



Baltic Institute of Social sciences

**INTEGRATION OF MINORITY YOUTH IN THE
SOCIETY OF LATVIA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE
EDUCATION REFORM**

RIGA 2004

The research was carried out by the financial supply provided by Society Integration Foundation (SIF) and European Union (EU) (PHARE LE01.01.01. /2-7/26). Opinions provided in the research don't represent the official position of SIF and EU.



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INTRODUCTION

Three primary goals were set out for this research project:

- To study the way in which minority education reforms have helped to shape the political views and positions of students vis-à-vis the Latvian state, its policies, their sense of belonging to the state, ethnic relationships and integration into Latvia's society;
 - To determine the way in which political views emerge among the parents and teachers of minority students, because they are the primary agents in the socialisation of students; this was achieved through a study of the socio-political positions of parents and educators;
 - On the basis of the results of the research, to offer more in-depth understanding of the factors which are promoting the integration of minority schoolchildren and students into Latvia's society, along with the factors which, on the contrary, may be facilitating political dissatisfaction and more in-depth conflicts.
-
- *The theoretical foundation for the research*

The integration of young people from minority groups was surveyed and analysed in this research project in a complex way, focusing on three dimensions of integration - position-based, structural and attitudinal integration (Karklins, 2000). It was on the basis of these integration aspects that the indicators that were used in the research were established.

(1) Structural integration. In studying structural integration, the authors made use of the latest theories about political participation - theories which make it clear that the role of traditional political organisations is deteriorating in the face of new types of social activities. These are characterised primarily by forms of political participation such as demonstrations and unsanctioned strikes (Dalton, 1996). It is also true that there is greater participation in the new social movements, at the centre of attention of which are the representation of group interests and the protection of human rights.

In this study, the aspect of structural integration became more and more important because of the socio-political events which took place in Latvia in the context of education reforms. Both in the quantitative and qualitative part of the research, the authors included questions about the relevant events, thus significantly deepening the study of motivations for structural integration.

The authors also made use of social network theory, analysing the frequency and nature of ethnic contacts. One of the aspects which is considered by the social network theory is the structure of social networks, researching the strength or weakness of social ties among those who are involved in such networks. This can be determined on the basis of various parameters, both objective (the frequency of contacts) and subjective (emotional factors). An analysis of the structure of social networks makes it possible to determine the effect of networks on individual attitudes, and in the context of this research, this focuses on the socio-political positions of young people (Davern, 1996).

In the study of the structural integration of young people, the primary focus has been on the ethnic contacts of students - the frequency and content of those contacts. This approach makes it possible to determine the extent to which young people have become structurally integrated into society as such. It is also possible to learn about the way in which the ethnic homogeneity or heterogeneity of an individual's social network affects the individual's socio-political attitudes.

(2) Functional integration. This dimension of integration focuses on the ability of people to develop contacts with one another. Taking into account the goals and target groups of the research, the concept of functional integration in this case is defined as the ability to speak the Latvian language. If an individual is to be able to operate successfully in the public space of a country, he or she must speak the state language, particularly because political discourse is usually presented in that language (Karklins, 2000). The analysis of functional integration in this study is aimed at attitudes toward the Latvian language, determining the experience and habits of respondents vis-à-vis learning and using the language. In studying these issues, it is first and foremost useful to make use of the theories concerning motivation for learning a second language that were developed by Baker (1992). Baker has defined two different reasons why a second language is learned - integrative and instrumental motivation:

(a) The instrumental or utility motivation, when people learn languages so as to satisfy their own needs or goals. These are utilitarian goals - the need not to lose one's job, to expand one's opportunities in the labour market, to pass a language test, to become a citizen, etc.

(b) Integrative motivations, revealing an individual's wish to identify with a different linguistic group and to establish close links to members of that group (Baker, 2002).

The study of functional integration has also made use of the theory of 'language conflict', which has been presented in the classical work of socio-linguistic theorists. Over the last several decades, interest in contacts among linguistic communities and in language-based conflicts therein has become more active. One author whose theoretical concepts can be used in explaining language conflicts is Nelde. He argues that languages among which there are contacts inevitably create a foundation for conflict among those who speak the languages (1986). This makes it possible to assume that language conflicts can turn into conflicts among linguistic communities, and these can be political conflicts which are based on the fact that the dominant linguistic group in the relevant society controls administrative, political and economic life. The subordinate linguistic group, in these circumstances, must waive its social goals, assimilate or struggle against the system. If subordinated linguistic groups are large and strong enough and have a unified culture which exists alongside a unified language, then political opposition can emerge as one of the manifestations of a political language conflict. This is particularly common in those societies in which the dominant group uses language as the basis for integrating the rest of the society (Nelde, 1998).

On the basis of the work of Baker and Nelde, the authors of this study established indicators for the study of attitudes and behavioural models among minority young people when it comes to language use. The authors sought to reveal and analyse manifestations and expressions of possible language conflicts, as well as the motivations which underpin the desire of young people to learn the state language. The experiences and results of language learning serve to establish an individual's

attitude vis-à-vis language, and that is one of the indicators which characterises the level of integration among young people.

(3) Attitudinal integration. This dimension of integration can be described as the level of belonging to an ethnic group or community - something that influences the attitudes and behaviours of an individual. Attitudinal integration speaks to the emergence of a common system of civic values among a group (Karklins, 2000). In this study, analysis of this dimension is based on the “hierarchy of attitudes” and “structure of attitudes” that were developed by Young (1977) and Sabatier (1993).

Young looks at the way in which social perceptions, ideas and activity models emerge. The author believes that attitudes are arranged in a hierarchy. At the core are the individual’s general principles in perceiving social reality (difficult to change). Next there are attitudes with which one manages the social reality. Finally there are opinions which emerge as the result of everyday contacts with the world (moderately easy to change).

Sabatier has expressed similar ideas about the structure of political attitudes, arguing that an individual’s political attitudes are based on his or her opinions about specific steps that are taken in politics. The opinions, in turn, are based on beliefs, information, values, norms and samples of action models.

In determining the target group’s opinions and interpretations about ethnic policies that are being implemented by the state, particularly in the area of education and language policy, as well as in studying the models of action of the target group on the basis of a study of the structural and functional dimensions of integration, the authors can gain wider and more in-depth knowledge about trends which indicate whether socio-political attitudes promote minority integration into Latvia’s society or whether, on the contrary, they promote tensions and the desire of minorities to step aside from the overall society.

▪ *The methodology and the target groups*

The target groups for this research project were the most important groups which are interested in minority education policies. It was necessary to include these groups in the research if the relevant theoretical and practical goals were to be achieved.

The target groups for the study were the following:

- (1) 9th to 12th grade students in minority schools;
- (2) The parents of minority students;
- (3) Teachers in minority schools.

The researchers made use of qualitative and quantitative research methods in pursuit of their aims. The study was conducted in two different phases:

Qualitative research: Focus group discussions with minority students, their parents and their teachers - nine focus group discussions in all in the Latvian capital city of Rīga and in the country’s second city, the highly minority-populated city of Daugavpils. The results of these focus groups allowed the authors to formulate issues more precisely (in words that were understandable and easily perceived by respondents). They also served as a cornerstone for developing hypotheses in the quantitative research phase of the study.

Quantitative research: Surveys among students in the 9th to the 12th grade, as well as their parents and teachers. The surveys were based on various methods. The survey of teachers involved direct interviews in schools. Students were asked to complete questionnaires in their classrooms. The students were also asked to bring questionnaires and accompanying letters home to their parents, and that is how the parents were surveyed - they were asked to fill out the questionnaire on their own.

The survey was conducted at 50 minority high schools throughout Latvia. The schools were selected through a multi-level and stratified method of random selection.

The results of the focus group discussions were correlated and analysed in accordance with the target groups - students, parents and teachers. The survey results were reported and analysed in accordance with the subject matter of the study, comparing the data from all three target groups.

▪ *The socio-political context*

A key factor in influencing the data and results of sociological research is the socio-political context - the things that are happening in the country and in the population at the time when the research is being conducted and the results are being interpreted. This is particularly true when it comes to socio-political sociological research.

During the qualitative and quantitative research in this case (the focus group discussions were held between February 17 and 25, 2004, while the surveys were conducted from April 6-14, 2004), there were a variety of socio-political events in Latvia which had to do with minority education reforms. Significant political decisions were taken in amending the law on education. In Rīga and other cities in Latvia, there were a number of protests by minority students and parents, aimed against the changes which were planned for the minority education system in September 2004. These spoke to a shift in the use of various languages in the education system in favour of the Latvian language. These events represented the context which influenced the socio-political attitudes of those who took part in the research, affecting the argumentation and the things that had to be taken into account when the received data were interpreted and analysed.

Because these processes had a definite influence on the data that were extracted from the research and on the interpretation of those data, it is necessary to provide a brief review of the organised protests that were held during the relevant period of time:

- On January 22, a picket line was held outside the building of the Latvian Saeima (parliament) under the slogan “Hands off of Russian schools!” The protest took place on the day when the Saeima was planning to approve government-recommended amendments to the education law to specify that 60% of classes in minority high schools are to be taught in Latvian, while 40% are to be taught in the native language of the students. In the event, however, MPs adopted a different version of the law on second reading (of three readings in all), one which said that all subjects are to be taught in Latvian, save only for those which have to do with ethnic identity and culture.

- On January 23, there was another protest in Rīga against the new version of the law. People gathered outside the building of the Ministry of Education and

Science. MPs from the governing coalition decided to return to the original version of the proposed law - the 60:40 proportion of languages. MPs also decided to leave it up to schools to decide which subjects would be taught in which language.

- On January 29, minority students staged a protest in the central Latvian town of Valmiera.

- On February 5, the education law was adopted on third and final reading. Protests were held outside of Parliament and the Rīga Castle, where the president of Latvia works.

- On February 11, there was another demonstration outside of the president's office. According to the Latvian political system, the president had until February 12 to reject the law and to send it back to the Saeima for further consideration.

- On February 13, President Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga signed and proclaimed the new education law. Organisers of anti-reform protests argued that the president was not representing all of Latvia's residents.

- The amendments to the law took full force on February 27. A protest called "The Wall" was organised in central Rīga, and one of the aims was to defend those who had produced and participated in a music video called "Black Kārlis" (the reference being to the then education minister, Kārlis Šadurskis), which, without authorisation, made use of the Pink Floyd song "Another Brick in the Wall" to oppose education reforms in Latvia.

- On March 6, there was what was described as an "all-Latvian congress of the defenders of Russian schools". Delegates issued three primary demands - the restoration of education in Russian, the awarding of Latvian citizenship to all who are presently holding the status of non-citizens, and the awarding of the status of an official language to the Russian language.

- On April 15, there was another protest against education reforms in the city centre of Rīga. The main goal was to submit a letter to the education minister and to the prime minister under the heading "We do not need this kind of reform!"

- On April 16, an open lesson in Russian was held outside the Hall of Congresses in Rīga.

- On May 1 there was an unauthorised demonstration against the shift toward classes being taught mostly in Latvian in minority schools in the western Latvian coast town of Liepāja. Activists distributed flyers in schools, calling on students and employees to take part in a demonstration "against the destruction of education in the Russian language". On the same day, there was also a demonstration at the base of the monument in Rīga which commemorates the victory of Soviet armed forces over the German military during World War II. Its slogan was "For Russian Schools in a Unified Europe!"

These events represent the context which influenced the socio-political attitudes and arguments of people who took part in the research, and this must be taken into account when interpreting and analysing the data that were obtained.

EVALUATION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

The integration of young non-Latvians into Latvia's society in the context of education reforms was studied from three perspectives – attitudinal integration, structural integration and functional integration (Karklins, 2000). The conclusions that have been drawn from this research are based on the qualitative data (from focus group discussions) and the quantitative data (surveys of minority students, their parents and teachers) that were extracted during the course of the research. The conclusions are structured on the basis of the various subjects that were considered in the context of integration processes.

ATTITUDINAL INTEGRATION

▪ *National identity*

By applying the principles of critical discourse analysis to the analysis of qualitative data, researchers came up with a very important discovery - that when it comes to attitudes vis-à-vis the state, students make use of the important discursive strategy of positive self-presentation and negative presentation of others (Van Dijk, 2000). This emerges when young people construct their national identity by contrasting Latvia with other countries. In this sense, young people feel a sense of solidarity (i.e., of community and belonging) with Latvia's residents and with the state.

The results of the focus group discussions suggest that the main element which forms the sense of belonging among students is the biographic national identity. Respondents perceive Latvia to be their fatherland, the place where they have established significant social networks (family, friends). Some young people expressed the view that Latvia is an ethno-centric place, a country with two separate communities (*“The Latvian state not only fails to listen to other parts of society [i.e., the country's Russian speakers], it is essentially based on the idea that there is no need to hear the views of those other parts of society.”*). This suggests that the social networks that have been established by the young people produce a sense of belonging primarily toward their own ethnic and socio-linguistic community, while they are also alienated from political power. At the level of attitudes and discourse, this means alienation from the state and from the Latvian speaking community. This is made clear in statements which students made about the role which ethno-political decisions play in the horizontal disintegration of society. All of these factors have a negative effect on the integration of young people into Latvia's society, on their loyalty toward the state and their national identity.

When we compare the things that teachers, parents and students had to say about the attitudes of non-Latvian young people vis-à-vis the state, we can conclude that the evaluations and arguments that were presented by these various target groups are not in conflict with one another, but there are content-based differences in the way in which views were explained. Teachers and parents tended to blame the government and to emphasise the low level of socio-economic security among local residents, arguing that these problems have a deleterious effect on the national identity of students. In the arguments of students, too, words such as “the state” and “politicians” were of importance, but students were more likely to accent the vertical and horizontal split of society as the primary factor in establishing their critical attitudes.

▪ *Education reforms*

In analysing the attitudes of target group participants vis-à-vis education reforms, we must separate out attitudes toward bilingual education and toward the transfer of minority high schools to a situation in which 60% of classes will be taught in Latvian and 40% will be taught in the minority language. Data analysis shows that students and teachers have a positive attitude toward bilingual education, believing that it represents a compromise in terms of minority education reforms. Dominant attitudes about the shift toward a system in which most classes are taught in Latvian, however, were negative (this conclusion is based on the focus group discussions).

During the latter phase of education reform implementation, negative attitudes among target groups, particularly students, have been exacerbated. In 2002, the BSZI conducted a study that was called “Analysis of the Introduction of Bilingual Education” and found that 40% of students, 42% of teachers and 42% of parents supported the shift toward a system in which most classes at the high school level are taught in Latvian. This time, however, we found that the transfer toward a system in which 60% of classes are taught in Latvian and 40% - in the minority language was supported only by 15% of students, 13% of parents and 30% of teachers. In interpreting these data, it is very important to keep the socio-political context of the study firmly in mind. While the research was being conducted, there were important socio-political events in Latvia, which surrounded the education reform issue - the education law was amended, there was vast public debate about those amendments, there were various kinds of protests. In this context it has to be noted that only 10% of those students who did not take part in any protests said that they support the need for reforms.

The discourse analysis that was used in analysing qualitative data revealed the fact that students base their critical attitudes on argumentation schemes that are disseminated in private (family) and public (the mass media, schools) situations. They parrot views that have been formulated in the past. Typically, students did not analyse or reveal their own experiences and related attitudes. Instead, they used the transfer tactic in speaking about “others” who, as a result of the reforms, are losing their native Russian language and culture, as well as their competitiveness in higher education and the labour market. Young people, in other words, are confirming solidarity with their linguistic community, but on the other hand, they are also justifying their negative attitudes by shifting the responsibility on to the shoulders of “others”.

In the group discussions, students expressed the certainty that the reforms have caused inter-ethnic relations in Latvia to become harsher, thus promoting an ethnic split in the country. This idea is based on the commonly held belief among non-Latvians that those who are organising education policies are all ethnic Latvians. This means that opposition against the political elite and its decisions indirectly manifests a dislike of the Latvian speaking community in Latvia. Survey data confirm this conclusion. When asked to agree or disagree with the statement that “over the last six months, my relations with Latvians have worsened”, 20% of students agreed, as opposed to just 8% of parents and 4% of teachers. The application of discourse analysis made it evident that at the level of ideas, negative ethnic relations result in conflicts. At the discourse level, this is identified as an ethnic conflict, but in essence it is an ethno-political conflict, because it is based more on political than purely on ethnic interests.

- ***The Latvian language***

Analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data indicates that the implementation of education reforms has caused the attitude of students toward the Latvian language to change. Generally speaking, the attitudes are positive, and the positions that are taken by the young people are in line with the national integration discourse which focuses on the need to speak the Latvian language, but the views of the students also involve argumentation schemes that are typical of the opposition discourse. Students used these schemes in order to explain their negative thinking about the Latvian language and its use. Students claimed that opportunities to learn the Latvian language are weak, they complained about the way in which the national language policies are being implemented - "this is a forced demand", they said. Comments from the young people indicate that negative attitudes vis-à-vis those who are implementing the policies are transforming into critical positions toward the Latvian language.

When we analyse attitudes toward the Latvian language, we have to separate out the attitudes of students with respect to the Latvian language, which is both the state language and the language which most people in Latvia speak, from the attitudes of students with respect to the use of that language as the language of instruction. The results of the group discussions indicate that non-Latvian young people tend to have positive attitudes about the Latvian language as the state language, but negative attitudes vis-à-vis the use of the language for instruction. This suggests, in turn, that education reforms are seriously affecting the attitudes of students toward the language, and it has to be added that those attitudes have become more negative (according to the focus group discussions among teachers and parents).

STRUCTURAL INTEGRATION

Research about the structural integration of non-Latvian young people was based on two major considerations - political participation and ethnic networks.

- ***Political participation***

Results of the student survey indicate that over the last six months (i.e., during the period that began in January 2004), the issue of education reforms has significantly affected the political participation of minority young people, particularly in Latvia's larger towns and cities. One-half of all surveyed students reported having taken part in one of the protests against education reforms. More than one-half of those who had not done so said that they were sorry that they couldn't take part.

The arguments which students used to support or oppose the protests during focus group discussions make it clear that they did not see themselves as a part of the political decision making process. They clearly differentiated between themselves ("us") and the political elite ("they"). In the context of discourse analysis here, there is reason to talk about an increasing gap between the Russian speaking community and the state as the political elite in the context of education reforms. This is an example of vertical disintegration. It is interesting to look at the way in which students spoke about the protests. Typically, they used "war terminology" - words such as "battle", "weapons", "self-defence", "power", etc. This indicates an attempt among young people to distance themselves from political authority, but it also makes clear that relations with the Latvian speaking community are becoming more exacerbated.

- ***Ethnic relations***

The conclusions that have been drawn from the analysis of qualitative and quantitative data must be taken into consideration if we are to understand ethnic relations among non-Latvian young people. All of the target group discussion participants differentiated between “Latvians” (“them”) and “Russians” (“us”). The way in which respondents, particularly students and parents, discussed these groups indicated polarisation in society. The analysis of qualitative data indicates that each of the groups has its own ethno-political discourse.

An evaluation of the ethnic contacts among students indicates that there are two major kinds of relationships - friendly ones and conflicting ones. On the one hand, young people have attitudes which typify ethnic gaps - intolerance, a dislike of Latvians as an external group, as aliens, etc. This type of relationships clearly marks out the separation between “us” (Russians) and “them” (Latvians). It is important to note, however, that in describing conflicts with Latvians, students spoke in general terms, making reference to the experience of “others”, not of themselves.

On the other hand, the results of student surveys show that fully 82% of students believe that they have friendly relations with Latvians. Although this indicator is sufficiently high to allow us to understand the situation, however, we must also take into account the things that were said in focus group discussions. First of all, if we are to understand the success of structural integration, we have to know how strong the interactive links are. This is determined by the frequency of contacts and by the type of social relations that exist (Granovetter, 1974, 1995). Qualitative and quantitative data suggest that there are interactive links with Latvians, but these are weak. That is because most of the Latvians who are a part of the ethnic networks of students are friends (the frequency of contacts, as reported by students, suggest that they are not very close friends) or acquaintances, not family members, close relations or close friends. The frequency with which respondents speak Latvian (27% of surveyed students reported that they speak Latvian outside of school nearly every day) suggests that there are weak or moderate interactive links. The strength of such links has a key influence on an individual’s ethno-political attitudes. An analysis of the focus group discussions indicates that the ethno-political attitudes of those young people who have strong interactive links with Latvians (family members, close friends) are more positive than those of students who have weak interactive links with Latvians.

When we analyse the way in which students evaluate ethnic relations, we can conclude that there are differences between the Latvian and Russian speaking communities in Latvia. There are tendencies of mutual isolation, particularly in the informal, private space. Data from focus groups allow us to look at the foundations of negative ethnic relations. One of the most important causes for the views that are held by those who were studied has been the political decisions that have been taken in relation to citizenship, language and education insofar as minorities are concerned. Non-Latvian students, parents and teachers all said that these decisions have caused serious disintegration in society, negatively influencing inter-ethnic relations at the individual and public level, both in the horizontal and the vertical dimension. Because politicians are the ones who take political decisions, participants in the study typically argued that politicians are to blame for the ethnic disintegration of Latvia’s society.

Analysis of the way in which respondents evaluated political participation and ethnic relations allows us to come up with two major conclusions. First of all,

structural integration is being expressed through protests, and that has to do with the latest ideas about political participation theories - the ideas which say that there is increasing participation in new social movements that is aimed at representing and protecting the interests of various groups (Dalton, 1996). Second, concepts about the social network theory (Granovetter, 1974, 1995; Davern, 1997; Wasserman & Faust, 1999) which were used in order to analyse ethnic networks suggest that there is weak structural integration, but they also indicate that the ethnic networks of students are heterogeneous, and young people are open to inter-ethnic communications. This marks out positive trends in the structural integration process.

FUNCTIONAL INTEGRATION

The extent to which non-Latvian students are functionally integrated was determined through analysis of their Latvian language skills and the accustomed use of the Latvian language among respondents. The results of quantitative surveys indicate that fewer than one-tenth of students have a negative evaluation of their own Latvian language skills. The dominant position among students in group discussions, too, indicated that most of the kids have no problem with Latvian language skills.

The motivation for learning and speaking the Latvian language is an instrumental one when it comes to students. This was seen in focus group discussions and in the student survey. Two-thirds of the students said that the primary reason for speaking the Latvian language is the need to access important resources such as education and work. Schools and places of employment represent the social environment in which all of the studied focus groups speak the Latvian language most often. Indicators concerning integrative motivation, by comparison, were lower.

Even though the surveyed students speak Latvian quite frequently, it has to be remembered that the language is spoken mostly in school. This was indicated by focus group participants, who also said that students have weak social links with ethnic Latvians. What's more, the Russian language is the language of communication in inter-ethnic contacts.

Discourse analysis allowed researchers to conclude that when it comes to the Latvian language as the state language and to the use of the language on an everyday basis, it is important for students to express ideas that are in line with the integrative discourse. Students used justification strategies and apparent concessions in terms of their argumentation schemes, arguing that the behaviour and attitudes of Latvians are what causes Russian speakers not to speak Latvian. Students suggested that perhaps the "us" group was not behaving properly, but then they argued that this is true for good reason or that others have not properly evaluated and interpreted the behaviour. The argumentation schemes that were used by students are a part of the discursive strategy of positive self-presentation.

In studying the habits of respondents with respect to knowing and speaking the Latvian language, as well as in studying functional integration, researchers made use of the concept of language conflicts (Nelde, 1986, 1998). All of the focus group discussions made it clear that the language conflict in Latvia is becoming more harsh. That is true for several reasons, and we can identify the two most important ones. Latvia's accession to the European Union is one, because it stresses the importance of the English language in the hierarchy of languages. The second factor is the area of education reforms, because it has brought up the status of the Russian language. One

of the most important ideas to be expressed in focus group discussions in this regard is that protests against education reforms are a way in which Russian speakers stand up for the Russian language. Because the Russian language and the culture in which it functions are important self-identification elements for the Russian speaking community (Apine, 2001), it is clear why in the context of education reforms, students and parents, as well as (less distinctly) teachers, feel that the Russian language is being attacked and that they should feel threatened in this situation. It is this context in which researchers found extensive support for the idea that Russian should be made a second state language in Latvia, particularly among students and parents. Respondents explained that the reason for this belief is that lots of people in Latvia speak Russian.

If we look at indicators which have to do with the functional integration of non-Latvian young people and which serve as instrumental motivations for the learning and speaking of the language, we must conclude that these indicators are weak. At the same time, however, the Latvian language skills of students allow them to operate in the public space successfully and to understand the political discourse that takes place in Latvia. This indicates positive functional integration. We have to keep in mind, however, that Latvia still has two very separate information spaces, and that has a negative influence on the integration of society, including young people. It also serves to influence the political socialisation of students to a very considerable degree.

The study of all three dimensions of integration allows us to draw major conclusions. First of all, ethno-political attitudes toward such issues as language, education and citizenship are closely linked and affect each other.

Second, since 2004, the education reform process has led to changes in the attitudes of non-Latvian young people vis-à-vis all issues that have to do with the country's ethnic policies and integration policies. The views have become more negative.

Third, the way in which education reforms have been implemented has promoted vertical and horizontal disintegration in society, and this also influences the integration of non-Latvian young people into Latvia's society. It is key, however, to remember that the socio-political discourse of young people is shaped by positions and structures which are in line both with the opposition discourse and the integration discourse. That, in turn, indicates that there are opportunities for greater integration.

These conclusions are backed up by something which young people said during their focus group discussions - that they would like Latvia's society to be unified and integrated. Students also made it clear that they themselves are responsible for the integration of society. Here and in other areas, students disclosed a more loyal attitude toward the state and the Latvian language. They have regular inter-ethnic contacts, and that is fully in line with the idea of attitudinal hierarchies in socio-political attitudes.

I. THE RESULTS OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

In total, there were nine focus group discussions in the three target groups - three focus groups with students in minority schools, three with the parents of such students, and three with teachers. Two of the discussions in each group took place in Rīga and one in Daugavpils. Rīga and Daugavpils were chosen as the most appropriate locations for focus group discussions, because approximately 80% of the schools where the basic teaching language is Russian are concentrated in Rīga and in the eastern Latvian region of Latgale, where Daugavpils is located. Of the 150 schools of this type, 65 are in Rīga, and 52 are in Latgale.¹ The discussions were held in Russian, which is the native language of the respondents.

Participants in the process were recruited on the basis of a random and quota-based principle. Each focus group discussion was attended by students, their parents and their teachers from various schools and from all grade levels. This significantly increased the variety of responses that were given, allowing researchers to gain a deeper understanding about the issues at hand.

METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

▪ *Critical discourse analysis - an instrument for analysing ethno-political discourse*

For the analysis of qualitative data, researchers used the principles of critical discourse analysis (CDA) that have been elaborated by such authors as Van Dijk, Wodak and Fairclough, among others. CDA is an approach toward the analysis of text and discourse that was initially used to analyse societies in which power structures are based on dominant and subordinated groups which have been formed over a longer period of time and have been legitimated at the level of discourse. Over the last several decades, CDA has been widely used in socio-political research, particularly when such issues as racism, discrimination and ideology are studied. Because CDA also can be used to analyse socio-political problems from the perspective of power relationships, it is sometimes called “socio-political discourse analysis” (Van Dijk, 1993). The goal of CDA is to analyse visible and invisible structural relationships of dominance, discrimination and power and control as manifested in language (Blommaert, Bulcaen, 2000:448). Supporters of this theory argue that the economic, social and cultural changes of late modernity exist as discourse and as processes which stand outside of discourse. What is more, the discourse itself has an effect on the processes. When studying various forms of inequality, therefore, the focus of attention is on the role of discourse in relationships of dominance and power. By dominance, we refer here to the power that is implemented by elites, institutions or groups so as to create social inequality of a political, cultural, class-based, ethnic, racial or gender-based nature.

One of the leading proponents of CDA has been Fairclough (1992), who has identified three dimensions in perceiving and analysing discourse – discourse-as-text, discourse-as-discursive practice and discourse-as-social practice.

¹ Source: Latvian Ministry of Education and Science, www.izm.gov.lv.

In the first dimension – discourse-as-text - attention is focused on the linguistic features and structures of the research subjects, analysing such things as word choice, grammatical constructions and stylistic elements.

In the second dimension – discourse-as-discursive practice - discourse is seen as a set of verbalised ideas, attitudes and views, one that is produced, circulated, distributed and consumed in society. In this dimension, specialists study acts of speech - their coherence, their mutual relationships and their intertextuality. The aim is to look at the way in which public discourses about certain subjects interact amongst themselves, at what they have in common and at ways in which they differ.

Intertextuality is important for this study when comparing the ethno-political discourse of students, parents and teachers vis-à-vis the state, education reforms, the Latvian language and ethnic relationships within society. This allows us to evaluate the role of families and pedagogues in the political socialisation of young people, looking at the extent to which they determine way in which the attitudes of students are shaped in relation to the issues that are considered here.

In the third dimension – discourse-as-social practice - the emphasis is on the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which discourse is a feature (Blommaert, Bulcaen, 2000:448-449). When processing qualitative data from the study of how non-Latvian young people are being integrated into Latvia's society, discourse is analysed first and foremost as text and as discursive practice.

During analysis of focus group discussions, the following issues were stressed:

- How do minority students, parents and teachers discuss their attitudes toward the state and its ethnic policies?
- How do they explain their arguments?
- How do the discourses of students, parents and teachers interact, what do they have in common and how do they differ?
- To what extent is there anything to indicate that students reproduce the attitudes of their parents and their teachers?

In answering these questions, researchers have looked for an answer to the central issue in this research - which socio-political attitudes among students in the context of education reforms are promoting society integration and which ones are, on the contrary, perhaps promoting the emergence of ethnic conflict.

▪ *Methodological principles in data analysis*

Researchers who make use of CDA utilise various approaches in terms of data analysis methodologies, but the analysis is typically focused on a specific issue and aimed at expert analysis of linguistic resources of expression. In this study, the data analysis methodology is based on principles that were designed by De Callia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999) in a three-step strategy that is aimed at analysing national identity discourse: (1) a determination of the topics; (2) a study of discursive strategies (and the structure of discourse); and (3) a study of the use of linguistic features.

Determining the topics

Here we are looking at the specification of major topics which reflect the most important issues that are considered by the speaker, as well as the subject matter that is being discussed in the discourse (Van Dijk, 2000). Topics reveal the most important discourse information. In specifying topics, one has to take into account the subjects that were included in the questions which researchers asked, as well as the subjects that the participants in the discussion developed. In the latter case, analysis is particularly important, because researchers can learn about topics that they did not think of themselves but that are of importance to the target group and help in shaping the discourses of the target groups (students, parents and teachers). The specification of primary and secondary topics allows researchers to determine those aspects of an issue which are considered by the research subjects and those that are ignored by the research subjects. This allows the researcher to classify the topics of the discourse in terms of their importance. Topics can be formulated in many different ways - through individual words or full sentences. They are defined by the objects of study, as well as by researchers who formulate the topics in the text of the analysis - the content, summaries and headings. Topics are grouped into broader subjects which help in classifying parts of text and which can often be described just with one or two words - "State", "Language", "Discrimination", "Ethnic relations", etc. In this study, the structure of reporting results from each target group is based on the questions that were raised by the researcher and on the topics that were developed by participants themselves. These have been grouped into three major topics: "Sense of nation", "Education reform" and "Ethnic relations".

The structures of discourse and the discursive strategies

When CDA is used to study discourses among groups in society that are a part of power relationships, the over-all discursive strategy is used - reflection of the "positive self-presentation" and the "negative other-presentation". This is the most general phenomenon in groups, and it is the way in which people talk about themselves and about others (Van Dijk, 2000). This strategy is based on what Van Dijk calls an ideological square, and there are four basic principles that can be applied to all levels of analysing the structure of discourse:

- Emphasize positive things about "us";
- Emphasize negative things about "them";
- De-emphasize negative things about "us";
- De-emphasize positive things about "them" (Van Dijk, 2000).

The strategy for reflecting the "positive self-presentation" and the "negative presentation of the other" involves a range of other discursive strategies which are used in the data analysis for this study.

One of the discursive strategies to which the greatest attention has been attached consists of argumentation schemes and/or strategies. These reveal the arguments with which individuals or groups ("I"/"we") try to justify or legitimate the shunting aside of another group ("others"/ "they"/ "you"), to justify or legitimate discrimination, oppression or exploitation of the other group. Argumentation schemes can be classified as "argued approach", which is based on objective facts, and as "storytelling approach", when the story is based on what has been heard from friends, acquaintances, relatives and others, as well as on the experience of other people.

Storytelling reduces the responsibility of the teller about what has been said, but it also attaches importance to the story, because it is based on “facts” (Kalmus, 2003).

In the data analysis, several argumentation schemes have been applied, ones that are a part of the over-all discursive strategy that involves the “positive self-presentation” and the “negative other-presentation”. Van Dijk (2000) has defined these schemes as typical phrases “disclaimers” which are particularly characteristic of ideological discourses.

An apparent denial occurs when in the first part of the sentence, a speaker denies any bias against a specific group such as minorities, but then in the second part of the sentence, usually starting with the word “but”, he or she does have something negative to say about minority representatives, thus creating a contradiction with the first part of the sentence.

An apparent concession occurs when the speaker says that the “us” group has behaved poorly or incorrectly (or that “they” behaved properly), but then adds that this negative behaviour is justified or has not been properly understood (while “their” positive behaviour is not as positive as may seem).

Apparent empathy - that is an argumentation scheme which is best described through expressions that are based on the principle of “Perhaps they have problems, but ... [we have problems, too, and much more serious ones!]”.

Transfer - when this argumentation scheme is used, the speaker expresses the view that perhaps there are discriminatory attitudes in society as such, but “they”, not “we”, are responsible for them. “I have no objection against the Latvian language, but my colleague does, because ...” - that is one example of the transfer tactic.

Reversal – this tactic involves a speaker who, in evaluating negative or discriminatory attitudes, considers himself or herself as the victim of the attitudes or behaviours (“we” as an internal group, as opposed to “them” as an external group). An example of this argumentation scheme is the statement that “there is no discrimination against them, but there is discrimination against us”.

All of these argumentation schemes are aimed at justifying and explaining one’s negative attitudes toward “them” so as to maintain the positive self-presentation of “us”.

Other discursive strategies that are used in data analysis:

The strategy of construction strengthens the identity of the “us” group, and so it is used to establish and describe an internal group (De Callia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999). Frequently, when using this strategy, the speaker will use such terms as “we the students” or “we the Russians”, thus pointing to the “us” group’s identity and solidarity while moving further away from “them” and “the others”. Things that are typically said in this context are such statements as “when we stand together, we are a force to be reckoned with.”

The strategy of justification supports, upholds and renews identities, i.e., it maintains the social *status quo* of the individual or the group (De Callia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999). This strategy is used so as to stress the need to support the state’s policies. This strategy can be called a legitimating strategy, because with its help, the speaker can try to excuse his or her own behaviours or attitudes when they are not in line with the ethno-political discourse that has been constructed by the state and that is supported by the majority of the population.

The contrast strategy (Van Dijk, 2000) is manifested through various forms of polarisation - “us” versus “them”, for instance, or “state” versus “nation”. As was mentioned before, the over-all discursive strategy of the “positive self-presentation” and the “negative other-presentation” is also polarised and based on a contrast, emphasising the positive aspects of “us” and the negative aspects of “them”. Ethno-political discourse is often characterised by statements and more extensive messages which are in line with the contrasting form. Expressed attitudes are typically polarised and stated in language through words, forms of expression and sentence constructions.

Stylistic features

The use of pronouns: Pronouns are used to construct identities, to establish or eliminate boundaries, to emphasise social distance between groups, or, on the contrary, to reflect attraction toward another group (Van Dijk, 1997). The use of pronouns, particularly “us” and “them”, speaks to group relations and marks out the boundaries of the internal (“us”) and the external (“they”) group in terms of the attitudes that are being studied, thus revealing that which is in common and that which differs in the discourses of these groups.

Then there is the choice of words, for instance, the choice of using war terminology to discuss protests against education reforms. The choice of words can indicate a neutral or an emotional attitude, it can point to unity, similarity, uniqueness, autonomy, difference and other properties of a social group or an individual. The selection of words is also one of the elements which clearly points to the use of the contrasting strategy.

Next there is the descriptive level or the level of generalisation or specificity in talking about a specific subject or theme. Typically, people discuss their own positive behaviours and the negative behaviours of others at a greater level of specificity and detail. When they talk about their own negative behaviours and the positive behaviours of others, they speak in generalised and abstract terms (Van Dijk, 2000). This represents an indirect expression of attitudes vis-à-vis other groups, those to which the speaker does not belong. It also marks out boundaries among the groups in accordance with their behaviours and attitudes, allowing us to discover those issues in which discourses among differing groups are contradictory and those in which the discourses are close or even overlap.

▪ *Interpretation of the descriptions of discourses*

In the section about parents, the concept of “dominant discourse” is used. It refers to the verbalised thoughts and ideas of the majority of society. We also use the concept of “alternative discourse” to discuss the verbalised ideas and views of the minority of society. In the part of this study where we analyse results, the majority and the minority are defined according to ethnicity - the majority is made up of the Latvians, and their discourse is the dominant or majority discourse. The discourse of non-Latvians is the minority or alternative discourse.

It must be noted that there can be dominant and alternative discourses within each group, too. In the discourse of non-Latvians, for instance, the idea that education reforms are forced and excessively hurried is the dominant discourse, while any support for education reforms and the belief that the reforms will lead to positive

results and consequences is the alternative discourse. In this analysis we also use the concept of “government discourse” to describe the verbalised ideas and views of the political elite.

In the section which focuses on students and teachers, we use the concept of “integration discourse” to describe views concerning the Latvian language, citizenship and education reforms that are in line with the integration policies that have been created and implemented by the state. This discourse is mostly consumed and upheld by representatives of the majority (here, as in the section on parents, the majority and minority are defined on the basis of ethnicity).

The second most important analysis concept that is used here is “opposition discourse” - discourse that is basically supported by the minority of society and by minorities and that can be contrasted to “integration discourse” in terms of its content. If integration discourse argues that education reforms will enhance the competitiveness of non-Latvians in the field of higher education and in the job market, then opposition discourse will argue that minority young people are sufficiently competitive already and that education reforms will have not a positive, but rather a negative effect on their ability to pursue a higher education and then to join the labour market.

Both of these discourses are analysed as dominant discourses, because, generally speaking, they are in line with the discourses of the majority and the minority as the dominant and subordinated groups. Within each group there are so-called alternative discourses which differ from the group’s dominant discourse. The concept of alternative discourse here is the same as it was in the section about the socio-political attitudes of parents.

The position of non-Latvian students can often be described as laying somewhere between the two discourses. Students say things which indicate that they support the integration discourse, but on the other hand, their argumentation schemes very distinctly involve the opposition discourse. In the next sentence, we have underscored integration discourse with a solid line and underscored opposition discourse with a broken line: “The real situation about jobs is that ever since the restoration of Latvia’s independence, it has been hard for Russian speakers to find a job. That was true, and it will continue to be true. (..) Everything depends on work. If your job is one in which you have to deal with the public, then of course you must speak the Latvian language. This is a small country, and of course, the more languages you know, the better off you are, but in professions such as mechanic, electrician, locksmith or plumber, you don’t have to speak Russian and Latvian, it’s quite enough to speak one of the two languages. The main thing is for your brain to work properly.”

▪ *Social network theory - a description of concepts that are used in data analysis*

In the analysis of qualitative and quantitative data about the frequency and nature of ethnic contacts, we make use of the following concepts and ideas from the social network theory (Granovetter, 1974, 1995; Davern, 1997; Wasserman & Faust, 1999):

- The social network - this concept is applied to individuals or agents who are linked by specific social relationships or social ties;
- The structure of the social network - the type and strength of social ties that bring agents together;
- The agent - the basic unit of a social network, an individual;
- Social ties - the social relations which bring agents who are a part of the social network together.

In this study, the structure of the social network is measured with two parameters - the strength of the social tie first of all, and then the type of social relationships in the social ties or among the agents. The strength of the social ties is determined on the basis of the frequency with which the subject of action and the agents interact or make contact with one another. Each respondent was asked to state how frequently, in a specific period of time, he or she had had contact with the various agents who were involved in the relevant network and who had been mentioned by the respondent. In evaluating the strength of social ties, we use the following categories:

- Strong ties - contacts every day or two to three times per week;
- Medium ties - contacts once a week or once in two weeks;
- Weak ties - contacts less than once in two weeks.

The type of social tie is determined on the basis of the way in which the respondent perceives the agents who are involved in the network. In the data analysis, we use the following categories:

- Family relations - if the agent is perceived as a family member or relative;
- Social relations - if the agent is perceived as a friend, an acquaintance, a colleague in extracurricular or leisure activities, or a schoolmate or fellow student (teachers, instructors and authorities who are mentioned by respondents are included in this category);
- Work relations - if the agent is perceived as a colleague at work.

The type of relationships that exist between the subject of action and the various agents offers us additional indications of the strength of the social ties. Family and social relations usually involve strong or medium ties, while work relations often are based on weak ties between the subject of action and the agent. The most important indicator of the strength of the social tie, however, is the frequency with which the agent and the subject of action are in contact.

1.1. STUDENTS

Two primary goals were set out for the focus groups which involved students. First of all, the aim was to find out the way in which minority education reforms are influencing the emergence and content of the socio-political views and attitudes of students, the way in which young people describe their thinking about the state, its politics, their sense of belonging to the society of Latvia, and the interethnic relationships which prevail in this context. Second, we sought to obtain additional information about the mood of the young people (the psychological atmosphere in the discussions) and to reveal the spontaneous reactions of young people, thus gaining a deeper understanding of the students' motivations, interests and socio-political positions.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE STATE

In this analysis, the chief focus is applied to the structures and elements of the discourse, i.e., the subjects which respondents discussed, the way in which they discussed them and the types of linguistic expression that they used. The main conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of these issues is that the positive image of the state is very important for minority students as a component of their national identity.

- *Pride about one's belonging to Latvia*

The first bloc of questions had to do with situations in which students felt proud or ashamed of being residents of Latvia.

Situations in which young people felt pride were usually associated with so-called "success situations" or "stories of successful people". The national identity of students (in language this is manifested as the active use of the plural first person pronoun "we") is revealed most clearly when young people speak about the state's achievements. This means that young people see the positive self-presentation as being very important - identification with the country, one's belonging to the country in the context of positive categories such as achievements, accomplishments, victories and first prizes.

- *Recently there was the European championship in football, and I was very happy about our team's achievements. The game was so very exciting! (Student in Daugavpils)*
- *I am also happy about our athletes, about the achievements of our football players at the European championship. That was very nice, just like when Marija Naumova took first prize at the Eurovision Song Contest! (Daugavpils)*
- *Being ashamed of belonging to Latvia - critical attitudes vis-à-vis the state*

If positive emotions here were usually based on specific events which relate to the state's achievements, then negative feelings were discussed more extensively by students. They spoke of the dissatisfactory situation in the state or, more specifically, about relations between the state and its residents. The dominant discourse for young people was this: "The state is not a unified whole (i.e., society is split) and the state (i.e., politicians and their decisions) are responsible for this." According to critical

discourse analysis, the critical attitudes of the students vis-à-vis the state reveal a negative image of “other”, as opposed to the important positive self-presentation.

Analysis of the things that were set in the group discussions show that the critical attitudes of non-Latvian students are based on two fundamental premises. First of all, students speak negatively about the idea that the state (the political elite) has distanced itself from society (the vertical split). One can identify two levels of vertical disintegration here. The first level is the gap between the political elite on the one hand and society at large on the other.

- *This is another problem because of which I am sometimes ashamed in my country - politics, to put it specifically. These people are the cause for the split in society. We would not have such problems, because Latvians and Russians are all people with specifics, with mentalities. (...) Our society is split up only by politicians who publish some kinds of laws which then end up splitting society. (Student in Daugavpils)*
- *That once again applies to the politicians. I think that people work on the basis of mercantile goals to divide up the country just like the big emperors did - divide and conquer. It's simpler then. (...) It's not that a specific nation is not seen. Once again I do not see any love, not even any love that is aimed at the Latvian people. The state does not in any way express its love for its people. (Student in Daugavpils)*

The second level is the gap between the national (Latvian) political elite and the Russian speaking segment of the population. In this context, students spoke also about the president of Latvia, Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga. They spoke of her when discussing the way in which the alienation of the political elite from the Russian speaking community is manifested:

- *How can someone [Vīķe-Freiberga] govern a country if she does not speak the language of nearly one-half of the people? I think that this is unacceptable. (Student in Rīga, Group 2)*
- *The goal of the Latvian state and the thing which involves all of the effort is defence of the Latvian nation and the Latvian language. As long as this defence will continue, it will be very hard to change anything. The Latvian state does not listen to other parts of society, it is based on the principle as such that it does not have to listen at any time. (Student in Rīga, Group 1)*

Second, the young people think that the state (political decisions, the actions of politicians) splits up society into two communities (the horizontal split). Students said that they feel sorry about the fact that there is no unified and harmonic society in Latvia. Several respondents stressed the absence of unity in the state or in society, adding that because of that, they feel ashamed to be residents of Latvia.

- *(...) I am ashamed that there is no unity. I get the feeling that they are trying to chase me away from the land of my birth. I want us to deal with this situation ourselves, it is our internal affair. I don't want this to become an issue at the international level. The problem is not as extensive in other countries, and I do not want others to think poorly of Latvia. (Student in Rīga, Group 2)*

When asked to discuss the way in which political (and particularly ethno-political) decisions affect the split in society, students made reference to the issue of granting citizenship. Young people believe that the introduction of the status of non-citizen in 1991 was the primary cause for the split in society. The split of society into

citizens and non-citizens is also an issue that was actively discussed by parents who talked about the hostility or friendliness of Latvia's society, as well as their sense of belonging to Latvia.

- *As far as the racial split in Latvia is concerned, I fully agree with X, who said that this split is created by our politicians. Until 1991, Latvia was a part of the USSR, and Latvians think that Russians have to leave just because someone said so on television. (Student in Daugavpils)*
- *I think that there are two camps in and of themselves, of course. These two camps emerged when they started to issue two different kinds of passports, I don't remember in which year that happened. After all, Russians, Russian speakers, as well as Latvians - everyone stood on the barricades [the phrase refers to barricades that were erected around major national buildings in anticipation of attacks by Soviet special forces in January 1991] (Student in Rīga, Group 1)*

When discussing reasons why they feel ashamed about belonging to Latvia, students stressed shortcomings in the activities of the state (politicians), the things that have not been accomplished, and the thoughtless activities of politicians and the government. In describing their views, most students tried to distance themselves from the state and its problems. The alienated attitude vis-à-vis politicians and the state was manifested through the use of the pronoun "they". Thus the students drew an imaginary boundary between themselves as individuals and the state. The vertical split between the individual and the state specifies the individual's attitude toward the state, negatively influencing his belonging to the state and his loyalty to the state.

▪ *Should I stay or should I go? - Factors which speak to one's belonging to Latvia*

The primary motivation among students for leaving Latvia is the desire to study or work abroad (an instrumental motivation). Those young people who plan to leave Latvia stress the lack of educational and work opportunities in Latvia. During the focus group discussions, it was found that many friends or family members of the respondents were already studying abroad.

- *The school system here is basically good, but [the technical sciences] are not in demand in Latvia. Manufacturing in Latvia has been completely destroyed. There is nowhere to work. Restoration of the system requires finances. Many of the people who are studying at the RTU [the Rīga Technical University] will probably move to Russia or to the West. (Student in Rīga, Group 1)*
- *If I could, I would certainly leave, because we young people have no opportunities here, there is a lack of jobs. (Student from Daugavpils)*

Those students who are more likely to remain in Latvia, by contrast, had negative things to say about education and work abroad.

The comments of students about their future hopes in the area of education and work outside of Latvia suggest that young people are more focused on Western Europe and the United States. That may be in line with conclusions from ethno-psychology specialists about the idea that the Russians, as a culture-based nation, find belonging to a state to be more important than ethnicity (Apine, 2001:29-32).

Non-Latvian students, irrespective of whether they link their future to Latvia or another country, tend to make references, in speaking about the extent to which they belong to Latvia, to family, home, friends and acquaintances, while much less frequently they speak of the Latvian language, the common culture and tradition.

- *I will be sad, for instance, to leave people, my friends in particular. I will feel most sorry for leaving Latvia, not the state, but the land - the nature, the specific places. This is Latvia, after all. Rīga is the city of my birth, and I link so many things to it. But otherwise there is nothing of the sort. (Student in Rīga, Group 1)*
- *I think that I will stay here, because I understand that no one really needs me over there. Here I have friends, parents, people who are close to me. Still, I suppose that I could go abroad to earn some money. (Student from Daugavpils)*

These are young people who speak of Latvia not just as a place where their loved ones live, but also as their fatherland, their home. Among them, one typically finds an integrative motivation for staying in Latvia.

- *Rīga is the city of my birth. I have lived here all my life. I walk down the street and remember - here there used to be this, over there - something else. Memories are precious. If you go somewhere else, there are alien circumstances, unknown people, and you think, my God, where am I now? (Student in Rīga, Group 1)*
- *This is my fatherland, the place of my birth, I need nothing else. You can achieve a lot here if you want to. (Student in Rīga, Group 1)*

These statements by the students confirm a process that has been described in the theoretical literature - that an individual's ideas about a national identity become more active when the individual is outside of his or her home country (De Callia, Reisingl and Wodak, 1999). When travelling outside of Latvia, students more distinctly feel a sense of belonging to the country, identifying themselves with the entire cohort of Latvia's residents in the "we" sense. The further development of national identity outside one's home country, the way in which the process takes place and the way in which students talk about it - these only serve to confirm the idea that people want to feel a sense of belonging to Latvia or to their hometown, such as Rīga.

- *When I was in New York, in this great global metropolis, I looked at the city and wanted Old Rīga. I was being pulled back toward Rīga, not toward Moscow or Russia (...) In foreign countries you sit around and feel sad for the places that you know. I cannot explain this. (Student in Rīga, Group 2)*

▪ *The importance of a country's recognition abroad*

The extent to which Latvia is known in the rest of the world was not one of the specific topics to be discussed in the focus groups, but the analysis of data showed that it was an important factor in determining the views of the respondents about their country. Along with the state's achievements, this is an important factor in the establishment and strengthening of a positive self-presentation. Students feel offended if Latvia is viewed as a small and unknown country and if it is identified with a different country and culture (Russia in particular). Young people don't like it if Latvia is seen as a component of Russia. Here are two examples:

- *Our group travelled to Poland, to the mountains, and the Poles there viewed the group with suspicion (...) When our people started to speak Polish, then it turned out that they had thought that these were Russians. That was offensive. Why Russians? Latvia, there and there. No, immediately Russians, not that Latvia is a separate country. They know very little about our country. That is humiliating. (Student in Daugavpils)*
- *When I was in Moscow, a girl asked me "Where are you from?" "I am from Rīga." "O, Latvia! Such a little village!" I said, "You know, I understand that*

Moscow is a big city, and everyone has his or her own view, but just look at the people in Moscow. Step on someone's foot, and he's ready to tear your head off. You've never been here, so please shut up!" It was nice that I live in Latvia, and I did not allow her to say offensive things about the people of Latvia. (Student in Rīga, Group 1)

Here we see that alongside the importance of a positive self-presentation, students make it clear that they are ready to defend their country's status and prestige. This indicates that students are loyal and patriotic in terms of their attitude toward the state. The issue here is different: What is the foundation of this thinking? Is it the view that "I live here, and I cannot accept a situation in which the place where I live is the far end of the earth, even if that is true"? Is it perhaps that "Latvia really is not the far end of the world, it is an independent country with its own unique culture"?

The importance of a positive self-presentation in terms of attitudes toward the state is also made clear by a subject which several students brought up during the focus group discussions - "others about Latvia". The things that are thought and said about Latvia in other countries, particularly in Russia, are of importance to the young people. They are not happy if there are negative evaluations of their country, but they find it nice if the country in which they live is described in a positive way. In the context of critical discourse analysis, this is part of the argumentation strategy that involves a positive self-presentation and a negative other-presentation - "say good things about us / don't say bad things about us" (Van Dijk, 1997)

EDUCATION REFORMS

In the discussion about attitudes vis-à-vis education reforms, we see a clear conflict between integration and opposition discourses, and this was typical in the political views of the students in general. This excerpt from one of the discussions illustrates this fact:

Integration discourse:

- ***What do you think about the idea that education in Russian should be preserved in all Russian schools?***
- *No, how will we learn then?! After all, we live in Latvia!*
- ***But that is the demand that students put on posters at demonstrations - education in the native language!***
- *Sorry, but there were 20,000 people at that demonstration. Each person can come up with God knows what kind of idea. It's silly. You can't consider each slogan to be serious!*

Opposition discourse:

- *I think that the school has to make the choice itself - the school administration, together with parents, have to decide themselves, because you cannot clearly say that everything needs to be taught in Latvian or all teaching has to be left in Russian.*

Integration discourse:

- *Our schools are basically state schools, are they not? So why has the state had to provide Russian residents with Russian schools for so many years, for 10 years now? There are lots of Azerbaijanis in Russia, but there are not as many schools for them there as there are schools in Latvia for the Russians.*

Opposition discourse:

- *But the thing is that there really are lots of Russian speaking residents in Latvia, they pay their taxes. The taxes - that is money!*
- *Why can't there be two state languages? (Students in Rīga, Group 1)*

If we analyse the attitudes of students toward education reforms and the way in which the socio-political thinking of students emerges from this issue, we must take into account the fact that statements by students are a part both of the integration and of the opposition discourse. This explains why many students have contradictory attitudes. Confrontation amongst these discourses also indicates the influence which various institutions and agents of socialisation - schools, families, the mass media, etc. - have on the political views of students, including on their views about education reforms.

▪ General views about education reforms

When non-Latvian students talk about education reforms - bilingual teaching methods, as well as the transfer of minority high schools to a system in which most classes (60%) are taught in Latvian - negative attitudes prevail. It has to be said, however, that young people speak less of their own concrete experience than of the argumentation schemes that have been circulating in the public space. Young people simply reproduce these, along with the subjects that are included in the opposition discourse. Comparing the data from this study with other Baltic Institute of Social

sciences research projects in the area of education reform, we find that the counter-arguments of respondents are “classical”. Students parrot long since formulated positions and views, as well as justifications for them.

The critical attitudes of students are illustrated by their own statements:

(a) Those who are developing education reforms (politicians) and those who are implementing them (teachers) do not have a unified understanding of the essence of bilingual education:

- *What does this concept of bilingual education mean? In our school, maths are supposedly taught in the bilingual method. In fact, the teacher always speaks Latvian, but she speaks terribly poor Latvian in teaching the lesson.* (Student in Rīga, Group 1)

(b) There is a lack of resources for the reforms. Teachers are not properly prepared for bilingual work, and that leads to the poor quality of their work. Students say that teachers speak in broken Latvian, adding that most classes are taught in Russian. Second, there is a lack of the appropriate teaching materials.

- *If we had come down to these reforms and someone had told us that the textbooks are ready - see, you'll have courses, you'll have teachers, and in a few years' time, as a result of all of this, you will have normal Latvian language skills - then I think that no one would have objected.* (Student in Daugavpils)

(c) Students are less successful when they are forced to take classes that are taught in Latvian or in the bilingual methods, and they have problems in studying the exact sciences in Latvian. Respondents are convinced that classes which are taught bilingually or mostly in the Latvian language cannot prepare students for their university studies. There have been certain improvements in Latvian language skills, but the overall level of knowledge among students has deteriorated considerably. Young people believe that they will learn terminology when they enter university, while in school it is more important to receive good fundamental knowledge about the various subjects that are taught.

- *I can't even understand the exact sciences when they are taught in Russian, let alone in Latvian. We need to find teachers who can explain these things. The reforms, it turns out, were not prepared properly. They should have moved forward gradually, not all at once.* (Student in Daugavpils)
- *I have a cousin who became a student at the RTU. He spoke Latvian poorly, but over the course of two-and-a-half years, he learned. It was hard, but he learned.* (Student in Rīga, Group 1)

(d) The education reforms have been implemented too swiftly, there is a need for a more gradual approach. Here students indirectly confirm their support for education reforms, and their counter-arguments can be seen as a strategy of justification for their critical attitudes about the education reforms. Students basically support the bilingual teaching method. That, in turn, confirms the extent to which the schedule and quality of reforms are of key importance in their success.

- *I think that we can return to the issue of implementing the reforms. If everything were to happen gradually, in a successive way and with a great deal of thought, then of course I could see it as something positive.* (Student in Daugavpils)

(e) Residents are not given the choice of receiving an education in the language that they wish. In this group of arguments, we also find statements about the need to ensure education in the student's native language.

- *Each person has to have a choice. My parents had the choice of sending me to a Latvian or a Russian school, even though I am not Russian by nationality. They sent me to a Russian school, because they wanted me to study in Russian.* (Student in Rīga, Group 1)

Students think that the goals of the reforms can be reached only if high quality teaching of the Latvian language is available in each school. Respondents were not unanimous on the issue of whether there should be a greater number of Latvian language lessons. Some think that there is too much work already, others say that they would prefer additional Latvian language lessons, with all other classes still being taught in Russian.

- *I have to ask - what do reforms want from me? What do the politicians hope to achieve with these reforms? If they want us to have good Latvian language skills, then let's study the language to a greater degree. (..)Every normal person can learn it.* (Student in Rīga, Group 2)
- *No, there shouldn't be more classes in the Latvian language, just hire professionals and ensure quality, assigning more homework. We need to learn the language fully, not just by learning our ABCs.* (Student in Rīga, Group 2)

Students who support education reforms see positive aspects and benefits in those reforms, and in this sense they represent alternative discourse in their group. Their statements mostly are a part of the argumentation schemes of integration discourse; in terms of topic, they are in line with the content of those schemes. Here are a few statements which confirm this conclusion:

- *This is necessary. If there are state universities, then you have to study in Latvian. If you study in fee-based Russian universities, then you do not have to learn. You need initial Latvian language knowledge to enter the state universities, of course. I believe that bilingual teaching is necessary.* (Student in Rīga, Group 2)
- *(..) if they live in Latvia, after all, then they have to know the language and the culture. If you live here, then you have to participate in everything. It's not the case that I just want to study in a Russian school, and that is the end of the story.* (Student in Daugavpils)

It is interesting that in these statements respondents distance themselves from positive evaluations by using the pronouns “you” and “they”. The comments of students suggest a desire to be a part of the opposition discourse.

- *I will probably oppose all of you, **but I will state my views anyway**. Basically I support the reforms. I want to say that now we are all sitting around here and thinking only about ourselves.* (Student in Rīga, Group 1)

This shows the extent to which the discourse which governs in the Russian community (the opposition discourse) affects the way in which students develop their own thinking. On the other hand, it also shows that students feel quite secure and independent in their thinking and their ability to judge the situation - enough so to express differing views on some occasions.

When we analyse the attitudes of students vis-à-vis education reforms and the topics that were debated during the focus group discussions, we come up with a fundamental understanding which allows us in a deeper way to describe the arguments of those who oppose the forms. Protests against education reforms are a way in which Russian speakers take a stand on behalf of the Russian language. According to ethnic psychologists (Apine, 2001:29-32), the element of self-

identification for Latvia's Russians is not their ethnic origin, but rather the Russian language and the culture that functions in the Russian language. The existence and use of the Russian language determine the existence of the community as such. Students see education reforms as an attack against the Russian language and, by extension, against those who speak it.

- *The poet Imants Ziedonis fought for the Latvian language as the basic language during Soviet times, and he succeeded. Now the same thing is happening - Russian speakers are fighting on behalf of the Russian language, not to overthrow anyone, but to change things just a bit. So far, however, there has not been much in the way of results. (Student in Rīga, Group 2)*
- *The demonstrations are not opposed to anything, they stand for something, for the Russian language, although I support that this will not affect me. I am in the 10th grade now and will complete my studies in Russian [the reforms will first affect those who will be 10th grade students in the 2004/2005 school year]. (Student in Rīga, Group 2)*

In the context of education reforms, young people in the focus groups also talked about other issues which relate to ethnic policies in Latvia - the issues of the Latvian language and of citizenship.

▪ Interpretations of the goals of education reforms

Student attitudes vis-à-vis education reforms are characterised by two different claims about the goals of the reforms. These are statements which conform to the two dominant discourses about education reforms. The first is a part of the “opposition discourse” - that *one of the primary goals of education reforms is the assimilation of the Russian speaking community*.

Students say that this is true primarily because the reforms are being forced upon them “from above”, adding that the way in which reforms are being implemented does not conform to the essence of integration.

- *I really cannot say that these reforms represent integration, because no one was asked anything. They just went ahead and implemented there reforms. It's not that reforms are very violent, but they have not been harmonised, they have not been harmonised with the views of those who are going to have to implement the reforms. (Student in Daugavpils)*
- *I cannot do anything against these reforms, and I feel that the reforms are nothing other than [assimilation]. (Student in Daugavpils)*

Interestingly, respondents did not speak of themselves in terms of fearing the loss of culture and language, mostly they spoke of “others”. Typically, the “others” are younger students, family members and friends who, as a result of the reforms, will lose their native Russian language, traditions and culture. In speaking of themselves, students deny that assimilation is even possible.

- *I will not lose my culture, I respect this country and this language. It all depends on me. No one will ever force me to forget my traditions. (Student in Rīga, Group 2).*

This is an example of the transfer tactic in terms of the argumentation strategy - the problem is transferred to “others”, and this suggests that students need to explain their negative and critical attitudes toward reforms (one of the arguments is the threat of assimilation). This is why they reproduce the arguments that have been circulating

in the public space with respect to the threat of assimilation - note that they do not apply those threats to themselves. These argumentation strategies also indicate solidarity with one's in-group - students at minority schools as a group.

A second claim which attracted comments from respondents was in line with the integration discourse - the idea which has been disseminated by the authors of education reforms in claiming that a unified education system and education that mostly involves the Latvian language will improve the competitiveness of students from Russian schools in the fields of education and labour: *The goal of education reforms is to allow minority children to start from the same starting line in universities and in the Latvian job market.*

There were three dominant attitudes among students with respect to this claim. Some had a neutral attitude - it's simply a slogan, a formulation of the goals of reform which really does not confirm to the truth, because young people are already competitive. Second, a negative attitude - the reforms will not promote competitiveness, because an individual can receive a better education in his or her own (single) language. Third, a radically negative attitude - the true goal of those who are authoring the education reforms is diametrically opposite to their claims about increased competitiveness. There are non-Latvian students in Latvia who believe that the goal of the reforms is to increase the competitiveness of Latvians by reducing the level of education among Russian young people and thus worsening their chances in the labour market.

- ***What do you think are the real goals of the reforms?***
- *To make us non-competitive.*
- *To eliminate the potential of the Russians to some extent. To look wise and able at the expense of us, the Russians. (Students in Rīga, Group 2)*

Asked to comment on education reforms as a means for enhancing competitiveness, young people made use of a typical argument from the opposition discourse - the idea that people should have freedom of choice in general education. The arguments of students in this area are largely in line with the arguments that were used by parents in the study "Opinions of National Minority Pupils and Parents on the Latvian Language" (BISS, 2003).

- *Under conditions of competition, let us have a choice. Let us make the choice ourselves. Lots of people have been graduated from Russian schools, they have learned Latvian at university, they have been graduated, they have been competitive and have successfully integrated into society. (Student in Rīga, Group 2)*
- *Why should I, as a non-citizen (well, in fact I am a citizen) pay the same taxes as citizens but not be allowed to choose the language in which I study? (Student in Rīga, Group 2)*

These are statements which indicate that students are parroting the argumentation schemes that have been produced in the private and public space as a part of the opposition discourse. Debates over the right to choose an education in one's native language can also be seen as one of the manifestations of a language conflict in Latvia.

▪ Evaluating protests - participation and attitudes

The way in which students evaluate and comment upon protests in this area allows us to understand the extent to which students are structurally integrated into society - a process which in recent times has most often been manifested in the form of protests.

Students in Rīga were asked about their motivation in taking part in the protests, and in the first group of students the dominant answer was that they wanted to protest the 60:40 ratio of language use in high school. In the second group, the dominant response was that students wished to support a system in which education is available in their native Russian language.

The arguments which students presented for participation can be divided up into two groups. In the first group there are those which characterise student attitudes toward bilingual education and education reforms as such. In the second group are the arguments which characterise the protest actions as a form of political participation and a manifestation of the expression of the civil society.

Let us take a more in-depth look at these arguments, illustrating each group with excerpts from the discussions:

(a) The protest actions are a mechanism for solidarity. By attending demonstrations, students feel a sense of unity with other generations and of solidarity with their in-group.

- *I, too, support [the protest actions]. So far, I have been taught nothing other than the Latvian language and Latvian literature in Latvian. I am imagining myself in their place - what would happen if I had to take algebra in Latvian? I would be upset, I would be nervous. I probably wouldn't go to class, particularly in such areas as maths. I would have worse knowledge about the subject, I would have weaker knowledge. (Student in Rīga, Group 1)*
- *I think that the demonstrations are silly. This should have been done long ago. On the other hand, we need to show that we exist here. We did this not for ourselves, but for our younger brothers and sisters. (Student in Rīga, Group 2)*

(b) The protests are a form of expressing views and a confirmation of a democratic system in Latvia. The dominant attitude vis-à-vis the demonstrations represented support for these activities as an opportunity to express one's interests and demands in the public space. The process also signals the presence of the civil society in Latvia.

- *I am a supporter, because after all, you have to be able to express your views in one way or another. (Student in Rīga, Group 1)*
- *It is hard for me to speak about moral and ethical issues, but I think that the dirty process of politics is full of people who promote themselves and nothing more. As far as the reforms themselves are concerned, these demonstrations are completely justified, because no other form exists right now, as far as I am concerned, to exhibit and express your views. (Student in Daugavpils)*

(c) The protests are a way to express the community's negative attitudes toward the country's ethnic policies as such. The demonstrations are not focused on education reforms, they are just the surface layer, the excuse. In essence, this is a fight for the Russian language and the Russian culture in Latvia.

- *The demonstration as a form of expressing your views - I can't say that this is the most effective method, but it is something that is national. People accumulate*

emotions until they overflow in relation to something such as the education reforms. Everything is boiling in people, and a demonstration allows them to expel the emotions. There have to be demonstrations, therefore, a way to express emotions, to show that we exist. I like this, but it is of no use in moving forward, in changing anything. (Student in Rīga, Group 2)

Students who do not support the protests used several arguments to explain their thinking:

(a) Students think that the protests are dangerous from the security perspective for those who attend.

(b) Students have no faith in the existence of the civil society in Latvia - they think that political decisions are taken without any consideration of the views of various interest groups.

- *I think that it is silly to attend a demonstration for the reasons that exist right now, because the reforms are already in place, we can't do anything. It has all been decided in our place.* (Student in Rīga, Group 1)
- *We don't want 60:40 lessons or 50:50 lessons, we want to study only in Russian. If a decision has been taken over there, no one will ask us, they will take the decision.* (Student in Rīga, Group 2)

(c) The protests are advantageous for politicians in terms of the activities of schoolchildren, because politicians can then satisfy selfish goals in the sense of a split in society and the existence of a specific electorate.

(d) Most of the participants in the protests don't have any clear sense of what the goals are. This confirms that students, as one of the direct target audiences for the reforms, have a weak understanding of the need, content and implementation of the reforms. Those students who have not been participating in the demonstrations demonstrated a greater understanding of the content and benefits of the reforms in the focus group discussions than did those who supported the protests.

- *As far as I'm concerned, those demonstrations - a whole range of people go to those meetings without really understanding why. Often the matter doesn't even apply to the specific person, he just goes there for the hell of it.* (Student in Rīga, Group 1)

An examination of the arguments which students presented in favour of and in opposition to the protests makes clear the contrast between students (plus their parents) and those who take the political decisions, marking out a boundary line between "us" (the students) and "them" (the political elite). The main conclusions that can be drawn from this analysis of the education reforms and their context is that there is a greater gap now between the Russian speaking community and the political elite as a whole (a vertical split).

Analysis of the results of the discussion suggest that the protests are promoting internal splits in school, and in several dimensions - students vs. administrators, teachers vs. administrators, students vs. teachers, teachers and administrators vs. parents. The split is basically between two major discourses - that of integration and that of opposition. In the context of the protests against education reforms, an opposition discourse has emerged among parents, teachers and students, while school administrators continue to express the position of the state and, in most cases, represent the integration discourse.

An in-depth analysis of what students had to say about the protests revealed a common use of “war” terminology - repeated use of such words as “battle”, “Russian speakers are fighting”, “weapons”, “revolution”, “force” and “self-defence”. Students also said in some cases that there might be a need for more radical forms of defending minority rights and interests than meetings and demonstrations.

- *As far as I have heard on the radio and in conversations with others, men are ready to take weapons in hand to defend their rights. The consequences can be very bad. I don't want that to happen, but it can happen.* (Student in Rīga, Group 2).
- *You always have to do something, you can't sit around and twiddle your thumbs. When we are not heard, we can become even more radical. Anything can still happen.* (Student in Rīga, Group 2)

The student protests and attitudes toward them indicate that the relationship between the Russian speaking community and the political elite is becoming more difficult, and they promote the emergence of a conflict with the dominant linguistic community in Latvia - the Latvians. It is precisely Latvians who are shaping education policies, and protests against education reforms can be seen by students, at least subconsciously, as a fight against Latvians. This can promote the emergence of a society with two different communities.

- *These reforms really are a stone that has been tossed into the mutual relationship between two races, if I may say so - the Russian speakers and the Latvians* (Student in Daugavpils)
- *That's why I think that those people who go to these demonstrations also find people who start to yell, "Let's go beat up the Latvians!" That is how conflicts of that kind emerge.* (Student in Rīga, Group 1)

THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE

Generally speaking, the interviewed young people had a positive attitude vis-à-vis the Latvian language, and this is in line with the country's integration policies. At the same time, however, we also heard opposition discourse in discussing things such as the learning of the Latvian language.

Students often used the strategy of justification, trying to explain their negative attitudes toward the Latvian language by talking about the poor provision of language learning opportunities and about the influence of policies in political attitudes. We can speak of a hierarchy of positions here, and negative attitudes toward the shapers and implementers of policy are transferred onto the Latvian language as such.

- *A more negative attitude? Not toward the language, no, but of course toward those who want to implement it. I think that these policies, their implementation - they are simply absurd.* (Student in Daugavpils)
- *I cannot say that the Latvian language is not necessary, it's certainly necessary, and not so much because of its need, but more because of each person's self respect.* (Student in Daugavpils)

According to the students, there are various motivations for learning the Latvian language, both instrumental and integrative in nature - to reach a goal such as education or work, as well as to be able to communicate with Latvians. The presence of the integration discourse in this discussion is made clear by something which students said on several occasions - that if you live in Latvia, you have to speak the Latvian language, which serves as the foundation for public integration.

- *In everyday life in Daugavpils, I wouldn't say that there is any serious need for the Latvian language, but Daugavpils is a city in Latvia, and so it is necessary to learn the Latvian language.* (Student in Daugavpils)

Students reported that they use the Latvian language infrequently and irregularly on a day-to-day basis, most often using it for brief phrases of politeness. Accordingly, the school is basically the only place where young people speak Latvian. One of the main reasons why young people hardly ever speak Latvian outside of school is the absence of agents of contact. This indicates that there is a fairly high level of self-sufficiency for the Russian language in Daugavpils and in Rīga.

- *I speak the Latvian language very seldom, only when I find myself among Latvians. In stores where there is no self-service, for instance. There used to be camps where half of the participants were Latvians and the other half were Russians. We spoke Latvian to those who did not speak Russian. Usually, however, I am exclusively in Russian company.* (Student in Rīga, Group 2)
- *Latvians live apart, on their own (..) we seldom encounter them, they live in their own community, we live in our own.* (Student in Daugavpils)

In explaining why they speak Latvian so seldom, students make use of various argumentation schemes and strategies. One of the most common is the strategy of justification, which is manifested as a lack of conformity between two parts of a sentence - a clear indication for the need to practice language skills, but then arguments as to why the language is not spoken:

- *It's better to speak Latvian with mistakes and to gain experience that way, but then you go out into the street, and someone tells you, "O, you stupid Russian,*

you're this and that kind of person, you don't understand anything." Afterward you can't say a single word, you become ashamed about your language skills. (Student in Rīga, Group 2)

In explaining their views, students also use the argumentation scheme of apparent concession, according to which the behaviour and attitude of Latvians is the reason why Russian speakers do not speak Latvian. On the one hand, students agree that the "we" group is not behaving properly, but on the other hand, they justify that behaviour or argue that it is not perceived and interpreted adequately. Respondents were also found to be using the transfer tactic, speaking about their friends and acquaintances, about "things that ordinarily happen", not about their concrete experience. All of these described argumentation schemes among the students are a part of the discursive strategy of positive self-presentation. In discussing the Latvian language and its use, students made clear their desire to express attitudes and experiences which are in line with the integration discourse, thus promoting the upholding of a positive self-presentation. The things that respondents said about everyday use of the Latvian language described the situation of "no problem with speaking the Latvian language".

It is a positive thing that young people want Latvia's society to be unified and integrated, and statements from some students revealed the belief that they themselves must be responsible for public integration. These students expressed more loyal attitudes toward the state and the Latvian language, they have regular inter-ethnic contacts, and that fully conforms to the idea of a hierarchy of positions in socio-political attitudes.

- *I think that we're just sitting around and talking here. At our school, we set up an organisation, "Vector in Europe", which includes five schools with various nationalities. Everyone smirked at first. We wrote up our first project proposal - "We are so different, but still we are the same" (..) We had this programme to bring people closer together. It all depends on us, on the younger generation. (Student in Rīga, Group 1)*
- *I want our generation to be the one that changes something. We can't just talk, we have to start doing something. Our thoughts and judgments should not be based on stereotypes. If we are really talking about public integration, then we have to set up organisations, we have to organise events to bring together Latvians and Russians for contacts, so that we're not strangers to one another. (Student in Rīga, Group 1)*

1.2. PARENTS

The primary goal in organising focus group discussions for parents was to find out the extent to which parents, as agents of socialisation, influence the integration of their children into Latvia's society and how they do this.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE STATE

Researchers gained an understanding of the national consciousness of parents by asking whether they feel proud of being a resident of Latvia, then seeking to learn what causes that pride. We also gained knowledge about the situations in which parents feel ashamed or bitter about belonging to Latvia. We looked at how strong the sense of belonging is and at what influences this feeling the most.

▪ A sense of belonging to Latvia

Responses which minority respondents gave to questions about their pride in relation to Latvia differed considerably between those who live in Rīga and those who live in Daugavpils. In the focus groups in Rīga, the sense of belonging was expressed with elements of bitterness and dissatisfaction, with people speaking to their status as non-citizens and to the process of education reforms in Latvia. There were many more positive responses in Daugavpils, by contrast.

To a great extent, the answers of parents in Daugavpils are influenced by the fact that the city is on the border of Latvia, and many people who live there have family ties in Russia, Belarus and other countries from the former Soviet Union. Pride in Latvia here is established by denying similarity and emphasising difference in terms of other countries. In Daugavpils, the parents also have a fairly distinct understanding of the marginal situation between their own ethnic community and the Latvians, i.e., of the fact that they differ quite fundamentally in terms of behaviour and language, both from their ethnic group in the historical fatherland (Russia or another Eastern European country) and from Latvians in Latvia. They feel themselves as "they" everywhere, they see themselves as a social group that is alienated from the majority.

- *I went to visit my parents in Russia. (...) For a long time now, I have not been needed there, I differ from Russians who live there, and I differ from Latvians who live here. I think that I have to be proud of this [belonging to Latvia].* (A parent in Daugavpils)
- *I was born in Latvia, and so were my parents. We all speak Russian in our family. When we used to go to Stavropol in Soviet times, we were always told that we had an accent, that we were different in our behaviour and even in our accent. You feel not as a Russian and, now, not as a Latvian either.* (A parent in Daugavpils)
- *In St Petersburg they say, "You are not one of ours, you speak differently." (...) "You are no longer one of ours."* (A parent in Daugavpils).

The responses which were given by some participants in the focus group discussions included the thought that they feel the greatest sense of belonging to Latvia when they are outside the country. Physical distance can strengthen a sense of belonging and reduce the feeling of separation. In the literature, this process is often

known as the activation of national identity, when an identity involving a country or its population becomes more active in specific situations - e.g., when the individual leaves the country (De Callia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999).

- *Whenever we are abroad, then we are from Latvia. When we are here, then each of us has a separate nationality - we are Russians or Latvians.* (A parent in Daugavpils)

The discussions also touched upon the extent to which Latvia is recognised in the rest of the world. Answers suggested that Latvia's recognition and pride in belonging to Latvia are linked to one another - more recognition can enhance pride. Participants in the study spoke about the extent to which Latvia is recognised in various geopolitical regions - in the former Soviet Union, in comparison to the state's popularity at one time, and in the developed world of the West.

The relatively weak popularity of Latvia in the western world, in Asia and in countries such as Egypt goes without saying for a small country such as Latvia, according to respondents, but Latvia's popularity in the territory of the former USSR is seen from the historical perspective - through the past into the present. The positive image and high rating of the state has deteriorated considerably in the territory of the former Soviet Union, and respondents in the focus group discussions admitted this with a certain amount of bitterness. There was also some nostalgia for the days when Latvia was seen as a "foreign country". The past, in other words, is seen in a more positive light than is the present, and that is a fairly typical element in the discourse of non-Latvians in terms of the so-called *collective view of political history* (De Callia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999). This element is far more positive among non-Latvians than among Latvians (see the study "The Motivation and Expectations of Latvia's Residents in Relation to Latvia's Accession to the European Union", BISS, 2003).

- *Back in Soviet times, it was believed that it was elite to come from Latvia, (...) and now, when I frequently travel abroad, people do not always even know what Latvia is.* (A parent in Daugavpils)
- *We went to Egypt. When we were asked from where we came, we said that we were from Latvia. They didn't want to offend us, and so they asked, "Is that a very beautiful city?" It's really too bad that no one knows about our country.* (A parent in Daugavpils)

People from minority nationalities quite often admit that pride in belonging to the state emerges "because of something random" - achievements in a material sense (produced output, for instance), or the accomplishments of individuals. Some people need the successes of people with whom they can identify so that they can feel proud of belonging to the Latvian population as such. Interestingly, when respondents discussed these achievements and the talented people who reached them, they used the pronoun "we", seeking to draw closer to the group and the achievements - "We won in football", "We produced our own cameras", "Our mathematicians", etc.

Here, too, there is a certain element of political history, reaching from the past into the present. Some achievements were more typical in Soviet times, and greater pride was felt then. At the same time, some people now feel proud of their belonging to Latvia. Typically, these feelings emerge during sports events, when Latvia's athletes achieve good results. People also feel positive emotions when an individual from Latvia achieves success in his or her professional area.

- *I used to be proud. We produced our own cameras, radios, telephones, trains and other products that were known throughout the Soviet Union. The situation has*

changed completely. (..) It would be an exaggeration, however, to say that I am no longer proud of the state at all. Despite everything that has happened, we still have our mathematicians, our physicists, our chemists. In many places in the world, people know about Latvia specifically because we still have our chemists, mathematicians, physicists and athletes. (A parent in Rīga, Group 2)

Some respondents admitted that members of their families have achieved different levels of integration, and so their attitudes vis-à-vis the country also differ. Some respondents do not feel integrated, they feel no sense of belonging to Latvia, while their spouses and children consider Latvia to be their fatherland and feel loyalty and, therefore, pride toward it. Interestingly, respondents spoke of Latvian language knowledge as a certain amount of proof in terms of one's integration into Latvian society.

- *I consider my children to be Latvians. I am a Russian, my husband is a Latvian, this is their fatherland. They love Latvia. My children are patriots, they even want to learn the Latvian language. They will not accept the Russian language, in the sense that they do not accept it [as their native language]. They speak Russian, but they study in Latvian - my son is at university, my daughter is in a Latvian class. They are patriots, they love this country. I do not like everything here. I can say that I just live here, because my family is here. (A parent in Daugavpils)*

▪ Shame and bitterness about belonging to Latvia

Pride in belonging to Latvia is sometimes overshadowed by unpleasant emotions which have to do with a respondent's status as a non-citizen. There are also memories about the procedures that had to be undergone so as to achieve the status of a permanent resident in Latvia. Sometimes this bitterness reduces pride in belonging to Latvia just a bit, while in other cases, it overwhelms any sense of pride, facilitating nothing other than anger and offence. It is certain in any case that the status of non-citizens leads minorities to feel separate from the *majority*. They see themselves as a group that has limited rights and opportunities.

- *I suppose that I was more proud in Soviet times. I came here in Soviet times to study at the institute, and I was accepted. Later my husband became a citizen, but in order to become a permanent resident of Latvia, I had to undergo several unpleasant procedures. That was really an unpleasant experience for me. (A parent in Rīga, Group 2)*
- *The response depends on the call. The state demonstrates no attitude toward us, so we feel nothing toward the state. (A parent in Rīga, Group 1)*

Because the emotions of shame and bitterness among minority residents are very closely linked to their status as non-citizens and to what they consider to be a disinterested and careless attitude by the government toward the rights and needs of non-Latvians, this is an area in which there is a very distinct division between "us" (Russian speakers) and "them" (the government and the civil service). Responses from non-Latvians describe relations between these groups as being unequal, with the "us" group being subordinated to the "they" group, the argument being that the interests and needs of the "us" group are not respected or satisfied by the "they" group.

People in minority groups are offended to a certain extent over the fact that they face a series of requirements, mostly in terms of learning the Latvian language

and undergoing naturalisation. Respondents in the study say that they expect the opposite attitude on the part of the state. They argue that as taxpayers, they have the right to receive various services from the state and that they should be granted citizenship and the relevant rights at no charge to themselves. The dominant discourse here represents the expectation among the majority (the Latvians) that non-Latvians will be more active in undergoing naturalisation and in doing similar things, and this discourse comes into conflict with the alternative discourse - the belief among minority representatives that they have an automatic right to citizenship.

Minority respondents also feel shame and bitterness because of differing interpretations of history. There are events which are interpreted by the state and by the indigenous population in a way which creates a dominant discourse which minority representatives can see as unacceptable and incorrect. When talking about the Soviet occupation of Latvia, the issue of the Latvian Legion [a military unit which fought on the side of the Germans during World War II], etc., non-Latvians have a collective discourse and interpretation of the history of politics which is not at all the same as the collective view of political history which prevails among ethnic Latvians.

- *I am ashamed when the Latvian Legion marches on March 16, for instance. Yes, they served in the military at that time, but when they march with Fascist flags, it is unpleasant. When this is shown on Ostankino [a television channel in Russia] or on Russian Television, you sit there and think, oh, my God, everyone will think that we stand behind these flags, and so on. (A parent in Rīga, Group 1)*
- *I felt uncomfortable when I read my child's 5th grade textbook about Latvian history. They force the child to learn all of these things. It's so incompetent. We lived in the era which that book describes, and we perceived it differently. (A parent in Rīga, Group 2)*
- *What is more, the Soviet Union invested a great deal in Latvia. (A parent in Daugavpils)*

▪ Leaving Latvia: Parents/children

Most parents say that they have no plans to leave Latvia. This is the land of their birth or the place where they have spent many years. They have a range of acquaintances and relatives. In other words, they have grown up and undergone socialisation here, and that creates their so-called biographic national identity. Typically, respondents explained that the reason why they do not want to leave Latvia is that their children were born here. This, say parents, forces them to live in Latvia to a certain degree. This may be a strategy of justification. On the one hand, they express dissatisfaction in the country; on the other hand, they come up with lots of arguments about why they should live here. The responses reveal the fact that non-Latvians are linked to Latvia as a country less than a state, and concepts such as patriotism or loyalty are hardly ever mentioned.

- *No, I have no intention of leaving Latvia. First of all, my parents in Russia have died, I have nothing there, but my family is here. To me, they are Latvians, this is their land of birth. They won't go anywhere. That's why I will also have to live here, whether I want to or not. To be honest, I do not want to live here, but I have to, because I have nowhere else to go. (A parent in Daugavpils)*

- *I think that after my children are standing on their own two feet, I will go back home. It is my obligation to be here until they become strong and go to work. (A parent in Rīga, Group 1)*

Some respondents felt a range of emotions when asked about the possibility that they might leave. Some were offended, and their answers were quite harsh - they said that no one will force them to leave Latvia. Because the *majority discourse* here includes many concepts that have been presented in the public space about the idea that Russian speakers should go back to their historical homeland if there is something in Latvia that they do not like, these phrases can be seen as a legitimated dominant view, and so the issue of leaving or staying in Latvia has become quite sensitive; it is perceived from the defensive positions of the *minority*.

- *This is the land of my birth, I was born here, and nothing will cause me to leave, no way. I don't understand why I have to seek citizenship in an unnatural way. I was born in Rīga, I grew up here, got married, had children, I've worked here all my life. I cannot overcome this barrier in myself, I cannot undergo those procedures. I will never undergo naturalisation. If the state asks, I will take a step forward and accept this citizenship, but without naturalisation. Otherwise I will not be forced, and I have no plans of going anywhere. (A parent in Rīga, Group 2)*

A few respondents are thinking about leaving Latvia, because they don't feel a sense of belonging here. There were several arguments in this area. The results of the focus group discussions show first of all that the status of non-citizen leads respondents to feel that they are set apart from the community of residents in Latvia.

- *I am a permanent resident, I am not a citizen. The longer I live here, the more I want to move to my ethnic homeland, Ukraine. (A parent in Rīga, Group 1)*

A statement that was heard in Daugavpils, for its part, shows that older non-Latvians very much want to feel a sense of belonging to a society or a *majority*, and they are seeking their place in life, the place where they can feel that they belong. This can be a serious reason to leave Latvia.

Third, the attitude of the state vis-à-vis its minority residents is another reason why some people think that they may leave. A woman in Daugavpils said that she feels linked to Latvia because of her relatives. She is not satisfied with what she considers to be constant pressure against the *minority* in the state, asking people to handle various procedures. She thinks that these formalities are constantly being changed, they do not diminish. Each time the *majority's* government changes, the procedures are changed, too, and that means that non-Latvians feel a constant sense of restlessness and tension.

- *I have two children here, my elderly mother. If I didn't have children, maybe 10 years ago I would have left, because basically, they just keep pressuring us. (..) Then it's this [language skills] category, then it's another category, then it's citizenship, courses, other courses, improving qualifications, there's no peace. (..) This tension tires me out. You just think about when you'll finally be able to live for yourself, for your children, your family. All the time there is this pressure. (A parent in Daugavpils)*

Another non-Latvian woman, however, disputed this view, saying that in any country, the majority dominates in relations with the minority and determines the rules of the game. In our society, however, the minority discourse does not emphasise the fact that there are such relationships in other parts of the world, too - sometimes to a much more complicated degree, she argued.

- *For work reasons, I've lived in various countries, including Lithuania and Poland (..) Thank God, we do not have the situation that they have there. I lived in Poland for a few years, and I thought - what horror! Even more complicated than here at home. Then I spent some time in Moscow and thought about the great mess that exists there. (A parent in Daugavpils)*

The theory of critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2003) explains this situation by arguing that when people are reflected outside of their social group in the sense of “them”, the emphasis is usually on the bad, while the good about “them” is kept quiet. The most important thing in the attitudes that are reflected, however, is the power relationship that exists among various groups in society. The respondent who complained that the state is creating difficulties for her - Latvian language tests, the process of receiving citizenship - basically reflects the way in which the dominant group implements its power over the subordinated group (Russian speaking residents of Latvia - the “us” group). The second respondent, for her part, sees the situation as being “normal”, not “out of the ordinary”. Thus she legitimates the political behaviour of the dominant group.

EDUCATION REFORMS

The dominant discourse among non-Latvians when education reforms are being discussed (the transfer toward more classes being taught in the Latvian language in Russian high schools, with 60% of classes being taught in Latvian) is negative in tone. There are a few positive examples which parents mention in terms of what has happened to their children, but these are drowned out in the flood of negative statements. The views of parents on this issue are carefully argued, logically set out and described in detail. Negative examples strengthen the overall phrases and moods of the discourse, with people arguing that the reforms are sloppy and not well prepared. Within this discourse, people form a collective view of the future in terms of the generation which will be facing these reforms, with respondents arguing that these people will simply not receive a good education. Some non-Latvians perceive the reforms as an effort by the *majority* to reduce access and opportunities for non-Latvian young people. This only serves to strengthen the idea that non-Latvians have no rights in Latvia, that they cannot influence the processes which take place there. Linguistic resources that are used in the non-Latvian discourse represent a contrast strategy (“us” against “the majority”), as well as a comparison strategy (at one time people joined the Pioneers [a Soviet-era youth organisation], now they’re joining the Latvians).

- *My daughter studied geography in Latvian. How terrible! She knows nothing about geography. For the whole previous year they had studied words in Latvian – the word for oil, etc. Second, where will they get teachers who can teach physics, mathematics and chemistry in Latvian? I support the idea that Russian schools should remain unchanged. Children attend those protest demonstrations with full purpose. We’re nothing. We’re not even voters.* (A parent in Rīga, Group 2)
- *In the Soviet Union, we had to join the Pioneers, now we have to join the Latvians. It’s the same forced process, is it not? I think that uneducated young people will be the result of this. Why must I study physics together with my child every time that there is a test coming up? Not because she doesn’t understand physics as such, but because she doesn’t understand physics in Latvian.* (A parent in Rīga, Group 1)

The negative arguments of non-Latvians also include criticism about what they consider to be shortcomings in methodology and a less than well thought out process of transferring toward the new system. Parents say that the reforms can be successful only if there are teachers who can implement them at a high level of quality. A leading argument in non-Latvian discourse is that Russian schools lack well trained teachers. Individual examples of positive experiences among children are presented in the context of the overall mood, with parents arguing that these are individual and atypical exceptions.

- *Why are there no normal teachers at a normal school, no Latvian language teachers? Last year three or four teachers replaced one another.* (A parent in Rīga, Group 1)
- *Where are schools to find other teachers? Latvian teachers don’t like the children, because the children are Russians.* (A parent in Rīga, Group 1)

Several parents defend Russian schools by arguing that there should be a choice in terms of studying in Latvian or Russian. The choice is presented as a democratic value which the government should ensure for non-Latvians.

- *Our children think that there should be Latvian and Russian schools. Those who want to study in Latvian schools should be able to do so, those who want to study in Russian schools should have the opportunity to study chemistry, mathematics and physics in Russian. (A parent in Rīga, Group 2)*

Some non-Latvians have neutral or positive attitudes toward education reform, but in the responses which they gave in this study, they always added something negative which reduced the contradiction between their views and the dominant discourse of non-Latvians. To a certain extent, this can be seen as a desire not to lose identification with “us”.

▪ *Protest demonstrations - participation and attitudes*

Most of the participants in the focus group discussions for parents had not attended protest demonstrations themselves, but their children had done so. The support which parents express for the protests, however, suggests that the dominant discourse among non-Latvians is fairly universal - a negative attitude toward reforms, as well as support for the protests.

When discussing the protests, parents presented a fairly distinct contrast between “us” (non-Latvians) and “them” (the political elite). They argue that all of the picket lines and demonstrations have not led to mutual interaction, and once again, “they” are ignoring “us”.

- *The thing is that the kids are great! The protest? They walked around, and that was that. The government is blind toward its children and toward pensioners. (A parent in Daugavpils)*
- *The people stand apart, the government stands apart. They make up all of these laws for their own purposes, you see. (A parent in Daugavpils)*

Because this dominant discourse includes a contrast between “us” and “them”, the principle of speaking well about “us” and poorly about “them” is in place when parents discuss protests. They emphasise the claim that in attending the protests, children are behaving in a conscious, enthusiastic and convinced manner. When it comes to negative aspects of the protests such as aggressive behaviour among some children, parents either keep quiet about this, or they try to explain it from their own perspective. The transfer strategy is used, and the question of aggressive children is transferred to the Latvian community. It is important to note that in these statements, we repeatedly heard evidence of alienation between the Russian speaking community and those who are in political power.

- *I didn't heard about any teachers or parents asking the children to attend the demonstrations. Usually children tell us about such requests, but they went to the demonstrations themselves. Later they had to make up the lessons which they missed. (A parent in Rīga, Group 2)*

The discourse of non-Latvians reveals a sense of alienation, the feeling that they have to stand up for themselves when talking about the representation of the interests of Russian schools in the public space. In addition to parents and students, participants in the focus group discussions found it hard to name anyone else who truly represents the interests of minorities in the area of education reforms. The

vertical alienation between the people and the political elite is so extensive that even politicians who claim in the public space to defend the interests of non-Latvians are perceived as “them” - people who are pursuing their own interests alongside the effort to defend Russian schools.

▪ *Interest in politics - parents and children*

The focus group discussions did not indicate that there is much similarity in the interest of parents and children in politics. In some families, the level of interest coincides, but in others it does not.

Some parents state categorically that their children are too young to understand politics. They assume automatically that their children’s views are identical to their own, and so they do not discuss politics with their kids. Others try to avoid sensitive issues such as ethno-political matters.

There are parents who admit that their children are interested in political issues, particularly education reform, and they discuss the subject amongst themselves and with their parents. Such parents usually feel that the children are sufficiently mature to form an individual viewpoint to which parents should listen. In some cases the children’s views do not coincide with those of the parents, and this may represent a different method of political socialisation.

Some parents spoke about themselves as sources of reference (i.e., as people with whom children seek to identify, whose behaviour and thinking they seek to reproduce). They feel that they have great influence on their children and the children’s views, which means that they influence the sense of belonging and the search for an identity. These parents usually understand their responsibility before their children, and they try to encourage children to analyse situations, to think, to evaluate, to argue and to become convinced. In short, parents encourage the kids to construct a creative identity and an emerging strategy, not to perceive things that other people or the mass media say as absolute truth which requires no critical analysis.

- *Maybe this is not the right approach, but I just state my view, and then my child has the right to judge whether the view is correct or incorrect, whether it should be accepted or rejected. If I see that the child is not interested, I stop talking - let the situation remain where it is. (A parent in Rīga, Group 2)*
- *My children and I debate issues until I come to understand their thinking. Often they perceive views that they have heard accidentally from adults such as teachers or parents as their own views. Then they can’t understand whether it’s their own view or the view of someone else. (A parent in Daugavpils)*

THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE

In the minority discourse, attitudes vis-à-vis the Latvian language are distinctly instrumental. There are needs to learn and speak the Latvian language so as to reach goals such as finding a job or gaining an education. As soon as the instrumental use of the Latvian language disappears, there is no more motivation or sense to upholding one's Latvian language skills.

- *Why should I? I am a Russian woman, I am going to speak in my native language. Why would I need the Latvian language? I have no intention of learning it. I learned it so that I could get a job. That's it, I have no other need for the Latvian language.* (A parent in Daugavpils)

An integrative approach toward language, one that is based on the desire to learn and speak the language so as to feel a sense of social solidarity, belonging and identity with the society of Latvia - this approach was hardly ever mentioned by the parents who were interviewed.

- *I don't speak the Latvian language, and that is difficult, but the fact is that everyone keeps speaking Russian. I have many Latvian friends, and they all start speaking Russian [when they talk to me].* (A parent in Rīga, Group 1)

When parents speak about the need for language skills, they keep their own lives separate from those of their children. The views of parents about the need for the state language in everyday contacts range from a complete denial of any need to a state of ignoring the Latvian language and then to the need to speak the language in work and in everyday life. When it comes to the children, however, parents unanimously say that the language must be learned if the child plans to link his or her future to Latvia. Some respondents in the discourse of parents confirmed that their children have internalised (accepted) the need to learn the Latvian language if one is to be successful in Latvia.

Typically, when respondents spoke about the Latvian language, they used argumentation schemes such as apparent apology, apparent denial and apparent effort in trying to eliminate negative evaluations of their behaviour or attitudes by others (Van Dijk, 2003). The goal of these argumentation schemes is to present views as positively as possible, reducing the possibility that those who think otherwise might criticise or have a negative view of the speaker. In several statements, parents emphasised a neutral or positive attitude toward the Latvian language, but then they usually stated dissatisfaction or objections to some aspect of the Latvian language, e.g., the lack of an environment for speaking the language, the state's language policies, the forced and ill-considered education reforms, the language habits of Latvians themselves, etc. In terms of linguistic resources for justifying ideas and viewpoints, parents compared themselves to the indigenous population in terms of comparison - "they are unique, we are unique". Others used a transfer tactic - "I'm not to blame, the blame rests with the education system, the environment, the inadequately qualified and trained teachers."

The attitudes of non-Latvians toward the Latvian language are influenced emotionally by various aspects of interethnic relations - historical experience, the interpretation of historical processes in Latvia, the state's language policies, ongoing education reforms, etc. Non-Latvians try to separate attitudes toward the language from the other aforementioned attitudes, but negativity in the other aspects has a

deleterious effect on attitudes toward the Latvian language and the habit of speaking the language.

- *My work takes place in Latvian, so I speak Latvian. At home I speak Russian. We also speak Polish. When we're abroad, we speak Latvian simply so as to distinguish ourselves. I have no objection to the Latvian language. I even like the language. It's a normal, beautiful and flowing language. (A parent in Daugavpils)*
- *[I speak Latvian] to a moderate degree. I need to speak Latvian at work, I speak it when I need to. We speak the language that is convenient at the time. Of course, my children speak the language. The main thing is that there shouldn't be this violent approach. (A parent in Daugavpils)*
- *No one objects to the learning of the language, we oppose the way in which this is happening. I have to pay for courses, for exams. Why? I pay taxes, after all! (A parent in Rīga, Group 1)*

The attitudes of children vis-à-vis the state language are described as neutral - "normal" attitudes which are appropriate "for the state language". Parents tend to stress that their children speak Latvian. These are statements which, linguistically, soften and justify further statements about the desire of minority children to gain an education in their native Russian language.

- *They [the children] want to study in their native language, but they speak the Latvian language and treat it normally - that's the state language. (A parent in Rīga, Group 1)*
- *My child has been communicating with a Latvian since the age of five, he speaks Latvian normally and calmly, but when these reforms are so close, he says, "No, I don't want to study mathematics, physics, astronomy, the highest level of mathematics in Latvian. It's hard to begin with, I want to study in Russian. (A parent in Daugavpils)*

Parents are important agents of socialisation for children, and they have a key influence on attitudes toward the Latvian language. Some parents understand this and are ready to reflect upon their role in the child's life.

- *I am the one who raises the children for the most part, and I feel uncomfortable about the fact that I don't speak the Latvian language, so from the very beginning, especially in terms of my younger son, I encouraged him to learn the Latvian language and to treat it nicely. (A parent in Rīga, Group 1)*

According to parents, their children have much better Latvian language skills, they speak the language on an everyday basis. Some parents, however, reported situations in which competition between languages in relationships among young people is won by the Russian language.

ETHNIC RELATIONS

Some non-Latvians, in talking about relations with Latvians, remember a certain increase in interethnic tensions in the early 1990s, after the restoration of Latvia's independence. Latvians sensed their national identity and felt themselves to be a unified "us" group. They radically moved apart from people of other nationalities, seeing them as "them", according to the respondents. The national identity led to the emergence and public strengthening of a nationalist Latvian discourse in which non-Latvians were seen as "they". That was the period when the relationship of power was shifting between Latvians and non-Latvians. Latvian discourse was, for a considerable period of time, dominated by the idea that non-Latvians should leave.

- *At the very beginning, I remember, I went to Rīga. I went shopping at the "Sakta" store, and I was accustomed to asking questions in Russian. I went into the store and asked, "How much does this cost?" The saleslady looked like a mannequin, she didn't say anything. I thought that she didn't understand me, I asked again, and she looked at me. In Latvian, she said, "Let's speak Latvian". It was in 1991 or 1992. Then I asked in Latvian. She packaged up the item, but I did not buy it. I told her, "I changed my mind." I did that on purpose. (A parent in Daugavpils)*

Non-Latvians believe that the nationalist discourse of Latvians has changed over time, it has become less hostile toward non-Latvians, and the gap between the Latvians as "us" and non-Latvians as "they" has diminished. There has, however, been a mass contrast in society between the public as "us" and the government and politicians as a new "they" group.

When discussing hostility, respondents speak in alienated terms. They talk about hostility "in society", they say that hostility appears in the public space, in the mass media, but they also argue that no hostility is felt in individual relationships. One respondent said that national issues are still sensitive for both sides - the *majority* and the *minority*, because each group has its own discourse and its own collective view of political history. Disputes and intolerance, according to the respondent, are still evident.

- *At the everyday level, society is normal. If you go to a different level, starting with the tax inspectorate and ending with a girl who is behind the desk at the housing association, then God forbid that you have any mistake on your documents. They'll speak to you in Latvian and behave as if you were guilty for the next five years in advance. If they make the mistake, then they speak Russian to you, and they are so nice that you think that they'll be your friends for the next 10 years. It's one and the same person. I think that this demonstrates a lack of manners. (A parent in Rīga, Group 2)*
- *If you're interested in someone and that person is interested in you, you can reach agreement on everything with a Latvian, just as long as you don't touch upon the national issue. If you start to talk about the national issue, of course, then conflicts can start, even in your own society. The national issue is always a reason to quarrel a bit. (A parent in Daugavpils)*

1.3. TEACHERS

Teachers were included in the survey as a target group because along with families (parents), they are the primary agents for the socialisation of young people, and political socialisation is a part of the mix. Teachers and students are target groups for minority education reforms, and the goal of analysing the interaction of attitudes among these groups has been to reveal the extent to which teachers determine student attitudes vis-à-vis the issues that are addressed in this study, as well as the models of behaviour which emerge from those attitudes. The main goal in analysing the focus group discussions of teachers has been to look at the way in which they perform their role as agents of socialisation in shaping the socio-political views of students in the context of education reforms, to consider the way in which this is influencing the integration of students into Latvia's society.

EDUCATION REFORMS

- General considerations about education reforms: teachers/students

According to statements that were made by teachers, their attitudes about education reform are largely based on the way in which education policies were developed, on the way in which decisions were taken, and on the extent to which the target groups of the policies were involved in the decision making process and how. Teachers who expressed negative attitudes typically spoke of the authoritarian style of the decision making process.

- *If we were offered a version to discuss, if we had been told that we would look at the matter, test the system in specific schools, check to see who wants to test it and who does not, then look at the results - why not? Let me say this again - no one here is saying "No, we do not need the Latvian language, we do not need anything!"* (Teacher in Rīga, Group 1)
- *Daugavpils announced that all schools are ready here, that we are ahead of the rest of Europe on this issue. Everything is fine here, the kids are all happy, and we are all satisfied and happy, too.* (Teacher in Daugavpils)

As was mentioned previously, teachers who disclosed their views about education reforms often talked about the way in which students perceive changes in minority education in their everyday schoolwork. On the one hand, this is a positive approach, because respondents speak of specific experience and concrete problems. On the other hand, it also represents an alienated attitude. If one conducts a content-based analysis of the things that teachers said, and if one also takes into account the non-verbal forms of expression that were present in the discussions, one has reason to say that this involves a transfer tactic - responsibility for negative attitudes is transferred to "others". Teachers mostly reveal those attitudes that are of importance to themselves.

The specific subjects that were discussed by teachers when they were asked to talk about their own attitudes and the attitudes of their students vis-à-vis education reforms basically came together into negative groups of arguments.

Commenting on general attitudes among teachers in the area of education reforms, one must separate out attitudes toward bilingual education on the one hand and the transfer of minority schools to a system in which classes are basically taught

in Latvian on the other hand. Data analysis shows that both teachers and students have a positive attitude toward bilingual education, they support this training method and feel that it represents a compromise in introducing minority education reforms. Teachers stress that when it comes to any changes in educational systems, it is extremely important to implement the changes gradually, arguing that bilingual education would ensure that this principle is observed.

- *It is indeed true that the situation was gradual and peaceful. No one demanded anything of us in our school in terms of having to teach classes in Latvian. We ourselves began gradually to introduce the Latvian language in certain classes. (...) It was done quietly and peacefully, no one had any complaints. But then there was pressure. They (the students) probably watched the news on television, and I could see their nature changing. As long as everything was quiet and peaceful, there was nothing to notice, children calmly spoke Latvian. They never asked why they had to speak Latvian. I could explain to them that it would be more convenient and easier for them in the future. Now, however, they indicate opposition. (Teacher in Daugavpils)*

Respondents made it clear that they feel that the transfer to the situation in which most classes are taught in Latvian is being forced upon them in a violent way, and this leads to negative and even very hostile attitudes. One of the most powerful arguments is that the system will keep children from obtaining an education in their native language, and this confirms something which the students said in their group discussions - that protests against education reforms are a way in which Russian speakers take a stand on behalf of the Russian language, something that is a more important element in the self-identification of Latvia's Russians than is the matter of ethnic origin.

- *When the issue is bilingual education, students are in favour, they say "Go right ahead". The school is not opposed. As soon as we speak of reforms that take place only in Latvian, however, we do not understand, we do not want to, we will not. Right away there are emotions of rejection. The thing is that the reforms are being forced upon the students. I have come to understand that they are being forced, and they are pushing back (...) We are not opposed to this, we will learn, but offer a bilingual approach (...) leave the Russian words in place, allow us to understand things in Russian, too. This is a scream from the soul. (Teacher in Rīga, Group 1)*
- *It also seems to me that this is seen as violence, because traditions are being broken. Traditionally, Russians have studied in Russian, Latvians have studied in Latvian. (Teacher in Rīga, Group 1)*

One of the most extensively debated subjects in the context of education reforms is the attitude of students vis-à-vis the Latvian language as the language of instruction. Analysis of statements shows that teachers typically expressed negative attitudes toward reform when talking about difficulties which have to do with the use of the Latvian language at work.

- *That is an additional problem. I give the kids textbooks in Latvian, I put one on each desk in the 8th grade. "Teacher, those books are in Latvian!?!". "Oh, well in that case we're not going to read them at all!" Ours is an ordinary neighbourhood school. (Teacher in Daugavpils)*
- *We have lots of classrooms in our school where students are Russians but subject matter is taught in Latvian. They speak the Latvian language very well, and they have better marks on university entrance exams than Latvian graduates do. They*

have a negative attitude toward Latvian as the language of instruction, however. It requires them to be more tense in their work. They cannot listen, learn and memorise things in their own language, (..) and an idiotic situation emerges. I am a Russian woman, I teach in Latvian, my notes are in Russian, I translate on the spot, they translate on the spot, and they take notes mostly in Russian. (Teacher in Daugavpils)

Teachers say that those children who are most talented write down and summarise information in Latvian, but children who are not as able take notes in Latvian and then translate the notes into Russian when they go home after school. This means that the kids are learning independently, they cannot ask questions and learn the subject matter appropriately. Teachers often call this an absurd situation - "a Russian explains something in Latvian to another Russian". This is an argument which teachers often use in explaining why they think that education reforms are destroying the quality of education in minority schools.

Another important idea which emerges from the quoted statements is that students have little motivation to study in Latvian, and that makes the work of teachers far more difficult in terms of satisfying the requirements which the reforms produce in terms of everyday work with students. Teachers say that universities are and are not a motivation for students. Those who want to pursue a higher education are motivated to study in Latvian, but not in all study areas. A student who is preparing to study the social sciences, for instance, has no reason to learn chemistry in Latvian. Those who know that they will not be pursuing a further education say that this is why they do not want to study in the state language, because that only serves to create additional difficulties.

- *After all, not everyone goes to university. What is more, students go to university to pursue a specific area of specialisation, and they need to be familiar with a specific range of subjects - two or three subjects. (Teacher in Daugavpils)*
- *Someone who pursues a higher education understand that he or she wishes to achieve something in life, that he or she must speak the Latvian language if a senior position is being pursued. We cannot demand that people in senior positions in Latvia speak Russian, **but** we must try to ensure that most people are educated in the language in which they were raised and in which it is easier for them to understand information. People with a high level of education will also understand the language issue. We must not force anyone. (Teacher in Rīga, Group 2)*

Here we see something of an apparent denial argumentation scheme. In the first part of the sentence, the speaker manifests an absolutely loyal attitude toward the Latvian language, and that is an attitude which is a clear component of the integration discourse. In the second part of the sentence, however, separated with the word "but", we find attitudes which are in line with the opposition discourse. The respondent indicates that the reforms are being forced upon people, that there is a need for everyone in Latvia to study in his or her own native language. This is a construct which allows for an indirect negative evaluation of "others" (in this case - the authors of the policies) while preserving a positive self-identification in the "us" group.

The experience of teachers and the interpretation of student attitudes suggests that teachers in specific play a very great role in motivating students and in establishing positive attitudes. Some teachers who express generally positive attitudes toward the reforms and who tell us about positive aspects of the implementation of

reforms at their schools believe that teachers invest too little in the attempt to improve the motivation of students and the emergence of positive attitudes both vis-à-vis the education reforms and toward the Latvian language. Other teachers, mostly those who have a negative attitude toward reforms, stress that it is hard for them to influence the attitudes of students. Such respondents feel that the job is up to the family, and parents are the ones who really determine the attitude of children toward education reforms and everyday work in the Latvian language.

It is also true, however, that parents tend to believe that teachers are responsible for children's attitudes - this was reported by parents themselves in their focus group discussions and by teachers. In both cases this represents a transfer tactic, with no one accepting responsibility for the positions which students take vis-à-vis education reforms. The role of families is admitted by those who support the reforms, but, unlike the opponents, they do not use a transfer tactic. Rather, they stress the major role that is played by schools, families and students alike in terms of the forming of attitudes.

Some teachers from minority schools say that an important reason to oppose education reforms is that students are just not ready for them. There are two major arguments which underpin this idea - the first is the unacceptable level of Latvian language skills among students, which makes it much harder for teachers and students to do their work. According to the teachers, this means that the level of knowledge of students deteriorates, and there is less motivation for anyone to study.

- *We do teach in a bilingual system. We have kids who can always answer in Latvian, but how many? Perhaps four or five children. We have others who scream at us - "I won't, I don't want to, go ahead and fail me!" Last year after completing the 9th grade, some 6,000 or even 6,500 students did not go on to the 10th grade, they did not go to technical schools. Imagine - 6,000 children! This year it will be 10,000 children, not just 6,000!* (Teacher in Rīga, Group 2)

Second, teachers argue that reports which schools have filed about their readiness for the reforms are simply untrue and have nothing to do with the real situation in schools. Respondents also suggest that the way in which the reports are prepared is advantageous to the state, but unacceptable to the teachers who are going to have to implement the reforms. At the same time, however, respondents also believe that school principals and teachers have been forced to tell the Education Ministry that schools are ready for the reforms.

- *80% of teachers and principals will tell you that yes, we are ready, we're going to move forward, the issue is purely material in nature, etc. Principals and teachers also want to live, after all. They will agree for purely formal reasons.* (Teacher in Rīga, Group 2)
- *The principal gets a piece of paper about the discussion, it arrives at 4:00 PM, and it says that by 2:00 PM the next day she has to bring it in for discussion. She says, how can I do that if my working day is not over at 2:00 PM? Please understand that the bureaucrats then simply make a note to say that the principals discussed the matter and expressed their views.* (Teacher in Rīga, Group 1)

The situation which was discussed in the last of these statements represents the views and interpretations of teachers vis-à-vis the way in which decisions are taken about education policy. This facilitates critical attitudes among teachers toward those who are preparing education policies and toward those who are in power in Latvia as such.

Another group of arguments has to do with a series of obstacles against successful implementation of reforms. Teachers have spoken of the lack of methodology, the need for additional time resources for teachers, the level of preparedness among teachers (particularly in terms of the required level of Latvian language skills), the problems which students will have, the fact that reforms are not being implemented gradually and the fact that teachers are not paid much money.

At the focus groups for teachers, there were often harsh discussions and disputes, displaying confronting attitudes with respect to one and the same question. There were statements which vividly illustrated the way in which various attitudes which shape discourse can come into conflict. Broken-off sentences, short phrases and other linguistic and stylistic resources revealed the emotional nature of the discussion, the lack of tolerance among participants and the refusal to listen to other views.

More positive attitudes toward reforms have been expressed by teachers from non-Russian minority schools - Polish and Ukrainian schools, to be specific. One teacher said that *“these policies have been implemented since the school was first opened - well, not since 1991, but for many years now”*. Students at such schools do not have negative attitudes toward Latvian as the language in which classes are taught or toward the education reforms. Students from the schools have said things which suggest that the statements are in line with the alternative discourse of minority ethnic groups, not the dominant opposition discourse. The next statements come from teachers at the Ukrainian and Polish schools:

- *Once again, the situation in our school is different than at other schools. In our high school, all classes are taught in Latvian, although some are taught bilingually. In the elementary school, the same is true - most classes are taught in Latvian, others are taught bilingually. We do not teach Russian as a separate subject, it's an elective, nothing more. Children do not speak the Polish language to the point where they can listen to something in Latvian and then translate it into Polish. This means that all of the thinking resources are focused on the Latvian language. (Teacher in Daugavpils)*
- *You just need to tell the kids that they can do the work, that we'll work together. It was hard for me, too, I also spent two hours a week learning the Latvian language. Let's make the effort in Latvian. Let's understand those who are alongside us. They don't want to lose their language, we don't either. Let's preserve our language and learn another one. (Teacher in Rīga, Group 2)*

Teachers were asked about possible or necessary solutions in this area, and respondents talked about a differentiated approach toward various schools in the context of the reforms. Others called for better Latvian language instruction and more hours spent on Latvian language learning. Teachers argued that Latvian language learning problems at schools cannot be resolved at the expense of other subjects.

▪ Understanding the goals of education reforms

Teachers, just like the students and parents in their own focus groups, were asked to talk about two statements that have been made in public and represent two different discourses in the area of education reforms. When teachers talked about these ideas, that allowed us to learn about negative attitudes toward education reforms as such.

(1) One of the primary goals of education reforms is to assimilate the Russian speaking community

Teachers had two different views about this claim. They think that those who are organising the policies do want to assimilate Russian speakers. This is a part of the opposition discourse, with teachers using two typical arguments to underpin their thinking - that education reforms have been forced upon them “from above”, which explains why there are negative attitudes toward them, and that the education reforms do not ensure equal choices in general education for all groups in society, something which once again indicates that those who are in power are alienated from the Russian speaking community in Latvia and that, as far as respondents are concerned, they discriminate against that community.

- *How else am I supposed to understand all of these laws and reforms? That's not integration, after all, you can integrate in various ways. Does it necessarily have to be a situation in which Russian schools are closed down, where reforms are forced upon us? Forcing us, violence as such - that automatically leads to a counter-reaction, to an attempt to push the matter aside. (Teacher in Daugavpils)*
- *In this case, why is the situation so harsh? Because it has to do with a very important issue - education in Russian. You will be competitive, you will be happy if we limit your ability to speak your native language - is that the point? (Teacher in Rīga, Group 1)*
- *(..) If there were more extensive choices, if everyone had the right to choose, then there would not be the question of whether this is assimilation or integration. The whole point is choice! (Teacher in Daugavpils)*

These arguments are closely related, of course. Respondents say that “there is no choice, so we are being forced to do this thing!” Teachers are convinced that limitations on the choice of language represent the main reason why there are distinctly critical attitudes vis-à-vis the education reforms. Teachers also think that these attitudes on the part of those who are in power indicate that the principles of democracy in Latvia are implemented only with respect to the majority, while the freedoms of the minority are being limited. This interpretation of the state's attitudes promotes the hostile attitude among students toward the Latvian language, education reforms and the country as such, say the teachers.

On the other hand, teachers also are convinced that the assimilation of the Russian speaking community in Latvia is impossible, because the community is very large and because the Russian language is spoken so widely.

Teachers think that what they believe to be a violent and discriminatory education policy will only promote the consolidation and solidarity of the Russian speaking community, thus promoting disintegration in the socio-linguistic groups of society and of society and the state as a representation of political power. Teachers also expect the gap between language community perhaps to transform into violent ethnic conflicts.

(2) The goal of education reforms is to allow minority children to enjoy the same opportunities in higher education and the Latvian labour market

The dominating attitude of teachers is typical - minority students are already competitive, they speak Latvian very well, they are successfully entering the field of higher education and then finding jobs. Attitudes which reject the statement indicate that participants in the focus groups do not accept the argument which supporters of education reforms often bring up in public debate - the idea that the reforms will actually serve as an instrument to increase competitiveness. Teachers, just as students and their parents, conclude that education reforms may well be destroying the competitiveness of Russian speaking young people in Latvia.

A second important subject which was discussed here was competition among languages. Teachers think that Russian speaking children have the advantage in this sense, because they speak Russian, Latvian and English, while Latvian children speak only Latvian and English. In this context, the education reforms can be seen to be promoting the competitiveness of Russians, but as far as teachers are concerned, competition is facilitated by language knowledge, with language being learned "outside" of the reforms which are actually damaging the overall education of schoolchildren.

An alternative discourse also emerged in the teacher focus groups, one which basically is a part of the integration discourse. Some teachers agreed with the idea that after university studies in Latvian, the language skills of graduates would be very good and that the competitiveness of the students will, therefore, be higher. Immediately, however, such teachers also brought up the opposition discourse - they think that the problem exists at the level of general education, where Latvian and Russian speaking children are not ensured equal opportunities.

▪ *Protests - participation and attitudes*

The protests which have been organised against education reforms in Latvia are a subject which indirectly reveals several important attitudes in the discourse of teachers about the education reforms as such and also makes it clear that teachers do not have any unanimous ideas about the way in which education policies are being implemented.

With a very few exceptions, focus group participants had not actually taken part in the protests. An analysis of what each participant had to say about the matter shows that the protests are more likely to be supported by those teachers who are more negative about the education reforms than by those who seem to support the integration discourse in this area.

Teachers brought up several arguments against the protests. These arguments largely overlap with those that were presented by students and parents in their focus groups:

(a) Students are not aware of the goals of the education reforms and the protests. Teachers say that many students who talk about their own attitudes toward education reform simply parrot things that they have heard in the public discourse - the arguments, the discursive strategies, etc. Second, many young people see the demonstrations as a romantic battle on behalf of their own rights (a revolution).

- *I really doubt whether all of the kids who take part in these protests really understand what the issue is. In our 9th grade, there are a few students, three*

students who attend the meetings. I teach civil studies, and so I started to ask them - why are you opposed to education reforms? I concluded that the students were repeating phrases that they had heard elsewhere. They don't really have their own views. (Teacher in Daugavpils)

- *All of a sudden five of the students in my class got up to go to the protest. I asked, "Listen, you speak excellent Latvian, what are you going to do there if you speak such good Latvian?" They told me, "It's just great over there!" Of course - they were talking about a revolution. (Teacher in Rīga, Group 1)*

(b) The protests only seem to confirm the existence of a democratic and civic society in Latvia, although teachers who support this idea also admit that demonstrations are not a bad way of expressing views. They also stress, however, that the student protests once again confirmed the attitude of the political elite vis-à-vis the interests of various groups in Latvia. In their focus groups, teachers were very harsh about the way in which politicians responded to the student activities (*"The children are perceived not as children, but as problems which no one needs, which should be swept up and tossed away"* - Teacher in Daugavpils). Teachers say that those who are in power do not listen to anyone, ignoring the interests and needs of those groups in society which are not fully in line with the state's education policies and, by extension, its integration policies. In this group of arguments we find statements by teachers to suggest that the protests represent a way of reaching political goals - demonstrations as "political games" in which students are involved. This group of arguments allows us to conclude that the protests are increasing the gap between the Russian speaking community and the state as the representation of power (a vertical split).

- *When they (the students) go to Rīga to attend the protests or go somewhere else outside of the school, they find that everyone ignores what they think and do. That explains their negative reaction very clearly. Politicians really are saying very bad things. It is unpleasant to listen to the news. (Teacher in Daugavpils)*
- *Politicians are far-sighted people. They are preparing a situation in which people will be offended. They are waiting for that, because an angry person is easier to manage. Those who have a lower level of education, those who have less information - they are also easier to lead. (Teacher in Rīga, Group 2)*

(c) The protests have a deleterious effect on the educational process. That is the argument which several teachers used in encouraging students to stay in school and to continue their education despite the political passions that were swirling about them. This is in line with the strategy of justification which several teachers used to explain why they themselves did not attend the protests.

- *I am the homeroom teacher, and I told them, "Darlings, look at your grades. That's the first thing. My job is to work, your job is to learn. You're preparing for examinations." Not all teachers explain that to their children. (..) Second, I know very clearly that no more than one in three students actually went to the meeting. The others just went to take a walk. I know that because a student called me and said, "I am all alone at this demonstration, where are the rest of us?" (Teacher in Rīga, Group 1)*

(d) The demonstrations are dangerous from the safety perspective. This, it must be added, was mentioned by one teacher as the primary reason for why he accompanied his students to the protest.

- *Someone here already said that there were worries about the emergence of a mob. I knew that none of the parents were going, so I went along to protect the students, that's why I was there. (Teacher in Rīga, Group 1)*
- *(..) These demonstrations are not a protest by the children. The children are heated up, and always in the same way. The demonstrations are always at the same time - four Thursdays in a row they missed classes. In the 12th grade, kids missed their first class for four weeks in a row. (..) I feel that yes, the reforms are necessary, but not in this way. There have to be negotiations, nothing more than negotiations (Teacher in Rīga, Group 2)*

This group of arguments also covers the negative position which teachers have taken vis-à-vis protests as a means for resolving the relevant problems.

(e) The protests are encouraging the emergence of negativism in society, particularly between the two major language groups (a horizontal split). This idea correlates with observations that have been made by the students themselves. It is confirmed even more by the “war” terminology which students use in their discourse.

- *Between the 5th and the 8th grade, these are no longer children, but they are not yet adults. (..) When a mass of this kind has negative energy ... This month, when the demonstrations were organised, few of my 12th grade students went. Others, however, came back from the meeting, and they displayed SUCH negativism! (Teacher in Rīga, Group 2)*

THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE

In their focus groups, teachers spoke more about the attitudes of students vis-à-vis the Latvian language than about their own attitudes. That's interesting, given the status and role which teachers play in the context of the education reforms. Generally speaking, teachers said that students have a positive attitude toward the Latvian language, and they support the idea that residents of Latvia must speak the state language. Along with these positive attitudes, however, teachers also spoke about negative attitudes and their possible causes. In commenting on what students think about the Latvian language, teachers stressed the need to differentiate between the Latvian language as the language which is spoken by the majority of Latvia's residents (the Latvians) and the Latvian language as a language of education. Positive attitudes are focused on the Latvian language as the state language, while students are more likely to have a negative attitude toward Latvian as a language of education. Teachers argued that this issue cannot be analysed separately from the overall attitudes of students toward the education reforms.

One common view among teachers is that student attitudes toward the Latvian language (and toward education reforms and the state as such) are influenced by the socio-economic status of their families - the "standard of living", as the respondents put it. This idea was a part of all of the subjects that were discussed by the focus groups. As the following statements confirm, attitudes toward the Latvian language and toward education reforms are difficult to break apart from one another.

- *Someone here already said that the standard of living affects attitudes toward language. Attitudes toward language can be demonstrated with this example. The two classes with the best children (..) they will never protest. In the two classes where children with weaker skills are found, however, you will find that absolutely ever one of them has poorer parents, and they're going to be the ones who basically reject the reforms.*
- *I am convinced that most of the children who were outside the Parliament, outside the president's castle, came from the latter of those two groups of classes. (Teacher in Rīga, Group 1)*

The statements by the teachers often involved linguistic constructions which accented the idea that student attitudes are changing in the context of education reforms. Teachers typically used such words and phrases as "recently", "now" and "the most recent events" before describing their attitudes:

- *The latest events have influenced the children. One feels some kind of opposition among Russian children. One gets the impression that someone is instigating and fomenting this. Immediately after these demonstrations and protests, they attacked me: "Why are you speaking Latvian to us?" This was the immediate reaction. I was so surprised! My God, is this my 10th grade class? (Teacher in Daugavpils)*
- *Recently attitudes have shifted. If once the dissatisfaction had to do with technical difficulties, then the legal issue is now becoming more and more important - "Why should I have to study in this [Latvian] language?" Basically there is a shift toward the law itself, and that represents attitudes toward the state. (Teacher in Rīga, Group 1)*

These statements illustrate the view of teachers that education reforms and the related protests are changing student attitudes not only toward the reforms, but also toward the Latvian language - attitudes are becoming more and more negative.

2. THE SURVEYS OF STUDENTS, PARENTS AND TEACHERS

The reason for the quantitative part of this study - the survey of minority school students, teachers and parents - was to learn more about the target groups (again - students, parents and teachers) when it comes to their socio-political thinking, their political behavior, their attitudes toward education reforms and their implementation, as well as toward inter-ethnic networks and contacts. We also wanted to find out how widespread are the various socio-political positions and the specific models of political behavior.

The surveys were conducted on the basis of various methods. Teachers were surveyed through direct interviews at schools, students were given questionnaires, while the parent survey was distributed by the students who had completed the questionnaires and were then asked to bring the forms home. The process involved 50 minority high schools in all of Latvia. Schools were selected on the basis of a multi-level and stratified random selection method.

The surveys were conducted at 28 schools in Rīga, 13 schools in major towns (six in Daugavpils, two apiece in Liepāja and Rēzekne, and one each in Jelgava, Jūrmala and Ventspils), two in the north-central Vidzeme region, two in the south-central Zemgale region, and five in the eastern Latgale region, all of them schools where classes have traditionally been taught in Russian.

A total of 507 teachers were interviewed. The student survey covered students from the 9th to the 12th grade. Questionnaires were distributed in the classroom, and a total of 1,189 students (410 in the 9th, 342 in the 10th, 218 in the 11th and 219 in the 12th grade) were surveyed.

The parents who were surveyed were the parents of students who had completed the questionnaire. We surveyed 315 parents of 9th grade students, 256 parents of 10th grade students, 167 parents of 11th grade students and 167 parents of 12th grade students. A total of 787 students were surveyed (the numbers do not add up because some parents had more than one student at the relevant grade levels).

The surveys were conducted between April 6 and May 14, 2004.

A SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE TARGET GROUPS

Among students, 12% were Latvians, 68% were Russians, 7% were Ukrainians, 6% were Polish, 4% were Belarusians, and 3% were from other ethnic groups. Among the students of Latvian origin, only 13% reported that their mother tongue was Latvian, while for 82% the mother tongue was Russian. Another 3% reported that both Latvian and Russian were their native languages, while others had a different mother tongue. Among people of other ethnic groups, the native language for most was Russian. Among the students, 66% were citizens, 34% were non-citizens. A total of 70% of the non-citizens reported that they would like to receive Latvian citizenship.

Among teachers, 21% were Latvians, 64% were Russians, 3% were Ukrainians, 6% were Polish, 3% were Belarusians, and 3% represented other ethnic groups. Among Latvian teachers, Latvian was the native language for 67%. Russian was the mother tongue for 31%, and 3% reported a different native language. 77% of the teachers were citizens and 23% were non-citizens, with 85% of the latter group indicating a wish to become citizens.

Among parents, 5% were Latvians, 67% were Russians, 8% were Ukrainians, 7% were Polish, 9% were Belarusians, and 4% represented other ethnic groups. Among the parents, 34% of Latvians declared Latvian to be their native language, while 61% said that the mother tongue was Russian, and 5% said that it was some other language. Among parents, 52% were citizens and 48% were non-citizens. 82% of the non-citizens want to obtain Latvian citizenship.

NATIONAL IDENTITY

The *national identity* of people was studied through questions concerning the extent to which they *feel a sense of community with the Latvian state*. They were also asked *whether they would like to leave Latvia*.

Survey data tell us that in all of the surveyed target groups, most of the respondents reported a sense of community with Latvia. Teachers were comparatively more likely to say so - fully 95% of them did. Similar emotions were felt by many parents (80%). Among students, however, researchers found that comparatively greater numbers of respondents said that they do not feel particularly close links to Latvia - approximately one-quarter of respondents said so. A total of 70%, however, said that they do feel linked to Latvia (see Fig. 1).

Latvian and Polish respondents, as well as citizens of Latvia, were more likely to report a sense of community with Latvia.

Fewer respondents spoke of a sense of community with Russia - 42% to 43% of students and parents and 35% of teachers. Between 15% and 21% of respondents said that they feel no linkage to Russia (see Fig. 1).

Asked about a sense of community with Europe, respondents provided the greatest number of negative responses, and that was particularly true among parents. Students were comparatively more likely to feel a sense of linkage to Europe (see Fig. 1).

Family and work are the main links between respondents and Latvia. No less important are relations with others - relatives, friends and acquaintances. Many respondents spoke of a sense of patriotism - "*This is where I was born*". Teachers had the most distinct feelings of patriotism, while students had the weakest feelings in this area (see Fig. 2). Among teachers and parents, citizens were more likely to express feelings of patriotism, while among students, more than two-thirds reported that they would "*not care in which country they lived, provided that living conditions were good.*" This thought was less supported by parents (see Fig. 40).

Work or studies abroad, as well as changes in one's personal life (getting married to a foreigner, for instance), would be the primary reasons why respondents might leave Latvia. Younger respondents, including parents and teachers - and especially those who earn less money than the average - were more likely to say that they would leave Latvia in pursuit of work. Students would more often than others move away from Latvia because of a marriage with a foreigner. Approximately one-half of surveyed female students said so, while around 20% of male students did the same. Less important factors in deciding on whether to live in Latvia or to depart, according to the respondents, include citizenship issues and poor living conditions. Parents were more likely than other groups to mention these. Approximately one-fifth of teachers said that nothing could lead them to leave Latvia, although most of these respondents were 50 years old or older. Nearly all parents admitted that there could be a reason why they would leave Latvia (see Fig. 3).

Between 93% and 96% of students and parents feel that “*citizenship should be awarded to any resident of the state who wants it*”. Teachers were less insistent about this (see Fig. 38).

More than one-half of students and parents and one-third of teachers feel that “*no matter what job one has in Latvia, professional qualifications are not important, while citizenship issues are - citizens of Latvia are given the advantage*”. Similarly, more than one-half of parents agreed that “*nationality, not professional skills or knowledge, is important when getting a job in Latvia*”. Among teachers and students, this view was less common (39%) (see Fig. 39).

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Survey data tell us that recent events in relation to education reforms have significantly influenced the extent to which students take part in political processes. Slightly more than one-half of surveyed students had taken part in a protest action in the previous six months (see Fig. 4). This was more often true among 10th grade students than others (49% of 9th grade students, 69% of 10th grade students, 40% of 11th grade students and 49% of 12th grade students), as well as among students who live in Rīga (70%, as compared to 44% in Latvia’s second (and heavily Russian-populated) city, Daugavpils (44%), plus 50% in other major cities and 17% in smaller towns). A total of 17% of respondents said that they had also been involved in an organisation or association of some kind in the previous half-year in order to deal with other public or political issues (see Fig. 5). Fully 87% of students, 86% of parents and 88% of teachers said that it is important to become involved in political and social activities so as to defend one’s own interests and viewpoints (see Fig. 6).

Respondents were also asked to evaluate the idea that “*in Latvia, I have an opportunity to express my views freely on any issue at all*”. Respondents were skeptical about this idea - 73% of parents, 63% of students and 43% of teachers did not agree. The lower the income of the responding parent, incidentally, the greater the skepticism toward one’s ability to influence political processes (see Fig. 37).

Another statement which respondents were asked to evaluate was that “*in Latvia, everyone has an equal opportunity to influence the taking of decisions*”. Here, 58% of parents said that they “fully disagree”, and this was also true among 37% of students and 31% of teachers. A total of 21% of students, 10% of parents and 14% of teachers said that they “fully agree” with the statement (see Fig. 37).

Students were asked this question: “*Have you ever participated in any of the activities that are aimed against education reform in minority schools?*” 51% of students replied in the affirmative (see Fig. 7). 10th grade students and students in Rīga were more active than others. 57% of the students who live in smaller towns and had not attended any protests said that they would have liked to, but they had no way of getting to the events. 56% of those who had not taken part in any protests said that the reason for this was that “*there would be no point to it, all of the decisions have already been taken*”. 40% wanted to go but “*had no way of getting there*”. 18% of students said that such protests are a dangerous way of expressing one’s opinion, 13% admitted that “*school administrators did not allow me to go*”. Another 8% of students were prohibited from attending the protests by their parents, but only 10% of students did not take part because they “support the need for the reforms” (see Fig. 8).

A total of 40% of students reported that they would be attending future activities that are aimed against education reforms (see Fig. 9).

These data show that even though many students are quite skeptical about their ability to influence political processes, they have gained experience through the protests, which might encourage them to take part in other political activities in the future.

POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

The mass media play a very important role in the political socialization of students, because they provide information to students, parents and teachers alike. Interestingly, students in the 9th and 10th grade reported that parents and teachers are important information sources, while in the 12th grade, the role of the mass media in this regard had become more stable. Students said that they often discuss political issues with their friends and parents, but less frequently with teachers.

Television was mentioned as the one medium from which information about political events is obtained most often by 87% of students, 95% of teachers and 91% of parents. The press was the second most important source of information, cited by 57% of students, 77% of parents and 78% of teachers. The radio came in third - 41% of students, 55% of parents and 46% of teachers reported this as a source of information about political events and issues in Latvia. Next on the list in terms of information sources for students were friends and acquaintances (38%), family members (36%), the Internet (29%) and teachers (23%). Students in the 9th and 10th grade were more likely than others to mention teachers and family members as sources of information, while 12th grade students more often than students in other grades spoke of the mass media - the press, radio and television. Information on the Internet was used comparatively less frequently by students in Daugavpils and by female respondents (see Fig. 10).

Students reported that they discuss political issues most often with their friends and acquaintances (84%), with parents (two-thirds of respondents) and, less frequently, with teachers (around one-third) (see Fig. 11). 11th and 12th grade students were more likely than others to discuss politics with friends or acquaintances, while students in the 9th and 10th grade were more likely to do so with their parents.

The higher the level of education of the parents, the more likely they were to discuss political issues with their students.

Asked about "*who most often agrees with you on political issues*", 43% of students said that "*it depends on the particular issue*", 27% said that friends and acquaintances agree most often, and 21% said the same about their parents. Very few students (only 2%) said that teachers agree with their views, which suggests that the authority of teachers is not all that significant in the establishment of political views among students (see Fig. 13).

EDUCATION REFORMS

Respondents were asked about the most appropriate means for students in Russian elementary schools (from the 1st to the 9th grade) to learn the Latvian language, and the most common answer was that "*the teaching of the Latvian language must be strengthened*". This view was expressed by 67% of teachers, 59% of parents and 49% of students. Among students, the view was expressed most often by students in Rīga (51%), as compared to 42% in Daugavpils, 36% in other major cities, and 27% in smaller towns, as well as by high school students (32% in the 9th, 45% in the 10th, 49% in the 11th and 51% in the 12th grade). Parents who gave the

same answer were likely to have a higher level of education and income. People in Rīga agreed with the idea more often than people elsewhere in Latvia. Far fewer (26-30%) support the idea of “*teaching individual subjects bilingually*” as a way for students to learn Latvian. Least attractive for respondents was the option of “*teaching specific subjects in Latvian*”. Only 15% of students, 9% of parents and 7% of teachers thought that this is the best way for students to learn the language (see Fig. 16).

Asked about the language of instruction in high school, students were asked the language in which they would like to study, parents were asked the language in which they would like their children to study, and teachers were asked about which language should be used as the language of instruction in Russian high schools. After answers to this question were correlated in all three groups, researchers found that the most common answer was that “*subjects must be taught both in Russian and in Latvian (bilingually)*”. This was the response of 41% of students, 54% of parents and 65% of teachers. Among students themselves, however, 50% said that “*only the Russian language*” would be the desirable language for instruction in school, while only 39% of parents and 22% of teachers said the same. Asked about the government’s plan to institute a system in which 60% of classes are taught in Latvian and 40% in Russian, only 6% of students, 5% of parents and 10% of teachers signaled their support for the idea (see Fig. 17).

Specifically, respondents were asked this question: “*What is your attitude toward the transfer, on 1 September [2004], to a system where 60% of classes are taught in Latvian and 40% are taught in Russian?*” There was very little support for this aspect of education reforms, supported only by 15% of students, 13% of parents and 20% of teachers (see Fig. 18).

Students and parents appear to have fairly good knowledge or feelings about each other when it comes to education reforms in minority schools. The views of a specific student and of that student’s parents tended to coincide quite well (see Fig. 19).

Asked about the best solution in the area of education reforms, 45% of parents and 52% of teachers called for a restructuring of the reforms, agreeing with the view that “*the reforms should be restructured and changed in terms of their content*”. Among students, the greatest percentage (44%) said that “*the reforms have to be repealed altogether, they are not necessary*”. 31% of students agreed that the reforms should be restructured. The idea that “*the reforms have to be repealed altogether, they are not necessary*” was supported by 36% of parents and 15% of teachers. Only 18% of teachers, 11% of students and 7% of parents supported the implementation of the reforms on 1 September 2004, and the readiness of specific schools for the reforms had much to do with the responses that were given. Only 11% of students and 11% of parents said that the best solution in terms of education reforms in minority schools would be simply to postpone them for a while (see Fig. 20).

THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE

Language skills. Respondents were asked to evaluate their own Latvian language skills, and according to the self-evaluation, teachers have the highest level of skills, while parents have the lowest level of language ability. Everyone was asked this question: “*How would you rate your Latvian language skills?*” 56% of teachers, 48% of students and 24% of parents rated the skills as “*very good*” or “*fairly good*”.

Only 1% of students, 10% of parents and 1% of teachers rated their skills as “*very poor*” (see Fig. 21).

Asked why someone should learn the Latvian language, 74% of students, 66% of parents and 62% of teachers said that it is important if someone is to find a job. Another major reason, according to respondents, is that the language is needed to get a good education (73% of students, 55% of teachers and 41% of parents). The instrumental motivation for learning the Latvian language, in other words, was very much present among respondents, while the integrative motivation was encountered less often. The idea that “*everyone who lives in Latvia must speak the Latvian language*” was expressed by 46% of teachers, 31% of parents and 18% of students. The idea that the language has to be spoken “*so as to make contacts with Latvians*” drew the support of 23% of teachers, 16% of parents and 12% of students. The view that the language is necessary “*so as to feel a part of Latvia*” was accepted only by 19% of teachers, 10% of parents and 8% of students.

That said, there were also very few respondents who argued that “*it is not necessary to speak the Latvian language at all*” - just 2% of students and parents, and 1% of teachers (see Fig. 22).

Language use. In all three groups of respondents, the majority said that they most often find themselves speaking Latvian at school or at work. This was true among 60% of students, 57% of parents and 68% of teachers. Next on the list was “*being with friends*” for students (40%, as opposed 28% of teachers and 13% of parents). Teachers (15%) were more likely than other groups to speak Latvian at home (4% of students and 2% of parents). A total of 24% of parents and 1% of surveyed teachers said that they never speak Latvian anywhere (see Fig. 23).

Situations where Latvian is spoken. 82% of students said that they speak Latvian most often if “*the partner in conversation does not speak Russian*”. 65% of parents and 85% of teachers speak Latvian most often if someone “*addresses me in Latvian*”. 74% of students said the same. Teachers more often than other respondents speak Latvian “*at government institutions*” - 73%. 39% of students and 39% of teachers reported speaking Latvian so as to gain better language skills. Teachers (46%), more often than students (30%) and parents (17%), reported speaking Latvian if “*most of the others in the conversation are Latvians*”. The same was true if “*someone else in the conversation is a Latvian*”. 13% of parents, 3% of students and 2% of teachers said that they do not speak Latvian in any of the aforementioned situations (see Fig. 25).

In communicating with ethnic Latvians, teachers reported speaking Latvian most often, while parents reported speaking Latvian least often (see Fig. 26).

Russian as a second state language. The vast majority of students (95%), parents (96%) and teachers (81%) reported a “*positive*” or “*fairly positive*” attitude toward the idea that Russian should become Latvia’s second state language. Teachers were most likely to oppose the idea (11% of respondents) (see Fig. 27).

Respondents who had a “*positive*” or “*fairly positive*” attitude toward the aforementioned issue were then asked this question: “*Why should the Russian language be granted the status of Latvia’s second state language?*” The majority of students (84%), parents (84%) and teachers (86%) said that the reason is that “*it is a language which a large share of Latvia’s residents speak*”. The second most common answer was that “*it is important to rejuvenate and strengthen the status of the Russian language in society*”. Some students, parents and teachers feel that “*the Russian language is threatened in Latvia*”, and that is why the language should be given the status of a second state language (see Fig. 28).

ETHNIC NETWORKS

When we compare the social networks that are shaped by one's range of relatives, friends, acquaintances and colleagues, we find that teachers tend to live in a more Latvian environment than parents or students do. Of course, it has to be taken into account that in this survey, there were more Latvians among teachers (21% of all respondents) than among students and parents.

42% of teachers reported Latvian members of their nuclear families, 49% reported close relatives who are Latvians, fully 85% said that they number Latvian among their friends and acquaintances, and 96% reported that colleagues at school are Latvians.

Among students, the numbers were far lower - 22% for family members, 32% for close relatives, 73% for friends and acquaintances. Similar numbers were found amongst parents.

Most respondents live in a Russian environment. 90% of students reported that family members are Russians, 92% - that there are Russians among close relatives, and 96% - that there are Russians among friends and acquaintances. Largely the same was true among parents (see Fig. 29-32).

ETHNIC RELATIONS

Asked to describe their relationships with Latvians, most teachers used the words "*friendly*" or "*mostly friendly*". The vast majority of students - 82% - did the same. It has to be stressed, however, that 15% of students reported that relations with Latvians are "*mostly hostile*", while 3% said that the relations are "*hostile*". Most parents said that they have friendly relations with Latvians (see Fig. 33).

The next question was this: "*How have your relationships with Latvians changed over the last six months?*" Most of the respondents (74% of students, 89% of parents and 92% of teachers) said that the relationships "*have not changed*". The answer "*the relationships have improved*" was given by 6% of students, 3% of parents and 4% of teachers. There were, however, significant differences in the number of parents, students and teachers who said that the relationships "*have deteriorated*" - 20% of students, 8% of parents and 4% of teachers (see Fig. 34).

The survey data show that it was specifically among students that attitudes vis-à-vis Latvians had worsened, while teachers were most likely to get along with Latvians. 33% of students admitted that "*recently I have begun to dislike Latvians*". This statement was supported by 22% of parents and 8% of teachers (see Fig. 35).

Students were more likely (58%) than parents (33%) and teachers (14%) to agree with the statement that "*Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers) are two conflicting camps*". 29% of students, 14% of parents and 7% of teachers would "*prefer a situation in which Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers) live separately from one another*" (see Fig. 35).

43% of students agreed with the idea that "*Latvians are snooty and speak only to those people who speak the Latvian language*" (the same was true among 27% of parents and 13% of teachers). 26% of students agreed with this sentence: "*I avoid contacts with Latvians, because I don't like them; Latvians are completely different than my people*" (13% of parents and 4% of teachers) (see Fig. 35).

Majorities of students (69%) and parents (65%) said that they would prefer "*a job where all of my colleagues are Russian speakers*". The same was true among 47% of teachers, which is probably because there was a greater percentage of

Latvians among schoolteachers than among parents and students. At the same time, however, most respondents also agreed that *“in choosing a job, it would not be important whether Latvians or Russians work there”* - 69% of students, 69% of parents and 75% of teachers (see Fig. 36).

Majorities of the students (73%) and parents (64%) agreed with this statement: *“I feel best when only Russians or Russian speakers are around me”* (49% of teachers). At the same time, however, many teachers (87%) and parents (81%) agreed that *“Latvia’s society is peaceful and friendly, it is politicians who are splitting up society into Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers)”*. Only 60% of students agreed with the statement. Also common was the view that *“I have a neutral attitude toward Latvians - those are people who live alongside me and with whom I make contact when I need to do so”*. This statement was supported by 71% of students, 76% of parents and 62% of teachers (see Fig. 38).

The next statement which respondents were asked to evaluate was this: *“I have no problem in making contacts with Latvians; Latvians are the same as everyone else”*. Agreement was expressed by 96% of teachers, 87% of parents and 75% of students. In response to the statement that *“I don’t care whether my friends are Latvians or Russians, as long as we have the same interests”*, 82% of students, 90% of parents and 92% of teachers responded in the affirmative (see Fig. 36).

Researchers used factor analysis to correlate the attitudes in the various focus groups which are related to one another so as to determine attitude types (the coefficients in parentheses must be read as coefficient between signs and factors).

In all target groups we may distinguish the factor of ethnic intolerance, which is built from expressions characterizing antipathy and negative attitude towards Latvians. It means that among students, parents and teachers there are groups representing above-mentioned expressions of attitudes included in this factor. It is worth to mention, that students having intolerant attitude are also characterized by the desire to separate from Latvians.

The types of students’ attitudes:

- ethnic isolation and intolerance,
- political equality,
- discrimination in labor market,
- political compromise,
- cosmopolitanism.

Unlike parents and teachers, among students we may not distinguish the factor of ethnic tolerance. Expressions characterizing ethnic tolerance, in case of students add in the factor of intolerance with the opposite value, which means the denial of these indications.

The types of teachers’ attitudes:

- political equality,
- ethnic tolerance,
- ethnic intolerance and political compromise
- ethnic isolation and cosmopolitanism.

In case of teachers and parents we may distinguish the factor of ethnic tolerance, which includes positive expressions about Latvians. In comparison to parents and students, the desire of teachers to separate from Latvians is not so expressed. They are more characterized by the attitudes of political compromise, namely, the attitude against Latvians is neutrally positive, yet at the same time these teachers are

characterized by expressions, according to which they are more willing to communicate with people of their nationality, not Latvians.

The types of parents' attitudes:

- ethnic intolerance,
- ethnic tolerance and integration,
- political equality,
- ethnic separation,
- discrimination in labor market,
- cosmopolitanism.

In case of parents, the willingness to separate from Latvians is more dominating as well as neutral, not favorable attitude against Latvians.

Based on the results of factor analysis, especially on the students' and parents' instance, the expressions were grouped, and the answers 'agree' and 'completely agree' were summed up and shown in the graphs (see Fig. 35.-40.).

Rotated matrix of components ***Teachers**

EXPRESSIONS	FACTORS				
	1. Political equality	2. Ethnic tolerance	3. Ethnic intolerance	4. Political compromise and ethnic isolation	5. Cosmopolitanism
All people in Latvia have similar opportunities to influence decision making	,712				
In Latvia, settling in any job, not professional skills and knowledge, but nationality is what matters	-,645		,308		
Getting a job in Latvia, professional qualifications are not important, while citizenship issues are - citizens are given the advantage	-,616		,347		
In Latvia, I have an opportunity to express my views freely on any issue at all	,614				
The state gradually improves the quality of education in Russian schools	,563			-,382	
I don't care whether my friends are Latvians or Russians, as long as we have the same interests		,728			
I like if people around me belong to different nationalities and I hear both Latvian and Russian		,709			
In choosing a job, it would not be important whether Latvians or Russians work there		,694			
I'd prefer a situation in which Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers) live separately from one another		-,521	,309		
I avoid contacts with Latvians, because I don't like them; Latvians are completely different than my people		-,453	,381		,361
I have no problem in making contacts with Latvians; Latvians are the same as everyone else	,342	,423			
Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers) are two conflicting camps			,721		
Recently I have begun to dislike Latvians			,655		
Latvians are snooty and speak only to those people who speak the Latvian language			,635		
Citizenship should be awarded to any resident of the state who wants it	-,369			,587	
Latvia's society is peaceful and friendly, it is politicians who are splitting up society into Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers)				,581	
I have a neutral attitude toward Latvians - those are people who live alongside me and with whom I make contact when I need to do so				,568	
I would prefer a job where all of my colleagues are Russian speakers	-,381	-,318		,542	
I feel best when only Russians or Russian speakers are around me	-,377	-,358		,529	
I don't care in which country I live, if living conditions are good					,741
I wouldn't like to move to another country, since Latvia is my motherland		,308			-,637

* Factors were derived using the Main component method with Varimax rotation.

Students

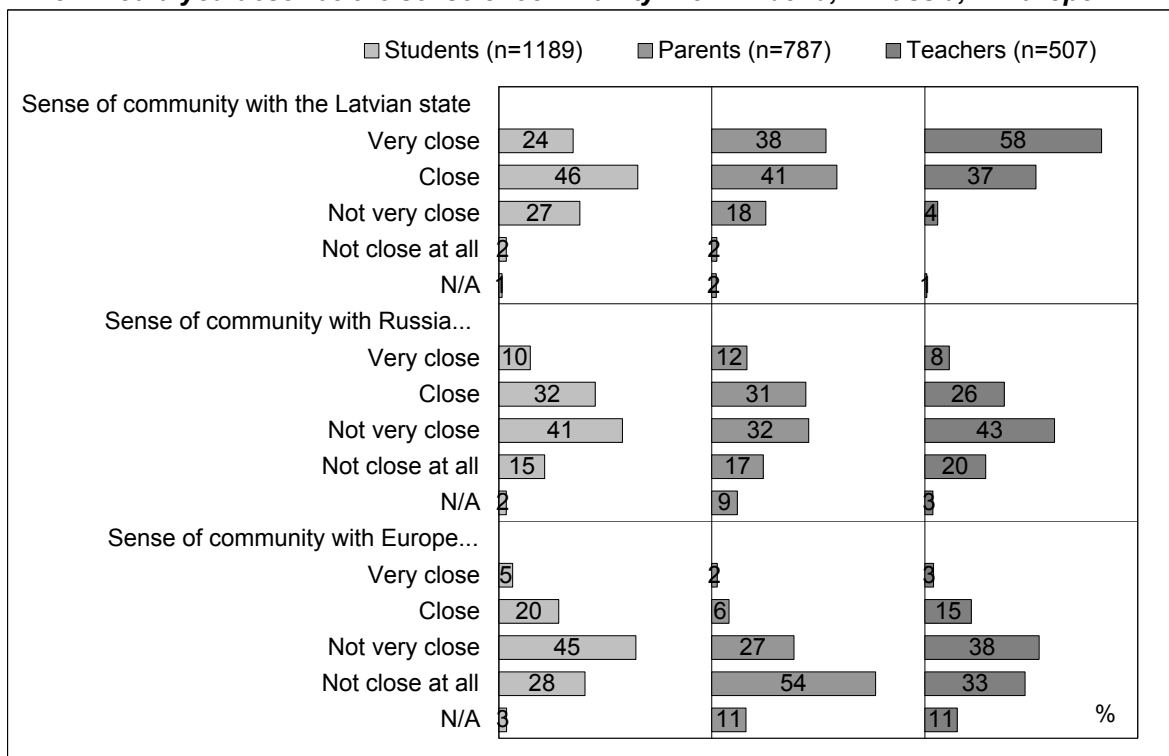
EXPRESSIONS	FACTORS				
	1.Ethnic isolation and intolerance	2.Political equality	3.Discrimination in labor market	4.Political cosmopolitanism	5.Cosmopolitanism
I avoid contacts with Latvians, because I don't like them; Latvians are completely different than my people	,741				
I'd prefer a situation in which Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers) live separately from one another	,729				
I feel best when only Russians or Russian speakers are around me	,701				
I have no problem in making contacts with Latvians; Latvians are the same as everyone else	-,690				
Recently I have begun to dislike Latvians	,683				
I don't care whether my friends are Latvians or Russians, as long as we have the same interests	-,673				
I like if people around me belong to different nationalities and I hear both Latvian and Russian	-,662				
I would prefer a job where all of my colleagues are Russian speakers	,641				
In choosing a job, it would not be important whether Latvians or Russians work there	-,540				
Latvians are snooty and speak only to those people who speak the Latvian language	,521		,358		
Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers) are two conflicting camps	,520				
All people in Latvia have similar opportunities to influence decision making		,742			
The state gradually improves the quality of education in Russian schools		,631			
In Latvia, I have an opportunity to express my views freely on any issue at all		,623			
Getting a job in Latvia, professional qualifications are not important, while citizenship issues are - citizens are given the advantage			,759		
In Latvia, settling in any job, not professional skills and knowledge, but nationality is what matters			,737		
I have a neutral attitude toward Latvians - those are people who live alongside me and with whom I make contact when I need to do so				,690	
Latvia's society is peaceful and friendly, it is politicians who are splitting up society into Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers)				,540	
Citizenship should be awarded to any resident of the state who wants it				,331	,325
I don't care in which country I live, if living conditions are good					,777
I wouldn't like to move to another country, since Latvia is my motherland		,318			-,482

Parents

EXPRESSIONS	FACTORS					
	1.Ethnic intolerance	2.Ethnic tolerance and integration	3.Political equality	4.Ethnic isolation	5.Diskrimination in labor market	6.Cosmopolitanism
Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers) are two conflicting camps	,740					
Latvians are snooty and speak only to those people who speak the Latvian language	,720					
Recently I have begun to dislike Latvians	,663					
I avoid contacts with Latvians, because I don't like them; Latvians are completely different than my people	,638	-,314				
I have no problem in making contacts with Latvians; Latvians are the same as everyone else	-,506	,430				
I'd prefer a situation in which Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers) live separately from one another	,491	-,462				
In choosing a job, it would not be important whether Latvians or Russians work there		,716				
I don't care whether my friends are Latvians or Russians, as long as we have the same interests	-,330	,695				
I like if people around me belong to different nationalities and I hear both Latvian and Russian		,522				
Latvia's society is peaceful and friendly, it is politicians who are splitting up society into Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers)		,453				
All people in Latvia have similar opportunities to influence decision making			,775			
In Latvia, I have an opportunity to express my views freely on any issue at all			,689			
The state gradually improves the quality of education in Russian schools			,585			
I have a neutral attitude toward Latvians - those are people who live alongside me and with whom I make contact when I need to do so				,685		
I would prefer a job where all of my colleagues are Russian speakers	,339	-,319		,577		
I feel best when only Russians or Russian speakers are around me	,361	-,334		,561		
Citizenship should be awarded to any resident of the state who wants it				,421		
Getting a job in Latvia, professional qualifications are not important, while citizenship issues are - citizens are given the advantage					,815	
In Latvia, settling in any job, not professional skills and knowledge, but nationality is what matters					,744	
I don't care in which country I live, if living conditions are good						,795
I wouldn't like to move to another country, since Latvia is my motherland		,333				-,731

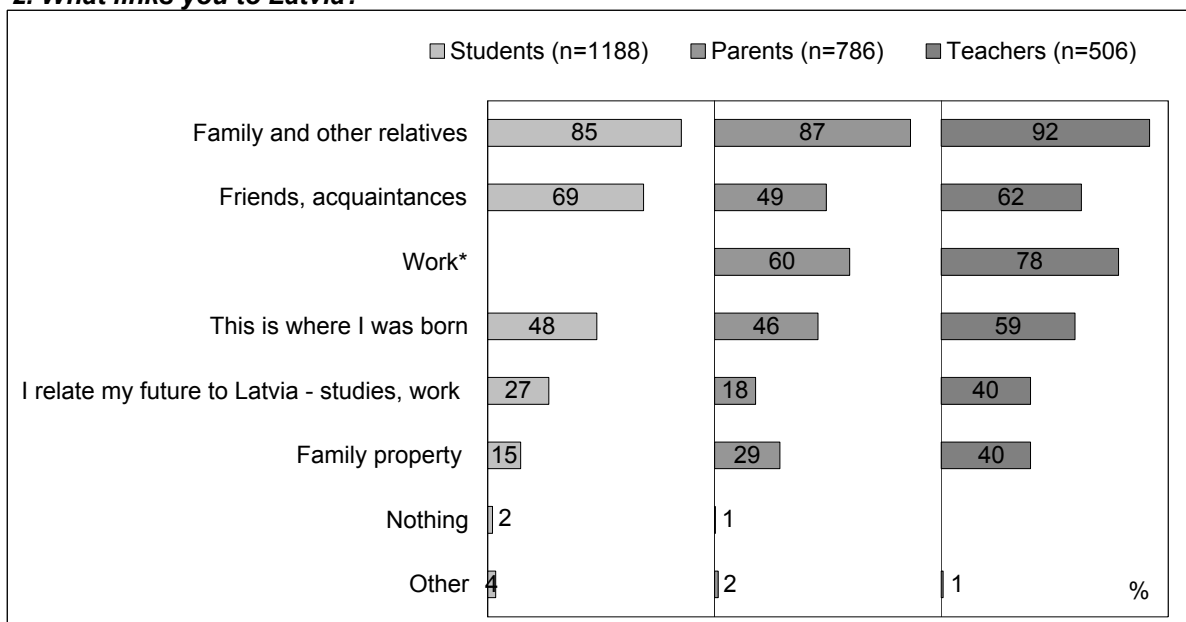
SENSE OF COMMUNITY WITH THE STATE

1. How would you describe the sense of community with ... Latvia,... Russia, ... Europe?



BASE: all respondents

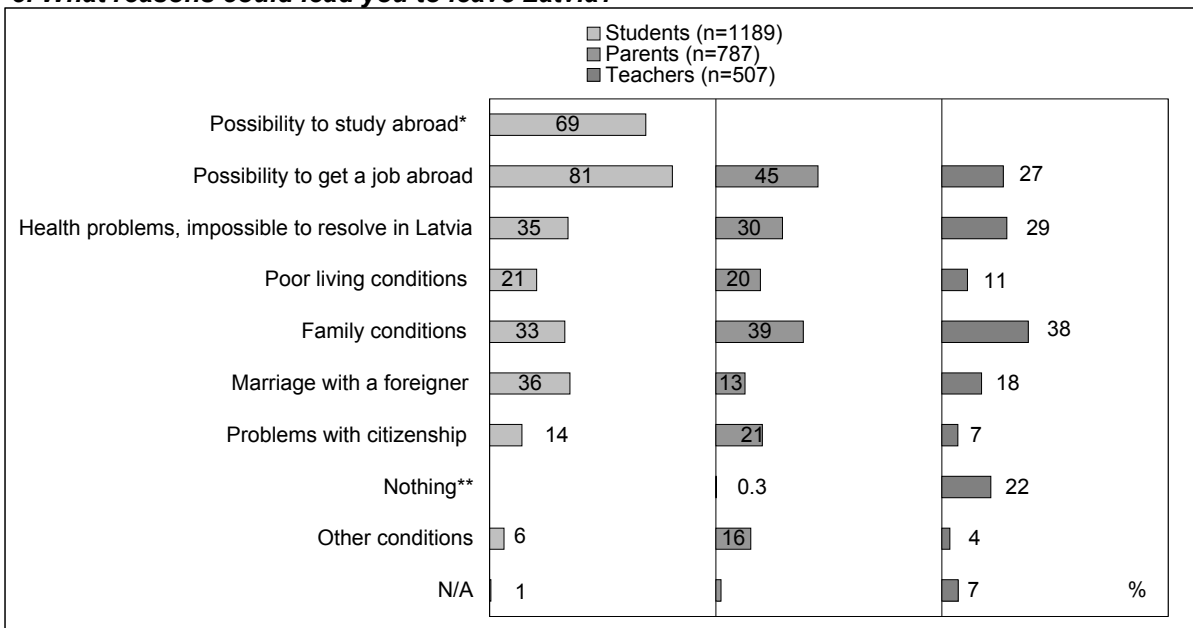
2. What links you to Latvia?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer
multi answer question, % sum >100

*Not asked to pupils

3. What reasons could lead you to leave Latvia?



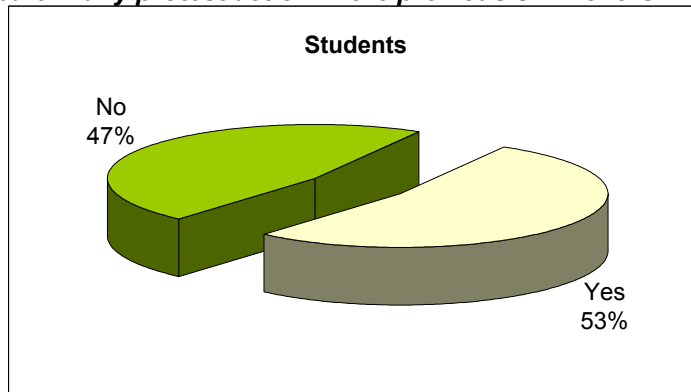
BASE: respondents, giving certain answer multi answer question, % sum >100

* Only in students' questionnaire

** Only in teachers' and parents' questionnaire

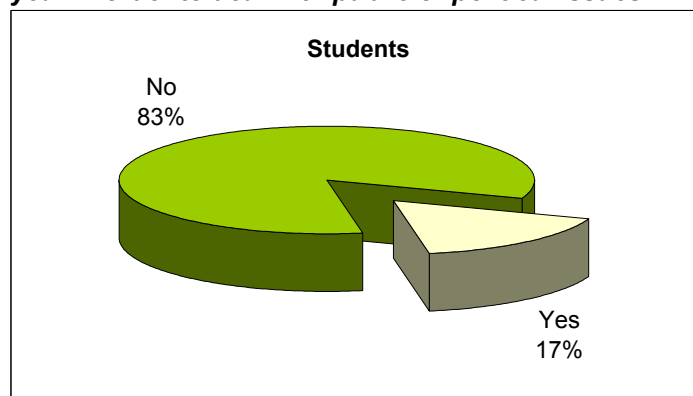
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

4. Have you taken part in any protest action in the previous six months?



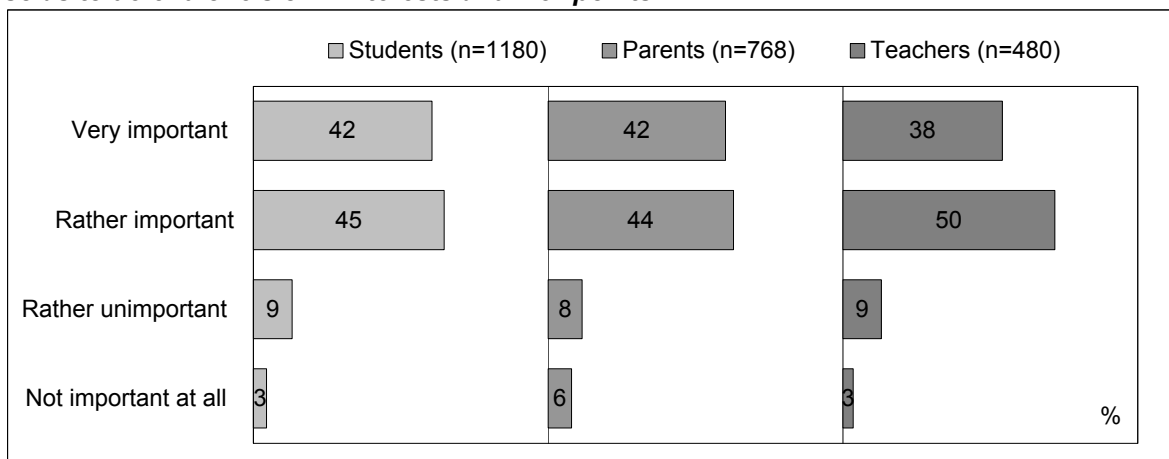
BASE: Students, giving certain answer, n=1182

5. During past 6 month, have you been involved in any organisation or association in the previous half-year in order to deal with public or political issues?



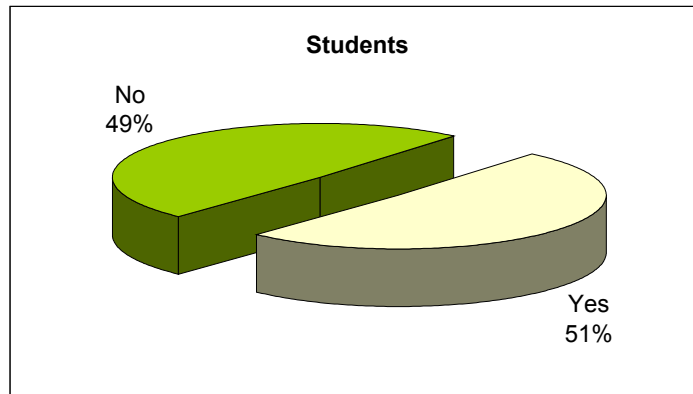
BASE: Students, giving certain answer, n=1182

6. How important is to become involved in political and social activities so as to defend one's own interests and viewpoints?



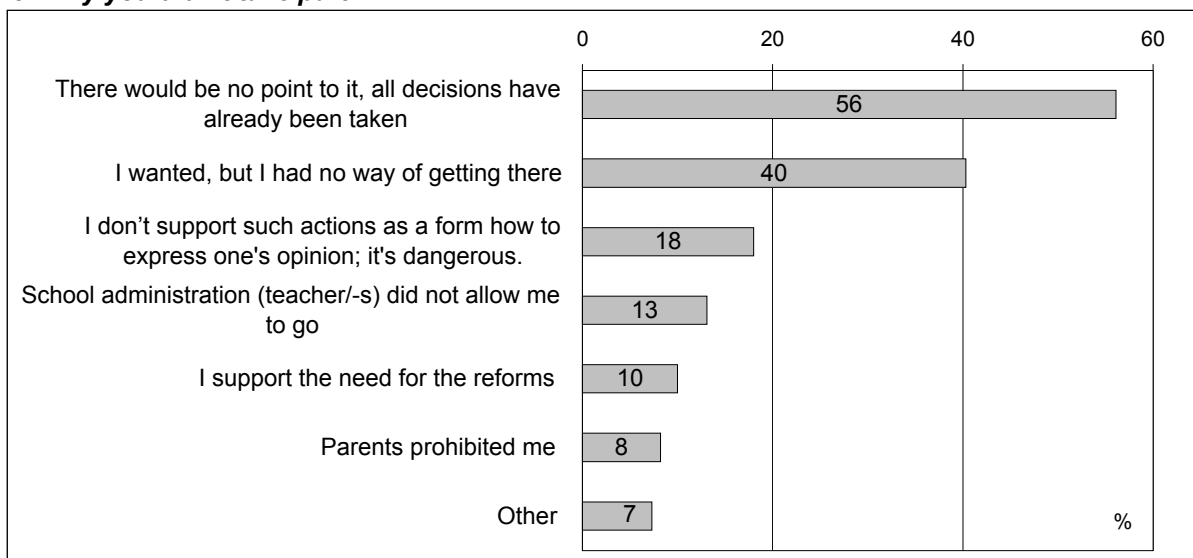
BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

7. Have you ever participated in any of the activities that are aimed against education reform in minority schools?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer, n=1176

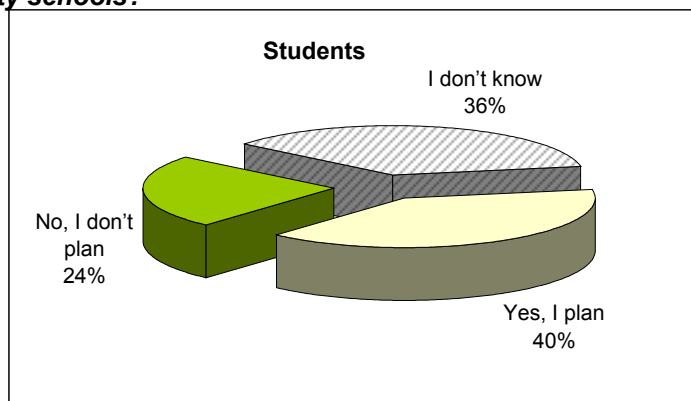
8. Why you didn't take part?



BASE: students, that haven't participated in any of actions against educational reform and that have given a certain answer

Multi-answer question, % sum >100

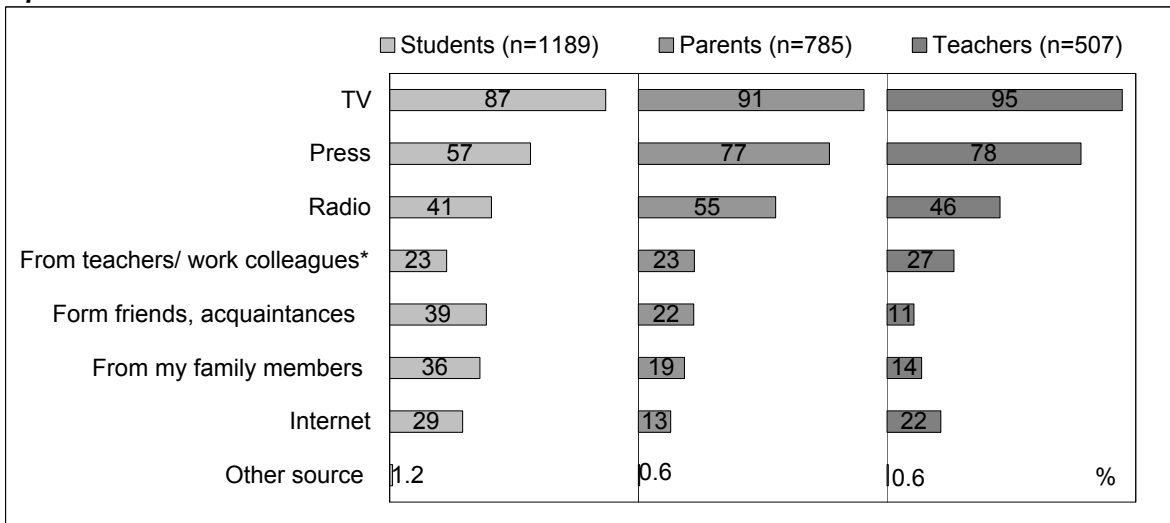
9. Do you plan to attend future activities that are aimed against education reforms in minority schools?



BASE: students giving certain answer, n = 1114

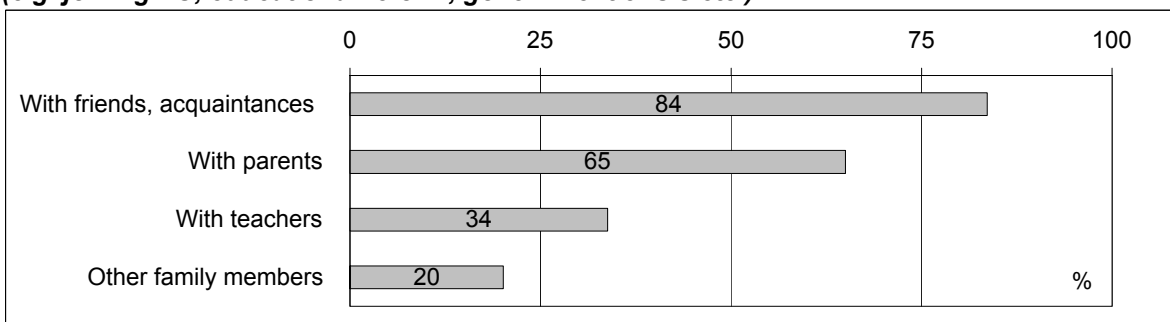
POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

10. Where do you obtain the most of information about political events and topicalities in Latvia?



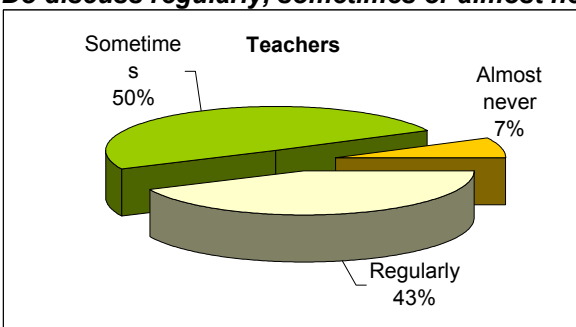
*BASE: respondents, giving certain answer
*variant for Parents and Teachers
multi answer question, % sum >100*

11. Who are you discussing with political issues most often (e.g. joining EU, educational reform, government crisis etc.)?

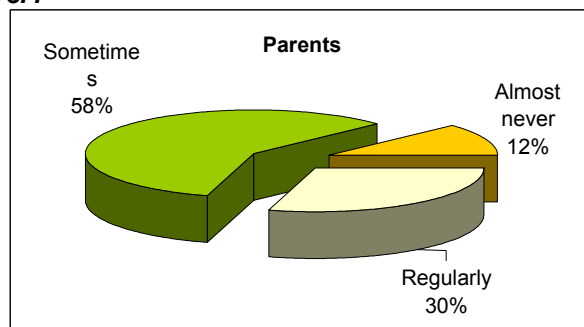


*BASE: students, giving certain answer, n=1182
multi answer question, % sum >100*

12. How often do you discuss political issues (e.g. joining EU, educational reform, government crisis etc.) with your students? Do discuss regularly, sometimes or almost never?

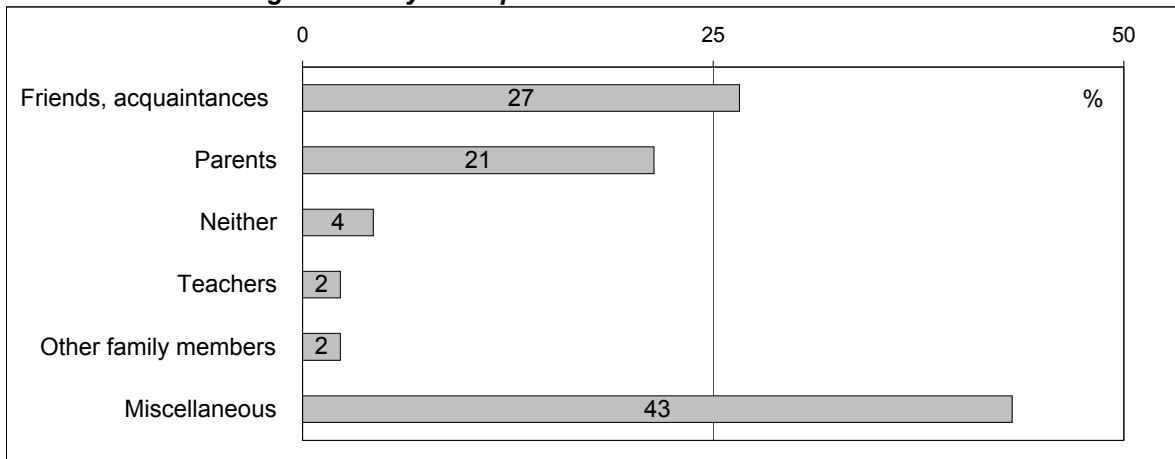


BASE: teachers, giving certain answer, n=502



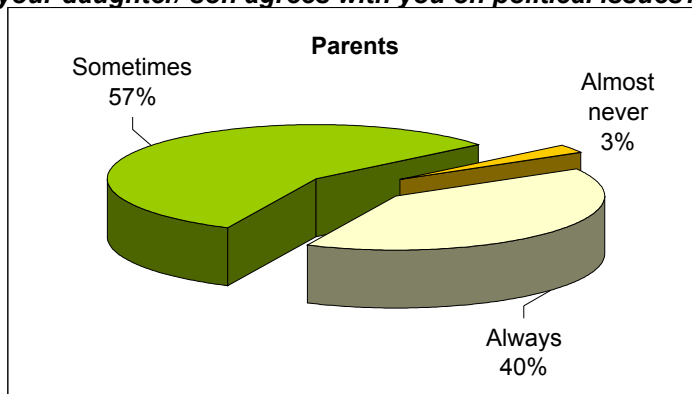
BASE: parents, giving certain answer, n=785

13. Who most often agrees with you on political issues?



BASE: students, giving certain answer, n = 1010

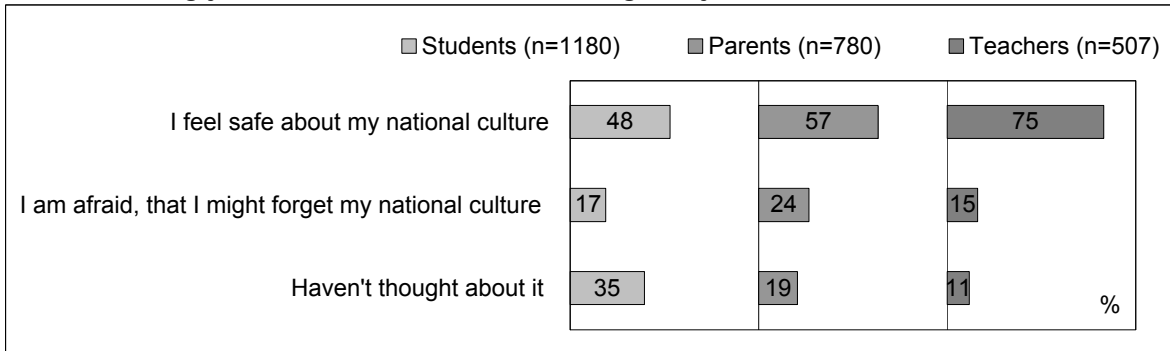
14. How often your daughter/ son agrees with you on political issues?



BASE: parents, discussing political issues with their children and giving certain answer, n=681

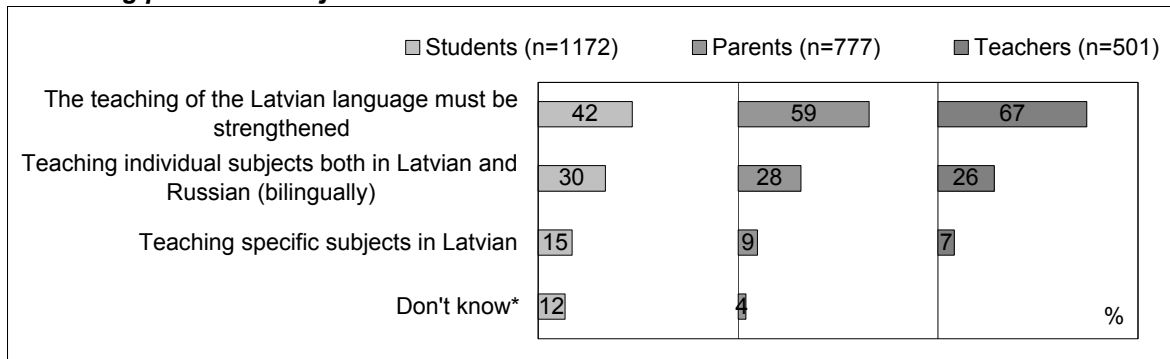
EDUCATIONAL REFORM

15. Considering your national culture, what feelings do you have?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

16. What in your opinion would be the most appropriate means for students in Russian elementary schools (from the 1st to the 9th grade) to learn the Latvian language. Strengthening the teaching of the Latvian language; teaching individual subjects bilingually or learning particular subjects in Latvian?



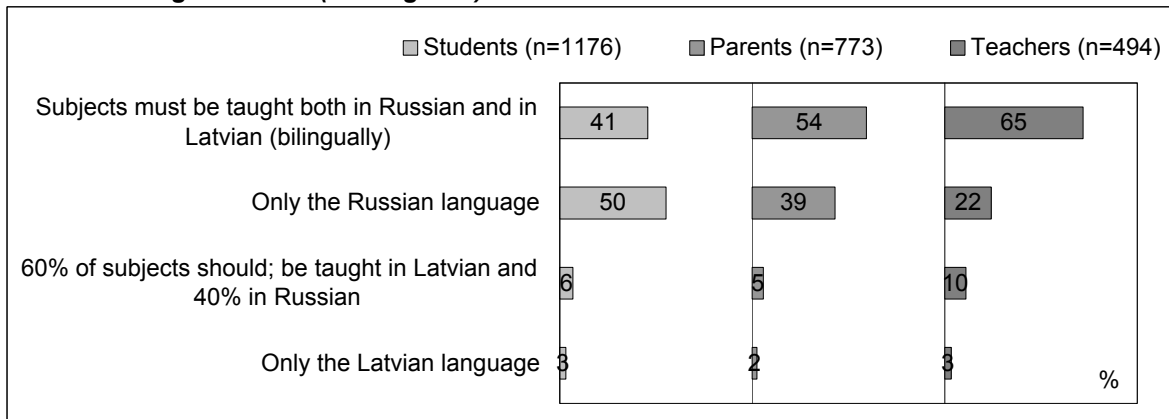
BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

* Variant of answers for parents and pupils

17. To pupils: In what language would you like to study in high school (10 - 12 grade)?

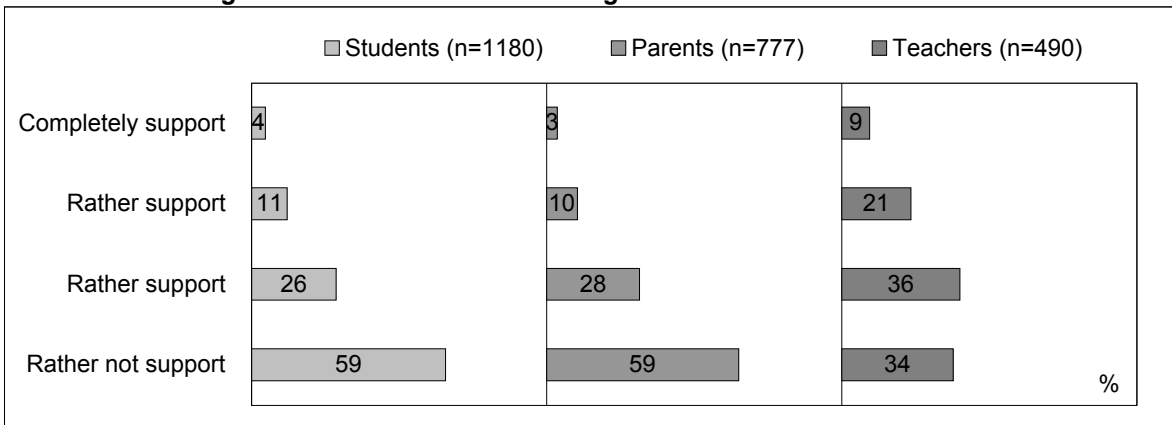
To parents: In what language would you like that your daughter or son would study in high school (10 - 12 class)?

To teachers: Which language should be used as the language of instruction in Russian high schools (10-12 grade)?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

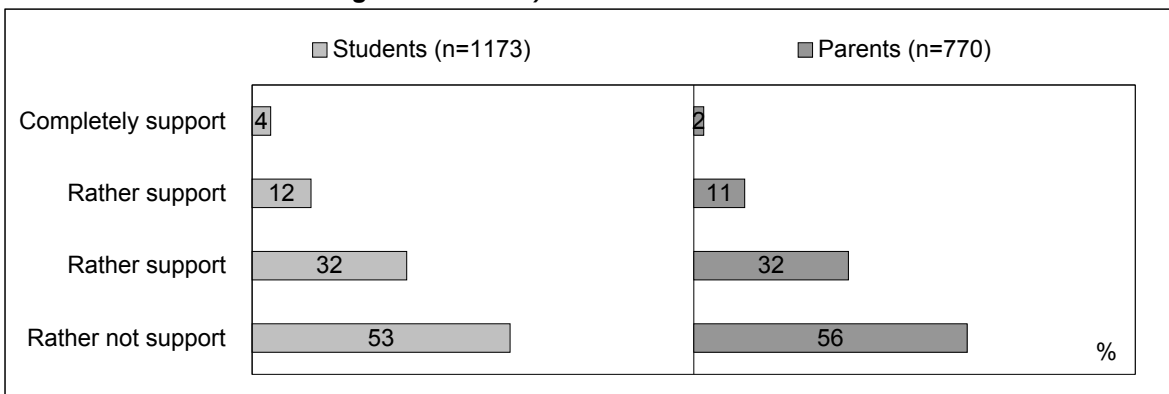
18. What is your attitude toward the transfer, on 1 September [2004], to a system where 60% of classes are taught in Latvian and 40% are taught in Russian?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

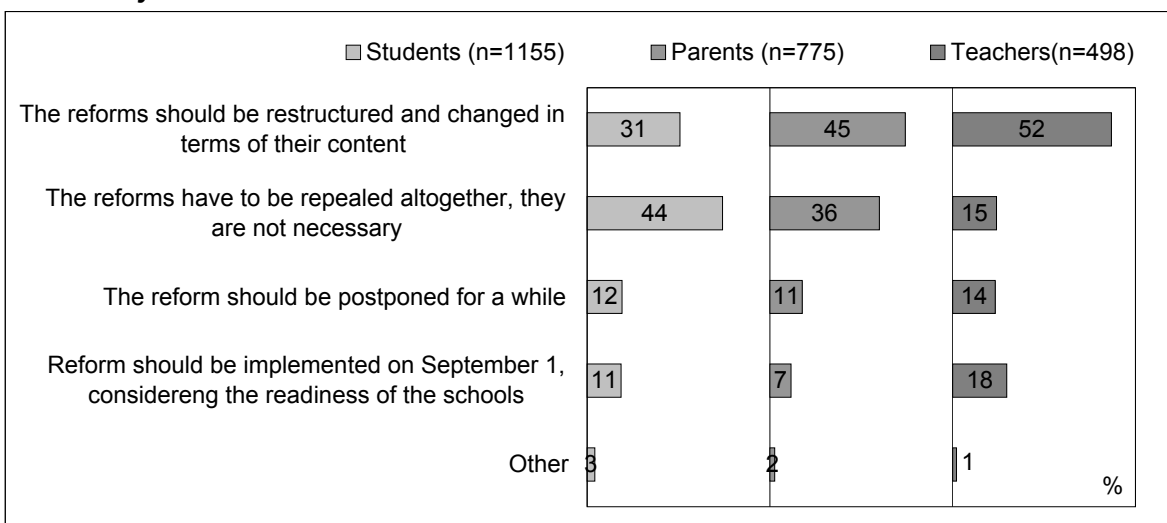
19. To pupils: What is the attitude of your parents toward educational reform in minority schools (he transfer, on 1 September [2004], to a system where 60% of classes are taught in Latvian and 40% are taught in Russian)?

To parents: What is the attitude of your daughter/ son against educational reform in minority schools (he transfer, on 1 September [2004], to a system where 60% of classes are taught in Latvian and 40% are taught in Russian)?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

20. What in your opinion, is the best solution in the area of education reforms in minority schools?

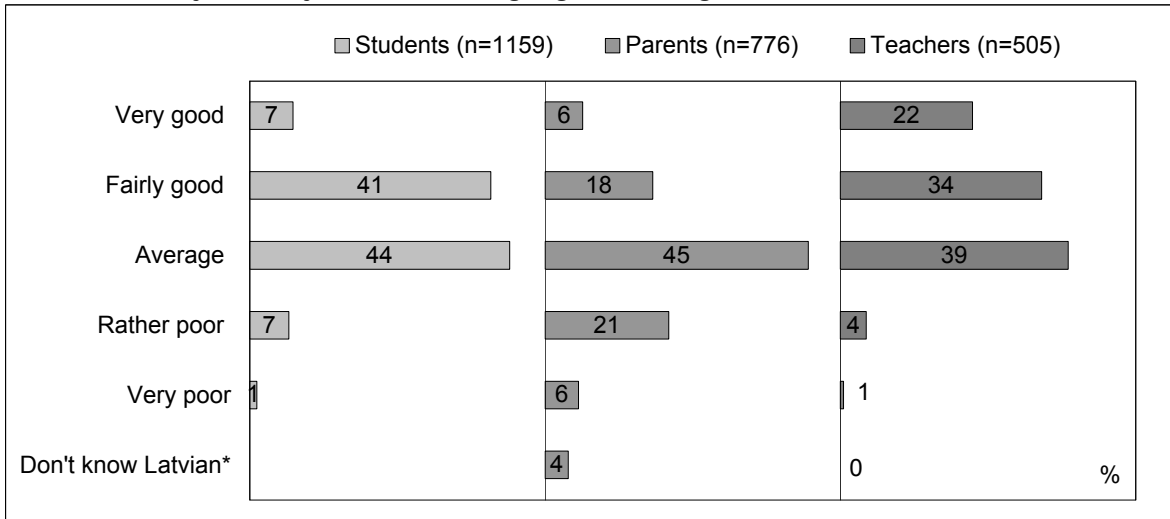


BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

LATVIAN LANGUAGE

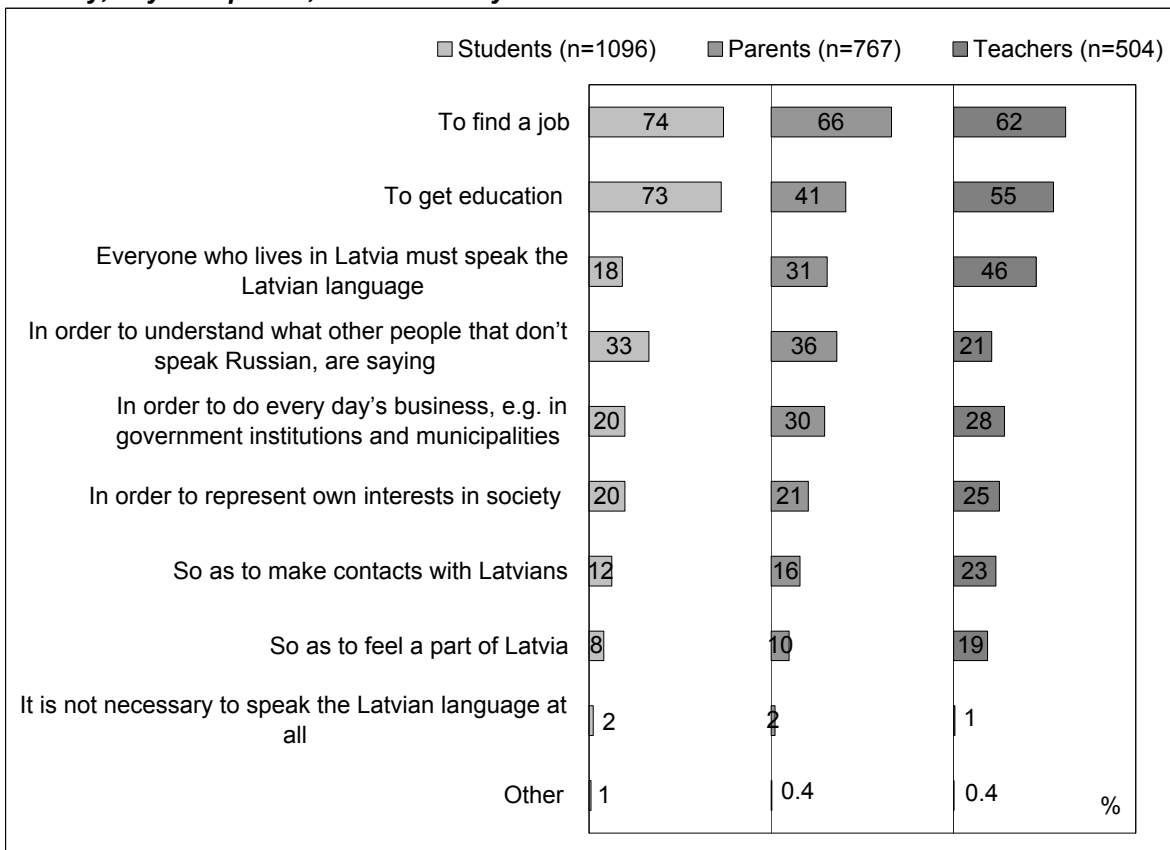
I. KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGE

21. How would you rate your Latvian language skills in general?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer
 *variant of answer for parents and teachers

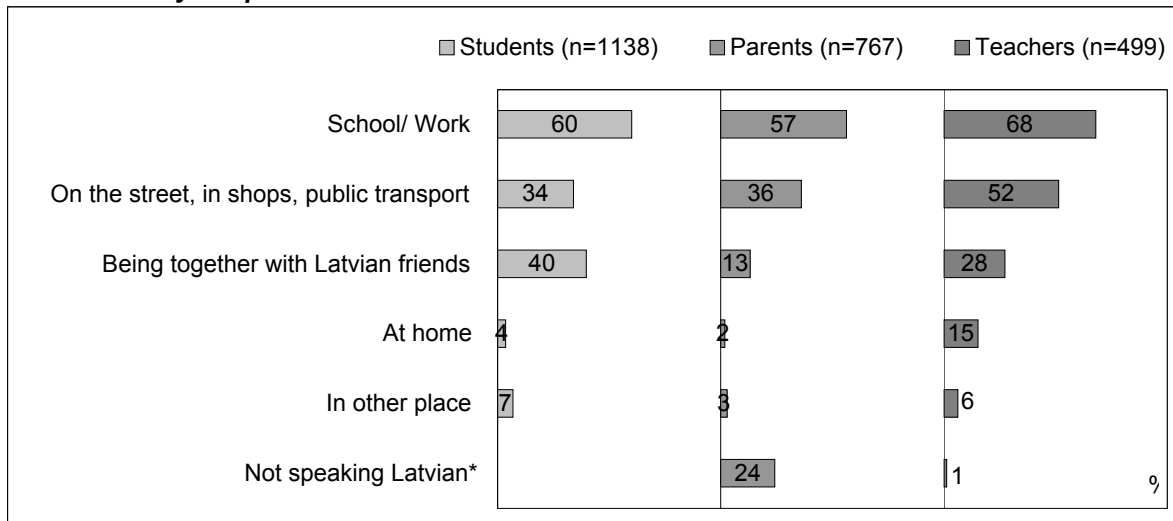
22. Why, in your opinion, it is necessary to know Latvian?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer
 multi answer question, % sum >100

II. THE USAGE OF LANGUAGE

23. Where do you speak Latvian most often?

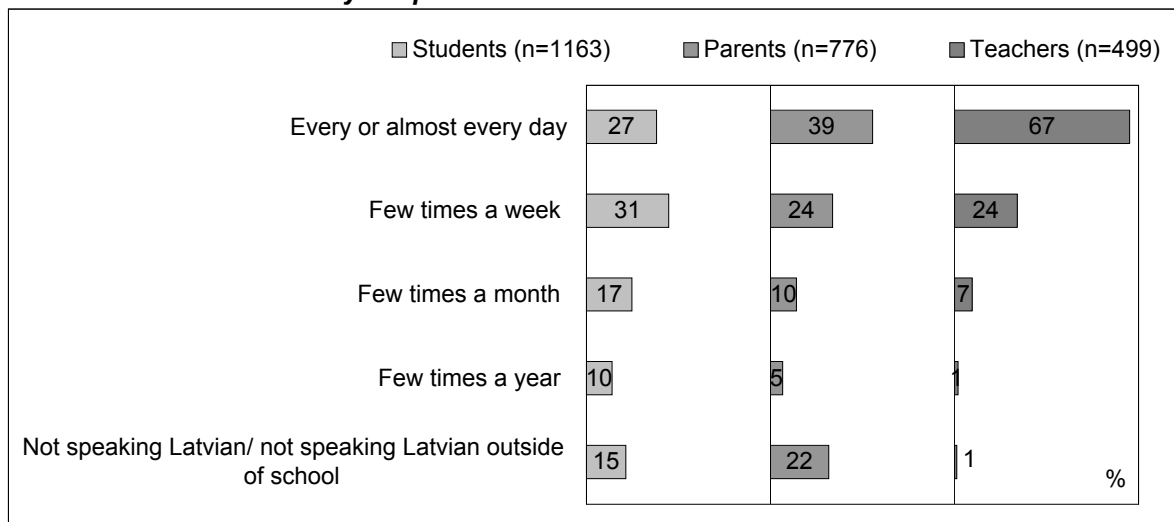


BASE: respondents, giving certain answer
 *variant of answer for parents and teachers
 multi answer question, % sum >100

24. To pupils: How often do you speak Latvian outside of school ?

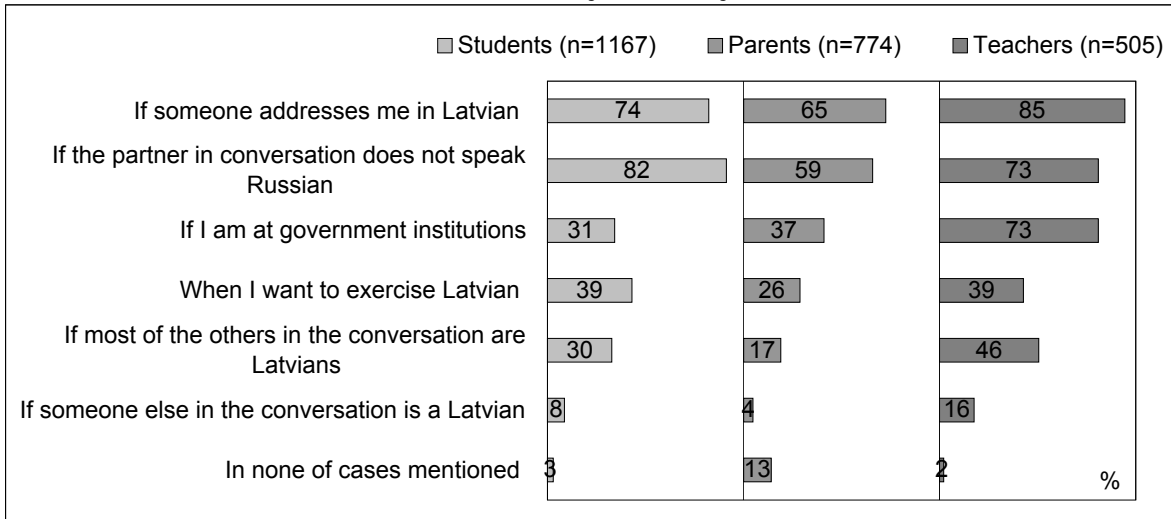
To parents: How often do you speak Latvian?

To teachers: How often do you speak Latvian?



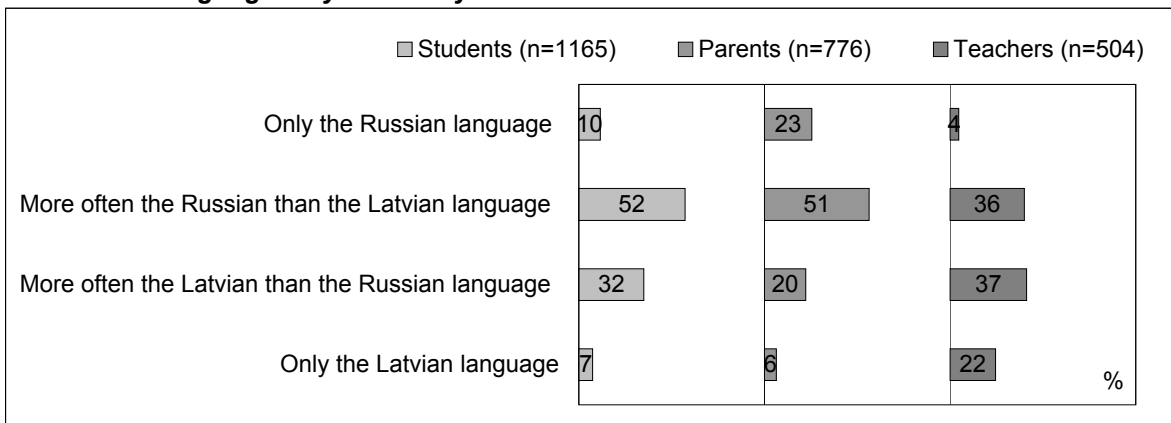
BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

25. In which of below mentioned situations do you usually use Latvian?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer
 multi answer question, % sum >100

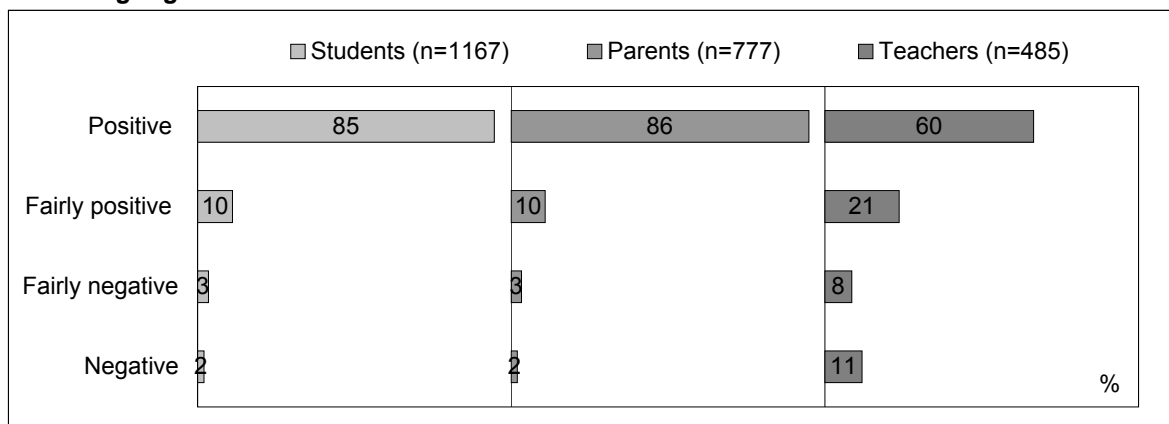
26. In which language do you usually talk to Latvians?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

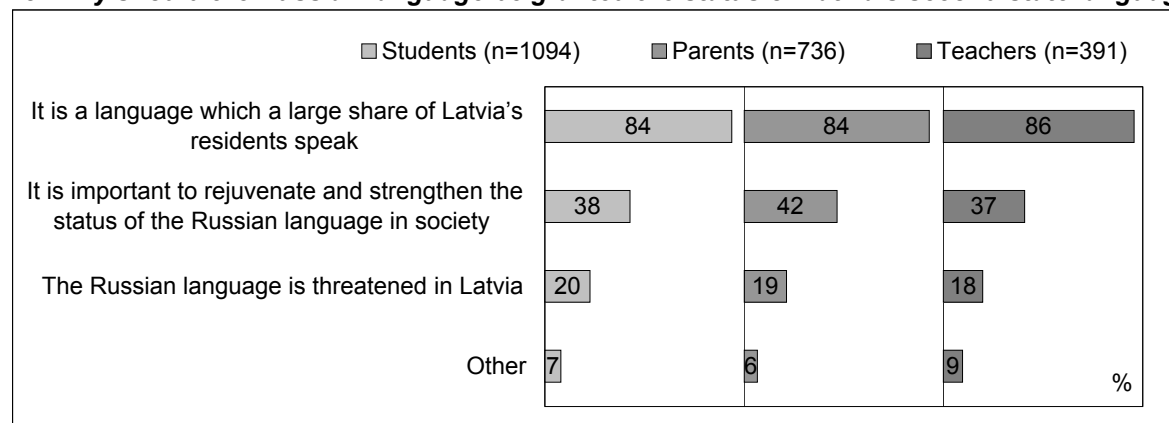
III. ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMPLEMENTATION OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE AS SECOND LANGUAGE IN LATVIA

27. What is your attitude toward the idea that Russian should become Latvia's second state language?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

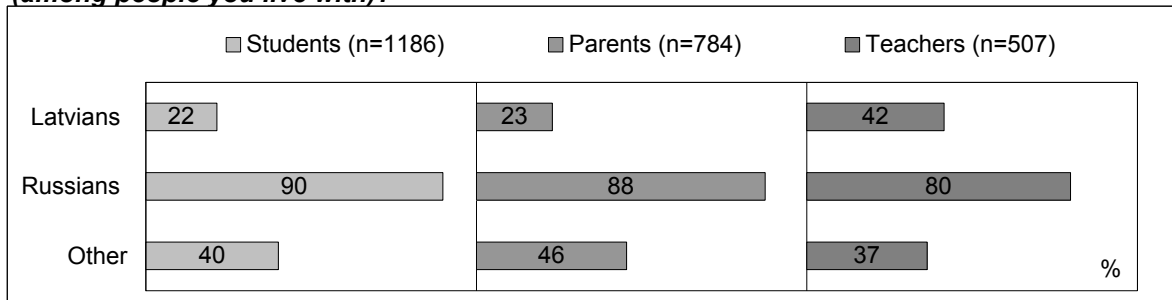
28. Why should the Russian language be granted the status of Latvia's second state language?



BASE: respondents, having positive or rather positive attitude against implementation of Russian language as second language in Latvia, and that have given certain answer multi-answer question, % sum >100

ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS

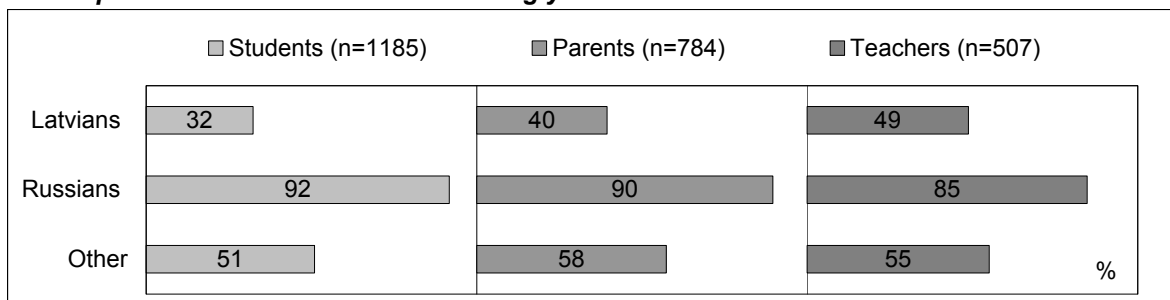
29. People of what nationalities are among your family members (among people you live with)?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

Multi-answer question, % sum >100

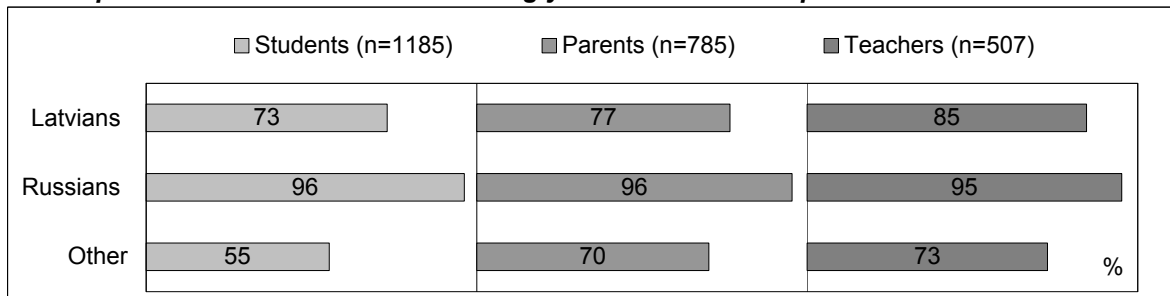
30. People of what nationalities are among your close relatives?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

Multi-answer question, % sum >100

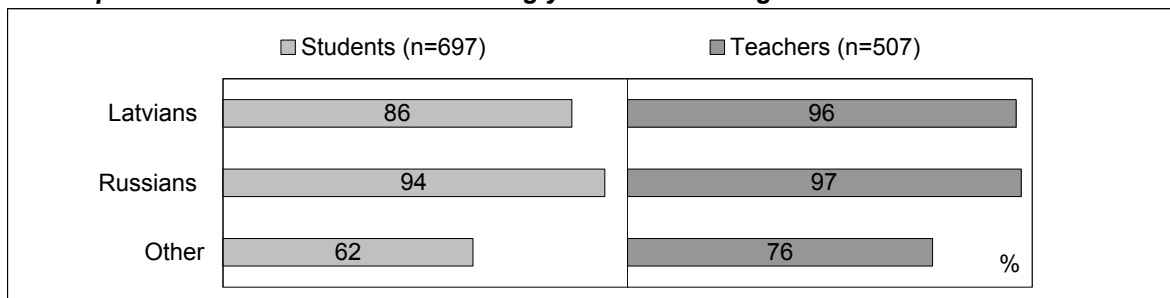
31. People of what nationalities are among your friends and acquaintances?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

Multi-answer question, % sum >100

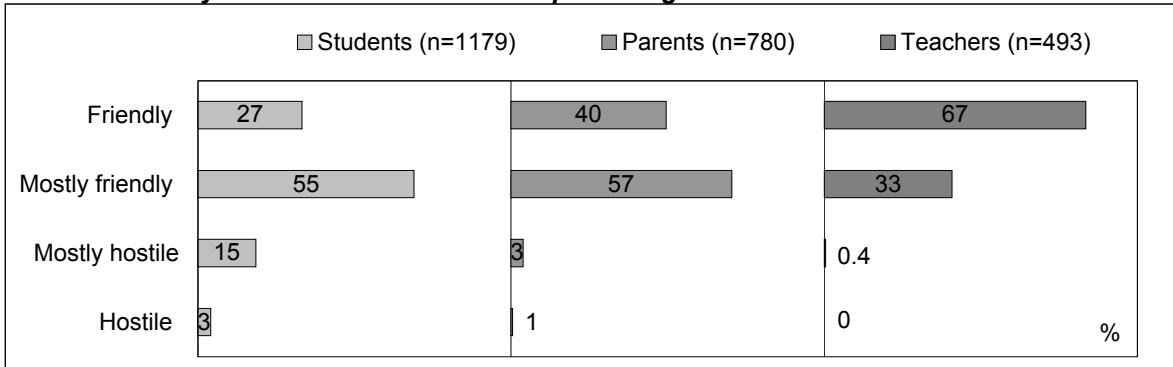
32. People of what nationalities are among your work colleagues?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

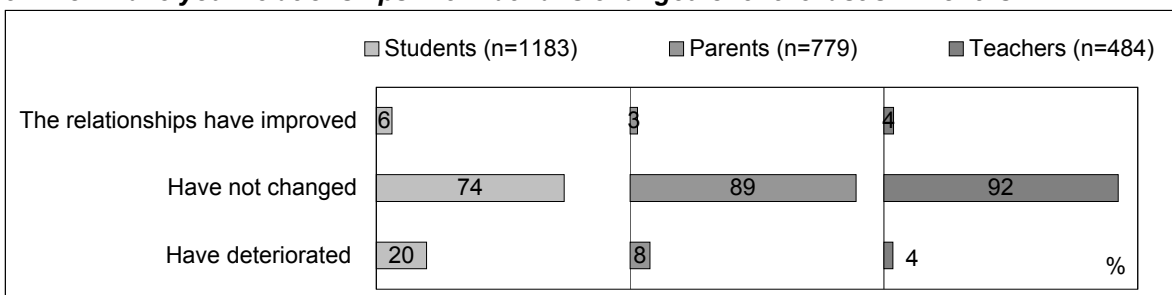
Multi-answer question, % sum >100

33. How would you characterize relationships among Latvians?



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

34. How have your relationships with Latvians changed over the last six months?

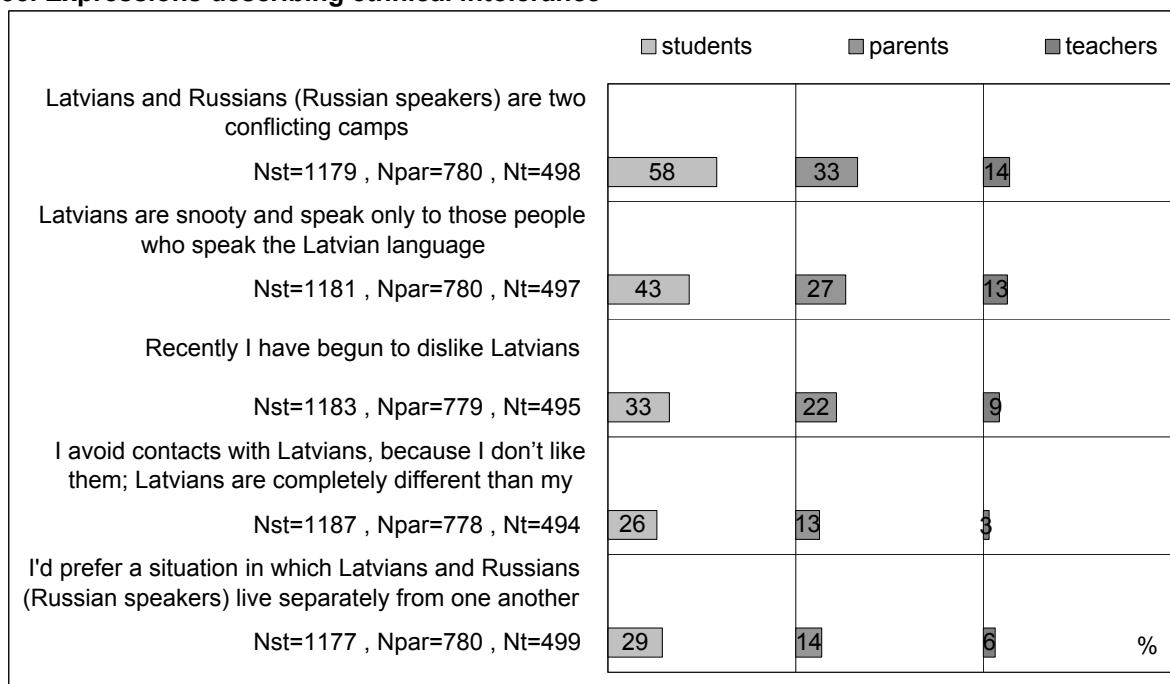


BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

EXPRESSIONS

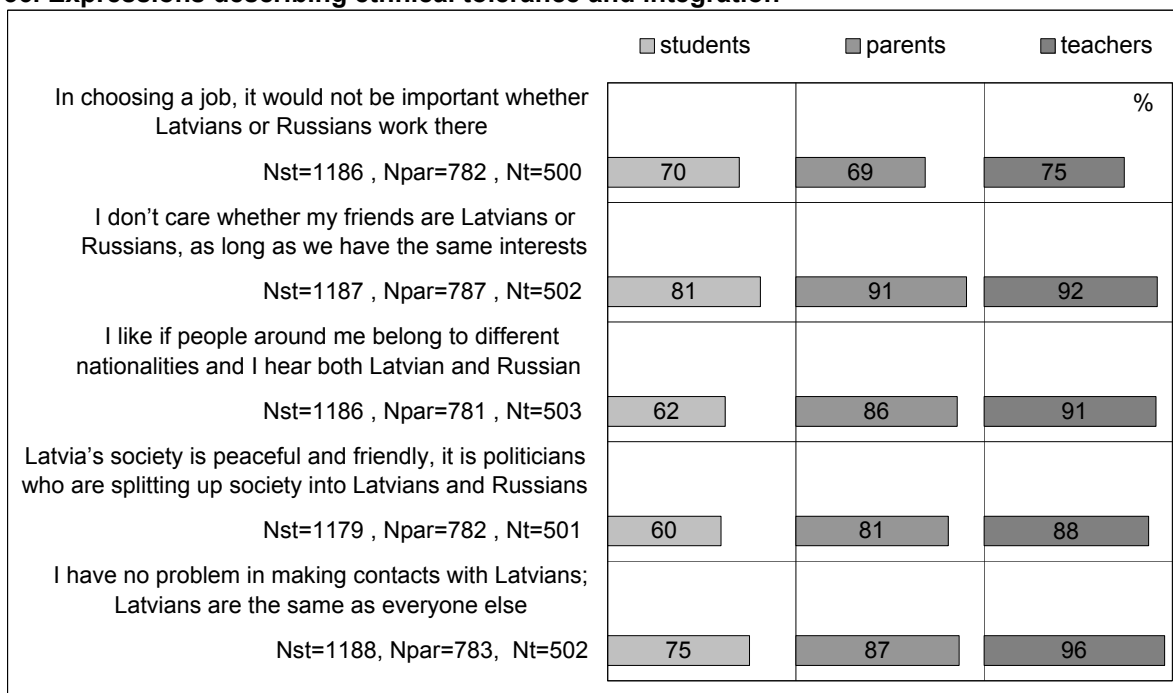
Possible variants of answers - 'completely agree', 'rather agree', 'rather disagree' and 'completely disagree'. In graphs answers 'completely agree' and 'rather agree' are shown together

35. Expressions describing ethnic intolerance



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

36. Expressions describing ethnic tolerance and integration



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

37. Expressions describing political equality

	students	parents	teachers	
In Latvia, everyone has an equal opportunity to influence the taking of decisions Nst=1180 , Npar=780 , Nt=501	37	18	33	
In Latvia, I have an opportunity to express my views freely on any issue at all Nst=1181 , Npar=775 , Nt=499	37	27	57	
The state gradually improves the quality of education in Russian schools Nst=1184 , Npar=777 , Nt=496	15	14	30	%

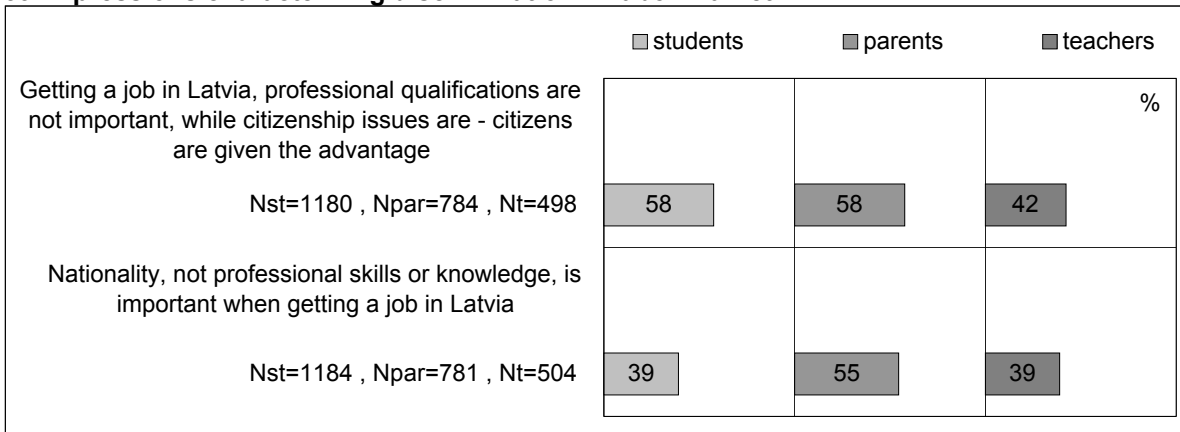
BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

38. Expressions, describing isolation of minority nationalities

	students	parents	teachers	
I have a neutral attitude toward Latvians - those are people who live alongside me and with whom I make Nst=1181 , Npar=776 , Nt=494	71	76	61	%
I would prefer a job where all of my colleagues are Russian speakers Nst=118 , Npar=784 , Nt=496	69	65	47	
I feel best when only Russians or Russian speakers are around me Nst=1178 , Npar=778 , Nt=502	73	65	48	
Citizenship should be awarded to any resident of the state who wants it Nst=1184 , Npar=785 , Nt=504	93	96	86	

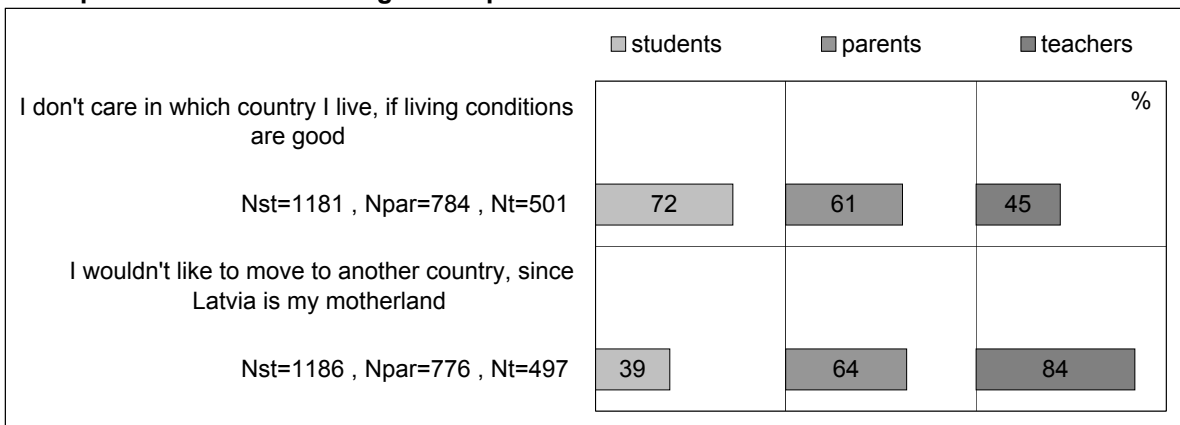
BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

39. Expressions characterizing discrimination in labor market



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

40. Expressions characterizing cosmopolitanism



BASE: respondents, giving certain answer

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