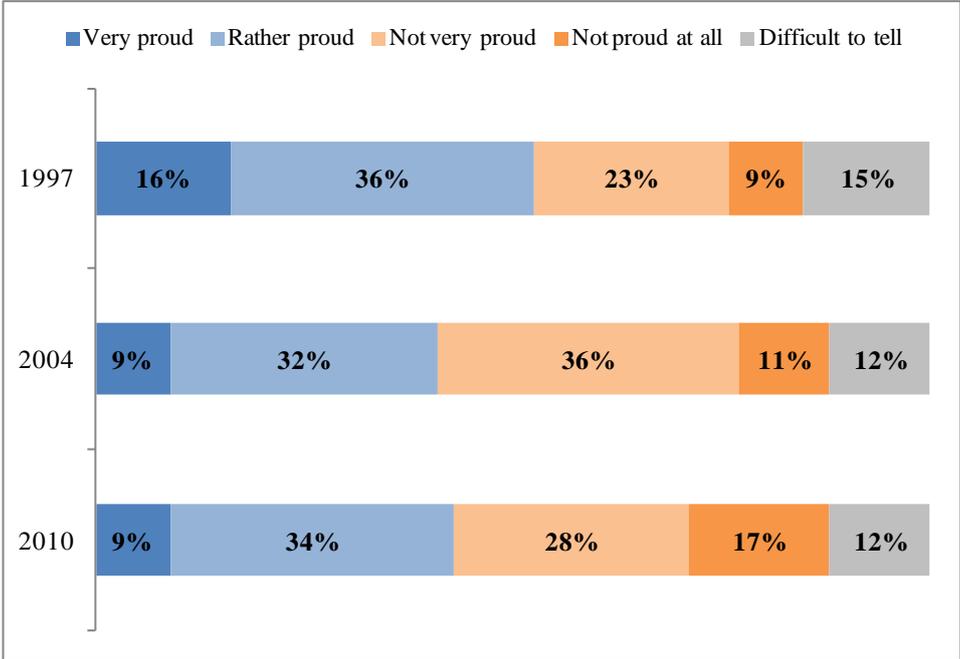


*Note: Figure summarizes responses “very closely” and “closely”*

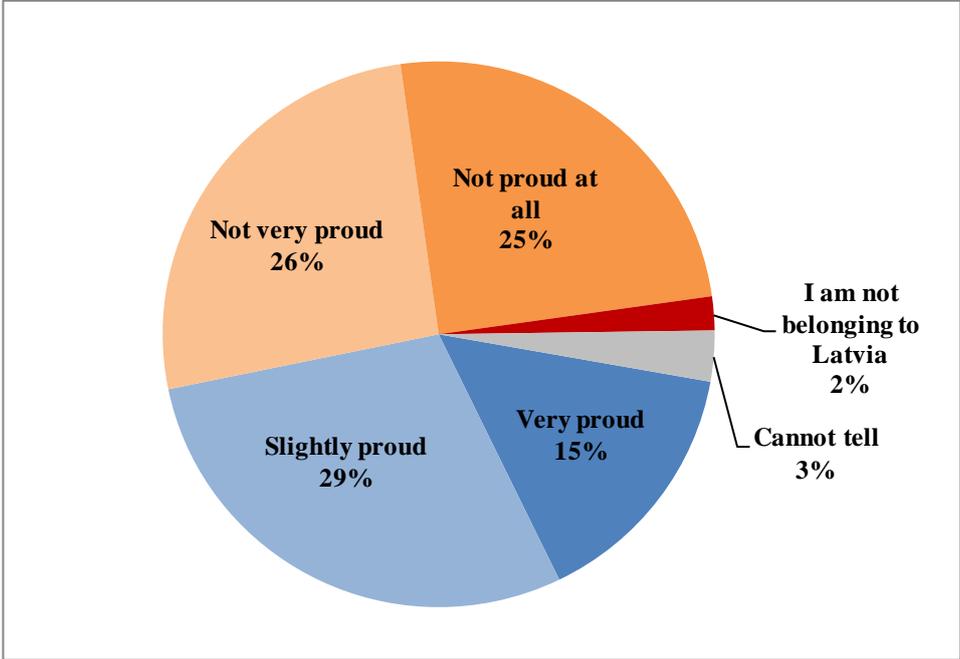
Results of surveys show that the number of those non-citizens, who are proud for being Latvian inhabitants, has decreased. If in 1997 every second non-citizen (52%) was very proud or rather proud for being Latvian inhabitant, then in 2004 and 2010 pride for Latvia was felt accordingly by 41% and 43% non-citizens (see figure 23). Besides, in 2010 non-citizens have

indicated much more often than in the surveys of previous years that they are not proud at all for being inhabitants of Latvia.

**Figure 23. Pride of non-citizens for Latvia**  
*To what extent do you feel proud for being inhabitant of Latvia?*



**Figure 24. Pride of non-citizens for Latvia, 2013**  
*To what extent do you feel proud for belonging to Latvia?*



In 2013 there were 44% non-citizens, who were very proud or rather proud for belonging to Latvia, however 51% non-citizens indicated that they are not too proud or not at all proud for their belonging to Latvia. 2% out of surveyed non-citizens admitted that they do not belong to Latvia. But, like before, differences in formulation of the questions do not allow

to directly compare results of survey of 2013 with results of surveys carried out during previous years (question and possible responses are defined otherwise for the survey of 2013).

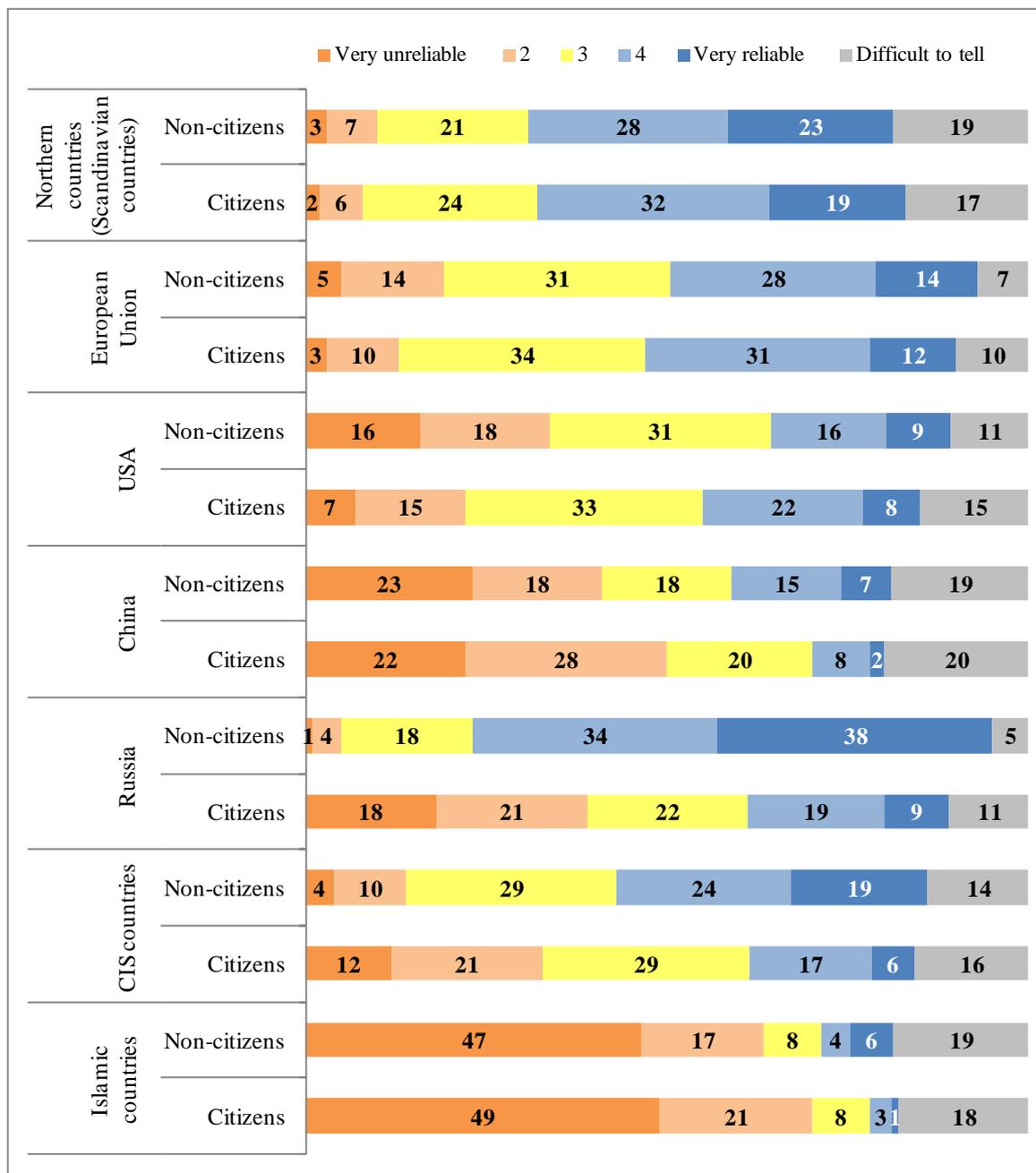
## **5.2. Rating of other countries and united countries and plans for emigration**

Both non-citizens and citizens, when rating countries and groups of countries within a five-point scale, have acknowledged as reliable Northern countries (51% non-citizens and 51% citizens gave rating “four” and “five”), as well as European Union (42% non-citizens and 43% citizens) (see figure 25). While both non-citizens and citizens have acknowledged as unreliable Islamic countries (64% non-citizens and 70% citizens gave rating “one” and “two”) and China (41% non-citizens and 50% citizens).

Non-citizens, in opposite to citizens, consider also Russia as reliable (72% non-citizens and 28% citizens gave rating “four” and “five”) and CIS countries (43% non-citizens and 23% citizens). Rating provided on USA is not unequivocal neither among non-citizens, nor citizens.

**Figure 25. Reliability rating of countries and groups of countries provided by citizens and non-citizens, 2010**

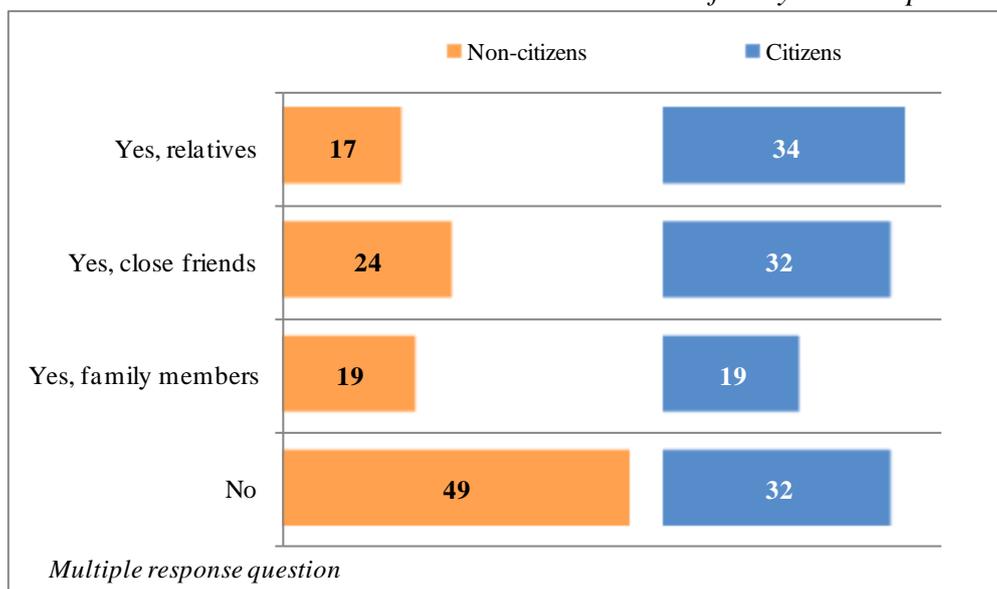
*There are more and less reliable countries/united countries. Which of countries/united countries seem to you reliable and which unreliable?*



In 2010 51% non-citizens and 68% citizens indicated that their relatives or friends are abroad with intention to improve their or their family's material situation. As it can be seen from the figure 26, 24% non-citizens had close friends abroad, 19% – family members and 17% – relatives. Among citizens 34% had relatives abroad, 32% – close friends, but 19% – family members.

**Figure 26. Being abroad of relatives and friends of citizens and non-citizens with aim to improve their material condition, 2010**

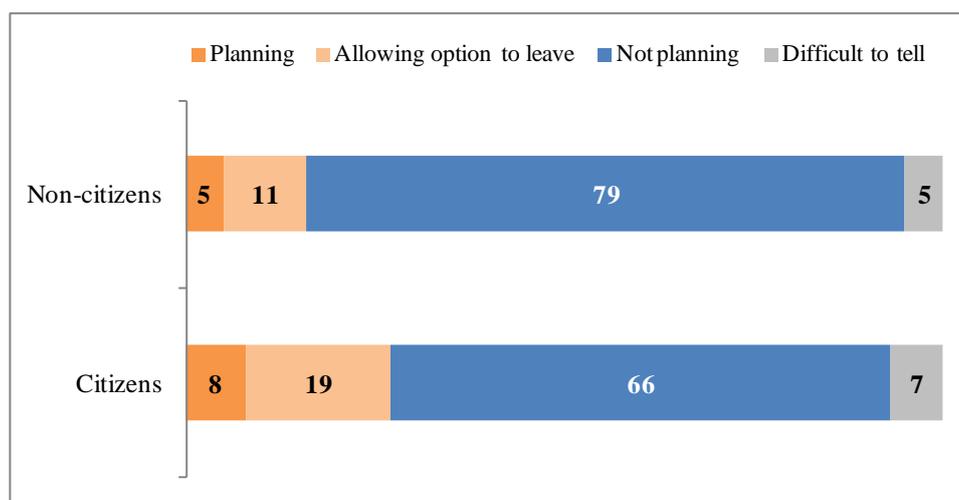
*Have some of your family members, relatives, close friends gone abroad with an intention to improve the material condition of their material condition or material condition of their family and are presently there?*



Citizens comparatively more often than non-citizens have indicated that they plan to leave Latvia in the nearest future, in order to improve their or their family's material condition. In 2010 there were 27% citizens and 16% non-citizens, who planned to leave Latvia in the nearest future or allowed such possibility.

**Figure 27. Plans of citizens and non-citizens to leave Latvia for improvement of material condition, 2010**

*Do you plan to leave Latvia in the nearest future in order to improve your material condition or material condition of your family?*

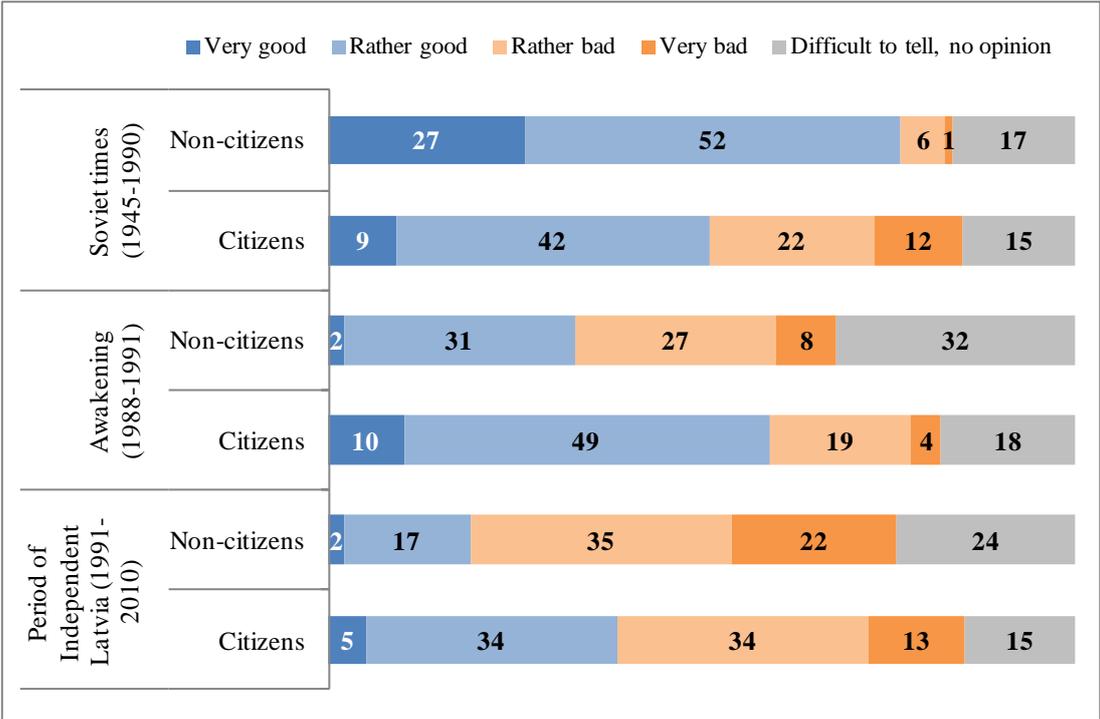


Results of survey indicate that citizens and non-citizens very differently assess different periods of Latvian history. For example, non-citizens more positively assess Soviet times

(79% non-citizens and 51% citizens have assessed Soviet times with “very good” and “good”), however citizens – period of Awakening (33% non-citizens and 59% citizens) (see figure 28). Period of independent Latvia – period from 1991 to 2010 – is more often positively assessed by citizens (19% non-citizens and 39% citizens).

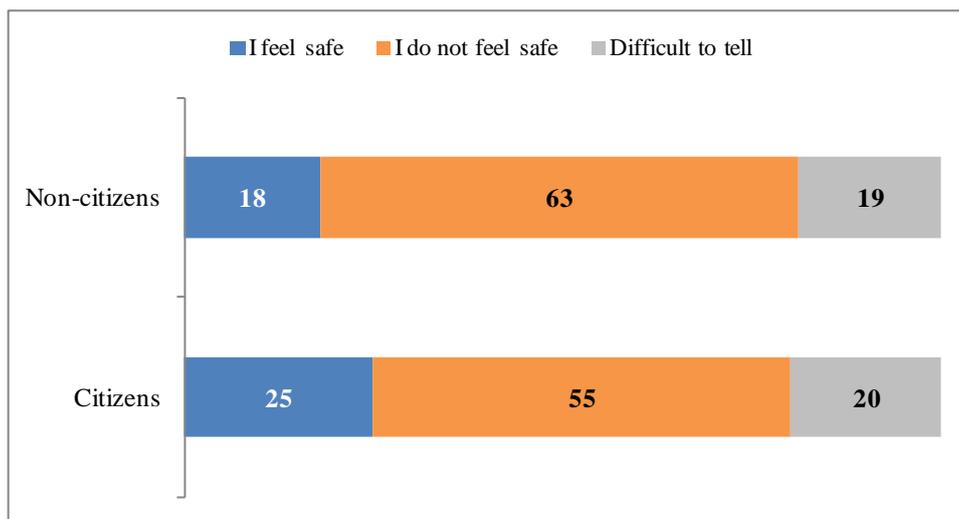
**Figure 28. Assessment of different periods of Latvian history by citizens and non-citizens, 2010**

*How do you assess such periods of Latvian history?*



As it can be seen from the figure 29, large part both of non-citizens and citizens does not feel safe for the future in Latvia, however sense of insecurity among non-citizens is more pronounced. Every second (55%) among citizens does not feel safe for the future, while among non-citizens these are almost two thirds (63%).

**Figure 29. Sense of security for the future in Latvia of citizens and non-citizens, 2010**  
*Do you feel safe for your future in Latvia?*



## 6. Diversity of sense of belonging and motherland among non-citizens

In-depth interviews with non-citizens provide opportunity to explain and understand more diversely attitudes of Latvian non-citizens towards Latvia and Russia, as well as sense of belonging to Latvia, by disclosing argumentation schemes of non-citizen attitudes.

In order to disclose non-citizen sense of belonging to Latvia, respondents were asked questions at the interviews: “When you say “motherland”, which country do you imagine – Latvia, Russia or some other country?”, “Do you feel sense of belonging to Latvian society?”, “What sport teams/national teams do you support at the world championships, Olympic Games – Latvia, Russia or some others?”. The further analysis mainly pays attention to the said by non-citizens exactly in connection with their sense of “native land” and sense of belonging.

### 6.1. Birth place and motherland

Interviews with non-citizens show that sense of “motherland” and sense of belonging are closely related to where the respective person is born and at what age has arrived in Latvia, as well as to the closeness of the bonds with their country of origin.

Latvian non-citizens of the younger generation are more often born in Latvia and thereby consider Latvia their motherland without doubts. Also those, who have arrived in Latvia in early childhood, mainly consider Latvia their motherland, while those, who have grown up somewhere else, either speak about two native countries or consider as their motherland the country, where they are born and grown up. Different experiences and separation of attitudes are accentuated also among non-citizens themselves:

*“Non-citizens are as different people – those, who have arrived for working, and those, who are born here.” (Riga, 42, female)*

*“There are different perceptions on motherland. Motherland – there, where you are born, motherland – there, where you have lived, and motherland – there, where you have stayed. If to look from the view of family roots, then I practically do not have relatives here. Our family was scattered about the whole world. From such point of view I am not connected to this land. But, if to take for the spent life, then, yes, I am completely connected to this land [Latvia], to these people.” (Daugavpils, 67, male)*

Part of non-citizens due to the wounded feeling accents that their motherland is not Latvia, but the respective city, where he is born and lives, for example, Liepāja or Daugavpils. For example, person from Liepāja, who is born in Belarus, but has lived his whole life in Latvia, mostly supports Russian national teams in sport and considers himself Russian, indicates that:

*“Motherland is definitely Liepāja... Where I have grown up... That is my motherland.”*  
(Liepāja, 26, male)

Two non-citizens from Daugavpils justify even more, why exactly Daugavpils is their motherland instead of Latvia. They feel offended that they are born in Latvia, but are not Latvian citizens, they do not have any closer country, but, considering that Latvia rejects them, they either feel like citizens of Daugavpils, because they feel belonging to it, or as citizens of the world:

*“Yes, on the whole Latvia is my motherland. I am doing sports, I am representing the colours of my country and I am non-citizen. It is insulting. [...] I would not name a country, I would say that city – Daugavpils. That is my motherland. I have grown up here, I know every corner here. My motherland is Daugavpils, not Latvia. [...] I do not have anything kindred in another city. If I go to Riga – that is not mine. The same in Cēsis, Madona... I have travelled all Latvia, I do not feel as comfortable as in Daugavpils anywhere.”* (Daugavpils, 18, male)

*“I was born here, and the issue “citizen-non-citizen” is unclear to me. If I was born here, so this is my motherland. [...] I consider Daugavpils as my motherland. Definitely, 100%. If people were cared for more in our Latvia, I would say that I consider Latvia as my country, but since I am non-citizen, then I would say that I am a citizen of the whole world. Because, while being in any country, I will be the same non-citizen as in Latvia. In point of fact I am citizen of Daugavpils, but generally I am citizen of the world.”* (Daugavpils, 47, female)

## **6.2. Ethnic belonging and sense of motherland**

Quite often motherland's sense of belonging, grounded on ethnic origin – ethnic belonging of parents and grandparents, as well as bonds that have developed with the culture, native places or sense of world of parents or grandparents, are encountered among non-citizens. When talking about sense of belonging, such statements can be heard as: *“I am Russian in my soul”* (Daugavpils, 38, male), *“my dad is Russian, therefore [I support] just Russia, just Russia”* (Riga, 21, female), *“longing gnaws, all the time I want to get there”* (Liepāja, 65, female).

Especially those, who are born and have grown up somewhere else, not in Latvia, are more attached to their native place, although emphasize also their belonging to Latvia:

*“Upon arrival here, it can be said that I at once fell in love with this city, and I stayed here. But still my motherland is Belarus. I also worry about it, for everything to be fine there, for having peace, for people are doing well. [...] I was born in Belarus. It still remains as ethnical motherland, but I do not consider Latvia foreign country, because I have lived the most part of my conscious life here. It is dear to me as well.”*  
(Daugavpils, 49, female)

Often non-citizens point out at the interviews that they have two native countries. For example, female inhabitant of Riga, born in Latvia, considers Russia her second motherland and in particular place, where her grandfather's home is:

*“Motherland is a place, where I am born. Although, as many say, motherland is that place, where your heart is, place that attracts you. **It can be said that I have two native countries**, I am born in Latvia, but every summer I relax at grandfather in Russia. I am used there as well, in truth, used to one specific place, where grandfather’s house is. I like both in Latvia and Russia.” (Riga, 19, female)*

In these cases, when people speak about two native countries, it can often be seen that exactly ethnic motherland has greater attraction. That is most strikingly illustrated by the answers to the questions, which countries’ sport teams are supported:

*“Ukraine, of course, is my motherland, but Latvia is my second motherland, because I have lived here longer. If Latvia plays against some other country’s team, then I support Latvian team. If Ukraine plays with Latvia, then I, of course, am for Ukraine, because it is my motherland, it is my roots.” (Liepāja, 62, female)*

*“I, of course, support Latvia, when it does not play against Russia or Belarus. But, if at some championship Latvia plays against Russia or Belarus, then I support those countries. They are closer to me. It is something inner.” (Liepāja, 51, female)*

At the same time very many non-citizens indicate also at differences that they have felt, while visiting relatives in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. On the one hand, local societies do not perceive Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians from Latvia as “their own”:

*“We are looked at... If you are from the Baltics, following all events we are not considered the same Russians as their Russians. We were in Moscow, some of ours, who studied at the institutes... Although they spoke Russian, they were told: “You are from the Baltics.” Even said that from Latvia. Because we spoke Russian incorrectly. Moscowians speak their way. They have another tone of conversation, they spell some words differently from us. **For them we are the same inhabitants of the Baltics, we are not Russians**. We are taken as insiders only when visiting relatives. We are insiders there, but for other inhabitants... also there we will be called immigrants, who have arrived. We have nowhere to be anymore.” (Jelgava, 45, female)*

*“**I am not Russian there, I am from the Baltics there**. I have already another mentality. I love my country, I love Latvia, love my city. There are many things that do not satisfy me within the legislative system, the performance of government, the work of our Riga machinery, but still I am not about to leave from here. I support inhabitants of Latvia and at sport including. Our sportsmen will participate at some disciplines at Winter Olympic Games – surely, I will support them.” (Riga, 36, female)*

On the other hand, non-citizens also themselves feel essential differences in the thinking and attitude, and point out that Russians from the Baltics are more European in entirety than Russians from Russia, as well as that they feel like foreigners there:

*“Our mentality has changed so much that **Latvian conception is closer to me**.” (Riga, 36, female)*

*“You know, we, Russian speaking are not similar at all to those Russians, Russian speaking, who live there. We are absolutely different people. I rather often have to come into contact with people, with Russians from StPetersburg, Moscow. They are educated people, people of different professions. Quite often you have problems to understand them, although you are the user of one and the same language. **You understand that your thinking is completely different**. It is not your fault. Even my husband told me: “When I studied in Moscow, everybody told me that I was not from*

*Russia, because... Language is correct, but thinking completely another.”” (Riga, 42, female)*

*“And Russia will anyway be foreign country. There, roughly speaking, is an own understanding on how they live there. We have a mess here, but not a mess as in Russia. There are still more absurdities, it is calmer here.” (Daugavpils, 26, male)*

*“When going to Russia... We differ from them a little. Maybe we have another upbringing. We differ with something. We must still be closer to Europe.” (Jelgava, 38, female)*

### **6.3. People without motherland**

The more complicated life story of people in terms of ethnic origin and migration, the harder for them to tell, which country they consider their motherland, even if born in Latvia. It can be explicitly observed in the answers of non-citizens that come from ethnically mixed families, as well as from the families of army men, which had been forced to move from one place to another following assignment of army troops:

*“My mum is from Russia, father Azerbaijani, I am born in Soviet Union, Latvia. Motherland is Soviet Union. It is difficult for me to separate, because I have grown up so. That is approximately the same as to ask me now, whom do you love more – mum or dad? They are my parents, and I love them. The same also here.” (Liepāja, 36, male)*

During existence of the USSR these people were used to consider Soviet Union their motherland, but at the moment either consider themselves still belonging to Soviet Union or as “people, who have lost their motherland” or as lost people:

*“In general I am born in Germany, I do not know at all, what country’s citizen I am. It is difficult to determine. My mum is Byelorussian, father – Dagestanian, Caucasian. But it did happen – people met somewhere. My parents met in Germany, got married there, and I was born there. Who am I? [...] I do not have motherland. I am confused. Previously I considered Soviet Union as my motherland. After its collapse, I started thinking about citizenship, where my motherland was. Non-citizen, but where is my motherland? I cannot name Germany, because I lived there until the age of five there, while my parents lived there. Afterwards for a short time we lived in Belarus. Afterwards dad was sent for serving here, he was a soldier. It must be from the age of some nine years that I live in Latvia. Where is my motherland? I cannot tell that. I do not know. I am lost person.” (Liepāja, 51, female)*

### **6.4. Place, where person has spent the most part of life and to which feels belonging**

Critical factors for development of sense of belonging are feeling of home, relatives, friends, habit, as well as properties in Latvia. Quite often respondents indicate that their motherland is, where also their home is, they have become attached to that place:

*“My motherland... It comes out that I have two native countries. My motherland is Ukraine and Latvia. I have just been on excursion to Russia. I studied in Ukraine, I was sent from Ukraine here. But I am here already for so many years. Motherland,*

*motherland, motherland... is Ukraine, because I have mother there and cemetery, where my father is buried. My brothers are there. But I have my daughter here, grave of husband, here are my friends, here is my house, although I have an opportunity to change it for a flat. But I do not want that, because person gets used to the place, where he is already for a long time. But, **where his home is, there is also his motherland.***” (Jelgava, 53, female)

*“Motherland is the place, where I was born, grew up, worked. I am working for the benefit of Latvia, and **my motherland is there, where I live.**”* (Daugavpils, 38, male)

*“How many years I am already away from Ukraine, I consider Latvia as my motherland. I consider so. I have been working here for 40 years.”* (Jelgava, 71, female)

*“I even travelled home, to Russia, I was there a couple of days, and I already felt so much like going back. A lot. I do not know, with what it is connected – whether it is a habit or what, or I am simply living very long in Latvia. I was drawn back a lot. **I have my own house here, my own family.** I have found. I do not want to tell anything bad about Russia, where I was born, but I like here and I am drawn back to Latvia.”* (Jelgava, 60, female)

Especially due to the reason that most part of the interviewed non-citizens feels belonging to Latvia, they feel insulted about the fact that they are granted the status of non-citizen. Resentment on the status of non-citizens has closely intertwined with the sense of belonging and affection for Latvia – their home, for which they feel “having devoted their life”:

*“I am non-citizen, because I was born in Leningrad. But then, when I was six months old, parents brought me here. [...] From 1947 I live in Latvia, **I have devoted it practically all my life...** [...] Here are my acquaintances, friends, colleagues. Everything is here. My life was not connected to Russia... Latvia is the country, where I lived, where I worked, where I studied and to which I gave much enough. But it did not recognize, what I gave it. There is resentment, definitely. But it does not mean that I do not love this country, do not love these people, do not love this land.”* (Daugavpils, 67, male)

Sense of belonging to Latvia is being represented also at the sport events and by supporting Latvian sportsmen and teams. When talking about Latvian sportsmen, pronoun “our” is being used – “our sportsmen” and stressed that these are “ours”, “our own people”:

*“But, of course, I am pleased, when Latvian sportsmen win, brothers Dukuri. Also for Latvian teams, of course. The same hockey – of course, support **ours.** I do not consider that... notwithstanding the fact that I am non-citizen that they are not ours. **They are mine anyway, because I have lived here all my life.**”* (Daugavpils, 67, male)

Many non-citizens support both sportsmen from Latvia and Russia at the sport competitions, but some of respondents emphasize that they support more Latvia at the competitions, where both Latvia and Russia take part:

*“If Russia plays against some other country, I support Russia. If Latvia plays against some other country, then I am for Latvia. **But, if Latvia plays against Russia, then I***

*support more Latvia, because it is my motherland, and I want to support it. But, if it flies out, then I support Russia until the end. [...] I am born here, live here. I do not have so many relatives in other countries. Most of my relatives are here. I consider that it is my motherland.” (Liepāja, 15, male)*

*“If ours take part, then, of course, for Latvia. In speedway definitely for Latvia. If, for example, there are international competitions and Latvia does not take part, then I am for Russia.” (Daugavpils, 38, male)*

*“When Riga Dinamo plays, I, of course, support **our own people**. I am very pleased, **when Latvian teams win**. In this respect I am a patriot, but at the same time I am also for Russia.” (Riga, 36, female)*

Supporting refers not only to sport, but also to the performance abroad of singers, artists, as well as participation at international competitions. Similarly the use of pronoun “our” pronouncedly appears here, including pride on the fact that “everybody got to know about our Latvia”:

*“When **our Maša Naumova** won in Estonia, we were so happy that **everybody got to know about our Latvia**. Yes, we follow these events, **our sportsmen**. Of course, we support.” (Jelgava, 71, female)*

Several non-citizens emphasize exactly cultural belonging to Latvia that develops both through the features of nature and perception and by joining Latvian celebrations, for example, at the events of Song Festival:

*“These celebrations – Līgo, Song Festival – I like very much. I am satisfied with that. I am glad. I wait for these celebrations. I follow these Latvian national celebrations. And I like them.” (Jelgava, 60, female)*

*“If I have a chance to drive along some Latvian road in summer and also in winter, when you drive, you see country houses. When I see some well-maintained country house, my soul is so very happy that it is impossible to tell. It means that people live, work, try and create such beauty. And in general Latvia is a beautiful country – green, so many waters. [...] In summer I participated at Song and Dance Festival in Riga. I am engaged in amateur activities in Liepāja. Here we have a community “Ļubava”, we have a collective, where songs are singed. We sing lyrical songs. We were invited for this festival and we took part there. That was great.” (Liepāja, 44, female)*

It is very sincerely and pictorially, what some female respondent has said on the sense of belonging that is connected with the colours in Latvian nature, Latvian sunrises and birds:

*“You understand that you are born in this country and this culture is so dear to you, because you have not seen any other sunrise in your childhood. You have seen exactly this colour gamut, exactly these birds.” (Riga, 42, female)*

Especially females emphasize differences of cultural level that seem essential to them, for example, indicating to environmental order and aestheticism, including, in their mind, beautiful Latvian cemetery:

*“I like its culture. I even wrote to Ukraine, how beautiful it is here that there is not a single abandoned corner, there is phantasy, flowers.” (Jelgava, 71, female)*

*“After so many years spent in Latvia I most probably will not be able to live in Ukraine anymore, because culture is in much higher level here. One may not compare even. But it is also not insignificant. And also people differ a bit. (laughs) I am already used to Latvian mentality. And it can be seen, when I go to Ukraine. I feel discomfort there.” (Liepāja, 44, female)*

Both the joy of non-citizens for returning home and also sense of belonging to Latvia expresses also in such moments as upon return from abroad and hearing Latvian language:

*“In November I was in Spain, I lived there for two weeks. [...] When I heard Latvian language at the airport in Milan, I was very glad and happy. I thought – finally **our own people**.” (Liepāja, 44, female)*

Underlining of the sense of “own people” appears in statements of many non-citizens, what is connected both with a habit, while long living in Latvia, and also emotional affection for their home, neighbourhood:

*“When you say “motherland”, what country do you imagine? – Latvia anyway. Why? – I am accustomed, **everything is dear, my own here**. Do you live in Latvia since childhood? – Yes, I was born in Riga. [...] Compared to some other nation, you feel that you are in Latvia, that you are... I do not know, how to explain it. Everything is dear, my own here. **You are like one whole with all of this**.” (Riga, 21, female)*

However it must be emphasized that sense of belonging more relates to the Russian speaking part of Latvian society, where, though, are also certain influences of Latvian culture:

*“Do you feel like part of Latvian society? Do you feel belonging? – I think that yes. I do not know, how somebody else thinks. According to my feelings? – I think that in principle, yes, but, probably, not to Latvian society, but - Russian.” (Jelgava, 15, male)*

While some female non-citizen from Daugavpils stresses that she does not feel belonging to Latvia exactly due to her status of non-citizen: *“Due to the reason that citizenship was not given, you feel like a cut piece.” (Daugavpils, 50, female)*

## 6.5. Place, where people want to stay

Except some non-citizen young people, who do not have clear future plans, and two women – elder non-citizens, who plan to emigrate (one to Italy, where she has purchased a house, the other – to daughter to Spain), the remaining interviewed respondents very actively insist that they do not want to leave Latvia. Some even stress that these are exactly non-citizens, who are the most loyal to Latvia, because Latvians themselves emigrate to England or Ireland, but non-citizens stay in Latvia. Firstly, affection for Latvia is being connected with relatives, who are here, and habit:

*“Leave Latvia for the same Ukraine or for some other place I also do not want. I want to live here. Here are my friends, here is the grave of my husband, here is my daughter. And I will be here. No matter whether Latvia wishes it or not, I will be here anyway.” (Jelgava, 53, female)*

*“Where shall I leave from here? I have all the relatives, friends here. I do not want to move away from here, I do not want to work abroad. I was told: “Obtain citizenship. Go to work to England, Holland, Germany.” I asked: “Why?” I can find a job here, I can work here for the same money, but I have everything my own here – my own friends, my own home.” (Jelgava, 25, male)*

Secondly, people are aware that immigrants taken altogether are not too much expected and welcome in any society, and will always be “the foreign”, but in Latvia, after living here long years, they have obtained already this “insider” feeling:

*If we travel now to some other country, then we will be nobody there. Here we are at least something, we are born here and live here, but we arrive there and everything will have to be established anew.” (Liepāja, 15, male)*

*I do not want to leave for anywhere. I am already grown to this place, I consider it my native land. I consider it my permanent place of residence. Where shall I leave? I am 68. Where shall I travel? Whom and where else am I necessary, if I devoted my health and employment years here? Who does need me in another country? Nobody.” (Riga, 68, female)*

Thirdly, people realize that leaving is connected with many difficulties and inconveniences. For example, to move to the Western countries, one must learn local language that is an essential obstacle:

*“Both my eldest sons, the eldest is 24 – they both are in London. [...] I would not travel to London, England for sure. I do not like there. I do not like that England. Daughter is in Ireland, I definitely will not go there. Ireland is the same as England. I somehow here. It is easier and better here. To go there, English language has to be learned, I will not be able to learn it. It seems very difficult for me.” (Jelgava, 42, female)*

Some others emphasize that they like living in Latvia and they feel belonging here, therefore also want to stay here:

*“I want to live in Latvia. Want, because I have Latvian mentality. Although... well, how Latvian then? If I am born here. I want to give benefit exactly to Latvia. The issue – to leave from here, has never been topical for me. Honestly saying. 100%.” (Daugavpils, 47, female)*

*“I want to live in Liepāja, I do not want to leave anywhere.” (Liepāja, 26, male)*

*“Most part of my life I have lived here. I want to Belarus. I go there, live a little bit, but already want back. It is not so for me that I do not want to go, I want to get here. I like this city, although it is half empty at the moment. Previously there were more people. I like the sea, this silence. If I did not like, I would not live here.” (Liepāja, 65, female)*

In his turn, some young man points out that, even if he emigrates someday due to economic reasons, then definitely will try to return back to Latvia, to Daugavpils, where his relatives live and are buried:

*“If I go to live somewhere else, most probably I would like to return to Daugavpils for living and stay here until my death, to be able to lie beside grandma and mum. I do not want to be anywhere else far away.” (Daugavpils, 18, male)*

However there exist also alternative discourses within the society. For example, woman from Riga, who plans to move to Italy, justifies her choice by desire to live in better conditions and indicates that it does not mean that she does not love her motherland - Latvia:

*“But, when you are together with a dear person, then you understand, if you do not feel comfortable here, then some other country can as well become a motherland for you – there, where you feel good. People, who leave, they, unfortunately, are forced to leave their places in Latvia not because they do not love their motherland, but because they do not feel good here. Love for the motherland and comfortable living are two different things. It is possible also to live somewhere else and to love this country, where you are born.” (Riga, 42, female)*

## 6.6. Active participation in Latvian life

Concept of active citizenship provides that the highest level of belonging to some place expresses through active participation at the improvement of the quality of life or situation of this place. The third dimension out of the three dimensions discussed at the theoretical part, is practising of the citizenship that shows as acting together with the others for achieving certain political, social, cultural or economic targets and solidarity feeling with the others. It can be also responsible consumption, environment protection, any kind of mobilization and consolidation for achieving some common targets.

In order to find out the experience of non-citizens at the processes of “active participation”, citizenship practising, a question was asked at the interviews: “What have you yourself done in order for us all to have better life in Latvia or in your city?”

Responses to this question of interviewed non-citizens show that it is not common to speak like this in Latvian society. Many people had difficulties to formulate the answer to this question, therefore the question had to be changed, by mentioning various examples of participation that are directed towards protection of society interests.

When answering this question at the interviews, people most often felt uneasy at the beginning and pointed out that simple man cannot do that much. That intertwined with kind of derogation of oneself – well, whatever I can do then:

*“You know, I have not done anything special. I am working. [...] I am though not a deputy and businessman.” (Riga, 52, female)*

*“You know, I have not given Latvia anything.” (Daugavpils, 66, male)*

*“So far I have not done anything.” (Liepāja, 15, male)*

*“I can do very little as a person, because rather little depends on my occupation.” (Liepāja, 51, female)*

*“My contribution is very little.” (Liepāja, 44, female)*

*“Me? (laughs) I have not done anything. [...] I try not to litter. (thinks) [...] I pay taxes.” (Liepāja, 26, male)*

*“Oh, I am so little person. (thinks) Well, what about me... [...] I am sitting silently as pensioner. If I worked, then maybe something... I do not know.” (Liepāja, 65, female)*

After lead questions and prompting the possible answers, kind of passive position came forward as one of the dominating answers – my main contribution for the benefit of Latvia is that I am working, paying taxes, following laws and not littering environment:

*“Firstly, I am working. I consider that it is enough. Pay taxes. I consider that this is a big contribution.” (Riga, 53, female)*

*“What can I do? I live, pay taxes... Live, pay taxes, spend the money that I earn here.” (Riga, 28, male)*

*“That is the most trivial – you walk along the street, you have not thrown out a paper, you have not done anything bad as if. I am living in Fortress, very many tourist delegations go there, they go, look around and make photos. You did not litter, tourists came – everything is clean, beautiful, in cultural manner.” (Daugavpils, 30, male)*

*“Yes, I am working; I have been paying taxes for so many years. I am trying to keep myself fit in order not to take sick note. One must educate his own children, so that they are proper people, well educated, to give benefit for the surrounding people.” (Daugavpils, 49, female)*

*“I am working in favour of the motherland, by paying the same taxes. By that I am ensuring pensions for the pensioners, whom we have to feed. They also have worked, now we work for their benefit. Non-citizens try to survive here, not leaving away abroad. Who of those, who work in England or Ireland, does send money here and pay taxes? Nobody. They come here to treat themselves, to give birth to the children, to use social... This money does not stay in Latvia.” (Daugavpils, 38, male)*

Various certain activities were mentioned by separate persons, and participating at the Big clean-up is among them:

*“Personally I have helped to set in order at the Big clean-up, during these holidays. I have helped to clean up the nature. We together with the course were digging a big pit to bury all the rubbish. That is also some kind of contribution.” (Daugavpils, 18, male)*

*“What have I done myself? I even do not know. There are those days, when rubbish is collected. I do not know, how it is called. Maybe it should be organized more often. For example, three, four times a year. To my mind, it takes place once a year.” (Jelgava, 15, male)*

Some of the female non-citizens mentioned as contribution popularization of the country, by participating at the culture events:

*“To my utmost I take part at all the events that I view as important for the country. We are working for the image of Latvia. By representing Byelorussian culture, we represent also Latvia. Although we are a group of Byelorussian association, we sing also songs in Latvian. We tell about the country, from which we have arrived. [...] We also take part at the national celebrations organized in the city. We took part also at the Song Festival. Obviously we try not to breach the law, to be socially adequate people.” (Liepāja, 51, female)*

Some other non-citizen as contribution in favour of Latvia mentioned the fact that she tried to learn Latvian language and to speak Latvian:

*"I tried to learn Latvian language. I tried to speak Latvian with Latvians, within that cycle, where my friends are Latvians. I try to answer, no matter how difficult it was for me." (Jelgava, 60, female)*

Some other points out that he supports Latvian manufacturers:

*"I am trying to support the local manufacturers. One may produce something, may purchase, where it is written – "Made in Latvia". (Daugavpils, 26, male)*

One of the respondents is businesswoman and considers establishing workplaces as her contribution for the benefit of Latvia:

*"I have established workplaces. I am employing four persons, they are Latvian citizens, who work at me, Latvian non-citizen. I have established workplaces. I am paying taxes for Latvian citizens. (laughs) I am trying to behave adequately. That is it." (Daugavpils, 50, female)*

Some other respondent mentions that her contribution is taking part at the survey on Latvian independence on 3 March, 1991, where she has voted for independent Latvia:

*"I have been contributing for the benefit of Latvia during my whole life. I have been working here for very long time, paying taxes. In 1992, when it was necessary to vote, I voted for independent Latvia." (Daugavpils, 47, female)*

Several Latvian non-citizens indicated that they get involved into various donation events or help people with health problems:

*"According to my conscience I try to help somebody somewhere. Some donation collections happen. As far as it is possible, I take part." (Liepāja, 44, female)*

*"Well, I have taken granny across the road. She lied at the pedestrian crossing, it was very dark, cars were passing her and did not notice her, but she could not get up. I have had many such cases, when people are even drunk, it is obvious that person has a sick heart, may not drink, but he has taken a drink. He cannot get up and go, everybody passes, thinking that he is very drunk. I cannot pass such. Shall I to leave him lying alone in cold?" (Riga, 36, female)*

*"I have a social service, where I bring stuff. I am given dishes as a present, I gather the old dishes and take away. I bring something also to cats and dogs shelter. Thereby I expose myself at the society." (Riga, 42, female)*

*"This question, of course... (pause), for a person, who is not politician or some official, is such, strange question. For now I have not breached the laws. (laughs). What I have done such, I even do not know. Oh, when there were donations at the school for orphanages, we usually collected together with a class. We have always helped. Children from orphanages have visited us, looked, how we studied. Each year we collected donations – toys, food, rice, pasta and candies for the New Year." (Riga, 19, female)*

Only one of the respondents expressed an opinion of a complete individualist, considering that his main task is to take care for himself, because the country will not take care of him:

*"I do not know. Maybe it is such period, maybe I am selfish person... At first I look at myself and my family, because I know, if something happens, my country will not help*

*me. I do not say it is bad. I do not say it is good. Simply the world has to be taken as it is. I am working for myself, I am paying taxes. But I am not going to give to the country everything that I earn. Will manage also without that. I am paying the minimum that has to be paid. I have no debts, neither tax debts, nor credit debts. I am looking more at myself. I do not consider that I should do something so that everybody had a good life in Daugavpils. It is such period, I am looking at myself. And trusting only myself. Everything that I will do, everything that I have – that, you see, is mine. Nobody else will help me. Neither country, nor some other person. Such period. Therefore it is necessary to adjust to that period. It is, as it is.” (Daugavpils, 26, male)*

## **6.7. Interest on the political participation and Non-Citizen Congress**

In-depth interviews with Latvian non-citizens included also questions on political rights of non-citizens and in particular – willingness to participate at elections of local government, and the major part expressed the wish to go and vote for the parties or members of the parliament, who seem likeable to them.

The main arguments in favor of why the non-citizens should have the rights to participate at the elections of local government were connected with the fact that non-citizens also live here and pay taxes, therefore they should have some influence on the political processes:

*“Non-citizens do live in Latvia here too. They also must have some saying.” (Riga, 21, female)*

*“We do live here. We do have to take part. It is not our fault that we are non-citizens. These are the circumstances having arisen. We live here, we do have to take part at the life of the country, but it comes out that we have been moved aside.” (Jelgava, 38, female)*

*“For example, I live here since my birth. I was taken here, when I was still quite little. I was 2-3 months old, when I was brought here. I do live here and my children live here, even if children are citizens. I do live here, I have been living here all my life. I am also worried about it, if I live here in Latvia and do not leave anywhere. Of course, it would not be bad, if non-citizens voted. It is though their country, they have lived here. It is wrong [that non-citizens do not have voting rights].” (Jelgava, 42, female)*

*“Definitely, because they do pay the duties just the way Latvian citizens do.” (Liepāja, 62, female)*

Participation at the elections of local government seems especially important for non-citizens, because many non-citizens know the members of their municipality and management, and want to participate at their election:

*“Yes, I know those people. It can be said that I know some of them very well. I know those people. [...] Yes, sure, they do live here. The same they take part at the process. Municipality has been established, different events take place in the city, for example, New Year celebration. Not only those, who voted, go there though. Everybody goes. If mayor speaks, everybody does go. Why not to give? If you are located within the territory of the municipality, then you have to vote, because you are the inhabitant of this city. You do take part at the city life.” (Daugavpils, 49, female)*

One of the interviewed non-citizens points out that extension of the political rights of non-citizens would encourage development of united political nation and would benefit for the development of Latvia:

*“Granting political rights to non-citizens would benefit Latvia. That would be the road to development of united political nation. As long as there is no united political nation that could be called nation, there will be no meaning in this nation. We will be divided, some part of population will have more rights, some part – less. It is not united nation. Principle – we all are different, but equal – still has to be implemented.” (Daugavpils, 67, male)*

At in-depth interviews non-citizens were also asked, if respondent has heard something about the Non-Citizen Congress<sup>48</sup> and, if has, if he supports its activities. Altogether 13 respondents out of 40 respondents had not heard about such organisation. However opinions on this organisation were different among those, who had heard something. One of the respondents was participant of the Non-Citizen Congress himself and member of the Non-citizen parliament and actively supported operation of the Non-Citizen Congress. There were also other non-citizens, who support Non-Citizen Congress and wish for development of its operation:

*“Yes, I know. I not only support their activities, but I also wish that they develop. And develop in such sense that those restrictions that the government accepted for the non-citizens would be abolished. All in all, to achieve restriction of the age, from which the citizenship should not be necessary to be filed for.” (Riga, 68, female)*

*“I am more for the “Non-Citizen Congress”, because my interests are being represented there, the interests of my children. Even if I say that the lack of citizenship does not inconvenience me.” (Riga, 36, female)*

*“Yes, I have heard about the zero citizenship. I consider that it is a very good movement, so that people could come, get to know something that situation of non-citizens can still be changed. I think that representatives of this movement are people, who have spent most of their lives within the territory of Latvia. And, just like me, they would like to be a person in this country, to have some status.” (Daugavpils, 49, female)*

Other non-citizens are sceptical and do not see the use for Non-Citizen Congress, as well as do not believe that this organisation could achieve something in reality:

*“Yes, I have, on TV, in news. You know, I do not know, but it seems to me that they will not achieve there anything. If Latvian government does not want, then however they can do there. They will not achieve anything.” (Riga, 52, female)*

*“Such thing exists, but I do not know, why to develop that. I think that... This thing is already closer to politics. [...] It simply provides an odd chance for somebody to make money on account of something.” (Liepāja, 51, male)*

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<sup>48</sup> Social movement “Non-Citizen Congress” is established on 23 March, 2013. Its goal is abolition of non-citizen establishment in Latvia, as well as protection of the interests of non-citizens during transitional period, while non-citizen establishment continues its existence. Source: “Non-Citizen Congress” home page. Available at: <http://kongress.lv/> (last viewed 04.03.2014.).

*“No. Oh, these are those, who fight for the rights of non-citizens, who demand giving Latvian citizenship to all non-citizens. I would like to send my greetings to them and tell them to calm down. (laughs) Is it necessary? – Of course, not. It is like an aftermath from past. If at the beginning, at the first round this citizenship was necessary, and then now that is it. State is not governed by Latvians themselves already anymore. Latvians themselves are practically not here. Maybe some part still exists somewhere, but mainly all have left. Now this aftermath is not needed anymore. For what that citizenship? Where are the pluses of the citizenship?” (Liepāja, 36, male)*

*“I have heard. It was told on radio. In news. But I have not immersed myself into that so much. It seems to me that it is like an alternative for our Saeima. Just I do not see any reason for that.” (Liepāja, 65, female)*

Some more others have just accidentally heard something about this organisation, but do not specially take interest either about the operation of the Non-Citizen Congress or politics at all:

*“Yes, I have heard, but have not taken interest about that actively. And I would not go there anyway.” (Riga, 42, female)*

*“I have heard something, but I usually switch over politics and do not listen.” (Riga, 28, male)*

*“Yes. I have heard a bit. I am not following a lot, because I learned about it just recently, in relation with collecting signatures for something, against something. I do not quite remember, what it was against there. There was information in the Internet that signatures were being collected.” (Jelgava, 38, female)*

*“Yes, just recently heard. I do not know anything about them, but I do know that our politicians were against – “what a people – non-citizens, congress, that may harm”. I heard so from our politicians, but I have no idea, what that Non-Citizen Congress is.” (Jelgava, 71, female)*

*“I have heard something, but do not remember the name. I have heard just a little – society of non-citizens or congress... Do you know, what they are doing? What are their targets, tasks? – No.” (Jelgava, 42, female)*

*“I have heard something, but I do not know what they are occupied with, what their target is. I have not read, just heard.” (Daugavpils, 38, male)*

Altogether Latvian non-citizens are quite united in their attitude and argumentation that non-citizens should be allocated rights to participate at the elections of local government. However support to the Non-Citizen Congress is not that unanimous, because many have not heard anything about this organisation, others are sceptical about its operation, but there are also such, who support Non-Citizen Congress and its activities, because this organisation represents interests of non-citizens.

## 7. Prognosis for decline of the number of non-citizens

### 7.1. Analysis of the factors for decline of the number of non-citizens

During the last five years the number of non-citizens decreases on average for almost 15000 persons a year. Research of statistical information indicates that during the period of last five years there are a little bit more than 2100 persons on average per year, who naturalise, but during the last – 2013 – only 1732 non-citizens have naturalised. Whereby the biggest decline of the number of citizens is not the result of naturalisation, but rather due to another reasons. Information acquired at the research indicates that these factors are, firstly, natural factors of birth-rate and mortality – significantly more non-citizens die in comparison to the number of the born, secondly, obtaining of the citizenship of another country, for example, Russia, and also emigration, however precise statistical information was not available on these factors at the moment of carrying out this research.

When analysing decline of the number of non-citizens within a longer time perspective, it can be seen that during the period from 2000 to 2008, when the number of non-citizens decreased each year on average for 27 500 persons, this main decrease was partly due to the high level of naturalisation activity as well, because there were 13 000 persons on average, who naturalised every year, and that on average made 47% of the loss of non-citizens number (see table 4).

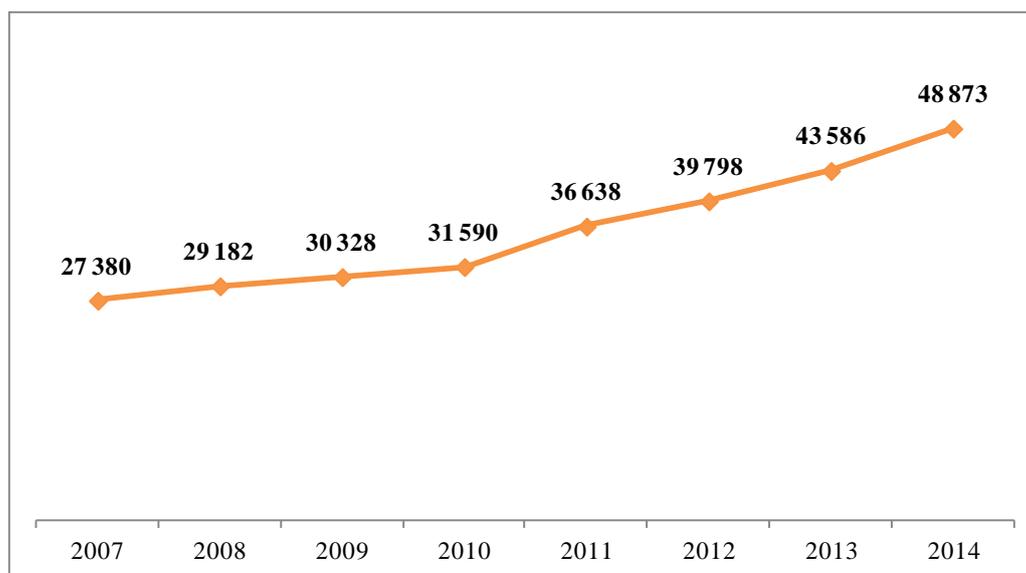
**Table 4. Decline of the number of non-citizens 1996 – 2014 (data on 1 January, each year)**

Year	Total number of non-citizens	Decline of the number of non-citizens in comparison with the previous year	Have obtained Latvian citizenship through the process of naturalisation		Other reasons (for example, obtaining citizenship of other state, death, etc.)	
			Number	%	Number	%
01.01.1996.	722 167	13 000	984	8	12 016	92
01.01.1997.	682 965	39 202	3 016	8	36 186	92
01.01.1998.	646 882	36 083	2 992	8	33 091	92
01.01.1999.	619 971	26 911	4 439	16	22 472	84
01.01.2000.	588 225	31 746	12 427	39	19 319	61
01.01.2001.	551 064	37 161	14 900	40	22 261	60
01.01.2002.	523 095	27 969	10 637	38	17 332	62
01.01.2003.	504 277	18 818	9 844	52	8 974	48
01.01.2004.	481 352	22 925	10 049	44	12 876	56
01.01.2005.	452 033	29 319	16 064	55	13 255	45
01.01.2006.	418 436	33 597	19 169	57	14 428	43
01.01.2007.	392 816	25 620	16 439	64	9 181	36
01.01.2008.	372 421	20 395	6 826	33	13 569	66
01.01.2009.	357 811	14 610	3 004	21	11 606	79
01.01.2010.	344 095	13 716	2 080	15	11 636	85
01.01.2011.	326 735	17 360	2 336	13	15 024	87
01.01.2012.	312 189	14 546	2 467	17	12 079	83
01.01.2013.	297 883	14 306	2 213	15	12 093	85
01.01.2014.	282 876	15 007	1 732	12	13 275	88

Source: Data of Naturalisation Board /OCMA.

However, during the last five years rather stable tendency can be observed that the number of non-citizens reduces on average for almost 15 000 (statistically average value – 14 987), but decline of the number of non-citizens due to the process of naturalisation refers only to about 14% of the decline of the number of non-citizens. Approximately 55-60% of the number of non-citizens is caused due to the mortality, but 25-27% of decline refers to acceptance of the citizenship of another country (data are inaccurate, because the available statistical data on mortality tendencies do not separate those, belonging to the third countries with permanent residence permits, from non-citizens. Also data on acceptance of the citizenship of another country are approximate, because they are mainly based on information on increase of the number of Russian citizens with permanent residence permits in Latvia that mostly happens, when non-citizens become Russian citizens (see figure 30). It must be added that in 2010 there are 5889 applications reviewed at the OCMA on refusal of the status of non-citizen, in 2011 – 3134, in 2012 – 2964<sup>49</sup>.

*Figure 30. Dynamics of changes in the number of Russian citizens living in Latvia, 2007 – 2014*



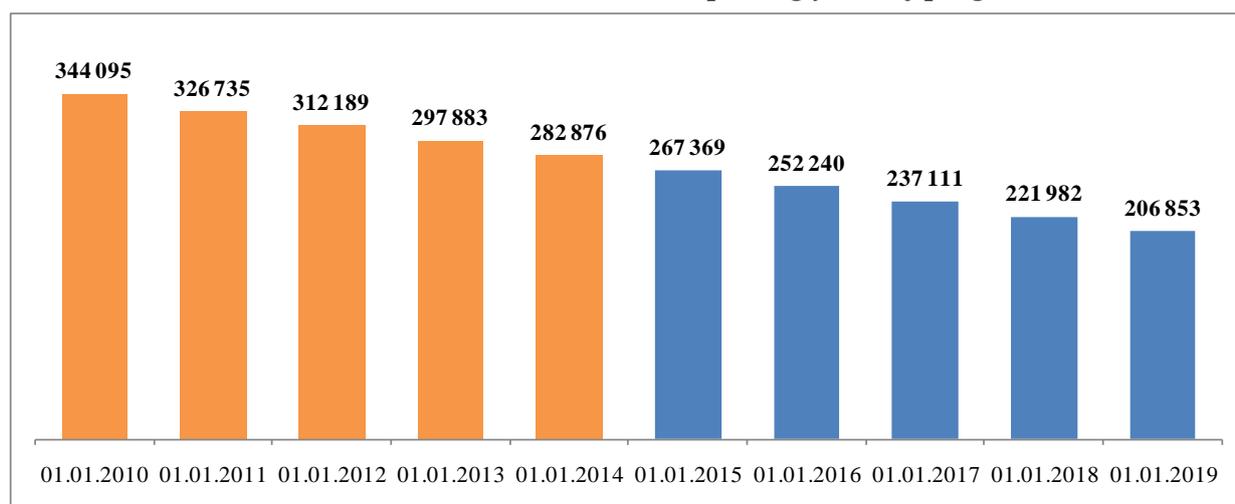
Source: OCMA statistics on naturalisation

## 7.2. Prognosis for decline of the number of non-citizens for the next 5 years

Basing on the tendencies on decline of the number of non-citizens during the last five years, it is possible to relatively feasible forecast that after five years the number of non-citizens in Latvia will be only about 206 850 persons, what will form about 10% out of all Latvian population (see figure 31).

<sup>49</sup> Source: Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs. Statistics on the control of the status of persons. Available at: <http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/sakums/statistika/personu-statusa-kontrole.html> (last viewed: 14.04.2014.).

*Figure 31. Prognosis for changes in the number of Latvian non-citizens for the next 5 years, reporting years of prognosis: 2009 – 2014*



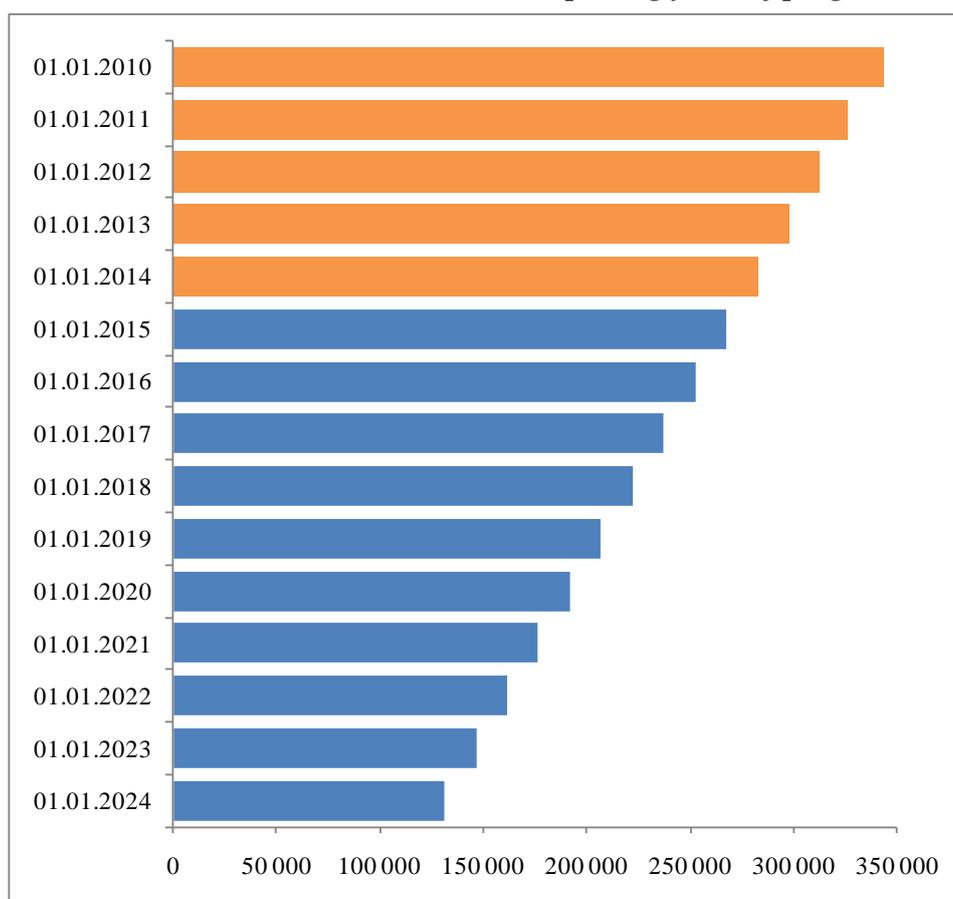
This forecasting is based on rather simple, but in total feasible forecasting approach for this time period that in its turn is based on the calculations of the loss of the number of non-citizens during the last five years, where every next forecasted value forms by calculating the ratio of the loss of the number for the previous values and using it at the next step.

However it must be emphasized that the forecast is based on the presumption that the tendencies of birth-rate – mortality, naturalisation and acceptance of citizenship of another countries will altogether remain the same as currently. In case of radical changes, for example, upon increasing of the number of non-citizens, who accept Russian citizenship, the made forecasts will not be applicable anymore.

### **7.3. Prognosis for decline of the number of non-citizens for the next 10 years**

In perspective of 10 and 20 years the offered forecasts are already less feasible, because it is not possible to forecast political situation and attitude against naturalisation, as well as processes of emigration for such a long period of time. However natural processes (birth-rate and mortality) can be forecasted altogether, and they form the basis of the made forecast. Upon realization of the forecast made within the research, after 10 years in 2024 there will be only 131 210 non-citizens in Latvia, who will form 6-7% out of all Latvian population (see figure 32).

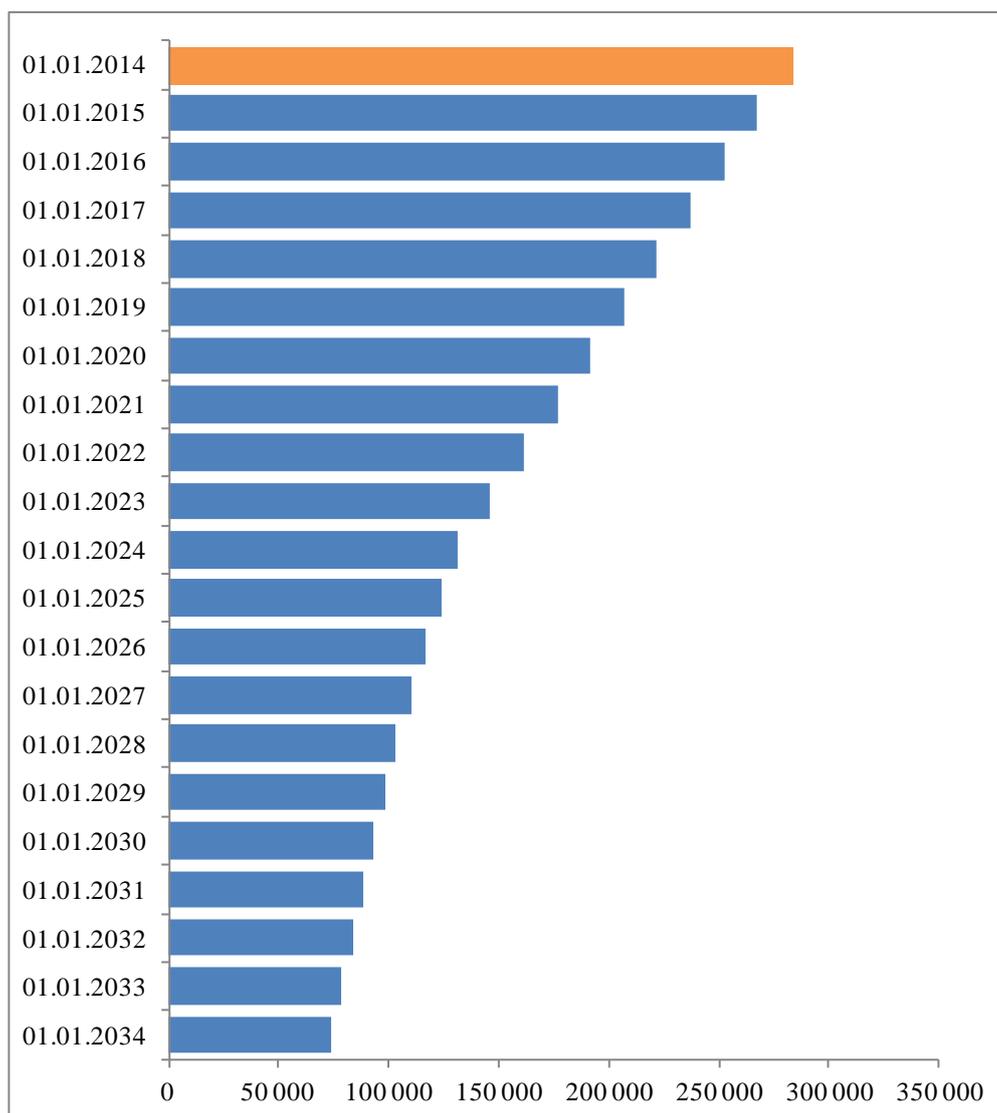
**Figure 32. Prognosis for changes in the number of Latvian non-citizens for the next 10 years, reporting years of prognosis: 2009 – 2014**



#### **7.4. Prognosis on decline of the number of non-citizens for the next 20 years**

According to the existing tendencies, after 20 years, in 2034 there should not be any more non-citizens in Latvia, because part of them will have naturalised, obtained citizenship of another country, but part of them will have died due to their age. However more cautious forecasts and corrections for decline of the number of non-citizens during the period from 2024 to 2034, basing on analysis of age groups, allow that in 2034 there could be approximately 74 000 non-citizens or less in Latvia (see figure 33). It must be noted at once that reliability of these forecasts is limited, because it is not possible to forecast political and economic situation and migration processes in Latvia for such a long time period.

**Figure 33. Prognosis for changes in the number of Latvian non-citizens for the next 20 years, reporting years of prognosis: 2009 – 2014**



Prognosis based on the statistical data is certified also by the said at the discussion in Riga by the manager of OCMA Naturalisation Board Igors Gorbunovs that 20 years later there will be no non-citizens in Latvia anymore, because part of them will have died, part will have naturalised, part will have accepted Russian citizenship and part will have left:

*“Russian citizenship is being accepted as much as Latvian citizenship during a year. It is also not a secret. The number of Russian citizens grows, while the number of non-citizens reduces. Whatever we do here in the country, there will not be non-citizens after 20 years. The number of non-citizens reduces for 15000 in a year, 7000 die, approximately 500 leave, accept Latvian and Russian citizenship. After 20 years this all will finish, but Russian citizens will be around 130 000 at that time.” (Igors Gorbunovs, Approbation workshop in Riga on 28 April, 2014)*

## Conclusions

The main conclusions of the research are structured according to the identified dimensions of citizenship at the theoretical part. Conclusions are finished by practical recommendations for encouragement of non-citizen integration, including naturalisation, in Latvia.

### *Citizenship as status*

Status of Latvian non-citizen determines both rights and obligations that in several aspects differ from the status of citizen. Other researches have been dedicated to these status differences in Latvia, but the main differences set by the law are related to political rights – Latvian non-citizens are not entitled to take part at the elections of Saeima and local government, as well as to economical rights in a certain amount, because restrictions to work at spheres connected with social security (police, army, public administration, etc.) refer to non-citizens. From the point of social rights, the rights of Latvian non-citizens do not significantly differ from the rights of Latvian citizens, and the most part of non-citizens are also aware of that. The same way Latvian non-citizens understand that the welfare level guaranteed by Latvian State is very limited – both for citizens and non-citizens. Political rights are not important for the most part of non-citizens, while those, to whom they matter, mostly use the opportunity to naturalise and obtain Latvian citizenship. At the same time, the status of non-citizen offers an essential advantage for many non-citizens – visa-free regime with Russia. This status is suitable enough for vast majority of Latvian non-citizens, in order not to change anything.

It must be certainly emphasized that the status of non-citizen in Latvia is connected with negative emotions among Latvian non-citizens and encourages isolation from the State, public administration and political participation of any kind. Altogether this attitude also has not changed by the established Non-Citizen Congress, on activities of which the most part of the interviewed non-citizens are little informed. Status of non-citizen creates subjective discrimination feeling that is not being related to the restrictions of social, economic or political rights, but with the status itself, it's granting and necessity to take naturalisation exams, including learning Latvian language, in order to become Latvian citizens. It is important to stress that non-citizens do not complain on discrimination on daily basis, what they could have felt due to their status. Mostly Latvian non-citizens have not encountered different attitude or limited access to services (exception is longer control at the borders

during travels abroad). The main issue that does not satisfy non-citizens is the fact that such institution was established at all in the renewed Latvia, and the fact that, although many non-citizens are also born in Latvia or have lived in Latvia their whole life, they did not obtain status of citizen automatically.

Attitude towards obtaining Latvian or some other country's citizenship is altogether very instrumental – people assess what advantages one or another civic status provides. From the practical point of view, large part of non-citizens is satisfied with the status of Latvian non-citizen, and they have put up with and accustomed to the situation as it is: *“People are used to live, how it is.”* (Comment of non-citizen at the discussion in Daugavpils).

### ***Citizenship as sense of belonging***

Sense of belonging to Latvian State is not unequivocal among non-citizens. Although large part of non-citizens feels belonging to Latvia, the status of non-citizen causes feeling of inferiority and bitterness that is being turned against the State. For many non-citizens belonging to Latvia develops in the light of their biography, because Latvia is the place, where major part of their life has passed, children have grown and where their home is. Latvian non-citizens are proud both for achievements of Latvian artists in the world and also for Latvian sportsmen and support Latvian sport teams. However identification is more often expressed by the respective local place – their home, their city, not Latvian State. It is rather belonging to local place – city (for example, calling oneself citizen of Daugavpils) and global society (designation “world citizen”).

Sense of belonging to Latvian society is more connected exactly to the sense of belonging to Latvian Russian community. Typical argumentation model among non-citizens on belonging to Latvian Russian community includes statement that Latvian Russians differ from Russian Russians (Russian language application nuances differ, different “mentality”, thinking), and they are perceived in Russia as “the foreign”, “others” and called Baltic Russians.

Simultaneously argumentation scheme can be often encountered among Latvian non-citizens that, to their mind, demonstrates their loyalty towards Latvia – the fact that they do not plan to leave Latvia and have closer got attached to Latvia than part of Latvians, who emigrate to Great Britain and Ireland.

### *Citizenship as practice*

Status of non-citizen and sense of belonging to the local place definitely does not encourage interest on active participation at the public management in national level. This is certified also by comparatively low interest on Non-Citizen Congress among the interviewed non-citizens.

On the other hand, it cannot be said that non-citizens would not develop solidarity feelings with their fellow-citizens on daily level. Although at the beginning the interviewed respondents had difficulties to formulate their answer to the question, what you have done yourself, in order for us all to have better life in Latvia or your city, by mentioning various examples of active participation, respondents recognized the mentioned activities as part of their daily routine.

Activities named by non-citizens, where they participate, are as follows: participation at the Big clean-up, popularisation of Latvian image, by active participation at culture events, responsible consumption, by supporting Latvian manufacturer, involvement in various donation events or assistance to people with health problems. One non-citizen as her contribution for the benefit of Latvia mentioned the fact that she tried to learn Latvian language and speak Latvian. Many mention as their contributions for the benefit of Latvia that they are working, paying taxes, complying with laws and not littering environment.

Altogether it indicates sense of belonging to Latvia, local community and existence of solidarity feelings among Latvian non-citizens, recognizing themselves as such, who live together with others in one community.

## Recommendations

### *Latvian citizenship must be made attractive both to citizens and non-citizens*

One of the long-term tasks of the State and society in Latvia is to make Latvian citizenship attractive both among Latvian citizens and non-citizens. It is necessary both in order to reduce emigration processes and encourage return of emigrants to Latvia and to motivate Latvian non-citizens to become Latvian citizens. Also Latvian State's big planning documents – Sustainable Development Strategy of Latvia and National Development Plan are devoted for the implementation of this task. At the same time it must be admitted that it is very complex and lasting task, the implementation of which is connected both to promotion of economic growth and improvement of social securing, and also to promotion of responsibility and tolerance of society. Besides, it must be emphasized that realistic and stable improvements in these spheres require lasting and important work and contribution of the whole system over years. However also each individual can think, how to make Latvia more attractive for oneself and one's children, as well as for fellows. For example, we each can try to lessen negativism, including by friendly encouraging our fellow people to speak Latvian, by urging not to feel shy on pronunciation mistakes and by being more tolerant towards sometimes not so fluent language flow, being polite and respectable towards each other.

### *Address and motivate parents of non-citizen children to register their child as Latvian citizen*

One of the specified recommendations that crystallized during the interviews and discussions with non-citizens, is directed exactly towards the younger generation – children and young persons until the age of 15, who are born in Latvia and are entitled to qualify for the status of Latvian citizen. At the beginning of 2014 there were in total approximately 10 000 such non-citizen children, who were born after 1991 and had not received Latvian citizenship (number of under-age children, having obtained citizenship – 14 288). In their turn, such children, who currently are up to 15 years old, and, probably, might be registered as Latvian citizens, if only living permanently in Latvia and their parents wish it, are 7234.

The essence of recommendation is to prepare and send to parents of non-citizen children invitation to register their child as Latvian citizen (it refers to the children, who are born in Latvia after 21 August, 1991 and are not 15 years old yet). The respective activity is possible to be performed only in collaboration with Naturalisation Board of OCMA, and the best, if exactly Naturalisation Board also would be the one that sends out these invitations.

Naturalisation Board has available both information on the declared place of residence of non-citizens and also opportunity to control officially available information on location in Latvia (one of the requirements for applicants for citizenship). However it is additional work that needs also additional funding, therefore it is maybe possible to be implemented by raising funding of EU funds.

It is important to emphasize that such a letter with invitation could have a multiplier effect in a long term, because the letter, firstly, informs on this opportunity (informing); secondly, demonstrates that State is not indifferent and it invites parents to take care that they children receive Latvian citizenship (motivating regarding children); thirdly, many non-citizens indicate that they are motivated to naturalise by exactly the fact that their other relatives, especially – children, are citizens (indirect motivation for adult non-citizens to also go through the procedure of naturalisation).

Both information and motivation could really be essential within this target group, because research discloses that there are such young persons, whose parents have not been informed on opportunity to register their child: *“I did not get citizenship, because my mum did not know about this law. It happened so.” (Daugavpils, 18, male); “Yes, I am planning to obtain citizenship in summer, because my parents did not manage to sign for me to automatically get citizenship until the age of 14 or whatever the term.” (Liepāja, 17, male).*

### ***To support in various ways the learning of Latvian language both at courses, discussion clubs and daily activities***

Many non-citizens acknowledge that poor Latvian language skills and the lack of Latvian language environment for strengthening the skills is the main reason, why they cannot undergo naturalisation procedure. It especially refers to non-citizens, who are over 51 year old (non-citizen youth do not complain on this). It must be concluded that it is necessary to continue Latvian language teaching job, providing Latvian language courses. It is already being successfully implemented both by the means of the State and municipalities, raising also funding of EU funds. Free Latvian language courses or courses for reduced fare are really of high demand, people sign up for them and take the available places within a day. However it must be noted that it would be advisable to organise also additional activities at the various projects, including the projects of Latvian language courses, what would help strengthen newly acquired language skills. At the discussions recommendations and examples were expressed on the good practices, where following Latvian language courses or in parallel to them discussion club is being organized, where people continue to meet and talk Latvian. Examples on the good practice are also learning of Latvian language in relation with interest

education, trying to unite two in one – both free time occupations that attract people and talking in Latvian. The same way suggestion was made to involve employers - businessmen at the learning of Latvian language, by motivating employers to organize Latvian language courses on spot at the companies. All these ideas within already specific solutions are necessary to include into the planning of the new means of the EU Structural Funds, in order to continue the good practice to learn Latvian language at the courses, as well as to improve opportunity to use Latvian language not only at courses, but also at various clubs and activities.

***To continue informing on naturalisation procedure and supporting NGO that actively operate within a field of positive experiences and exchange of opinions, and organising of various activities***

Although information on naturalisation procedure is altogether widely available (for example, at the OCMA home page and at the information days organized by it), however the same as for many other issues, information can never be too much. The told by non-citizens indicate kind of circle of “misinformation or false information”. Many non-citizens hold the view that naturalisation exam in Latvian language is very difficult and Latvian language skills are required at the highest level. Due to this view, there are non-citizens, who do not find out at all, how easy or difficult exam of Latvian language is in fact. Therefore it has to be concluded that, if there is desire to promote naturalisation process, it is necessary to continue also various activities of information, and, probably, for implementation of them it is necessary to raise additional means of EU funds that are meant for society integration aims. Information can be performed the most successfully, firstly, by OCMA, where non-citizens apply both in connection with questions on naturalisation and also to change their passports, upon expiry of their validity term. Secondly, it is necessary to continue supporting NGO that actively operates within the field of informing, positive experience and exchange of experience and opinions, and organising of various activities.

***To promote approach of dialogue, by addressing non-citizens and inviting them to discussion***

One of the main findings of the project “The analysis of integration of Latvian non-citizens: RESEARCH, PROGNOSIS, SOLUTIONS AND DIALOGUE” is that organising of the dialogue among Latvians, Russians, citizens, non-citizens in Latvia is very necessary and discussions and dialogue are exactly the way, how to hear each other and to find collaboration

opportunities. This is illustrated by following quotations from the discussion having taken place within the project:

*“I feel grateful that I was remembered. I was called and invited to the interview – everything started with that. It was pleasant to me that I was talked to, asked, how I lived here. I openly told that all. And therefore discussions must be. I am grateful that I was remembered and invited.”*

*“We need to meet each other more, see and hear each other. Simply as people. Activities, where we take part all together and do something together. Clean up surroundings, make porridge. To meet each other half-way. I also love this land. We do not bother each other. We just have to learn to live together.”*

Some of non-citizens are encouraged by these discussions to speak Latvian, some feels heard, some is maybe motivated by them to learn Latvian language, but all together feel more connected, necessary and belonging to Latvia, and this is important both for citizens and non-citizens. Therefore it would be necessary in Latvia to increasingly use principles of participatory or action research approach that provide that target groups actively take part both at the research itself and also at the development of solutions of the problems.

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## **Attachment. Guidelines for in-depth interviews in Russian**

### STATUS CONTROL

- 1. Каков Ваш гражданский статус в Латвии?**
- 2. Являетесь ли Вы гражданином другой страны (не Латвии)?**

### ATTITUDE TOWARDS NATURALISATION

- 3. Планируете ли Вы получить латвийское гражданство в порядке натурализации в течение ближайших 12 месяцев?**

*Вопросы для тех, кто не планируют получить латвийское гражданство:*

- 4. Почему Вы не планируете получить гражданство?**
- 5. Что побудило бы Вас принять гражданство Латвии?**

*Вопросы для тех, кто планируют получить латвийское гражданство*

- 6. Почему Вы планируете получить латвийское гражданство?**

*Вопросы для всех*

- 7. Живя в Латвии, какие преимущества, по Вашему мнению, дало бы Вам гражданство Латвии?**
- 8. Как Вы считаете, что для Вас лично служит побуждением или препятствием для получения гражданства Латвии?**
- 9. А других людей?**
- 10. Выясняли ли Вы лично, какие документы нужны для получения гражданства Латвийской Республики в порядке натурализации?**
- 11. Узнавали и знакомились ли Вы лично с требованиями проверки по латышскому языку, которые выдвигаются претендентам на гражданство?**

### OPINION ON NON-CITIZEN STATUS

- 12. Сталкивались ли Вы с какими-нибудь проблемами в повседневной жизни из-за Вашего статуса негражданина? С какими?**
- 13. Чувствуете ли Вы какие-нибудь различия между гражданином и негражданином в повседневной жизни?**

**14. Считаете ли Вы, что быть негражданином в Латвии - значит испытывать дискриминацию?**

**15. Нарушались ли Ваши права человека или были ли Вы дискриминированы в течение последних 3 лет в Латвии? Каким образом?**

#### OPINION ON EXTENSION OF NON-CITIZENS RIGHTS

**16. Принимали бы Вы участие в выборах самоуправлений, если бы Вы имели право?**

**17. Как Вы думаете, негражданам в Латвии надо было бы иметь право голосования в выборах самоуправлений?**

#### LATVIAN LANGUAGE SKILLS

**18. Как Вы оцениваете свои знания латышского языка?**

**19. Смогли ли бы Вы работать на такой работе, где требуется владение латышским языком?**

**20. Посещали ли Вы какие-либо курсы латышского языка? Почему да или нет?**

#### Sense of belonging to Latvia

**21. Смотря хоккейный матч между сборными Латвии и России, чью сторону Вы больше поддерживаете? А Ваша семья, родственники?**

**22. Когда Вы говорите "родина", Вы под этим подразумеваете Латвию, Россию или какую-нибудь другую страну?**

**23. Сколько лет Вы прожили в Латвии?**

**24. Вы сам/сама лично чувствуете принадлежность к латвийскому обществу? Почему да или нет?**

**25. Думали ли Вы (Ваша семья, родственники) об отъезде из Латвии?**

**26. Какие обязанности, на Ваш взгляд, каждый житель Латвии должен выполнять перед государством?**

**27. Что Вы сам/сама сделали, чтобы всем нам было бы лучше жить в Латвии? Пробовали ли Вы сами каким-либо образом интегрироваться в латвийское общество? Каким?**

## OPINION ON NON-CITIZEN CONGRESS

**28. Каково ваше мнение о деятельности общественного движения «Конгресс неграждан»? Поддерживаете ли Вы их деятельность?**

## TRAVELLING TO RUSSIA

**29. Как часто Вы ездите в Россию (как мы знаем, негражданам легче поехать – виза не нужна)?**

## ON PARTICIPATION AT FURTHER DISCUSSIONS

**Мы считаем, что жители нашего общества нуждаются в более крепком сотрудничестве и взаимопонимании, поэтому мы желаем Вас пригласить и на дискуссию с представителями государственных учреждений и учреждений самоуправления, чтобы обсудить, как способствовать процессу натурализации и интеграции в латвийском обществе. Как Вы к этому относитесь?**

## Summary in English

The monograph “The analysis of integration of Latvian non-citizens” is a part of the EEA Grants programme “NGO fund” project implemented by Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (Contract Nr. 2012.EEZ/PP/2/MEC/001/001). The project “The analysis of integration of Latvian non-citizens: RESEARCH, PROGNOSIS, SOLUTIONS AND DIALOGUE” aims to promote the process of naturalisation and dialogue with non-citizens, and it includes several parts: research – to gain an in-depth understanding of the barriers and motivation to naturalise or not; prognosis of the decline of number of non-citizens for the next 5, 10 and 20 years; suggestions for solutions how to improve policies promoting the integration of non-citizens; and organization of dialogue between all stakeholders in addressing the practical implementation of developed solutions.

The approach of the project is based on principles of action research (it can be called also participatory or communicative research), and developed policy recommendations are a result from a joined dialogue between researchers and all stakeholders – Latvian non-citizens, experts, national authorities and municipal employees. Non-citizens contributed to that dialogue with their interpretations and reflections coming from their own experiences. The project was implemented in the big cities of Latvia with the largest number of non-citizens – Riga, Daugavpils, Liepaja and Jelgava.

The monograph contains the introduction, seven chapters, conclusions, recommendations, and reference list. Chapter 1 offers a brief analysis of theoretical literature. Authors draw attention to diversity of interpretations of the concept of citizenship, and discuss the dimensions of citizenship (status, sense of belonging and praxis). In chapters 2 and 3, authors analyse statistical and survey data on the process of naturalisation and the characteristics of non-citizens. Chapter 4 offers analysis of forty in-depth interviews with Latvian non-citizens regarding the motives to naturalise or not. In chapters 5 and 6, authors analyse different aspects of belonging – the understanding of mother land, how proud non-citizens are with Latvia and with their ethnic affiliation, plans to emigrate and other issues, combining survey results with analysis of in-depth interviews. Chapter 7 includes prognosis of the decline of number of non-citizens for the next 5, 10 and 20 years, taking into account current trends of the naturalisation, birth and death rates and emigration.

## Information on authors

**Inese Šūpule** – has obtained degree of doctor of sociology in political sociology at the University of Latvia. Since 2000 works at Baltic Institute of Social Sciences as leading researcher. Professional activities of the researcher are connected with academic and applicable research within the sphere of social integration, migration, evaluation of social and educational politics. Significant experience for implementation and management of many national and international level research projects has been acquired at the research work.

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