

Citizenship, Official Language, Bilingual Education in Latvia: Public Policy in the Last 10 Years

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This article aims to show the implementation of policies related to ethnic minorities' integration in Latvian society during the first 10 years of Latvia's independence. This aim was postulated because, on the one hand, Latvia is often being criticized for its ethnopolitics both by the EU and by leaders of local minorities. On the other hand, a successful resolution of issues related to ethnopolitics will strengthen Latvian internal stability, ethnic harmony, and open the door to the European Union.

The aim of this article is based on the conviction that the analysis and evaluation of ethnopolitics is an important precondition for these policies' improvement, besides acquainting the public with these issues.

Although Latvia has been an independent state for already 10 years, many problems, which are still difficult to be solved today, are rooted in conditions that emerged during the Soviet years, when Latvia was a USSR republic. In the first place, migration substantially changed the ethnic composition of Latvia's inhabitants since many migrants moved to Latvia from other republics.

Secondly, during the Soviet period the Russian language dominated over Latvian, which led to a restrictive use of Latvian, as the number of people not knowing Latvian grew.

When Latvia became an independent state, the said two problems led to the following series of questions that the new legislation had to deal with. These are the laws on citizenship, state language, and education, social integration policies, development of the ethnic relations' model in society. Rational solutions have been found for part of these issues: citizenship for example, and, to a certain extent, the state language. However, the issue of education, especially the shift to bilingual education in minority schools, is being solved with difficulties, causing discontent and protests from minority youth.

Migration

Changes in the ethnic composition of Latvia's population during the Soviet Union occupation, allows to understand that the danger of becoming a minority in one's own land induces Latvian efforts to preserve their culture and language, and to understand how difficult it is to use democratic tools to resolve problems created by the totalitarian regime in the course of fifty years. Conversely, figures concerning the influx of immigrants in Latvia show that it was an attractive object for many people from the former USSR who chose this country as their place of residence during the Soviet period and then, due to the political regime's changes and the nationhood status, became residents of another country.

The occupying state used its power to change the ethnic composition drastically (table 1), implementing the so-called "Russification" in a subject territory. Implementation of ethnic integration in Latvia now, as an independent country, means, above all, liquidating the consequences of the totalitarian regime.

Table 1: Ethnic Composition of Latvia's Population (1897-1989)

	1897	1920	1935	1959	1989	2001
Latvians	63.8	72.6	75.5	62.0	52.0	57.9
Slaves (without poles)	12.0	9.8	12.1	30.9	42.0	36.1
Other	24.2	17.6	12.4	7.1	6.0	6.0

Source: The Ethnic Situation in Latvia. Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia. Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Riga 1992.

Thus, due to an encouraged intensive labor force influx in Latvia, the country's demographic composition was drastically changed, threatening Latvians to become a minority in their own land. This situation caused intense discussions, quite often accompanied by radical slogans from politicians defending the ethnic Latvians' interests.

Therefore, it should be especially pointed out that Latvian authorities have not passed any decision aimed at mass or forced repatriation of non-Latvians.

Contrary to suggestions of forced expulsion, the "Voluntary Return Program" has been developed in cooperation with IOM to assist those who wish to leave Latvia but do not have enough resources to implement their intentions (Slavenas 2000, 24). A law has been drafted that provides for permanent pensions to be paid to pensioners emigrating from Latvia, instead of the 6-month payments accorded by the existing legislation.

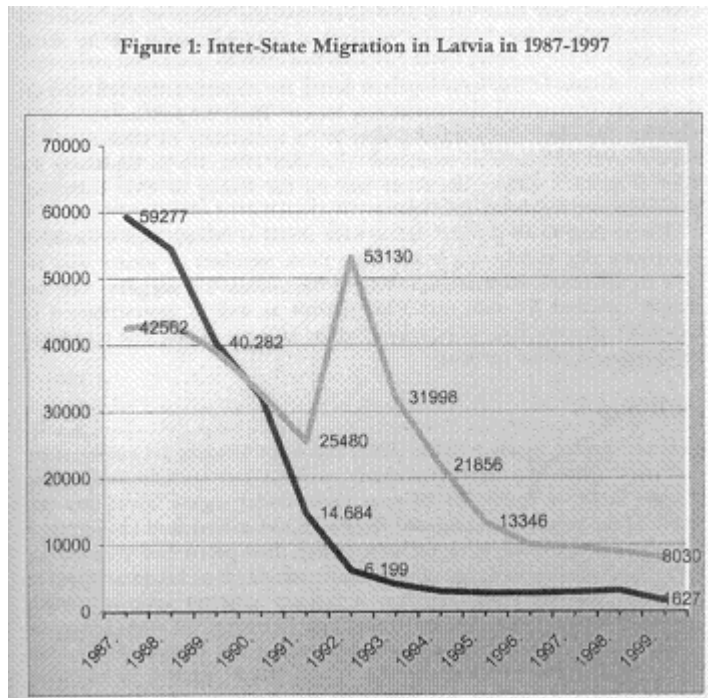
Migration to the Baltic States from other Soviet republics had economic causes. Economic interests of immigrants are very important to explain the reasons for changing the country of residence. At first, economic conditions caused people to move to Latvia from other republics of the former USSR, and then again induced them to leave Latvia when the economic situation radically changed. As these conditions changed and because of economic restructuring, many enterprises, including those that worked for the USSR military system, went bankrupt leaving their workers unemployed. Those immigrants, who had not yet established themselves in Latvia economically and socially, lived in temporary workers' hostels, and now had also lost their jobs, had lost the opportunity of implementing their economic interests in Latvia and decided to leave.

Not only the negative stimuli prompted people to leave Latvia, but also the positive inducements, the strengthening of national identity, the desire to return to their ethnic homelands after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Citizenship, Official Language, Bilingual Education

During the Soviet period, there was both intensive emigration from and immigration to Latvia. In 1987, for example, 59,277 people arrived and 42,562 left the country, which had a positive migration result. If we consider a longer period, we see that the number of immigrant gradually stabilized in the 1990s, while the number of emigrants decreased (Fig.1).

Figure 1: Inter-State Migration in Latvia in 1987-1997



Source: Democratic Yearbook of Latvia. 2000. Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia.

Latvian Society Model

Discussions about the future model of the Latvian society started already at the beginning of the 1990s. Considering the high number of people from minorities in the country, different prognoses were developed. For example, at the onset of discussions a two-community state was generally rejected as a model for future development. The so-called "zero option" of citizenship was regarded as a factor that could cause the emergence of a two-community state, since in this

case there would be no inducements for non-Latvians to learn the Latvian language. This would be a serious obstacle for free communication among Latvian inhabitants; the unequal knowledge and use of languages, which started during the Soviet period, would continue.

Therefore, the term "one-community state", frequently cited in controversies, was more often used as an opposite notion to the undesired "two-community state", initially without a real explanation of its actual meaning.

Explanations of this term appeared during the discussion that reflected the democratic aspects of a one-community society. Thus, the political scientist R. Karklins described the political nation as "a community of citizens with a common consciousness of statehood" (Karklins 1998, 55). In explaining the term of political nation, the focus was on the feeling of civic belonging, patriotism, and high moral principles.

Discussions about political nation were aimed at finding such a model of one-community society that would unite those members of society who are loyal to the State of Latvia, regardless of their ethnic identity. This aim was sharply criticized by both nationalist radicals as well as representatives of minorities who saw it as an expression of the interests of only one population group: namely, ethnic Latvians.

Citizenship

Only two former republics of the USSR, Latvia and Estonia, did not introduce the "zero" option of citizenship after independence. Due to ethnic composition changes in Latvia during the 50 years under Soviet regime, more than one fourth of the population comprised those who had arrived in this country as a part of the Soviet Union territory. Subsequently, these people had to choose for themselves: whether to return to their ethnic homelands or become citizens of the newly restored state. This was a radically different approach, which contrasted with that implemented by the Soviet Union in 1940 when all citizens of Latvia were granted Soviet citizenship without any chance of individual choice. Latvia was occupied by the USSR, which brought in its army, committed acts of violence, and submitted an ultimatum to Latvia to set up a government friendly to the USSR. Moreover, Soviet citizenship was not "granted" but forced upon Latvian citizens.

The "zero" option of citizenship was not offered to those who migrated to Latvia during the Soviet period. Instead, an individual choice of becoming Latvian citizens or not was offered to them.

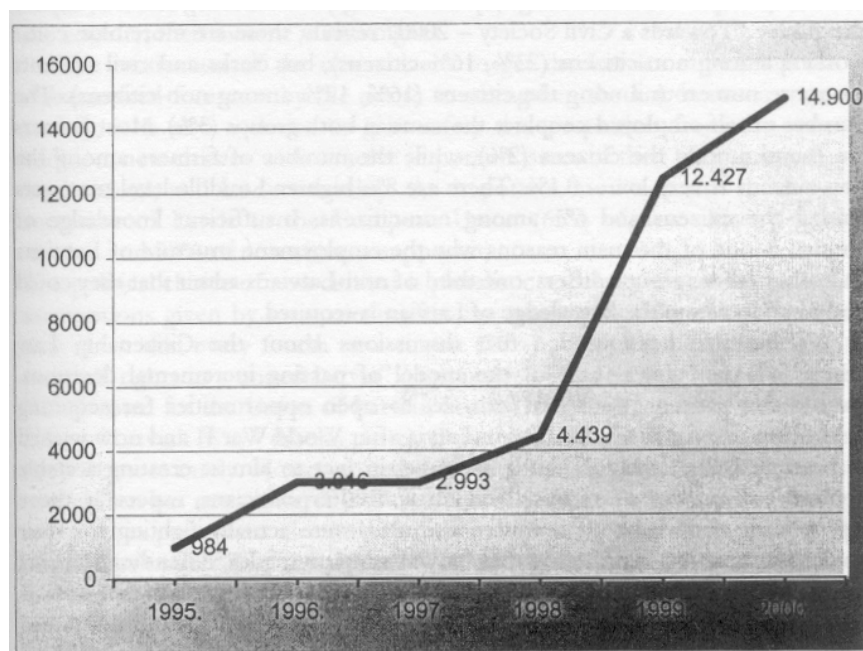
Citizenship was granted according to the Resolution of October 15, 1991, which determined that those who were Latvian citizens before 1940 and their descendants had the right to register as citizens. According to this procedure, both Latvians as well as people from other ethnic groups were registered as citizens provided they or their ancestors had been Latvian citizens before it lost its independence. Those who had arrived in Latvia during the Soviet period

were granted the option to become naturalized citizens according to the 1994 Citizenship Law, with amendments adopted by a national referendum (in 1998) when age quotas for naturalization were abolished.

During the time from February 1995, when non-citizens became eligible to Latvian citizenship through naturalization, until the referendum of 1998, only a small part of non-citizens used this opportunity. It turned out that particularly youth groups, who had priority access to naturalization, were not very willing to naturalize, since many of them had uncertain future plans: to live in Latvia or to look for better opportunities in Russia or elsewhere. When the age quotas were abandoned, the naturalization pace became much faster, since people of different age groups wanted to become citizens (Fig. 2).

As the age quotas were abolished following the 1998 referendum, different models of behavior by non-citizens became apparent, clearly showing that only a part of non-citizens were actually interested in becoming citizens and that for many others among diem Latvian citizenship was of no importance.

Figure 2: Number of People Naturalized: 1995 – 2000



Source: Naturalization Board of the Republic of Latvia. Data recorded on 01.01.2001.

According to the survey "Toward a Civic Society - 2000", the following groups were discovered. One group of non-citizens (about 20%) plan to acquire

Latvian citizenship within a year. They are guided by two sets of motives: civic motivation (sense of belonging to Latvia, desire to feel secure, wish to exercise political rights) and by pragmatic one (desire to have more professional and other life opportunities). Another group of non-citizens (about 20%) comprises those who have postponed acquiring citizenship to a later time, explaining it with an inability to pass naturalization exams and lack of money. A third group consists of non-citizens (about 40%) who do not wish to become citizens of any particular country (explaining that they already have the alien's passport and that it is difficult to pass naturalization exams). A fourth group consists of those non-citizens (about 2-3%) who wish to become citizens of some other country. About 10% of non-citizens have no clear position regarding their citizenship status. Among non-citizens, those for whom political involvement is important and those who wish to pursue their personal interests are clearly distinguishable, while the rest have a waiting attitude and are not much concerned about their citizenship status.

The age structure of citizens and non-citizens is different: there are more young people of age 15-30 among the citizens (26%) than among non-citizens (17%). However, there are more people in the retirement age among non-citizens (29%) while the same group reaches only 25% among the citizens. As the survey "Towards a Civil Society - 2000" reveals, there are more blue-collar workers among non-citizens (23%, 16% citizens), but clerks and civil servants are more numerous among the citizens (16%, 12% among non-citizens). The number of self-employed people is the same in both groups (3%). Most farmers are found among the citizens (2%), while the number of farmers among the non-citizens is very low - 0.1%. There are 8% high and middle level managers among the citizens and 6% among non-citizens. Insufficient knowledge of Latvian is one of the main reasons why the employment structure of Latvians and other ethnic groups differs: one third of non-Latvians admit that they could not do a job where the knowledge of Latvian is required.

We have to acknowledge that discussions about the Citizenship Law proceeded as a typical case of the model of passing incremental decisions. During this process, the initial aim, i.e. to open opportunities for acquiring citizenship to people who arrived in Latvia after World War II and now wished to become full citizens of Latvia, meaning in fact to aim at creating a stable political nation, was often forgotten. Instead, the politicians, especially those representing nationalist conservative attitudes, were actually fighting for their power positions by manifesting their unwavering principles, defending national values: language, culture, by highlighting the threats to the survival of Latvians as a nation. Similar discussions, but in a more exacerbated form, continued before the referendum of 1998, which decided the issue of liberalization of the Citizenship Law. However, contrary to what they expected, namely, to attract more votes, the nationalist political campaign before the referendum actually strengthened the feeling of insecurity among minorities and facilitated consolidation of non-Latvian voters. In fact, their political choice was

motivated by just one question: the defense and strengthening of the rights of minorities.

The fact that ethnic identity or citizenship status is not causing divisions in society was confirmed by the 1998 referendum results. Citizens voted for the liberalization of naturalization exams, the rights of non-citizens' children to be granted Latvian citizenship if their parents wished so, and the abolition of age quotas for naturalization. The results of the referendum are evidence of an increasing tolerance in society toward minorities. The growing tolerance has also been confirmed by survey data according to which many Latvian inhabitants favor a future model of "society open to cultural diversity". This model was supported by 45% of citizens and 65% of non-citizens (Toward a Civic Society - 2000).

According to The Newly naturalized Citizens' survey, due to naturalization the new citizens have made the number of current citizens increase by 2% from 1995 to 2001. Young people and women are comparatively more often among them. New citizens can be characterized as a group of population with a higher socio-economic status. There are more economically active people, people with higher education, users of modern information technologies, managers, self-employed, and students among them if compared with the average indicators in the country; their income is also higher.

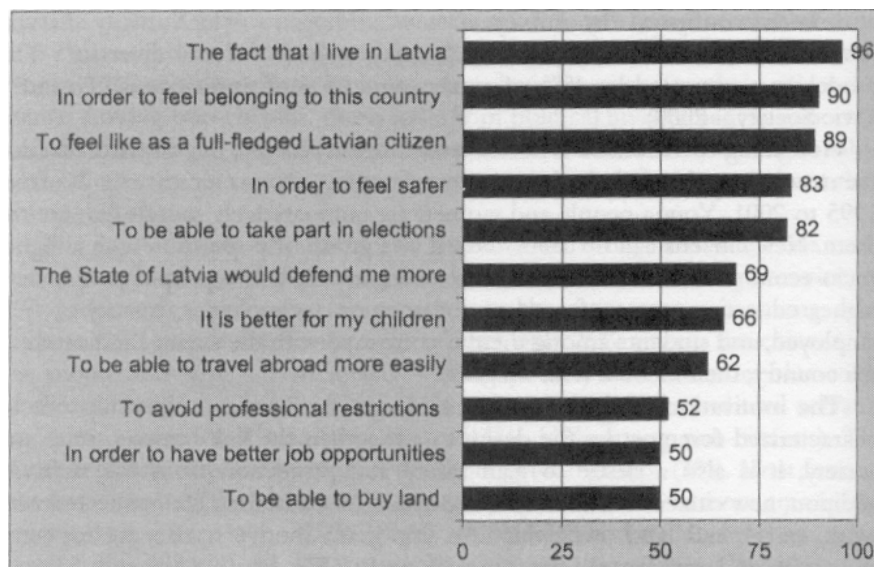
The motivation of the new citizens to get the Latvian citizenship can be characterized foremost by the desire to strengthen the link between state and society; it is also a desire to gain safety and protection from the state. In addition, new citizens wish to solve important issues of their life connected with work, travel, and land ownership. An important motive is also the expected accession of Latvia to the European Union (65% of new citizens, 53% of citizens and 55% of non-citizens support it).

The political choice of new citizens is pluralistic and does not correspond to the assumptions given by mass media after the municipality elections. The survey data show that every fourth new citizen (26%) voted for the Union "For the person's rights in a united Latvia" (supporters of minority rights), every eighth (13%) voted for the Union of Latvian Social Democrats, and 8% voted for the Union "Latvia's Way" (liberal party). Other parties have received new citizens' support more rarely. However, it should be taken into account that every fifth new citizen has not answered this question. The variety of choice that could be expected in parliament elections is also similar: in addition to the Union "For the person's rights in a united Latvia", new citizens have also mentioned Social Democrats and the Union "Latvia's Way".

Figure 3: Motives to Acquire the Citizenship of Latvia

What reasons stimulated you to acquire the citizenship of Latvia? Evaluate the given answers — whether these reasons were very important, rather important, not very important, or not important at all for you.

(% of new citizens, n=404; the responses "very important" and "rather important" are summarized.)



Source: The Newly Naturalized Citizens. Survey. Baltic Institute of Social Sciences. 2001.

Language Situation

So much attention has been paid to the language policy since the end of the 1980s because the use of Latvian was strictly restricted during the 50 years under the Soviet regime. At the time, the Latvian language was actually allowed to be used only in the areas of culture, education, media, and private life, while the Russian language completely dominated the areas of administration, economy, professional life, and science. Certainly, this situation curtailed the development of the Latvian language. Likewise, it did not motivate non-Latvians to learn Latvian, since they did not actually need to. Therefore, many non-Latvians did not know a word of Latvian after spending a lifetime in Latvia.

To perform professionally and socially, Latvians had to learn Russian. Consequently, there were only a few percentage points of people in Latvia who did not know Russian. The use of Latvian and Russian was sharply asymmetrical in favor of Russian. The reason to make Latvian the official

language was to restore its lost status, so that it could function freely in all areas of life. After all, Latvia is the only place in the world where the Latvian language can exist and develop freely.

Latvian became the state language in 1989, when the State Language Law was passed. The major aim of this law was to strengthen the position of the Latvian language, to ensure free functioning of Latvian in those spheres where it was not widely used before: in state administration, business, science, technology, and working teams.

After the reinstatement of national independence, amendments were made to the State Language Law in 1992. These amendments intended to change the hierarchy of languages by granting preference to the Latvian language and making it the means of communication between all groups of inhabitants. According to this Law, the role of the Russian language was reduced, while other languages obtained more rights. Two new institutions were created: the State Language Center and the State Language Inspection, whose task was to supervise the implementation of the State Language Law. Unfortunately, controlling the use of the state language was often rather rude, leading to conflicts and causing dissatisfaction.

In 1998, the status of the Latvian language as the state language was enshrined in the State Constitution.

More than two years public discussions continued around the new Language Law. It was amended several times to abet the interests of different population groups in Latvia, the non-governmental organizations and state institutions, and different political forces. It also considered the suggestions and demands from international organizations to ensure compliance with international instruments binding for Latvia. As defined in the new Language Law, adopted in 1999, the purpose of the Official Language Law is to ensure:

- 1) the maintenance, protection, and development of the Latvian language;
- 2) the maintenance of the cultural and historic heritage of the Latvian nation;
- 3) the right to freely use the Latvian language in any sphere of life within the whole territory of Latvia;
- 4) the integration of members of ethnic minorities into the society of Latvia, while observing their rights to use their native language or other languages;
- 5) the increased influence of the Latvian language in the cultural environment of Latvia, to promote a more rapid integration of society.

As compared with the Language Law of 1992, the new law defines the state language as the only language of communication with state and municipal authorities. The Law strictly defines the use of the state language in public life, while its use in private organizations is regulated only to the extent that the language affects the legitimate interests of society (public safety, health, and morality).

OSCE and EU have acknowledged that the Law corresponds to international norms, but it has not yet been harmonized with the General Convention on Protection of Minority Rights (this Convention has not yet been ratified by Latvian Parliament).

The National Program for Latvian Language Training

The National Program for Latvian Language Training (NPLLT) was established in 1995 to implement the language policy in Latvia. It aimed at mitigating the linguistic division created during the Soviet period, whose outcome was that two communities in one state existed as parallel societies. Moreover, it had to ensure that the Latvian language provides a unifying language of communication, regardless of the individuals' native language (NPLLT Information no. 2/98-99).

NPLLT (National Program) is introducing new methodology in teaching the state language, which differs substantially from the methods used during the Soviet time and has therefore been highly evaluated by people attending its courses. NPLLT organizes Latvian language courses, prepares teachers to work according to the bilingual teaching method, and prepares textbooks and teaching aids as well. While the State Language Center defines the requirements for the state language knowledge and controls their implementation, NPLLT offers practical assistance to people whose state language skills are insufficient. NPLLT believes that it is important not only to help learning the Latvian language, but also to study the Latvian culture.

Since 1996, NPLLT also carries out surveys about the learning of the Latvian language by non-Latvians. These surveys are made each year, the trends regarding the Latvian language proficiency, found out through them, can be regarded as reliable information sources, which show the tendencies of learning the official language since 1996. Language Survey (1996-2000) data show that, despite the significant means and efforts spent in improving the Latvian language skills, the knowledge levels of the official language are progressing very gradually: while in 1996, 36% of non-Latvian speakers had good Latvian language skills and 22% did not know Latvian at all, the respective figures in 2000 were 41% and 9%. People from the younger and middle generations have a better knowledge of Latvian - almost a half of them have good Latvian language skills, while only less than 30% of people over 50 know the Latvian language well.

About 60% of the non-Latvians have a poor (50%) or no (9%) knowledge of Latvian. This is a heavy inheritance from the Soviet period, when the requirements for studying Latvian at school were very low, and therefore many non-Latvians did not learn Latvian at all. Younger people, who acquired education after the restoration of independence, have a better knowledge of Latvian. As ten years ago, Latvians have a much better knowledge of the Russian language than Russian-Latvians do. About 85% of Latvians have a good knowledge of Russian.

Learning the Latvian language is facilitated by its use as the language of everyday communication more often than five years ago. On the other hand, the role of public media in creating a Latvian-speaking environment has diminished during the last years, as media in other languages have become more competitive.

Mass Media and Their Role in the Integration of Ethnic Minorities

The first content analysis research of mass media was carried out in Latvia only in 1998 (Report Content analysis of mass media, 1998). In this study, a comparative analysis of the contents of press publications in the two languages (Latvian and Russian) was made. Ten newspapers were included in this study, and the analysis focused particularly on the citizenship issue in the Russian-language press in Latvia.

This study found that two, little related information spaces exist in Latvia: the Russian and the Latvian press. The intermediate stratum of people who participate in both information spaces (people who read the press in both languages) is very small; the opinions of these people are rarely represented in public media. The existence of these two linguistic groups prevents free communication; since the diverging views on an issue (citizenship, in this particular case) do not exist within one media group, we can rather speak about the "Russian" and the "Latvian" opinion. Therefore, the media mainly express the opinion of their majority audience, there are no conceptual discussions in newspapers about the role and meaning of citizenship, about its relations with culture and social identity. Discussion as such is rare in the press. The press rather reacts to emergencies, trying to resolve particular technical problems. The need for changes in the Citizenship Law was often explained in the press by demands made by the Western nations and by legislative practice as well as by the pressure from Russia and its sanctions. The importance of these issues for the country itself and the need to deal with them was rarely reflected in the press.

Researchers have also indicated that Russian journalists often seem to experience identity crises themselves and that their own unresolved problems and frustrated negative emotions find expression in derisive criticisms against anything that happens in the country.

The content analysis of the Latvian and the Russian press showed the existence of two information spaces in the press. This confirms that the absence of a dialogue does not facilitate solution of problems and does not lead to productive relations in the future. The closed information models, existing in the press, could be regarded as a prototype of potential future society consisting of two distinct communities. This is a model of the future that neither the politicians nor the population would prefer. Therefore, discussions are focusing on what the public policies should be to prevent the scenario of the development of a two-community society. The government of Latvia has ratified the social integration program involving society, civic and governmental

organizations, as well as public media in its preparation and discussions. In fact, as the year 2000 survey reveals, none of the social groups has sharp objections towards the integration program as a key document: approximately 70% of Latvia's inhabitants, both citizens and non-citizens, support the necessity of such a program.

Bilingual Education

However, the defenders of the minority rights, while supporting the necessity of a social integration program, criticize the ways it is implemented. Bilingual education has received most of the criticism. The main argument against the way in which bilingual education is implemented in minorities' schools is that it ensures assimilation but not integration of the minorities.

To comment on this, we will use a survey of schools carried out in 1999 when the teachers, students and their parents from schools that piloted bilingual education participated in a questionnaire (Report. Latvian Language Training in Minority schools 1999).

The survey on implementing bilingual education in schools where Russian is the language of teaching revealed that parents, students and teachers admit that bilingual teaching increases young people's opportunities to compete in the labor market and the universities. On the other hand though, it also revealed a number of drawbacks that should be considered important obstacles in the immediate successful implementation of bilingual education. First, not all teachers have sufficient knowledge of Latvian to implement this method (not more than 70% of teachers in Russian schools are fluent users of Latvian). Second, many teachers (84%) claimed that the fact that teachers are not prepared is a serious obstacle in the transition to bilingual education. 60% of the teachers and 79% of the headmasters indicated the lack of methodological materials, 56% and 79% respectively the lack of course books, and 52% and 21% the students' unpreparedness.

The survey also demonstrated that both teachers and students often relate Latvian with the citizen's duty, the necessity to learn it because it is the official language. Both teachers and students see the learning of Latvian in the light of regulation, as a duty, not noticing and evaluating the human and social role of the language. This is the effect caused by radical politicians and language controllers. Consequently, the official language in non-Latvian schools is often considered in the light of negative emotions. This should be added to the losses of the language policy.

The year 2000 survey "Towards a Civil Society - 2000" demonstrated that approximately 75% of non-Latvians support bilingual education, which first of all indicates the desire that their children acquire a good knowledge of Latvian. As to implementing the bilingual education itself, a hasty implementation and an insufficient coordination of interests exactly at the school level can be expected to cause discontent and stress.

Acquiring democratic values, the increase of tolerance in society, and various communications between representatives of different ethnic groups facilitate ethnic integration in Latvia. Public policy has been less successful in the last decade (Vēbers 2001).

The Latvia Human Development Report 2000/2001, speaking about policy implementation in Latvia, shows that there are cases in Latvia where disproportionately hasty (or lengthy) stages of the policy-making process have negatively affected the quality of decisions made. The lack of policy analysis and an undeveloped decision-making culture in the country causes several problems and difficulties in the policy process.

While we can say that the public policy regarding the citizenship and state language issues has been successfully developed, opinions still diverge on the implementation of bilingual education in minority schools. A successful solution of the bilingual education is very important, since it will reduce the possibility of conflicts arising in the Latvian public.

All the aforementioned directions of the policy (citizenship, official Language, and bilingual education) pertain to minorities. The success in dealing with these issues will affect both the Latvian domestic and foreign policy. Regarding the domestic policy, it must be stressed that the way of solving these issues will affect the stability of ethnic relations in Latvia. The success of its implementation will have a significant effect on the loyalty of minority youth towards the State of Latvia. Regarding the foreign policy, dealing with these issues will affect the course of Latvia in becoming a memberstate of the European Union.

In conclusion, it is necessary also to mention one other issue of minority policy, which directly affects the issues discussed above (citizenship, official Language, bilingual education). This is the Minorities Convention that Latvia signed already in 1995, but not ratified yet by the Saeima (the parliament of the Republic of Latvia). Latvia has been criticized both by the political leaders of minorities living in Latvia and by Russia for its failure to ratify the Convention. EU also points out that to become a full-fledged member of EU and to demonstrate its ability to solve minority issues, Latvia should ratify the Minorities Convention. Among the Latvian politicians, opinions differ. According to the nationalist radicals, the Minorities Convention should not be signed, since in that case the State Language Law, already passed, should be reviewed. More liberal politicians and NGO representatives have different opinions. They point out that the Convention may be ratified, as in Estonia, after some of its points are revised according to the specific conditions in Latvia.

Finally, I wish to point out that one of the causes, which hinders a more successful dealing with minority issues in Latvia, is that Latvian politicians are often avoiding the development of a long-term policy strategy. They procrastinate instead until implementation of the policy is dictated by pressure from the outside, which is often in the shape of criticisms from Russia and

instructions from EU. The ability to deal with minority issues in Latvia based on self-initiative and responsibility instead of yielding to external pressure, in my opinion is a necessary precondition that will allow Latvia to become a democratic European state.

Considering that the implementation of bilingual education is only in its initial stage, it is very important to monitor and evaluate the subsequent steps of this policy.

**Data for Figure 1:
Inter-State Migration in Latvia in 1987-1997:**

Year	Immigrated	Emigrated	Migration balance
1987	59277	42562	16715
1988	54346	43352	10994
1989	40282	39060	1222
1990	32265	32801	-516
1991	14684	25480	-10 796
1992	6199	53130	-46931
1993	4114	31998	-27884
1994	3046	21856	-18810
1995	2799	13346	-10547
1996	2747	9999	-7252
1997	2913	9677	-6764
1998	3123	8971	-5848
1999	4627	8030	-3403

Source: Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia.

**Data for Figure 2:
Number of Naturalized Latvian Citizens: 1995-2000**

Year	Number of naturalized individuals			
	Total number of naturalized		Including children under 15	
1995	984	984	33	33
1996	3016	4000	138	171
1997	2993	6993	167	338
1998	4439	11432	305	643
1999	12427	23859	2073	2716
2000	14900	38759	2416	5132
Total	38759		5132	

Source: Naturalization Board of the Republic of Latvia. Data as of 01.01.2001.

Notes:

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