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**BETWEEN HOMELAND AND FATHERLAND: RUSSIAN  
IDENTITY IN ESTONIA AND LATVIA**

MA thesis

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I have written this Master's thesis independently. All viewpoints of other authors, literary sources and data from elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Research problem

The topic of Russian minorities in Baltic States is not new in academic sphere. This is a very interesting stratum of population in post-Soviet region and in case of Estonia and Latvia with a unique legal status. Most of the research has focused on structural integration issues such as unemployment, language acquisition or education challenges. Others have looked at identity formation of Russian-speakers across post-Soviet region (see Kosmarskaya 2011). However, all these topics combined have a great impact on the whole way of self-identification of a big group of people.

The topic of studying communities near the border is boosting, especially in last years, as the world is becoming more complicated and interdependent. For the whole human history the periphery was producing unique cultures or at least communities. These communities, of course, were producing many questions regarding their self-perception in the world.

Russians are one of the largest ethnic groups which were divided by borders after the fall of the Soviet Union. Due the Soviet relocation policies millions of Russians were settled in all republics of USSR and after the collapse of the USSR found themselves in new emerging nation states.

I chose Narva (Estonia) and Daugavpils (Latvia) as objects of the research. These two cities are two major urban centers of areas with greater concentration of ethnically Russian population. At the same time, they are also similar because of the closeness to the border. These two points are making Narva and Daugavpils most suitable and most comparable fields for this study.

The problem of identity may seem as ephemeral, but it influences human behavior in daily life, the political preferences and motivation, sense of security and belonging. There is “an imagined community” (a term introduced by Benedict Anderson) which bounds people within the state together, into a civic nation. However, we do not know exactly how well these ties were developed in Estonia and Latvia. This is why it is particularly important to research identity formation of the minority if we want to truly understand Russian minorities living in Baltic States.

It is the fact that Russian minorities in Baltic States possess a unique position within and beyond Russian, Latvian and Estonian “nations” in Benedict Anderson’s terms. This unique position on the periphery of all related states should be highlighted in the text, so it will have a distinctive feature and uniqueness in comparison to other papers related to this topic.

It is not a coincidence that Benedict Anderson was mentioned. This thesis will use his conceptual framework in many ways. In modern age the question of group self-identification is tightly connected with the rise of nationalism. But contemporary nations (including the case of this paper) do not consist of single ethnic group.

According to Anderson “the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship”<sup>1</sup> despite the fact that even within small Estonian nation people are not able to meet and know all other fellow citizens. And the constructivist view of Anderson is very suitable for divided societies since the very aim of the research is to find out how Russian minority in the border regions of two states – Narva and Daugavpils – relates to two different “comradeships”. The term “comradeship” itself means an extremely high level of closeness and sharing common interests. In other terms, according to the Cambridge dictionary it is “the feeling of friendship between people who live or work together, especially in a difficult situation”.

But Russian minorities can be seen as such “comradeships” as well. For now it is unknown how well they are integrated into Latvia and Estonia, but it is presumed that at least their ethnic roots have to create the feeling of otherness in some extent. It is also obvious that the geographical position between two communities leads Russian minority to redefining itself. Questions of integration, economic problems, rights protection and cross-border communications push to unification and thereby to the formation of some kind of solid identity.

In other terms, we can distinguish three main research questions of this thesis.

- What characterizes the relationship of Russian-speaking borderland communities of Narva and Daugavpils to the host state (homeland)?
- What characterizes the relationship of Russian-speaking borderland communities of Narva and Daugavpils to the kin-state (fatherland)?

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<sup>1</sup> Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities*. London, New York: Verso.

- Are these relationships mutually supportive or antagonistic in forming of the identity of members of Russian-speaking borderland communities of Narva and Daugavpils?

## 1.2. Research design and methods

In order to answer these questions we need to look at differences in the perceptions of homeland and kin-state and how different aspects of socioeconomic status affect it. This aim will define the whole research design. This study cannot be conducted without comparative analysis of two communities – Narva and Daugavpils – with different history and current situation. The study is few-N comparative study.

However, even the belonging to the same region with very similar political and cultural history cannot tell how similar these countries are. But there are some distinctive features which lead to the conclusion that Latvia and Estonia have very similar preset. For instance, both Narva and Daugavpils are mostly Russian-populated major cities on the east of the country, close to the border. They both have similar political system and economic problems. They both have the “alien passport” institution, which differs them from Lithuania, for instance. So, it is doubtful that the outcome of the research in two states will be very different.

In order to conduct the research I set the following variables. The social and demographic characteristics of populations of Narva and Daugavpils such as knowledge of state language, levels of education and employment levels etc., will be used as background characteristics in the analysis. I will analyse the sum of policies effects, political agendas of homeland and kin-state, results of NGOs work, level of cross-border cooperation and many other factors. I will see how the socio-demographic characteristics explain or do not explain the differences in perceptions of Estonia/Latvia and Russia by “imagined communities” of Russian minority in sense of the evaluation of relationships with them and the assessment of minority’s own place among them.

The hypothesis states that aspects of socio-economic status of Russian minorities in Narva and Daugavpils cause certain perceptions of homeland- and kin-states, which in turn (given a proper balance of ‘supportive’ and/or ‘antagonistic’ orientations) will lead to the creation of solid minority identity rather than a “deep horizontal comradeship” with ethnic Estonians and Latvians in Anderson’s terms.

But is this true? How is possible to verify it? The analysis cannot be done without a certain set of methods. At every stage of the research different methods will be used. Firstly document analysis will be conducted – gathering and analyzing data about the two communities (historical overview in the introduction, socio-economic, linguistic, educational, cultural etc.) with an aim to map the communities better. In case of this paper it is truly important since it studies historical minority group whose problems and peculiarities have deep roots in history and media reflection in present time. So, different media outlets and historical sources will be analyzed.

Another part is analysis of statistics. The research does not imply gathering new statistic data; however, it will use data from other sources and provide statistical information about the socio-economic and cultural-linguistic background. But this quantitative part is also important for providing objective information, not only subjective perception of local people.

The combination of historical overview of the formation of the Russian-speaking communities in Narva and Daugavpils, the analysis of their socio-economic situation and linguistic-cultural integration is important since it shows the big initial difference between Narva and Daugavpils. These major cities are mostly Russian, indeed, but Daugavpils had a different history. First of all, it was not part of German-ruled Baltic provinces and the big amount of Russian population, as well as differences in economic structure are caused by this factor and have deeper roots than Narva immigration. Because of that Daugavpils has slightly more balanced economy yet it is still heavily dependent on the industrial sector. Secondly, Narva is much more homogeneous than Daugavpils. If Narva has about 80% of ethnically Russian population, Daugavpils has only 50% of ethnic Russians. This percentage should create a big difference in self-identification, as well the fact that Daugavpils is not so close to the Russian border.

Other fundamental method of this work is focus groups and analysis of them. This method form a comprehensive qualitative set for a field research. In order to study the problem of identity it is extremely important not only analyze quantitative data, but contact local people as well.

I will conduct two focus groups: one for each city (Narva and Daugavpils). The main object of these focus groups is the category of young local ethnically Russian people (from 18 to 30 years old), since only them were raised and socialized in

independent Estonia or Latvia. They did not know any other kind of life and yet they were raised in Russian culture, they do not have any nostalgia of personal affiliations which can distort the research. The second argument that older generations have more obvious preferences due they were socialized in another social and political context. Because of that, young people seem to be the best option.

Qualitative research methods such as focus groups and their analysis are the most familiar to me as my previous studies about Russian nationalism were built on these methods.

The combination of these methods will allow finding out the real relationship of Russian minority towards kin-state and host-state. For instance, historical sources are needed to distinguish differences and similarities of Narva and Daugavpils, to know more about the background of the research. Estonia and Latvia had different ways of historical and contemporary migration flows, so it should be studied.

The relationship with any state is deeply dependent on economics and social status. The socio-economic statistics shows the level of integration into the host-state and it is presumed that this level in turn affects the attitude to the host-state. I will study official statistics of Estonian and Latvian statistical bureaus which have comprehensive data on many socio-economic issues and are able to filter it by many indicators. The most interesting are: demographic profiles of cities, unemployment and education levels, main employment sectors, life conditions, place of birth (to study migration generations).

Qualitative methods are needed to study very personal perception of Russian people of different social status of themselves and two states between them. With these methods it will be possible to measure the role of media outlets of kin-state and home-state, daily problems, real and fictional scandals and fears.

In this case the terms “perception” and “relationship” are not vague, but operationalized as very complex terms. In this particular case they are both a combination of personal attitude because of various reasons and the extent of involvement into social and economic policies of kin-state and host-state. This definition means that mostly perception is a backlash of Russian minority to external stimuli. And the aim of the research is to find out particular forms and features of this backlash with a set of methods mentioned above.



### 1.3. Conceptualization

This part is an extensive description of the methodological base used in this thesis.

Because of that and obstacles mentioned above, the great part of the thesis will be dedicated to the thorough examination of all terms. I understand, that using the particular methodology is both an opportunity and a constrain in sense of its attachment to the view of another scientist, no matter how true it is seen to other scientists and people outside the scientific world. However, Anderson's constructivist theory indeed suits the topic quite well, but I cannot just state it as an axiom.

Because of that the very first task is to explain the reason of choosing the particular methodology. The question of identity is extremely close to the question of nationalism. I am going to compare two approaches towards the origin of the nation as the initial step. The two main divisions are a constructivist theory of nation and a primordialist one. Primordialist theory advocates to a nation as a product of the evolution of an ethnic entity. The nation in this concept is the natural state of the people of same origin, which are genetically close to each other.

The constructivist approach has an opposite view and claims that a nation and nationalism are products of people's culture and politics. Of course, it is impossible to say that Russian minority possesses all qualities of a nation, but it deliberately is located on the crossroads between "mature" nations. This fact, as well as the initially stated problem, leads to the fact that the minority lives under the influence from both sides and there is no possibility that the only bonding and dividing factor is ethnic origin.

Because the constructivist approach suits the situation much better, there is a need to define it further. Benedict Anderson is a classic of constructivism, but the most important is that his definitions of concepts are suiting the topic better than, for instance, Ernest Gellner's who suppose that a nation is still bounded by genetic closeness. It is obvious, that in terms of genetic closeness ethnic Russians and Estonians or Latvians are doomed to be if not completely separate, then to have serious problems with merging into a single society. This approach makes this research too self-explaining and will not be used.

However, Anderson is seriously limited in his views on the nation. He describes it as a civic unity and the topic of the smaller community within the nation, possessing its own self-perception, is a bit out of his studies. But it does not mean that Anderson is useless for the study. Vice versa, the huge explanation of theories, which is written above, leads us to a very important role of Anderson's book. The view on the nation as a state-whole community can help to measure the extent of the integration of ethnic Russian minorities into Latvian and Estonian societies. It is indeed the question of self-perception of the people and their answers can be analyzed with the help of "Imagined communities". But still, Anderson is the instrument of the final analysis, yet his view is important.

So, this part will be filled with important description of my methodology choice and the description of terms on the base of this methodology. The number of terms is going to be vague since this part should cover every important term which has a need to be operationalized. For instance, most important terms are: nation, comradeship, identity. All of them are related to each other and can be described by Anderson's words. But there are plenty of other terms which are going to be used in the text and cannot be just left without explanation.

Also I will need to explain the whole set of academic literature used in the thesis. I already explained the logic under the choice of Anderson's methodology, but the thesis is going to use much more than just one book.

Indeed, one of very important theoretical basements of this work is a text by Charles Taylor "Politics of recognition". As ethnic Russian minority does not automatically fit into concepts of Latvian and Estonian nation states, there is a question of their recognition by these states.

Taylor is talking about the concept of equal dignity of the people and its emergence. In times of colonial imperialism there was a gradation of cultures and the self-image of subjugated people was influenced by it. However, this order transformed through the time into a complicated system of recognition of other cultures value and the correction and "decentralization" of the education.

But what is more important, within the description of the struggle for recognition itself, Taylor sets an interesting concept of the creation of identities. He insists that "The genesis of the human mind is... dialogical". It means that everything which is

happening and we are doing is a result of a dialogue with other people. Not the dialogue literally, but since we are living in a society, we have to communicate to other people and define ourselves through this communication, even after we stopped communicating with particular people: “We define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us”.

The identity as a term can be unclear, but for Taylor it is a kind of sponge which absorbs values of the person, his or her origin, even a person who you love can become part of the identity under certain circumstances. And since it absorbs, it is again a matter of communication with others.

According to Taylor, in earlier days, recognition of identities was not a matter of choice of argue. People were recognized based on their social status. But from not so distant past the matter of universal equality and recognition of the inner identity became an important issue. The recognition in author’s words “forges identity” and the historical change from subjugation to multiculturalism influenced on identity dramatically: from the perception of someone’s inferiority (which was at least partially absorbed by “inferior” through communication and education) modern view came to a need of its revision. And the misrecognition can be harmful and even oppressing to particular groups of the population.

To sum up, the identity is formed in a communication with others. And different policies of recognition (including its absence) are not only physically damaging groups of the population, but also strongly influencing on their identity formation. In the context of this research it can be said that basing on Taylor’s text, we will see the direct dependency of self-perception of Russians in Narva and Daugavpils on policies towards Russian population and cities themselves, implemented by Estonian and Latvian states.

The triadic nexus is also a useful idea which was introduced by Rogers Brubaker in his article regarding politics of belonging. Brubaker starts with the criticism of the idealization of the nation state concept, when the nation and the state are coupling as things with same frames (homogeneity within a state and clear borders between cultures), as it is in Anderson’s view. But considering the level of mobility and number of national minorities, it cannot be possible in a pre, ideal way.

The true belonging is a complicated issue. It is contested by different places on different levels, not to mention that nation state is just one of them, yet one of the most

important. However, belonging has formal and informal aspects. The belonging to a nation can be codified in papers, but it is also tested by others and they do not necessarily match each other. Belonging can be also internal and external: nation can be much broader than state's borders, so national borders will overlap other states' borders, creating enclaves within them.

Such controversial belonging creates several models of connection of people with nation and state and it is important to describe them in order to understand the theory. The first one is "reciprocally connected between states": people are active in both states, participating in their life. The second one is "intertwined within a particular state", which is the case of German repatriates in 1990s which were considered to be part of German nation and gained citizenship, but shared with it less than many migrants from other countries. And the last one is linking two kinds of belonging "sequentially": it means the situation in which "homeland state" implements the policy of gathering nation members from other countries within itself, i.e. it encourages repatriation. Basically, according to the author, relationships between people, nation and state are working in these three ways.

And this is what is called the "triadic nexus" in his theory, which consists of three elements: "territorially concentrated national minorities; the nation-states in which they live, and of which they are citizens; and the external national "homelands" to which they "belong" by ethnocultural affinity, though not by legal citizenship". In terms of this research, we have clear understanding that the triangle exists between Russian ethnic minority, Latvia or Estonia and Russia. The most important question is what type of belonging does Russian minority possess and in what extent.

Another Brubaker's article titled "National Minorities, Nationalizing States, and External National Homelands in the New Europe" also talking about these triadic relations. It was written right after the emerging of new democracies in Europe, but even at that time these topic was visible. And it is important, that it sets more definitions on "how it works" constructs for the author's theory, which can be useful for the research.

For example, the "national minority" term. In Brubaker's framework it means a not static condition (the person will not deliberately stay a minority member for the whole life). The author distinguishes three features of the minority: "1) the public claim

to membership of an ethnocultural nation different from the numerically and/or politically dominant ethnocultural nation; 2) the demand for state recognition of this distinct ethnocultural nationality; and 3) the assertion, on the basis of this ethnocultural nationality, of certain collective cultural and/or political rights”. In other terms, we should measure the self-perception of Russians in both cities based on these features.

The “nationalizing state” is quite the same as nation-state, but not exactly: it is a kind of state which is considered to be national by destiny, but is not yet ready to be fully national. Because of that the nationalizing state makes distinctive efforts “to make the state what it is properly and legitimately destined to be, by promoting the language, culture, demographic position, economic flourishing, and/or political hegemony of the nominally statebearing nation”. However, Brubaker states that the label of such state within his research can be made only by minorities who can perceive the state as “nationalizing”. And nationalizers themselves can be distinguished into three types: “coercive” (authoritarian instruments and banning), “inductive” (cultural instruments and subsidized integration through language learning, for example), and “laissez-faire” (rejection of any artificial intervention into the integration). There are also two kinds of those who are opposite to integration: “passive” (non-intervention into these matters and no state promotion of minorities cultures) and “active pluralists” (active state intervention in order to preserve society diversity). However, even if it should be described in order to understand theory, it is not very likely that Estonia and Latvia will be following any of these “pluralist” paths.

The “external national homeland”, which is Russia in our case, is the third essential component of the triangle. Brubaker defines four features of such state. First of all, it is also a “dynamic political stance”, not a static eternal condition. Secondly, the homeland inflects, seeks to inflect or is perceived doing so to the national minority, so without imaginary or real action it cannot be considered as a part of a triangle. Thirdly, such states have common stances: “1) the axiom of shared nationhood across the boundaries of state and citizenship; 2) the idea that the state in which this common nationality is dominant constitutes in some (contested) sense a (or »the«) homeland for co-nationals living in other states and possessing other citizenships; and 3) the idea that the state's obligations – and specifically its duty to afford protection – extend beyond the circle of those formally possessing its citizenship to include conationals for whom it

is a homeland”. Fourthly, there is no debate over if the state should protect minorities at all, the only debate is over if it should be and how it should be a homeland for them, which is a different level of communication despite apparent similarity of strategies of protection and being a homeland for people.

I am going to use articles of Natalya Kosmarskaya such as Russian women in Kyrgyzstan: Coping with new realities.” and “Russians in post-Soviet Central Asia: more ‘cold’ than the others? Exploring (ethnic) identity under different sociopolitical settings.” The choice of this author is very clear: Kosmarskaya studies are devoted to aspects of daily life of Russian minorities in states of Central Asia. Because of that, her approaches must be useful for the thesis in sense of structure, experience of field researches and even the questionnaire construction.

Besides Kosmarskaya, I am going to use findings of Cynthia Lintz from her doctoral dissertation “Understanding the Construction of National and Regional Identity: Perceptions of One Another along the Bulgarian-Macedonian Border.” This Border study is very common to the topic of the thesis. However, it cannot be used directly since Lintz was studying the perception only through the border. But since the perception is a central topic of the research, her studies anyway will be an important asset in sense of methodology.

I am also going to use quite a lot utilitarian handbooks in order to improve both theoretical and empirical part. These books do not need precise description within this text, but still they have great importance for conducting field researches, focus groups, and questionnaires within them.

#### 1.4. Historical overview

After the conceptualization and the literature review there is a clear need to tell about the background of the research itself. The topic has long historical roots and as it cannot be understood without operationalization of terms, it cannot be understood without the historical overview as well.

First of all, the length of this overview should be defined. It should not be too deep in ages, but for sure it is also not reasonable to cover just post-Soviet times as well. Since the best variant is in the middle, I am going to cover a bit more than a century:

from the beginning of 20th century, ages of great turmoil, to modern days of post-Soviet existence.

The basic overview can be made without deep knowledge, so the most of information can be taken from open sources and History books. For instance, I am going to use Andres Kasekamp's book "A History of the Baltic States" (but it will not be the only source). This book has a comprehensive overview of the development of Baltic States and describes most important milestones which can be important for the analysis of historical events. It also covers the age of formation of modern Estonian and Latvian identities, mutual relations of ethnic groups within country and the migration process. The book which covers 20th century so well is a great asset to the research. Of course, the center of the research are only two cities, but there is a need is describing some context in which they were developing in the last century.

The change in population structure can be seen through open sources like Russian website Demoscope which has statistics from Soviet-era censuses since it is the most important time for the research: during Soviet era demography changed dramatically. Modern statistical bureaus of two countries do not possess information on these years. But even though, we must be careful about reasons of migration and population structure in different parts of two states. Also, in other open sources can be found articles on the period of independence and even times of Russian empire.

In this sense, the most important in the historical overview is not only retell history shortly, so the reader would understand background, but also make a short analysis of events, of economic and social structures of the past. Indeed, reasons of migration are as important as migration itself. The economic development defines the level of wealth, the relationship between different groups: most of Russians in Estonia and Latvia made the way from a in some way privileged workers and administrators (since the heavily urbanized and industrial way of life prevail over more traditional) to inhabitants of rather depressed regions. One of the aims of the overview is to bring the foundation to the main research of more elaborated reasons, causes and outcomes.

Since this is clear, the analysis can be started. At first, let us look on the map of Baltic provinces of Russian Empire. As we can see, the map does not look as anything familiar to modern times. However, this is one of the most important reasons of difference between Estonian and Latvian situation.

While Estonia was fully under the rule of German nobility which had a distinctive level of autonomy, Latvia's eastern part, Latgalia, was part of Vitebsk province – a heritage from times when these lands were conquered by Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Because of that we should talk differently about demographic history of two cities and the formation of Russian-speaking community within them.

Daugavpils was in many senses a part of Eastern Europe cultural space and Polish particularly, since part of the population in the beginning of XX century was Jewish and the Polish population was the third after Jewish and Russian. It became part of Russia much later than Narva, first of all. And since it was the part of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, it did not experience the segregation of urban and rural ethnicities, like it was in Ostsee provinces, where cities initially were purely ethnically German and reluctantly allowed immigration of Latvians and Estonians. Secondly, the city was a part of Pale of Settlement which restricted the freedom of movement for Jewish population. Because of that, ethnic composition was “conserved” and as every urban settlement in this area, it had enormous percentage of Jewish population.

It is also important that the main “purpose” of the city was defensive and it was built around the fortress, another important object was a railway station. Because of that, the big part of Russian population was connected with these fields. The city, in fact, almost did not feel the industrialization of Russian Empire: according to the statistical committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in 1904 there were only 1915 industrial workers, while artisans greatly outnumbered them (2689 people).

It is extremely important for the research: before the First World War the Latvian population of the city was less than 2% of the total population. Without need in industrial labor, it was not attractive to immigration from rural regions of Latvia. The only immigration was from Russian side. And we must fixate that in case of Daugavpils ethnically Russian population was always one of the biggest and in some way it is rooted there even deeper than Latvians themselves.

However, after years of wars, external and civil, the city became a part of independent Latvia. But even during the time before the annexation of Latvia in 1940 by USSR, the city did not experience dramatic changes in ethnic composition; however, Jews gained the opportunity to move to other places. Of course, horrific events of the Second World War were the trigger of major social shifts. During the war most of the



city was destroyed and which is more important, the ghetto was established. The Holocaust erased Jewish population from the whole region and according to studies of Andrievs Ezergailis from the total Latgalian Jewish population of 28 thousands about 20 thousands were murdered during the occupation. For our research it is important, that in these calculations the overall number of 28 thousands is less than the Jewish population of the sole Daugavpils in the beginning of the century.

Because of the massacre of the biggest part of the population it is hard to estimate how exactly strong the russification of Daugavpils itself was. However, we can analyze surroundings of the city. If on the border of XIX and XX centuries 15% of the population of the area was Russian, by 1979 Daugavpils District had 38% of Russians, which is still a dramatic change within less than a century, even considering that borders of the district were changing.

During Soviet era Daugavpils was heavily industrialized, like many others cities of the USSR. For instance, one of the first was Drive chain factory in 1949, but later the city gained own chemical industry and many other facilities. The Drive chain factory is interesting because it was built on the base of Izhevsk Motorcycle factory, which was simply moved to the new place with all equipment, machines and staff. It shows the way how industrialization worked in a central plan economy. Many Russians were centrally settled in Daugavpils and that is how the percentage of ethnically Russian population raised to 56% in 1959, yet the percentage of Latvians also increased to 13%.

However, Daugavpils never became fully ethnically Russian city and its population again conserved in the particular shape. The census of 1989 showed that there were 58,26% of Russians and 13% of Latvians, but the census in the independent Latvia in 2016 showed that there are 47,7% of Russians and 19,7% of Latvians. In absolute numbers Russian population decreased from 77 thousands to 50 thousands, but Latvian population even raised from 16 thousand to 18 thousand, yet any other ethnic group in the city shrunk! But at the same time, according to statistics, Russian language is the first language to 80% of the population, according to the 2000 census.

Thus the post-Soviet history also should be described in order to give context to these changes. As the central plan economy collapsed, many uncompetitive facilities were closed. This created a situation in which many people not only from Daugavpils, had to move to cities with better economic situation. Even after the drop in population

from 129 thousand citizens in 1989 to 93 thousand in 2011, the unemployment in Daugavpils is higher, than the average unemployment in Latvia: about 11%, while average in the country is about 9%. The difference seems to be minor, but we should keep in mind that it still exists even after so many people left the city.

As the conclusion, it should be said that the “presence” of ethnic Russians in Daugavpils has very deep routes. As a fortress and a railway junction, the city experienced a centralized resettlement a century earlier than USSR. However, both Russians and Latvians were coming to the already established and multiethnic settlement. And the industrialization was not so large-scaled, as we will see below in the description of Narva. Because of that, Daugavpils does have an ethnically Russian majority, but this majority is not overwhelming, yet Russian language is dominating within most of ethnic groups.

Narva, on the contrary, was part of German Ostsee provinces and was much closer to major cities of Imperial Russia: Tallinn and Saint-Petersburg. This location, close to the capital and the biggest city of the Empire became a great premise for the industrialization of the city, as well as a marine harbor nearby. The basis of it was founded even in XIX century with the establishment of Krenholm Manufacturing Company and other textile industry facilities. Because of this quick development, the city was in great need of labor, in contrast to Daugavpils. The population was rising quite fast. In 1897 census is stated that in Narva were 44% of Estonians and 44 of Russians, but through the time the number of Russians was declining: 35% in 1913 and 30% in 1934. But after Krenholm factory closed during First World War, the overall population dropped dramatically.

However, it is extremely important, that modern Narva can be named a completely different city since the war had even more catastrophic outcomes for it. Not only 98% of buildings were destroyed during Second World War, but also the whole population of the city was evacuated by Soviet or later by German forces. After the war those who were living there were restricted from the return to the city, according to Siobhan Kattago (Kattago 2008). It could be because of plans of closing the city due the planned creation of uranium facilities. Right after the war it was the city with no buildings and no inhabitants.

At the same time, Soviet era was the time of the most serious changes in the life of the city. Not only textile factory was re-opened, but many industrial facilities were built from scratch such as power plants, building materials factory and casting plant. The huge amount of workplaces from extensive industrialization was filled by a massive colonization during which industrial workers were simply “imported” from inner regions of Russia. Due this process the population of Narva raised from 23 thousand people in 1934 to 58 thousands already in 1970. And the highest point was in 1989 with more than 81 thousands.

But if we will look at the ethnic composition, we will see that the city was developing so fast because of unnaturally high (because it was centralized) and solely Russian immigration. The number of Estonians was 3984 in 1970 and became 3224 in 1989, so it is clear that Estonian population was really stable and almost untouched by migration processes. At the same time, ethnical Russians were only increasing their numbers and did not have share less than 83% during Soviet rule.

It is also important, that these ethnical Russians were mainly members of the same social class: they were settled to work on industrial facilities. Of course, there were medics and teachers, for instance, but only single Krenholm factory had more than 11 thousands employees by the year 1978! Even they were the majority of the population; most of ethnic Russians were still just labor force of the vast city-factory.

The cultural sphere was not really developed during Soviet times and there is another difference from Daugavpils, where the university, the theater and other cultural spaces survived hard times. Narva, on the contrary, became very utilitarian.

This became a huge problem after the fall of the Soviet Union. In Soviet system workers were not the highest in the social hierarchy and did not have highest salaries, but still the “proletarian state” had to implement its slogans in real life and organize a huge system of welfare for these people with sanatoriums and summer camps, for example. But after the fall of the central plan economy, workers at first found themselves in much lower position in social hierarchy. And then market reforms forced to close uncompetitive facilities of to cut their staffs. If not really industrial Daugavpils reacted very negative to these processes, then city-factory Narva was close to the collapse. It can be seen through population censuses: the population is dropping and the number of Russians dropped from 69763 in 1989 to 51434 in 2011. However, even with

these drop, Russians got only bigger share in population: from 85,9% in 1989 to 87,7% in 2011, which is opposite to the situation in Daugavpils, where migration processes dropped the share of ethnically Russian population.

The non-economic life also became worse. Besides the absence of cultural institutions, the political situation also turned 180 degrees within a year. Soviet system may be internationalist in sense of redistribution of goods, but politically Russians were the cement which kept the unity of the USSR. Since that, Russian language had a privileged position in all Soviet republics. But after Estonia became independent, first language of these people lost any status and most of them became “non-citizens”.

It cannot be said that Narva inhabitants did not do anything. Vice versa, the pro-Russian movement in Narva was much stronger than in Daugavpils and it even developed into a secessionist movement. In 1991 city councils of Narva and several other towns nearby proposed the creation of Narva republic which should merge with Russia. However, Estonian authorities dissolved these councils and prevented further steps. In 1993 Narva and Sillamäe the referendum for the creation of national and territorial autonomy was conducted. Estonian state did not recognize it and the turnout was rather low – about 50%.

In the end, modern Narva appears to be comparable with Daugavpils in population size, but has its own unique features. Nowadays Narva became even more ethnically Russian after deliverance from Soviet legacy and closing of many industrial facilities, but at the same time migration and inner development created conditions for reducing the unemployment.

## 2. Empirical data and sources

Collecting empirical data is one of the most time-consuming and complicated parts of any research. Which kind of data and sources will be needed for this particular research? Research questions of this paper require a large amount of various information – primary as well as secondary data – which can be divided into several categories.

At first, historical overview of the communities tells that Russian minorities in Estonia and Latvia are diverse communities and were formed by several migration waves. The historical background determines modern situation and should be analyzed. I will use previous studies, open-source data, documents, and memories.

Then there is the quantitative data. It includes all statistics about the regions such as population numbers through years, ethnic, linguistic and citizenship data, socio-economic data, education-related data, business and employment statistics. I will use websites of official statistic institutions of Latvia and Estonia, local yearbooks for general information. However, I also will use more general statistic about countries such as Corruption Perceptions Index by Transparency International which also can be useful for understanding the life in regions. The main difficulty will be the process of search of relevant statistics.

The other part of data is the result of the field research. Qualitative interviews and focus groups will provide hours of audiotapes and pages of notes. It will be a backbone of the research which will provide most of information and most of challenges as well. The conduction and the analysis require a great theoretical work since even the order of questions can affect results of the research. Another challenge is the organization of the field research. Problems can be with finding a place and hiring respondents.

This problem will be solved with the help of volunteers and organizational support of the thesis supervisor. There also will not be any financial problem. The strict timing and planning of the field research is elaborating and there are several ways to approach people. The previous experience of conducting focus groups and interviews will definitely help with the process and positively affect the engagement.

### 2.1. Previous findings

Besides data combined from official sources and assumptions based on the field research, I am going to use articles regarding needed aspects of life in Latvia and Estonia since they possess useful conclusions and data which cannot be ignored. So, in order to create a balanced research, I will extract information from following sources.

First of them is an article by Florian Justwan on the topic of minorities (“non-citizens” in his definition) in developed democracies, which includes Estonia and Latvia (Justwan 2015). It is not especially focused on any of them, but at the same time can be a source of data regarding the level of trust in Latvian and Estonian societies, which is important since two cities, which are in the focus of the research, are communicating with rest of the country and gets affected by it.

Justwan in his article insists that the generalized trust is an important factor of the integration of non-citizens. It is trust not only between individuals, but the trust of group’s members to “aliens”, members of other groups: “Generalized trust refers to an individual’s or a society’s general assessment of the trustworthiness of strangers”. In our case it will be a trust of state’s citizens to non-citizens and vice versa, because the article connects this concept to voting rights. Since non-citizens are an important case in life of ethnic Russians in Daugavpils and Narva, this research has a practical value in a way of interpretation of gathered focus groups data.

The author’s hypothesis states that “the higher the proportion of general trusters in a certain country, the more inclusive the noncitizen voting rights regime in that state”. In further statistical calculations he finds out that the level of trust differs dramatically from country to country. Estonia, for instance, possess lower level of trust than neighboring Finland or Western European Netherlands. Moreover, this level improved very little from 1990 (a bit less than 30 points) to 2008 (a bit more than 30 points). It means that we should presume the process of communication of ethnic Russians of Narva and Daugavpils with their states to be rather complicated.

Another valuable source is an article by Ammon Cheskin (Cheskin 2013), which is dedicated to studies of identities of Russian-speakers in Latvia. It also uses focus groups as a method of data gathering. Of course, this information is not that focused on Daugavpils, but still useful, especially since the author operates within same Brubake’s

framework. Cheskin provides interesting statistical data regarding linguistic situation in Latvia: despite 95% of ethnic Russians in Latvia suppose that everyone should be speaking in Latvian fluently (Zepa et al. 2008), they also strongly protect their own usage of the language both privately and publically, as well in education institutions (Hogan-Brun 2006). It means that overwhelming majority of ethnic Russians have a desire to integrate to the “nationalizing state” and do not suppose bounds with homeland more important, but do not will to sacrifice their cultural identity (not only Russian language, but the worldview as well). It will correlate with following findings in both focus groups.

Cheskin was conducting his focus groups with residents of Riga, so his interesting findings are not relevant for the geographical narrowness of this research. But they can aid it in a way. For instance, it helps to understand meaning of phrases of respondents within this research, such as the sense of closeness to Europe and the roots of attitude towards Latvia (and possibly Estonia) and nationalization efforts: Cheskin focuses that Russians draw a clear border between cultures and do not tend to perceive Latvian culture. However, the younger respondents are, the bigger their desire to associate themselves with Latvia. He notices that they develop a kind of third identity which combines pragmatic view on states within the triadic nexus (where Latvia is more perspective than Russia – “Russia became outdated”) and the desire to preserve own cultural heritage and ethnicity. Cheskin, in the conclusion, also draws a line between self-identification to “Russian political world” (famous *russkiy mir*) and “Russian cultural world” and I see this distinguishing as a useful way to describe features within my own findings.

It is also useful to extract information from an article by Mikko Lagerspetz regarding cultural autonomies in Estonia (Lagerspetz 2014). The author from the very headline insists that they are eroded. But what does he mean by that? First of all, the covering of ethnic Russians by such structures was complicated from the very beginning. The problem is that post-Soviet authorities considered it both as a security issue and unneeded thing. It is also an issue that there is a difference between simple cultural association and cultural autonomy, which has citizens, not just members, as President of the Estonian Swedes’ Cultural Council states in this article.

Why is that important? There are two points which are relevant for this research. At first, it shows the lack of self-organization (or the need of it) of ethnic Russians: even it is known that these people struggle for the preservation of their identity and free to express in native language (see Cheskin's article), they still did not manage to organize effective autonomy. However, it is unclear if it is connected with inability to do so, or with the will to integrate into the society without any labeling as minority. Secondly, it shows again that the level of trust to ethnic Russians is rather low: despite the obvious need of the ethnicity to be recognized and gain some status, they still are seemed as a destabilizing factor of the country.

Another article by Anu Masso and Maie Soll is also focused on Estonia – on the language of instruction in Russian medium schools, precisely. The language of instruction, as we have seen in articles mentioned above, is a very strong part of self-identification of ethnic Russians both in Latvia and Estonia since and are vulnerable to any linguistic issues. It is confirmed by another study (Masso and Kello 2012) which says that changes in the field of education language may lead to a feeling of “enforcement and resistance”, which is obviously a negative outcome in sense of integration policies.

The article tells us about the attempt to study personal opinions of ethnic Russians on the issue of changing of the language of instruction. It is also interesting that authors tried to study these personal opinions in three planes: individual, school, and region. Another important point that the study distinguishes north-east of Estonia (where Narva is located) within the regional list. So through it we can study not Russians in general, but from this particular part.

In the end, the article's conclusions are rather peculiar. At first, it appears that despite members of the younger generation have lived all their lives in independent Estonia, their attitude towards the change of the language of instruction is more negative than the attitude of their teachers. Secondly, the study showed that the attitude towards the issue does not depend on regional features and it is far more dominated by individual factors, so we can say that Russians in Narva, for instance, do not have any special negative or positive attitude towards Estonia and Estonian language. This leads to the conclusion that Narva and its surroundings are rather well integrated into the state since locals did not develop a separate view on the issue.



## 2.2. Statistics

The task of this part is to describe units of analysis of the thesis: communities of Russian ethnic minority in Narva and Daugavpils. First of all, I need a detailed socio-economic overview of the population of both cities. For that I am going to use official statistics from Estonian and Latvian statistical bureaus. The research is oriented on more personal approach, so there will be no collection of new statistical data, but the usage of the previously gathered by other institutions.

These two cities, especially in their present situation are greatly comparable. First of all, two of them are in a remote part of the country near the border. Secondly, as we will see, they have rather similar number of population, which makes them equal and applicable for such comparison.

For the sake of ability to compare statistical data in motion it is also needed to find out data from last years of Soviet Union. However, there is a serious constrain: the only existing statistical information can be acquired only from official Soviet censuses (precisely, the last one of 1989) which have a low level of detailing of the results. Most of the data covers the whole Estonia or city of Tallinn in the best case. Both of these options are irrelevant for this research. This is the reason of why it is so hard to analyze migration processes and their ilk.

Table 1.

**11.41 VÄLJASTPOOLT EESTIT SAABUNUD MIGRANDID, KES ON ELANUD SELLES ASULAS ALLA 2 AASTA, SAABUMISE PÕHJUSE, EELMISE ELUKOHA JA SOO JÄRGI, 1970**  
**11.41 MIGRANTS WHO ARRIVED TO ESTONIA AND HAVE LIVED IN THIS SETTLEMENT FOR LESS THAN 2 YEARS, BY REASON FOR ARRIVAL, PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND SEX, 1970**

Saabumise põhjus, sugu	Koguarv <i>Total</i>		neist elasid varem: <i>of whom lived formerly:</i>				Reason for arrival, sex
			linnalises asulas <i>in urban area</i>		maa-asulas <i>in rural area</i>		
	arv <i>number</i>	osakaal, % <i>weight, %</i>	arv <i>number</i>	osakaal, % <i>weight, %</i>	arv <i>number</i>	osakaal, % <i>weight, %</i>	
<b>Kogurahvastik Kokku</b>	35287	100.0	22996	100.0	12291	100.0	<b>Total population Total</b>
sh. saabusid:							<i>of whom arrived:</i>
õppima suunati tööle	2386	6.7	1435	6.3	951	7.7	<i>to study</i>
pärast õpingute lõpetamist	1153	3.3	1045	4.6	108	0.9	<i>transfer to work after graduating from a school</i>
ühiskondlike organisatsioonide lähetusel	2424	6.9	1221	5.3	1203	9.8	<i>sent by public organization</i>
organiseeritud värbamisega	598	1.7	353	1.5	245	2.0	<i>by organized recruitment</i>
töölase üleviimisega	3186	9.0	2647	11.5	539	4.4	<i>transfer to work</i>
isiklikel põhjustel	14212	40.3	9155	39.8	5057	41.1	<i>personal reasons</i>
perekonnaliikmete juurde	10802	30.6	6770	29.4	4032	32.8	<i>to join one's family</i>
muudel põhjustel	526	1.5	370	1.6	156	1.3	<i>other reasons</i>

The total population of Narva according to the census of 1989 was 84975. The population was growing really fast since in the census of 1979 the population of the city was 75909. Such growth is a clear sign of immigration to the city from outside. This is proved by mentioned above historical findings regarding, for instance, extensive economic development of the city. Statistically it is indirectly proved by the census of 1970 – just the total number of those who immigrated into Estonia less than 2 years before the census is impressive: 35287 people. The same census provides data on reasons of such immigration: besides personal reasons, many people (21% including sent by Soviet public organizations) moved to Estonia with the purpose of work. And we should remember that in Soviet Union the unemployment was a crime (article 209 “Social parasitism” of the Criminal code of USSR), so in any way all these people directly or indirectly were coming to work.

Ethnically and linguistically Narva in 1989 was composed of 3.4% of Estonians (2926 people), 92.6% of Russians and other ethnicities, including 2% of Belarusians and Ukrainians. As we can see, in last years of the Soviet system Narva already was almost monoethnic. Since then, Narva also was a city with dominating Russian language, which played a big role in its post-Soviet history, constraining the ability of inhabitants to find a respectable position in social structure. I should admit that Soviet Estonia also had Estonian as an official language, but at the same time Russian was a language of the central authority, of the army and other institutions, so it obtained a rather privileged position. Since then, it is doubtful that many inhabitants of Narva knew Estonian at that time.

The education in Narva was mostly conducted in Russian until our times. There is no statistics regarding soviet schools, but in the year 2000 the city had 14 schools in total: 13 of them were with Russian as the language of instruction and 1 was Estonian-based school.

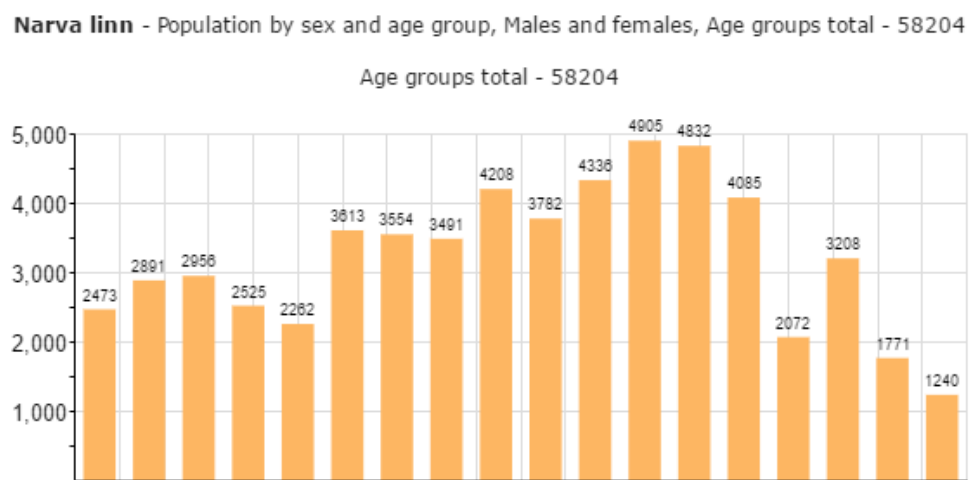
It is also important in sense of place of birth of inhabitants of Soviet Narva. As it was mentioned in the historical overview, the pre-war population was forced to move from Narva and the city itself was completely destroyed anyway. Since that, new authorities built a completely new city with completely new inhabitants mostly emigrated from inner regions of Russia. So, it is very hard to speak about the exact

place of birth in a city of immigrants. However, we can presume with that most of the people by 1989 were not born in the city,

Modern Estonia, of course, is analyzed using mostly national statistical bureau. The Estonian statistical bureau has an interface which incredibly comfortable for users. It allows filtering the data with great accuracy. But authorities of Narva also give an access to comprehensive statistical information.

For instance, most important graphs are: age distribution within the population, the ethnic composition, citizenship status and the statistics on mother tongue. These four components are the very basic of studying the Narva city, yet not the only. There are several important points which can be found after the analysis of this data.

*Table 2.*



First of all, the age distribution within the population of Narva is interesting. The bar chart shows that the biggest age group in the city is 55-59 years old with total 4905 inhabitants, and the following is the group 60-64 years old with population of 4832 people. The minimal age of retirement in Estonia is 62, which means that from the total population of 58204 about 17000 (from this chart the exact number is unclear) or roughly 30% of the population are retired. At the same time, the population of people below 18 years is less than 8000 or less than 13% of the population.

These numbers lead to particular conclusions. The first one is that the city is very “old” in sense of age composition; the amount of retired people is disproportionally high. The economically active population left Narva which is proved by the statistics of the population decline through years.

The second one, which follows from the previous, is that the population of modern Narva is quite homogeneous in terms of integration into Estonian society and mobility. By this I mean that the present population is composed of retired people who do not have a vital need in proper integration into Estonian society and younger economically active population which chose to stay even the city had clear problems with employment. It means, that they already have a place within the city, while less lucky were forced to move. But it does not mean that those who stayed are deliberately well-integrated. Vice versa, those who were forced to move into areas with bigger ethnically Estonian population may had tighter bounds with Estonia, while those who did not have proper skills for survival in another social context just chose to stay. In the end, Narva became a place for much less integrated people. Even the “university student” age group is rather big in comparison with “children” groups: the signal of that very few young people leave Narva for higher education. Even considering the existence of Narva college of University of Tartu (which still does not provide education in many fields), the number is quite high.

The third one is that even some people chose to stay they do not see Narva as a perspective place for children since the percentage of people under 18 is lower than the average percentage in whole Estonia.

*Table 3.*

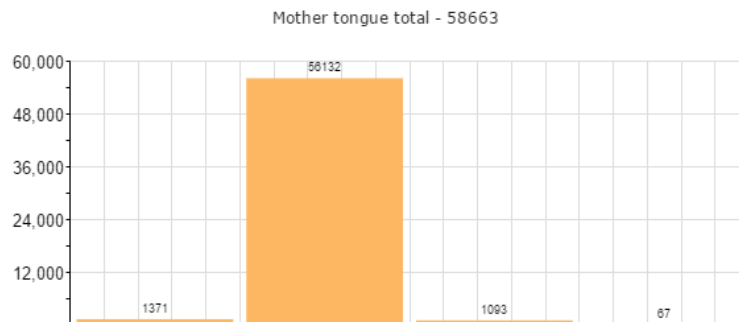
**Elanikkonna rahvuseline koosseis**  
*Ethnic composition of population*

<b>Rahvus</b>	<b>Arv / Number</b> <b>01.01.2013</b>	<b>%</b> <b>01.01.2013</b>	<b>Arv / Number</b> <b>01.01.2014</b>	<b>%</b> <b>01.01.2014</b>	<b>Nationality</b>
<b>Eestlased</b>	2 382	3,78	<b>2 326</b>	<b>3,75</b>	<i>Estonians</i>
<b>Venelased</b>	52 022	82,45	<b>51 032</b>	<b>82,21</b>	<i>Russians</i>
<b>Ukrainlased</b>	1 576	2,50	<b>1 530</b>	<b>2,46</b>	<i>Ukrainians</i>
<b>Valgevenelased</b>	1 315	2,08	<b>1 274</b>	<b>2,05</b>	<i>Belorussians</i>
<b>Soomlased</b>	446	0,71	<b>438</b>	<b>0,71</b>	<i>Finns</i>
<b>Tatarlased</b>	307	0,49	<b>298</b>	<b>0,48</b>	<i>Tatars</i>
<b>Muud</b>	1 487	2,36	<b>1 634</b>	<b>2,63</b>	<i>Others</i>
<b>Andmed puuduvad</b>	3 557	5,64	<b>3 546</b>	<b>5,71</b>	<i>Data not available</i>

Narva Linnavalitsuse Elanikkonna Registreerimise Büroo / *City Population Registration Office*

Table 4.

Narva linn - Population by mother tongue, sex and age group, Mother tongue total, Males and females, Age groups total - 58663



From these bar charts we can see that the domination of ethnically Russian population in the city is clear and overwhelming. And if we compare ethnic and language statistic we will see that the Russian influence is even wider than people with particular ethnic roots. By that I mean that Russian language is native not only for ethnic Russians, but for many other ethnic groups, including a lot of ethnic Estonians living there: only less than 1400 Estonians from about 2300 of total Estonian population mentioned Estonian as a mother tongue. So we can say that in some sense in Narva Estonians are absorbed and integrated into local social context. And it is more deep integration than the integrations of Russians in Narva.

Table 5.

**Rahvastiku koosseis kodakondsuse järgi**  
*Citizenship of the population of Narva*

Kodakondsus	Arv / Number 01.01.2012	% 01.01.2013	Arv / Number 01.01.2014	% 01.01.2014	Citizenship
Eesti	29 484	46,73	28 970	46,67	Estonian
Vene	22 897	36,29	22 561	36,34	Russian
Ukraina	172	0,27	175	0,28	Ukrainian
Valgevene	51	0,08	53	0,09	Belorussian
Läti	95	0,15	107	0,17	Latvian
Leedu	98	0,16	108	0,17	Lithuanian
Teised riigid	256	0,41	528	0,85	Other countries
Kodakondsus määratlemata	9 927	15,73	9 475	15,26	Citizenship undetermined
Andmed puuduvad	112	0,18	101	0,16	Data not available

Narva Linnavalitsuse Elanikkonna Registreerimise Büroo / City Population Registration Office

Also, we can see that there are a lot of Narva inhabitants who possess Russian citizenship. But through the years the number on population in Narva is fading which means rather poor economic situation, even those who have Russian passports left Narva in order to find better conditions. Yet still it is an important factor which can mean many things at the same time. Least it means that despite previously quoted

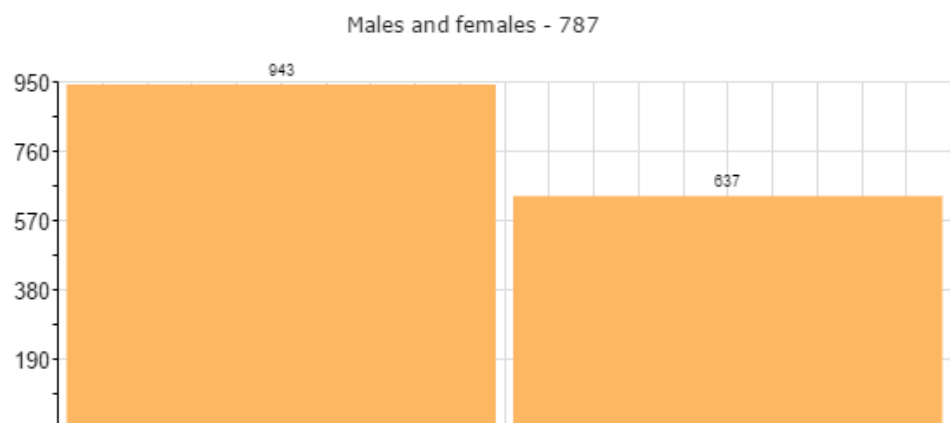
statements that Russians in Narva are do not consider Russia itself as their home, they still actually do have tight bounds with Russia, which are not only cultural in this case. Here we should plus the category of “undetermined citizenship” which means the non-citizen status. Such non-citizens do not possess enough knowledge to pass the citizenship test or, which is also possible, do not feel a need in it. Estonian jurist Evhen Tsybulenko confirms this possibility in his statements: 1) most of people willing to get citizenship already made it, others are fine with visa-free travels across both Europe and Russia; 2) the very concept of citizenship exam may be seen offensive by some people; 3) not everyone is aware that the procedure of gaining citizenship was eased through time.

At the same time, the number of Estonian citizens is impressive and it is the evidence of quite successful integration, considering previous information regarding social structure of the population.

The further research of social data is also important and interesting in context of the research. For instance, it is need to be mentioned that the unemployment in Narva is dropping though time. If in 2012 there were 4531 officially unemployed people, then in 2016 the number dropped to 3130. It is deeply connected with the previous information: the total population of the city is constantly shrinking and unemployed are the reserve for these migration processes. At the same time, it means that economic situation in Narva actually is not bright – the unemployed level is dropping slowly, considering the level on emigration.

*Table 6.*

**Narva linn** - Average monthly gross income per employee, Males and females, Age groups total - 787

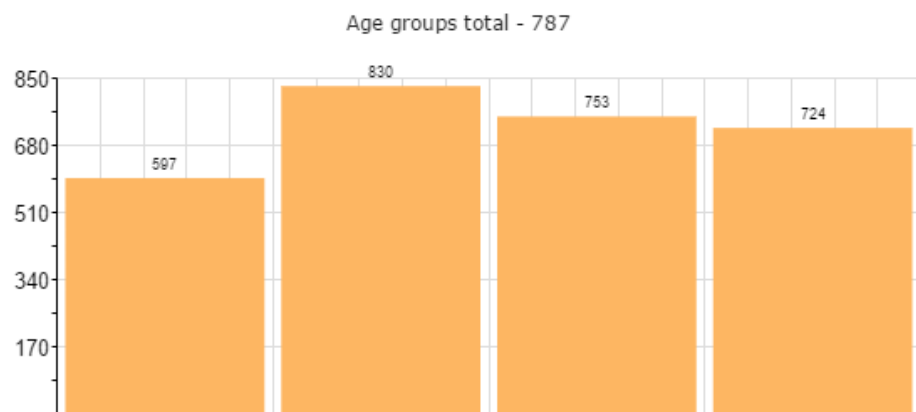


The issue of income in Narva is serious, as it is in any city. But the distinctive thing is that the gap between male and female income is very serious. That means the existence of quite strict division of “male” and “female” jobs, because otherwise employees were mixed and salaries were more equal, even if the gap will preserve. So, women presumably are working on less qualified and less important jobs.

Second point is that average income of both genders is much lower than the average income in whole Estonia (which is slightly less than 1200, according to statistical bureau). Even men alone do not reach Estonian average. It again means the quite poor economic condition of the city: in scales of Estonia such difference may be explained only by the lack of high-qualified jobs and companies which are providing them.

*Table 7.*

**Narva linn** - Average monthly gross income per employee, Males and females, Age groups total - 787



The further differentiation of employees into four age groups (Under 25, 25-49, 50-62, 63 and older) shows that the salary does not depend on the age. The low salary in the youngest group is explainable due the age, lack of experience and work on junior positions, but all other age groups possess a very flat scale of income. That again means a homogeneous economic structure, but it is hard to guess about the reasons.

The issue of education in Narva is extremely important in the context of the integration and relationships between the city and the state. The educational system of the city includes: 10 schools with Estonian language of instruction, 1 school for adults with Russian language of instruction and Narva college of University of Tartu (higher education institution). As we can see, the secondary education in Narva is completely

conducted in Estonian language and the only fully Russian institution is a school for adults.

It means that despite the difference in mother tongues, younger generation has no choice but to study Estonian. The older generation, however, has an opportunity to study in Russian. This creates two different social groups: better integrated (youngsters with no other choice) and worse integrated (older generation which is partially left behind by state education). By integration I mean that the knowledge of the state language opens more possibilities in a “bigger world”. This also can explain the age composition of the city: the younger person is, the better his or her knowledge of Estonian, the bigger chance the person will try to get job in a place with better economic situation. Retired people do not deliberately do not want to work, but they simply have less chances to get it outside Narva because of the language knowledge too.

Soviet Daugavpils was a big city which experienced the same as many Soviet cities, but still was not in such poor condition after the war as Narva. This, plus city’s distance from biggest cities of Russia, made effects of industrialization smoother than in Narva, for example. The best and almost the only source of information of this time is again the Soviet census, so it will be used in this analysis.

*Table 8. Population of Daugavpils in 1989*

Ethnicity	Population	Percentage
Total	124910	100.00 %
Russians	72775	58,26 %
Latvians	16243	13.00 %
Poles	16338	13.08 %
Belarusians	11385	9.11 %
Ukrainians	3903	3.12 %
Others	4266	3.42 %

The city had the population much bigger than Soviet Narva. According to the census, in 1989 it was 124910 inhabitants of Daugavpils. The growth of the population was fast, but more steadily than in case of Narva: the census of 1979 estimated that the population was 115731 people. The growth by ten thousands in ten years is impressive, but was not a boom. Since then, we can conclude that Daugavpils had more natural



population growth and the authorities did not see a need in a massive organized immigration to the city.

As we can see, the share of ethnically Russian population was smaller than in Narva, but still was almost two thirds of the population. Poles, which traditionally lived there, had a slightly bigger share than even Latvians themselves. As we seen in the historical overview, Russians were the biggest group in the city, but only after the war the share became that big. Despite many Russians actually did immigrated to the city (other way, there would be no non-citizens), it is important that the city preserved a big native population, which was rooted in Latvia much deeper and was associating itself with Latvia much more comparing to those who immigrated in Soviet times.

However, despite other big ethnic groups existed, the city was slowly Russified: the amount of Russian population and the distance from the historical ancestral home made Russian language the dominating in daily life, the lingua franca.

The Soviet statistics was always rather general and it is hard to find data on particular settlements, most of statistical books show details only about capitals or the biggest cities. That is why the overview of educational data is limited by Latvia in general. In 1989, according to the official statistical compilation (Goskomstat, 1989), Latvian was the language of instruction of 52.4% of students in Latvia and 47.6% were studying in Russian. However, as we will see later, most of schools in Daugavpils still have Russian as the language of instruction and it is doubtful that in 1989 the distribution was dramatically different.

Economically, Soviet Daugavpils was also focused on industrial manufacturing, like other cities of USSR, but in some way not that hard. Above I mentioned the mechanical factory which was simply moved to Daugavpils from Russia. But also there were reconstructed a locomotive repair plant and was built a synthetic fiber factory.

Modern Latvian statistical bureau had a linguistic constrain until the last time, but now it is fully accessible in English. Latvian bureau has much less instruments and filters, so the researcher has to rely on more generalized data. And, of course, the city of Daugavpils has its own quite useful statistics.

*Table 9.*

	1989							
	Per cent distribution							
	Latvians	Russians	Belarusians	Ukrainians	Poles	Lithuanians	Romanies	Other, including not selected and not indicated ethnicity.
Daugavpils city	13.0	58.3	9.1	3.1	13.1	0.9	0.3	2.2

Table 10.

	1989							
	Number of population							
	Latvians	Russians	Belarusians	Ukrainians	Poles	Lithuanians	Romanies	Other, including not selected and not indicated ethnicity.
Daugavpils city	16,243	72,775	11,385	3,903	16,338	1,118	353	2,795

Soviet Daugavpils has never reached such percentage of ethnically Russian population as Narva. Reasons of that were described above and they show that these two cities had in some way similar post-war background, but under the central plan their paths diverged. So, in 1989, according to the census, within the total population of 124910 only 72775 people (or 58.3%) were ethnically Russian.

Yet Russians are the dominating ethnicity in the city, it is important to look how multicultural it really is. It has not only a big group of other Eastern Slavic ethnicities, but also Poles which are the second biggest ethnic group with statistically insignificant superiority in numbers over very Latvians. Daugavpils also had numerous members of smaller ethnic groups. The historical diversity of the city was not destroyed, but rather preserved. Daugavpils was not an object of extremely heavy and extensive industrialization, yet experienced it in a way. But the “backbone” of the city stayed the same, only the amount of Russians increased dramatically through years and Latvians and Poles stayed in a more natural way of growth. But at the same time, Russians were a dominant group even in the beginning of the XX century.

Table 11.

	2016
Daugavpils city	85,858

Table 12.

	2016							
	Per cent distribution							
	Latvians	Russians	Belarusians	Ukrainians	Poles	Lithuanians	Romanies	Other, including not selected and not indicated ethnicity.
Daugavpils city	19.4	49.7	7.8	2.0	13.7	0.9	0.4	6.1

The data on this city shows the great difference from Narva. In 2016 the population of Daugavpils was 85858 people, out of whom less than a half is ethnic Russians. This is really different situation because Russian majority now only twice larger than Latvian population. There is no such clear dominance, even if we will plus Belarusians and Ukrainians, who should be much closer to Russian than to their

homeland cultures because of the social context they are living in (as it is doubtful that Poles preserved all traditions and habits of their homeland).

*Table 13.*

	2016		
	Under working age	Of working age	Over working age
	Population	Population	Population
	Total	Total	Total
Daugavpils city	12,277	52,112	21,469

The statistics over group ages in the city not that detailed as in Narva since we can see only three general age groups. But still age composition of Daugavpils resembles Narva. The quarter of the population (25%) is over working age and only 14% are under it, which is very close to the statistics of Narva. Again, considering shrinking of the city population we can state that the most suffered age group is a group of people of working age. As it follows, this also effects on number of children living in the city.

*Table 14.*

	2013			2014			2015		
	Immigration	Emigration	Net migration	Immigration	Emigration	Net migration	Immigration	Emigration	Net migration
Daugavpils city	412	1,479	-1,067	492	1,011	-519	492	1,220	-728

The population of Daugavpils is also shrinking, as we can see. Every year the net migration has a negative number. However, it is interesting that despite the general trend of fleeing Daugavpils, there is a stable influx of people from other places. And which is more interesting, these migration routes made the city even more different from Narva.

If we compare data from 1989 with present time statistics, we will find that not only the number of people dropped, but also that the ethnically Latvian population became bigger. Not only the share, but exactly the number of people: from 13 thousands in 1989 up to almost 17 thousands is an impressive difference in scales of Daugavpils. We cannot observe Estonians migrating to Narva in case of Estonia. That can mean that Daugavpils in some sense is more connected with “mainland” and seems to be less alienated to Latvians. Another important thing is that Daugavpils has a different surrounding. If Narva is surrounded by mainly Russian Ida Virumaa, then Daugavpils is the capital and the biggest city of Latgale. This region is populated both by Russians (39%) and Latgalians, who are considered to be a distinctive part of Latvian ethnicity

(46%). Because Daugavpils is a big economic center of the region, it should attract people from rural and smaller urban places.

*Table 15.*

		Number
		Daugavpils city
2016	Citizens of Latvia	66,201
	Non-citizens of Latvia	14,088

The situation with citizenship is also peculiar. According to the official statistics, the number of Latvian citizens is quite big: only 16% of the population do not have Latvian citizenship. Here we cannot to analyze it in the same way as Narva; despite the situation with non-citizens law and gaining citizenship is the same as in Estonia. We cannot presume that present population consists of less integrated people, because most of Russians chose Latvian citizenship over Russian or non-citizen status; even it required some efforts such as learning the language and passing the exam. It is another important example of greater integration of Daugavpils as a whole and an important sign of economic orientation of the city. Narva inhabitants may use Russian citizenship or non-citizen status in order to earn money on cross-border trade and transit, but in case of Daugavpils it is not the same.

But it is also important that original population of Daugavpils has never been expelled and it is possible that a large part of it “inherited” citizenship after the reestablishment of the independence. However, at the same time Latvian statistical service does not provide an analysis of non-citizens by ethnicity, so we cannot be completely sure due the lack of direct evidence.

The social structure of Daugavpils is another important for the analysis block. The unemployment rate in Daugavpils is rather high: in the year 2016 it was 11.5%<sup>2</sup>, which is a lot higher than an average 8.3% in all Latvia and 5.1% in Riga, the capital of the country. This explains the emigration from the city, however, it is important that even after the flee of so big amount of people, the unemployment rate did not fall dramatically, but still is one of the highest in Latvia. It means that actual economic situation in the city is rather negative and it experiences if not a depression, then stagnation.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.nasha.lv/ZA-NEDELYU/1/9149/Bezrobotica-v-Daugavpils-sostavlyaet-11-5>

Table 16.

		2016
		Total, excluding private sector enterprises with number of employees < 50
Gross	Daugavpils city	632
Net	Daugavpils city	452

It is difficult to analyze the income because of constraints of the statistical database, which for some reason do not have male and female differentiation and do not have data on small private enterprises. But still we are able to see that the average monthly net salary in Daugavpils is extremely small – only 452 euros. Even the gross salary is smaller than average monthly income of Narva inhabitants. Again, considering that the average Latvian net salary in 2016 was 668 euros (according to the official statistics), it tells that Daugavpils has much worse economic conditions. In this way it has a clear similarity to Narva, yet emigration of Narva tided the unemployment up. But the distance between average salaries still exists.

Table 17(a).

	TOTAL TOTAL	A Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	C Manufacturing	D Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply	E Water supply, sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	F Construction	G Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	H Transportation and storage	I Accommodation and food service activities
Daugavpils city									
0-9	4,532	122	316	12	7	193	1,337	188	63
10-19	171	2	16	-	3	22	60	26	12
20-49	103	-	18	1	1	26	18	12	8
50-249	52	-	22	-	1	8	7	3	3
250+	9	-	4	1	1	-	1	1	-

Table 17(b).

J Information and communication	K Financial and insurance activities	L Real estate activities	M Professional, scientific and technical activities	N Administrative and support service activities	P Education	Q Human health and social work activities	R Arts, entertainment and recreation	S Other service activities	NSP Not specified
117	76	385	429	145	156	171	99	694	22
2	1	5	5	6	3	5	-	3	-
6	-	2	-	7	1	1	1	1	-
1	-	1	-	4	-	2	-	-	-
-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The statistics on main sectors of employment in private sector on the year 2015 (I deleted spheres which are not represented in the city at all, such as mining) shows that it is the city of small enterprises: only 9 companies have more than 250 employees: 5 of them are from manufacturing sector (including 1 food manufacturer), 1 real estate and others are connected with various services like electricity supply or transportation. On the other end there are 4532 enterprises with number of employees less than 10, most of them are from retail, services and real estate activities, but also there are many small manufacturing companies.

The lack of big companies may be the reason of poor economic situation of modern Daugavpils. First of all, it means that many facilities from Soviet legacy were closed or experienced staff reduction, which in any case created a large amount of unemployed people with poor purchasing power. But secondly, it means that present time big companies are also represented in the city in very limited amounts. That means, that the investment climate is not very positive and big enterprises are not interested in establishing their offices, facilities etc. Needless to say, that the fact that biggest companies are providers of services and retail, as well as some manufacturing is very meaningful: there is no bigger companies than privatized remnants of large Soviet era facilities.

Another sign of economic troubles is that, according to the city administration website<sup>3</sup>, despite the rise of the number of new enterprises in 2016 (17% more in comparison with previous year), there are still less than the number of closed ones: 260 were opened and 329 were closed.

*Table 18.*

	2015/16					
	Full-time schools	Primary schools (1st - 4th grades)	Basic schools (1st-9th grades)	Secondary schools (1st -12th grades)	Special schools	Evening schools
Daugavpils city	18	-	3	13	2	-

The education sphere in Daugavpils consists of 18 schools (including 13 secondary schools), 4 vocational schools and higher education institutions such as Daugavpils University and 8 branches of institutions from other cities. As we can see, the education sphere is comprehensive and much more developed than in Narva.

The statistics from 2012 by Daugavpils education department<sup>4</sup> shows numbers of students and ethnic differentiation of them, which resembles the actual ethnic composition of the city, but slightly differs. Out of 8773 schoolchildren and 2800 professional education students 56% were Russians, 24% were Latvians and other ethnic groups composed the remaining. It is interesting, that shares of both Russians and Latvians are seemingly bigger than their share in the population.

Another important point is in languages of instruction in Daugavpils' education institutions. Only 3 general education schools have Latvian as a language of instruction. Another 4 conduct studies both in Russian and Latvian. And the majority of schools belong to the category of "minority schools" with 1 Polish school and 10 have Russian as a language of instruction. This means that the dominating language of school education is Russian, not the state language. Even more interesting is that according to the department, minority schools students do not have to study Latvian even as a second language. However, higher education institutions conduct their studies in Latvian, which means ethnically Russian students still have knowledge of state language.

This particular data is a bit confusing in terms of the research. First of all, we can see that Russian language dominates within the school education. It definitely should have an impact on the ability of ethnic Russian to integrate in Latvia, since a

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.daugavpils.lv/en/economy>

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.izglitiba.daugavpils.lv/Media/Default/file/=2012/Projekti/140527\\_DPIPprezEnglish.pdf](http://www.izglitiba.daugavpils.lv/Media/Default/file/=2012/Projekti/140527_DPIPprezEnglish.pdf)

very little amount of younger population will know the state language. In the end, such system should alienate the city and its inhabitants from the country and ethnic Latvians.

But at the same time the higher education is conducted in Latvian and the statistics shows that most of the inhabitants do have Latvian citizenship, which means a rather high knowledge of Latvian by older population and children of non-citizens who needed to pass the state exam to get it. And the existence of a developed network of higher education institutions also means that young generation possess the knowledge of Latvian on quite high level. So, from this point of view, education system vice versa helps the integration of ethnic Russians.

So, as we can see, statistic shows that different part of the education systems are pulling ethnically Russian students in different directions. But the reality shows their ability to study in Latvian, which means following. Schools are not the only source of language knowledge and definitely are not instruments of cultural self-isolation. And the aspiration to be integrated into Latvian society is prevailing over any kind of localness, which means the rather successful policy by Latvian nationalizing state. It correlates with articles by Cheskin and Masso and Soll, which stated that people do want to integrate, but at the same time they highly evaluate education in native language from the perspective of preserving culture and identity, not from the perspective of some kind of separation from the rest of the country.

### 2.3. Field research

The field research is the most important part of empirical data of the whole thesis. A set of qualitative methods forms a comprehensive tool of the research which is going to cover most of important research questions.

The focus group part is based on a quality handbook "Focus Groups in Social Research" by Cromwell press. I conducted two classic focus groups, one for each city. Of course, there is a clear constrain since the number of available participants focus groups is limited, so there will be no elaborated groups with a narrow age dispersion, specialization by gender, profession, social status. On the level of MA thesis it is possible to conduct such thing, but the material assets are very limited.

Because of that, as well as because of the more intriguing worldview, focus groups were made with local students.



It costs less because there is no need to rent a special place and gather there many people which usually are paid for the participation. As requirements are less strict and the result is effective, I suppose it is an allowable way to research the problem. But at the same time, it is not only a way to make the data gathering simpler, but a reasonable choice. The younger generation, present students, were born and raised in independent Latvia and Estonia. They are in a way “tabula rasa” and nationalizing efforts of two countries are focused on them since older inhabitants of Narva and Daugavpils not only already have a particular background and a preset of opinions on Latvia, Russia, history, politics, and culture, but also are out of the impact of conducted state policy. They may learn the state language, but it already will not be in a state school, they may integrate, but not because of political decisions. It does not mean that they have a strict and solid opinion and/or, but they clearly have a quite another mindset due the socialization within Soviet system. Since then, it is more important to analyze those who have been in the present system of triadic relations for the whole life and fully experience it.

Since the qualitative methods place the expression of personal beliefs and perceptions on the first place, they are perfect for the research of how Latvia and Russia used their efforts and what the true opinion of participants on the issue is. After the analysis it will be possible to evaluate what is the efficiency of Latvia and Russia in the struggle for peoples’ minds. And, what is more important, what are the self-perceptions of Narva and Daugavpils population, and is Latvian and Estonian nation-building effective after all?

I conducted two focus groups. The first one was made on 20<sup>th</sup> of April in Narva with students of Narva College of University of Tartu. There were 8 respondents in the age from 20 to 41. The second focus group was made on 27<sup>th</sup> of April in Daugavpils with students of Daugavpils University. There were 9 respondents in the age from 21 to 32. In every group the highest age was represented only by one person and without them the actual age distribution is much more homogeneous: from 20 to 26 in Narva and from 21 to 23 in Daugavpils. It is also important to mention that focus groups were conducted in Russian language and the sample of students consisted of ethnically Russian students who are living in the city with different degree of rootedness. That is why groups were made in Russian and I suppose it is important to preserve the original

text in order to keep idioms, emotions and other verbal features intact. Participants agreed for audio recording, but in the name of anonymity all names of are covered in the text.

In order to make these groups comparable, all respondents were asked using the same premade guide with the particular set of questions. These questions were divided into several blocks: greetings and knowing each other; general information block; questions on relations with media; language and communication; socio-economic questions; closing questions. The purpose of such choice was to study different aspects of life, including not only direct attitude towards Russian language, for example, but also regarding popular media, artists, issues of regional development. In the end, focus groups effectively discussed very diverse questions and answers appeared to me more meaningful than participants thought. But, of course, it is the question of analysis and right interpretation of words.

These focus groups will be analyzed by the method presented by the book “Focus Groups in Social Research”: concentration on “providing an understanding of substantive issues in the data”. Other approaches such as conversation analysis and group dynamic analysis are less relevant for this particular research since its focus not on conversations of ordinary people, but trying to extract a full picture of life in Narva and Daugavpils.

#### Narva focus group

Narva focus group was the first one. I will start the analysis with the description of participants. It was conducted with 8 students of Narva College of University of Tartu with following age composition: 21, 41, 25, 20, 26, 30, 32, and 20. As we can see, even all of them are students, the age dispersion is quite big. Out of eight six were born in Narva and another two moved from Tallinn, the capital. However, all of respondents are Estonian citizens, yet one of them previously had Russian citizenship, but changed it to Estonian.

Estonia generally is described as very close place. For example, the important question of “What place do you consider your homeland?” generated confident answers that respondents’ homeland is Estonia and Narva (2 people) or Tallinn (1 person). The very essence is the phrase of one of the respondents:

Estonia. This is my country. That is, I feel in my country like a fish in the water, I do not care where: in Narva or Tallinn, in Otepää or elsewhere.

This question was followed by the question of respondents' associations with Estonia and the meaning of the very word for them. Interesting that despite different backgrounds and ages of respondents, they gave very similar answers:

Respondent 6: I have Estonia associated, first of all, with nature, yes. Rich in forests, seas, lakes, etc., yes. Answering the last question, which region I like most, then, just the middle of Estonia. Here is closer to Viljandi, here it is. Where there is a lot of this. Forests, the lake in Viljandi is big. Pärnu, the sea, that is, these are the places here.

P8: Well, in my opinion, Estonia is quite a cozy country. It is quite environmentally friendly, there are many natural sites that are not affected, not cut down, not spoiled, as in many countries. And, what else can I say, well, it is beautiful here.

As we can see, the most characteristic elements of answers are: convenience, nature, coziness, comfort. The country is highly evaluated for its particular features such as small size and vast wild nature. This topic of a small country with convenient life will return in following answers. The size is considered to be a significant advantage for the development:

R6: Is it possible to add development here?

Moderator 2: Development in what sense?

R6: Due to the fact that a small country, it is small compared to others, the development in broad sense, starting from industry, I will not list all, goes faster.

However, artificial elements of daily life were also mentioned by respondents during the discussion:

R1: Well, Estonia is also associated primarily with comfort, because here and relatives, and training is available, and everything is close. That is, I feel comfortable here, both in terms of climate and people. In principle, I would say that this is the best place for me and time.

R2: Quite recently we raised this topic in one of the lectures and very many agreed that Estonia is a very comfortable country. It is convenient, nice here, it is equipped with a good technical and democratic base, and it is for us the country in which we live and which we love. For me at least.

R3: Estonia is associated with accessibility, freedom of action and speech, in principle, a sufficiently developed country.

R5: I basically agree with the girls absolutely. This is our home, and it's good enough to live here. And I am sure that the majority will still agree that a good standard of living is in Estonia, the main thing is to do something for it. Then everything will be all right.

These answers also evaluate the same concept of “comfort”, but at the same time they tend to associate the country with achievements made by people such as quality of life, technological development and democratic values.

In sum, we can say that respondents indeed evaluate Estonia high. And which is more important, they know the price to human-made elements of their life and are proud of it since first associations were not limited with lakes and forests. They suppose democracy and freedom of speech as a clear achievement of the country and since then, do not feel excluded or discriminated by Estonian society. So, these associations are very important is sense of marking the feeling of belonging to the society as its full members.

Narva, despite stereotypes about it, is also seems to be evaluated on a par with the rest of the country, respondents do not feel and do not show any perceptions that Narva is seriously different from the rest of Estonia:

R6: Well, yes. That is, I do not think that Tallinn is very different from the development of Narva. That is, there is a distance, but not like in other countries, where you can come to the outback of Russia, where is a very small civilization, yes, and, for example, with Moscow or St. Petersburg, the difference is felt.

Russia itself has a very different associative array for participants of the focus group. It even has a clear difference in the emotional color:

R2: A country with which I would like to have other relationships. With which we have been very good partners for a very long time and have even been in the commonwealth, it was a great pity to lose such a partner, because tourism from there went from there to our country. Estonia has always been a little abroad for Russian tourists. I would like to save, too. The country with which I would like to establish relations.

R4: A country with a rich culture.

M2: How important is Russian culture to you?

R4: Important, because I speak Russian, one of my older relatives was born in Russia. And it's important to me, because I also feel my involvement in Russia, towards the Russian people. Well, we're Russian.

R6: I have a slightly different opinion. Besides the Russian language, I do not really feel anything to Russia. I have no affection, nor a relative there, I was there last time in 1999 and especially do not want. For me it is in another direction, my orientation is more towards Europe. With Russia there is absolutely no connection.

...

R5: Well, I feel like a tourist in Russia. In my childhood I went to a lot of excursions, so I have the impression that this is the country I would like to travel to.

...

R5: There are a lot of inhabitants, people, there, maybe, it is not always possible to reckon with all opinions. It is very difficult to live there, a complicated country.

Respondents acknowledge the importance of Russia and Russian culture for them, but even the most benevolent answers are in some extent alienate Russia. Despite appreciation of Russian culture, the country still has a clear place in a worldview of participants as a close, but *another* country, sometimes even opposite to a small and democratic Estonia. And, which is also important to mention, the most senior respondent (Respondent 2, 41 years old) had the most “warm” answer and the greatest desire to have good relations with the country. The same respondent also mentioned later that she will not be able to live in Sweden or another European country because

there will be no “Russian spirit”. The younger generation does not have this kind of attachment.

And the relationship with Russia can be called rather minimized. Half of respondents do have relatives in Russia, or at least are aware that they have relatives there and keep in touch with them. Moreover, respondents do not travel much to Russia despite the closeness of the border. It is also connected with the perception of Russia as two separate entities: Russia and Russian state:

P3: So, I will say that it is quite bureaucratic country, a lot of, there it is somehow always difficult, if it concerns any matters. Even if you do a visa, it's always very difficult. Now, no, because everything goes through travel agencies, and if it is up to you, it will be a brainstorm.

M2: That is, it is difficult to communicate with the state.

P3: Yes, all these officials and that's it. And the society ... I have a village where I went, but with the abolition of citizenship (I used to be a Russian citizen) I want to make a visa, I have not been there for a long time. But the society is where I was, quite crazy. Those who are far from St. Petersburg or Moscow, rural people, they are so peculiar.

...

R5: Well, they are our neighbors; I too have not been there for a long time because of the need to make a visa. If it was not necessary to apply for a visa, that would be simpler. And our attitude would change, we live here, we see Russia. I would like to go there more often, but from abroad we do not have the possibility of such. The attitude is good, of course, to Russia, but I would not want to live there. I like living in Estonia.

Russia is a neighbor, a country which is interesting to visit and where relatives are living. However, the Russian state is quite scary for people living in Narva and seems to them to be too complicated, too bureaucratic. It is almost painful for them. And the whole question of visa is also connected with this troublesome communication and is a façade of Russian state to these people.

Russia is also represented in their minds as a country with two very different levels of quality of life:

R2: ...I was, for example, in \*inaudibly\* somewhere out there, there is a completely different Russia. It is very different from what we know about St. Petersburg and Moscow. That Russia, of course, is beautiful, developed, similar to Europe, because there is gas, oil. And here people try somehow, I think, somehow more willing to go heads over heels in order to survive and achieve something.

...

R7: Well, how to say, St. Petersburg, Moscow – beautiful cities, megacities, yes. But if you go somewhere outside these cities, that is, there is a completely different life. But if we take Helsinki, yes, Stockholm, then something like that, I can compare, with St. Petersburg, such a European life. If we in Sweden or Finland go beyond the boundaries of big cities, then life there is a bit calmer, more cultured, Russia is a little bit different. There are abandoned buildings, houses.

In sum, it is obvious that respondents' perception of Russia is all-round. Respondents are aware about problems of the country such as different quality of life. Subjectively, they criticize it a lot and several people at the same time stressed exactly the difference of two biggest Russian cities with all other countries, which is peculiar. It may be a respond to some local stereotypes about Russia or even some kind of advertisement, if not propaganda. In any case, the question opened an abscess and sparked a very emotional discussion, as the topic was close to the people.

Anyway, there we can see how inhabitants of Narva see Russia. They obviously form their view through the prism of life in Estonia and in the end it appears to be not very positive. Russia appears to be a vast country with enormous amount of people, which makes it hard and uncomfortable to live there, at the same time the state machine creates only constrains. And the biggest critique is connected with comparison of bigger and smaller cities of Russia. Respondents were genuinely indignant by it and were tending to constantly compare Russia with European way of life and Estonian "coziness". At the same time, the topic of cultural closeness is constantly repeated and we can see that the cultural sphere is important for the people, that Russia as a source of culture is valuable. But the sum of these two views gives us that Russia cannot be an effective external homeland since too much things there scare respondents.

The media block showed that respondents do not have particular preferences in choice of sources of information. Most popular TV channels are Russian and in Russian language, but that is not because of deliberate choice, but more because of the context in which there is a big amount of Russian channels. Yet people do not especially prefer Russian channels and also watch Estonian, especially news. However, most of the time respondents watch entertainment programs, not information.

The Internet usage is more diverse since there is no “signal reception”. The most of respondents said that the most used source of information in the Internet are social networks. And the most popular in this field is not Russian Vkontakte, but western social networks like Facebook, which are more used in Estonia in general. Yet they admit that they also read Russian news in Facebook, but because “they somehow come across”. Besides social networks respondents read local Narva media (seti.ee) and main Estonian media resources such as Postimees and ERR.

Respondents also tend to be more connected with Estonian cultural sphere. This, again, is deeply connected with visa problem. They are fully integrated in sense of interest in Estonian cultural events, but also would like to visit Russian events and concerts, if not the price of visa.

As we can see, participants tend to be more in Estonian information space with Estonian media resources, even in Russian language. But at the same time both languages and both countries of origin are equal to respondents and the choice between them is only the question of convenience and occasion.

The socio-economic block is one of the most interesting parts of the focus group in sense of discussion and its results. The first question was connected with the feeling of cultural distance between Narva and all other country. Answers were rather interesting in terms of how people of Narva perceive Estonia on the deeper level that just nature and technological development:

R3: Well, here's the question, with a dirty trick, I think even. Well, firstly, Narva it is quite different by its language capabilities. Not with the whole Estonia. Somewhere in the outskirts, not old, but an adult who does not know, has no experience of communication in Estonian, if he comes to the backwoods of Estonia, most likely he does not always find a common language with residents. And if we talk about the capital, then there is also a Russian-speaking population



and I think a big part. That is, here only the problem of language, the rest in principle... well, somewhere Estonian traditions are more supported, starting with food and ending with clothes, songs, somewhere less. It's not specifically Narva, but in general different parts of Estonia have, as it seems to me, a different level of perception.

M: Are these differences in tradition important to you? If you moved to another part, you would...

R3: Well, the question is where. Again, if I moved to a city where all these traditions really revered, I would feel a little like a white crow there, because I do not really go deep into folk dances, folk songs. And if it is Tartu, Tallinn ... Starting from Sillamäe and ending with Tallinn, I feel comfortable.

R2: Yes, also looking what to take. Tartu, Pärnu, Tallinn, in matters of culture, maybe not much different. My husband is Estonian, he told me about his childhood in the Estonian countryside, at the farmsteads, and here is what he told about the traditions that are there, very different. In which place we take, we compare it.

And here we can observe a very important idea which is shared by many respondents, if not all of them. The point is that they divide into different layouts not only Russia, but Estonia as well. The first layout is the part with big cities. Big cities seemed to be much more comfortable and preferred, and not because of the presence of ethnically Russian population, but more because of the absence of Estonian folk traditions. Cities are more globalized and in some extent all national differences are smoothed there. Because of that respondents feel that they can live within cities and perceive local Estonians as “us” and respondents do not see the difference between big cities.

But rural layout is something which is if not frightening then clearly disturbing. It is the area with unknown and alien traditions. They find these places uncomfortable not because of language or ethnic composition, but because of cultural traditions. And it is clear that respondents will never adopt these traditions, even will not try do so, because they draw a line between cultures.

So, even if respondents state that they are more tending to belong to the Estonian society, they still are the part of Russian cultural space. Especially because Russian rural areas may arouse, but they are not perceived as something alien. And the arouse itself is the sign of worrying about the destiny of these places. They are able to live in a multicultural city space and dislike the idea of living in a place with “high level” of Estonian traditions.

However, in their daily life the miscommunication with Estonians is not common. And, as respondents say, this issue is not static and became less troubling through years:

R4: This situation is not so expressed in terms of language.

M2: And what has changed?

R7: People started to talk more in Estonian.

R4: People have become more proficient in language, yes.

R7: Sister's husband is Estonian and he also said that he was understood in shops as well.

R5: Attitude has changed. The generation is changing.

M2: Relationship of whom to whom?

R5: The younger generation. Generations are changing and, let's say, a new generation, which is now finishing school; it seems to me that they reason a little differently. It is no longer true that Narva is a Russian city, and Tallinn or some other city is Estonian. When I was studying in Narva at an Estonian school, these Estonians who did not speak Russian, they directly felt that Narva is something else for them when you leave Narva - they have Estonia. That is, now there is no such problem, everyone is already trying to learn both Russian and Estonian.

M2: The generation has changed.

R5: Yes, adaptation is faster.

R2: I just belong to the generation that did not know a single lesson of the Estonian language in school and then Estonian began to enter. And it seems to me that this has changed the approach to the language. He did not become something that we are obliged to change when we are replaced, but simply

ordinary. Perceived by the current youth is quite positive, good. We live in Estonia, know the Estonian culture language, it's cool.

All respondents are agree that the knowledge of Estonian improved dramatically through years and have a positive attitude towards this fact since it makes the communication with the rest of the country easier. It is also seen that people do not argue about the role which Estonian should have in country and this acknowledge is a sign of deeper integration of Narva into Estonia, the sign that respondents see the city as a proper part of the country. And participants connect it with changes in Narva itself and in its perception by ethnic Estonians. Respondents were gladly telling that they started to see more Estonians in Narva and the stereotype of city of drugs and crime is fading.

The question regarding Russian language created a polemical and emotional discussion of the current status of Russian and its future:

R3: Well, it's a pity, if there are so many Russian speakers in our country, the second state language, but they do not want it.

M: Is this, there, important for you personally?

R3: For me it is not important, but for those around me, the older generation, it's hard for them to learn Estonian. And thus, Estonian is now very much in the priority and it's like when you go to work a new one, you are looking for it, it is a huge plus. And people who are not yet retired, now there is such a problem that I cannot work at full strength, in the end remain between the fact that they do not work and not yet retired.

It is interesting that the concern about the status of Russian language seems to be more altruistic issue than the issue of personal interest. Younger generation represented in our case by respondents does not have problems with communication in the state language, but they feel that older generation is excluded from country's life due its poor knowledge of Estonian language. There also was expressed a concern that poor knowledge of the language may affect the tourism sector.

But generally, the personal attitude towards the status of Russian language is more based on the comfort and all respondents said that for them personally it is not a vital question:

R3: Since Russian is our native language and no matter how we learn Estonian, it still remains for us second, then working with documents, something else, it is hard. Even at the university read the texts in Estonian, this is a heavy literature. Of course, it would be good if the Russian language was and remained.

M2: Is this a matter of principle for you? That the Russian language has any status. Or is it a matter of comfort?

R3: I cannot say that I would fight and advocate that the Russian language is recognized and made a second language. This is a matter of more comfort. Here, even if you see that they want to eradicate the Russian language altogether, that in the first grade the child will go and must learn completely in Estonian, then there will already be a bend of the stick. We do not know what plans the state, maybe everyone, wants in the Estonian language, still it's not right, because we are people after all with some part of Russian culture.

Despite the will for the comfort this small dialogue shows at the same time two important points. The first is that the respondent does not trust the state completely. After all talks of integration and how well everything is, the respondent has no doubt that such act as a complete ban of the language is even possible. It undermines the confidence that relations of respondents with Estonian state are as well, as they were described. It also can be strengthened by news or gossips about linguistic initiatives of Estonian politicians.

The second is that at the same time it can be explained from another point of view, which does not deliberately confront with the previous explanation. The respondent showed the insecurity about the status of Russians as the minority in Estonia. Even Estonia is a democratic country; Russians are still the minority and relationships between two ethnicities are still improving. The gained status of full members of the society and the feeling of equality seem to be vulnerable things and the respondent is worried that it can change because of some changes in internal policy of Estonia. Again, radical Estonian politicians may scare Russians by their proposals.

Speaking of threats, the question on possible threat of Russia to Estonia showed that Russia is really assumed to be a country with double attitude towards it. However, as we can see, not all respondents do believe in the possibility of the conflict:

R4: I do not go into politics at all, but talking about such topics like whether Russia can be a threat? In case of war, Estonia, I think, will not be the winning party in this situation. Still, Russia, she and the quality of military training, and the resources, the amount she wins much. I just do not perceive Russia as a threat to myself. For me, it does not bring any negative or overwhelming feeling.

R2: If you take examples of the past: Chechnya, Ukraine, and then Estonia is probably too quiet country to go to a conflict, I hope, Russia will never answer, in the sense that the first one will not go. In order to straighten out the aggravation before hostilities. We very much hope that this will never happen, because indeed we will then face a very strange choice: like we are Russians, but we are Estonian Russians. And, perhaps, the simplest variant will be taking children underarm and fleeing to Sweden.

M2: How much of this situation does not frighten you, but disturbs you? That at some point you may be faced with a choice.

R2: Very worried.

We see there, first of all, a strong belief that Estonia is a calm, peaceful country and there is no rational reason to attack it and wage a war. But respondents at the same time understand that this rationality may be irrelevant. And in this case, Estonia is doomed to lose. What is interesting is that the Russian state will not be greeted. Despite respondents are ethnic Russians, they will chose to flee than to live in Russia, which means even more negative perception of their external homeland.

And this is proved by the next more peaceful question on emigration. I asked respondents if they want or ever wanted to move to Russia for some reason. Answers were very simple and very similar: "No". The same answer was on the possibility to move to another European country. However, respondents said that they are ready to go to work in other countries under certain circumstances:

R2: There was a time when I was in search of work and there was a crisis in Estonia, which did not allow me to get a job, I was not needed anywhere. Just this year I went to my friend in England, I looked at another society: another attitude towards people, other opportunities for a career. For the first time in my life I wanted to move there with the whole family. The family did not want to.

R3: No, I would, because my sister left for Sweden. And if there were difficulties with the career, then, maybe, I would leave.

So, the absence of will to emigrate is connected with the situation within Estonia which has a positive dynamic. The crisis or personal troubles are a legitimate reasons to leave the country.

In closing discussion respondents again spoke about non-citizen “grey passports” which are the main problem which they found by themselves. It was more emotional since respondents are aware of all advantages and disadvantages of this status. It is just insolently for the state.

What are the conclusions? The focus group appeared to be unexpected in some sense. First of all, contacts with Russia appeared to be much less common than it could be presumed because of the geographical position of Narva.

But which is more interesting that respondents from Narva have a self-perception as full members of Estonian society. For them there is no real difference between cities and Estonia itself is not divided with perception borders into regions with us and others.

Yet ethnic Russians in Narva have a clear preference for urban areas of Estonia. They still care about their cultural heritage and because of this they feel that rural areas, where Estonian ethnic traditions are more preserved, are clashing with their own culture which cannot be just changed into a perceived Estonian. Respondents answered that they would prefer bigger cities, which are more mixed and less focused on ethnic features.

#### Daugavpils focus group

In Daugavpils the focus group consisted of nine participants, students of Daugavpils University with following age dispersion: 21, 22, 21, 22, 22, 22, 32, and 23. The dispersion is much less than in Narva, yet again there is a participant which is seriously older than other members of the focus group. And again, all respondents appeared to be Latvian citizens. However, most of respondents were not born in Daugavpils (only three were born in the city), most of them were born in other towns of Latgale region. Again, exactly the half of respondents has relatives in Russia, but only one of all has ever visited Russia.

The description of the personal meaning of Latvia was rather simple: it was a common associative array of nature, relatives, and the place where you can return. However, no one mentioned anything artificial. The very interesting yet single association was that the country is struggling for “something” And the definition of homeland, which is interesting, was also exactly the same as in Narva: Latvia or the native city in Latgale. However, no one mentioned Latgale as a distinctive region.

Russia is viewed by participants mostly as “neighbor”, which is a very neutral word which is true, but tells nothing about the attitude towards the country. However, others gave more detailed description:

R4: Well, this is a big country with which our country is trying to be friends and solve all sorts of problems and, despite this, to support all this to develop together.

R5: Russia is something big, something interesting. Associations what ... Travel, I wanted to be a single whole, I do not consider it a neighbor. Neighbor, but no. In the sense that it's closer than a neighbor. It's still our history, part of culture, part of the mentality. Something like this.

These answers show a rather positive view on Russia and the existence of close bounds which suffered different historical events and the will to reestablish them. It is also supported by following discussion of close mentality of Russians and here respondents mentioned Latgale as a unique part of Latvia:

R8: A similar mentality, yes, that's right. Language, here we are now communicating in Russian. Well, too, then that people are a bit like.

M: What?

R8: Well, here is the mentality, it seems to me, the same, Latgale is even closer to Russia than the rest of our regions, and Latgale has the most Russians ... \*inaudibly\*. Well, if you go somewhere far away, then if you're Russian, then you'll be killed there.

\*Laugh\*

Well, they will not kill, but they will be very skeptical. This is connected with history.

Here we can see that the respondent distinguishes Latgale from other Latvia on the base of Russian presence there. It is also peculiar that Daugavpils is not seemed as a separate entity, it is always a part of a bigger region, its indistinguishable capital and everything which is told about the city is one or another way becomes connected with its surroundings. It is not like the respondent does not feel it as the part of Latvia, but states that basically other regions do not understand inhabitants of Latgale on the level of mentality as well. They also draw a line between regions as it was said that inhabitants of other regions have much worse attitude towards Russian, which is common in Latgale:

M: Good. That is, do you draw a border between regions?

P8: Yes.

P5: Well, it actually is, it is felt.

M: Strongly felt. Do you feel yourself?

P5: Here? I feel it when I get to the language. There is a feeling that it is discriminated.

It is even stated that Russian language is discriminated, however, it was maybe a very strong word since others did not articulate it so seriously, yet admitted that there actually exist a problem of perception of Russian in particular parts of Latvia. That means that the state is much divided and the east and west have a kind of conflict, which, in its turn, was articulated.

The media block showed that respondents do not have real preferences in language of information or the source origin. Most of them watch Russian language television, but at the same time many of them tell that is a question of occasion and does not mean that Latvian television is particularly unpopular among them. Most popular programs are news and various entertainments.

The Internet usage resembles it. Main sources in the Internet are social networks and various media website. The language in that case in the issue of comfort and nothing else, as one of respondents stated it can be just more interesting to read in Russian or Latvian. Again, respondents are freely using sources in both languages and do not really understand the dichotomy of the question.



And the status of Russian language is the very disturbing topic, partially, of course, because of this free usage of any language which is common to respondents:

R1: It's just a way to communicate. In Latgale we communicate in Russian, in Latvian, in Liepāja in Latvian, it is not necessary to do a problem from this. If you have the opportunity to speak different languages, then you should adapt to the situation, to the person. Who does not know how to speak another language. It just makes you smarter.

R2: Well, I also agree that there is no problem, well, as they say, the more languages you know, the better, and ... I do not know. Many of us speak Russian, I think it's good. In principle, many speak Russian in the direction of Latgale. The further from Latgale, the Russian language extends less. People speak Russian despite the fact that this is Riga or another place and I believe that this is still the impact of the fact that our parents used to communicate more in Russian, parents of parents spoke Russian, it's passed on to us, we also talk most of the time in Russian.

R5: The status of the Russian language. I would give the Russian language the status of the second state language. Because I believe that it is not objectively offended the Russian language and made it the language of the Russian minority. Because of this, that's because of the fact that the Russian language is not being made a second language. It's always, for twenty-five years now, an excuse for some hassles. People are confronted. We need to solve this and forget.

Not all respondents support the idea that the language is discriminated, but at the same time everyone somehow agreed on the fact that the country is divided. Also, the Russian language is considered to be a cultural heritage, something which is not vital for the survival, but still cared. And the last hypostasis of Russian language is the enrichment of the person who is able to speak it, the more – the better. But the topic of distance between parts of Latvia is very substantial for respondents and they somehow always return to this point.

As well as the topic of cultural distance, which is connected with language difference and economic situation in some extent:

R2: Well, I think, yes, you can remember the concert for City Day and some great holidays, when mostly certain groups are invited to us, and if it's a holiday in Riga, it's a completely different level. Well, okay, Riga is the capital, but still, it feels that Latgale is like a completely different region and it is in many respects different from the other three regions of Latvia. But it is not bad, not good, it is normal.

R3: Well, that's when the holiday song, we're all together with the regions in Riga and it is fine.

R2: No, I say that we ourselves know who comes on the City Day to us. Do not come, there will be no demand for the popular Latvian group, but there will be demand for quite other performers.

...

P8: Yes. Well, there really is. Because I have seen it in different cities, I know from my own experience. No, well, there were not any bad options, but I still feel insulted. So I go, say, talking on the phone in Russian, they all look at me, well, somehow also such a moment of alienation.

The difference exists and in some places even the usage of language will cause if not troubles, then an alienating behavior. It is not unique that different parts of the country have different tastes, but we can see what can be named two different cultures: Daugavpils has a completely different set of artists for holidays and it seems to be not intersecting with western set of artists.

At the same time, respondents do not suppose that it is hard to live outside Daugavpils and Latgale. They state that the any city with the mixed population is comfortable enough for them:

P5: Take the same Liepaja. An example with Liepaja. Here is different: different ethnicities. Different peoples, different cultures: this is food, music, cinema, literature. If I go to the same Liepaja, I will not feel free there myself. I do not know how to behave, where to walk, how to walk, how to say what to say, so as not to offend, that is, how at home I will not feel free myself. The city, it turns out, is a stranger, it means that the distance is big.

M: And the capital, the big cities?

R5: In the capital, yes, in principle, I feel fine. There are 50 to 50, there is a mixed population. With them, the culture mingled, there, in principle, there is no distance.

This is the clear sign of that the country not only seems to be divided into west and east, but also, as Estonia in Narva's respondents perception, into layouts. The layout of big cities is comfortable to live in. It is global, it is mixed, it is in some way less ethicized. This creates the situation when the person does not feel any cultural distance within one city.

And another layout is beyond big cities. This is an unknown territory outside enclaves of cities. And Russians do not know how to act in this environment. The environment itself becomes hostile since the person should think too much on actions and behavior.

So, just as in Narva, respondents prefer to live in cities relatively big for their country. Russian culture is completely urban and does not match with places which are more bounded with ethnic traditions.

And it is important since according to respondents they do not have any problems with miscommunication with fellow citizens, ethnic Latvians. Despite the fear of traditions, the daily communication does not create troubles and in that sense they are integrated fine. However, there is no problem with communication in Latvian, but there are some problems with perception of Russian language by different Latvians, for example this story:

R1: You were asked to choose on what you it is better to speak in Latvian or in Russian, that is, they give a choice. And you say "Well, let's speak Russian" and that's it, then the disregard is: "We live in Latvia". Well, then why they offer such a thing?

...

R5: In private life, everything is fine, with friends nothing, at work we communicate normally absolutely. There are interesting cases in public institutions. For example, I went to the tax service; it was about eight years ago, something I had to settle there. And they talked to me only in Latvian. That is, I spoke in Russian; she told me in Latvian, we understood each other. In London I

went to the Latvian embassy, they also spoke to me in principle in Latvian. That is, I spoke in English, to me were speaking in Latvian, communication occurs. Well, here in the state on the upper levels it happens.

There is no such concern as inability to communicate at all, as we can see. However, respondents are more irritated by stubbornness of officials which are trying to exclude Russian language from public life. We see that there is a clear insult; even some of them state there was no direct miscommunication. It is the insult because their native language is not evaluated by others and moreover, it is considered to be something inappropriate. Later Respondent 7 stated that she was mocked by Latvians because of the poor knowledge of Latvian language. She said that it became better, but not because the attitude towards Russian speaking changed, but because she personally became better in state language. So, I can conclude that the question of misunderstanding has roots in the behavior of Latvians and the usage of Russian may become a real problem and even trigger hostility.

However, respondents do not separate their city and region from other Latvia. Speaking of possible Russian threat, they did not show any sign of seeing Russia politically closer than Latvia:

R5: No threat at all. It is believed that Russia threatens the Latvian language. What is the border with Russia, gradually the Russians will become more and more, Latvians will survive, well, there is such an opinion. I consider that there is no threat.

...

R8: I think not, because we have all the same resources of neither gas nor oil, this in Russia is in bulk. If they can capture, then by their ethnicity. Well, I think it's unlikely to happen. I think that for Russia Latvia is not the best option for capture. There is nothing but forests, and Russia has its forests, it seems. But if something political – deputies, ministers, then there may be thoughts. But here and just like that – unlikely.

M: That is, economically not, but did you mention something about culture and nationality?

R8: Well, suppose, if they make Russian a second state language, then I think, somehow, Russians, not that it will become more, but will feel more confident, move to the government, the Duma, so gradually, and then hop, and we already have a Russian government. That's gradually we will turn into Russia. In such a plan. But I do not think it will happen.

They also do not believe that Russia is a threat to their country. They may not formulate their thoughts very clear, but we can see that they do not see any reason why Russia should attack Latvia. Respondents told that the only possible way is to slowly dislodge ethnic Latvians from political offices, but for them it is more a foolish fear of others, they always do not associate themselves with those who believe in such scenario: “there is an opinion”, “I do not think it will happen”.

However, I can state a kind of distrust towards Russian state. Even that a war is considered to be very unlikely, Respondent 5 mentioned that politicians in Russia may act illogical. It is also peculiar that they completely do not see Russian speaking minority as a reason for a conflict between countries, the linguistic problem does not exist in such plane. Therefore, they do not associate themselves with Russia since they do not even imagine they may be an object of its interest. Even the “plan” with gaining all political positions seems to them as unlikely. Moreover, respondent was talking about it only in in-Latvian context – that Latvian Russians will become the authority in Latvia due internal political processes, not through foreign aid.

The question of relations between Daugavpils and the rest of the state not only supported this assumption, but also caused a discussion on a topic which was painful for some of respondents. Relations seem to be unequal, yet many respondents stated that there are obvious reasons why government cannot invest more in Daugavpils and it would be not good to deprive other cities. Yet, it still does mean that they suppose Daugavpils to be in a poor economic condition, just as others who were more emotional:

R5: Well, considering, that Daugavpils is a part of Latgale. The poorest region is considered not as rich as its neighbors. Russia, Belarus are there. Considering, that people leave from Daugavpils, means, in relations between Daugavpils and the country are something not right. Yes, little money is allocated. To someone

more, to someone less. What is distributed, yes, but there may be some way to distribute it differently. If the demographics deteriorate, the economy deteriorates, the level generally worsens.

...

R1: For example, if we had the opportunity. For example, Latgale is in an ideal place to cooperate with Belarus and Russia. We could develop tourism, some economic sectors, but we only have a fence. There is a possibility to crawl it with different projects, but it is very difficult. It could be simplified, and we would live well. For them it does not weigh much, but Latgale would give the chance to develop.

These respondents tend to blame government for the poor condition of Daugavpils. There is clear grievance regarding both internal and foreign policies of the state which are not helping to somehow stabilize the city. At the same time Daugavpils itself seems to be a perspective place, a place at intersection of states and they admit this location on the periphery of all countries, yet think of it in a positive way. But now respondents are very worried about the difference in income in Daugavpils and other Latvia:

P7: Well, I feel. I heard that we are less budgeted, although we are a large city, other cities are not much more prominent. And the salary is such a difference. I understand that the capital, but not such a big difference. And there are no jobs, even though you can find a job in any case. Like one country, there are so many differences.

R5: Everyone is trying to leave. From small towns everyone is trying to leave. Because there is something normally done, but other places do not develop. It's sinking.

M: Sinking? Unscramble.

R1: Well, if there are no jobs, everyone left, nobody stayed, some retired, then, of course, the city is sinking.

M: That is, for you it is rather a purposeful attitude.

R1: Well, yes.

R8: Well, I also think so. Because at us people leave, it is the truth, the big unemployment. It is unreal to work here, if you look at the salary in Latgale, then in other cities it is higher than here. In Riga it is much higher than here. One feels that people are leaving. We are located in such a depressive region.

There is a clear statement of injustice within Latvia. The perception of Daugavpils is very negative – a dying city, moreover, this is supported by the state. This take us back to the question of drawing boundaries within Latvia. Respondents do perceive Latvia as a single state and do not show any will to separate. But the country seems to them to be extremely fragmented and these fragments can be even hostile to each other in sense of language and in this case in sense of exhausting Daugavpils' labor reserves. It is not simple injustice, it is a feel of purposely deprived, the state center does not allow developing.

However, respondents are rather optimistic about their perspectives both in Daugavpils and more generally in Latvia. All respondents agreed that the education institutions provide enough knowledge and there are possibilities to make a career within Daugavpils or Latvia. All of participants showed a rather individualistic approach that the success fully depends on the particular person and the life is struggle and the set of right choices such as the choice of education. But, respondents also articulated a big constrain to this attitude – nepotism:

R5: Yes. Cronyism is what happens. The director hires as a specialist his friend or relative. A friend or relative and will not work especially because he is an friend, because he is a relative. On the other hand, he takes a place from a normal specialist. Who studied, graduated. It's not good; it's an obstacle that slows down. No development, no competition.

R6: It is true that most jobs are occupied by acquaintances, but there is a possibility. If you can show yourself, then there is an opportunity.

R7: Yes, as long as there is hope, I'm realizing it, but I agree that many connections are needed. If there are no connections, then ... it will be difficult.

R8: Well, I also agree with the guys, because a lot of communication is done, and if not through communications, then I think that it is not in our city. Maybe in Riga.

The whole labor market (at least in Daugavpils), according to respondents is built on nepotism which is a clear constrain for their self-realization. However, at the same time all participants rejected the possibility of emigration to Russia and Europe. They would like to stay in Latvia. This can mean that Daugavpils as a whole is more closed from external influence despite being a big city. Respondents in this case have more provincial attitude towards migration, fearing that it will not be that nice. But at the same time they sincerely love their country and are sure that their lives should be connected with Latvia, yet they are have a strong criticism towards particular issues.

In sum, Daugavpils appeared to be very different from Narva. First of all, respondents were repeating the narrative of fragmentation of the country. Within the country there are “us” and “them” based on linguistic differences, but it is not an aggressive form of fragmentation. Vice versa, respondents do not politicize the language, for them it is a cultural and historical heritage which does not confront with Latvian state. And it is very traumatic for them when they encounter ethnic Latvians who actually do politicize the language.

And the very Latvian state is a very vague term; it is described only through narratives of home and nature, humans are excluded somehow, which can mean that respondents do not fully associate themselves with the people of Latvia. Even their discourse regarding other parts of the country shows that: the city of Liepāja, which is located in the opposite part of Latvia, is represented almost like a foreign country and locals assumed to be very hostile.

The view on the city and its relations, as it was mentioned above is highly negative. This is tightly connected with fragmentation of the country. Other regions do not only have a negative attitude towards people from Daugavpils, but “sinking” it. Daugavpils clearly has big problems in economic sphere and this is one of the main concerns of respondents along with the language.



### 3. Discussion

So, now is the time to assemble all parts and critically examine in order to finally answer the research question and to confirm or deny the hypothesis.

Based on Brubaker's concept of triadic nexus, the paper distinguishes tree-sided relationship: the nationalizing state (Latvia or Estonia), the national minority (ethnic Russians of Narva or Daugavpils) and the external homeland (Russia). How to characterize these relationships, based on the research conducted above? First of all, based on occurred differences, two cities should be analyzed separately. It is clear that the level of their integration in their states differs a lot, so they will have different outcomes in the analysis. But all of them will be analyzed by findings from previous parts of the paper.

#### 3.1. Statistics

The statistical data is a useful way to evaluate some objective features and Narva and Daugavpils are not the exclusion. Of course, the interpretations of statistics can be tricky, but this could be minimized by not overthinking the gathered data.

The analysis will start from Narva. What can be extracted from the data regarding social and economic situation in Narva? As a whole, Narva seems to be less integrated. The statistics shows that Estonian citizenship is definitely choice which has the popularity, but the dynamic shows a very slow raise of the share. At the same time economic situation is worse than in other parts of Estonia, the average salary is a lot lower than Estonian average, which forces active inhabitants to leave the city, which we can see from the unnaturally small share of economically active population. However, this helps to fight the unemployment in the city.

But those of active population who chose to stay made families and their children either way are objects of integration, which is in the focus of this research. From the statistics we know that all schools in Narva have Estonian as the language of instruction. The youth should obviously know the state language better. However, this creates a big gap between generations, in which older generations became much less competitive. But, since generations are shifting, this means that with every year Narva

is becoming more integrated since the common linguistic space is important to the integration process, providing new possibilities.

Daugavpils, at the same time, is not the opposite of Narva, but a clearly different case. By statistic of citizenships share the city looks much better than Narva in terms of integration. By socio-economic data it is worse than Narva: one of the highest unemployment rates in the whole country, small salaries and the extremely dramatic drop in population, which dropped more dramatically than in Narva, which means that the search for the job was even harder. And culturally the city on its own – most schools have Russian as the language of instruction. It is not bad by default, but it means that the youth will get worse knowledge of the state language, which will only strengthen the separation of the city from other country in many spheres, it definitely will not become more integrated. Moreover, due the majority of population in the city is Russian, they will assimilate Latvians and other ethnicities into their cultural and linguistic space since there are minimal constraints to that.

### 3.2. Focus groups

Discussion of the focus group part requires the comparison of two of them, first of all. The comparison of two focus groups shows that there are many common points, but at the same time, relations between cities and countries where they are located are completely different.

The first common thing which stands out is the fact that both focus groups prefer living in big cities because of the same reason – the apprehension in dealing with Estonian or Latvian culture. This is an important sign of distinctiveness of Russian culture in eyes of respondents. Moreover, they articulate that they are Russians and the ethnicity is not a meaningless word for them.

Another common point is the general relations with Russia. For both groups this is just a neighboring country and it is completely not articulated in questions connected with internal problems. It is not a role model; it is not an object for comparison. It is still an external homeland and in this sense it has a limited role of “cultural space”, but the as a state it is completely excluded from people’s lives. Many respondents have never been to Russia despite having relatives and relatively close border.

And the third main shared behavior is that both groups are rather satisfied by perspectives in their countries and do not have a big will to emigrate anywhere. The decision to stay is backed not only with the belief in perspectives, but also with deep feeling of home. They also do not have any problems with the state language and thoughts on the status of Russian language are mostly limited by matters of personal comfort.

And it is also peculiar that despite all differences, groups are similar in terms of getting information. They identically do not discriminate any language and the language of media is the matter of occurrence.

But differences are very serious. And the most serious is the attitude towards the country. Narva group did not express any cases of miscommunication or conflicts with ethnic Estonians, respondents even were glad that more Estonians are coming to the city and moreover, are trying to be helpful if locals do not understand them. Estonia is also described as advanced and comfortable for living, respondents do not divide it. Latvia is also referred as affected by nepotism, Daugavpils as poor and dying.

Daugavpils group is vice versa. There is no feeling of united country; other cities are perceived almost as separate states, even the capital is often called “okayish”. And there are much more problems with communication, respondents provided many cases when the communication of Latvians caused negative emotions.

Even the cultural sphere showed the difference, where respondents of Daugavpils stated that there are different sets of artists for different parts of the country. At the same time, people of Narva said that they would go to various events and places considered to be “Estonian”.

From this it can be stated, that Narva’s youth is far more integrated into the state than Daugavpils’. But also through respondents we can see how different policies and people’s attitude form the self-perception of inhabitants of two cities.

### 3.3. Conclusions

Now, what characterize relationships of Russian-speaking borderland communities of Narva and Daugavpils towards two other elements of the triadic nexus? And how these relations affect the self-identification of inhabitants of these two cities? How to answer on these three research questions, basing on the gathered data?

Again, it is convenient to follow the order from previous parts and analyze Narva first. Narva's Russian-speaking community has rather strong ties with Estonia and there is a big list of characterizing features.

At first, we can see that Narva is bounded with Estonia economically. It is at the same time a major hub of cross-border trade, a major producer of electricity and, it may sound rather cynic – a major “exporter” of labor, since the population of Narva actively migrates to other parts of Estonia.

At the same time, cultural bonds are in the process of development. It is hard to say, for instance, that Narva and Estonia are fully united within the same linguistic space. However, respondents of Narva focus group articulated a major shift in this sphere and that the younger person is – the better he or she knows Estonian. Even more, respondents said that children are happy. Also it is important that an Estonian-based education is a major bond. Estonian language became a part of daily life and respondents share the assumption that it is good to know it.

Culturally, respondents shared the same evaluation of cultural sites importance as Estonians. The media is a bit tricky thing. From one point of view, respondents do use Estonian media, but at the same time the linguistic (and national) part is a secondary issue. However, it can be stated that usage of Estonian media on daily basis is characterizing these relationships.

In sense of defining homeland, focus group made almost a univocal answer: for them Estonia is the homeland and associations show that they are proud of its achievements. Back to the cultural sphere, people actually are trying to be full members of Estonian society and not because of the need, but because of the free will.

However, these relations are also characterized by two less positive factors. The first is the feeling of insecurity. No matter how well the person is integrated, he or she still remembers about Russian ethnicity and Russian culture. And there is a feel of threat that the whole minority may become hostages of Estonian politicians and get harmed. This, in some way, is distrust to the state.

And second that it is a clear obstacle even to the freedom to move, because respondents do not understand Estonian “folk” and ethnic culture, they articulate a fear of being the white crow, being if not discriminated then isolated.

The relationship of Russian-speaking borderland community of Narva with Russia is way different. First of all, it is also should be admitted that Russia is a major source of income due the described hub status.

There are also a lot of Russian citizens along with non-citizens which also have a right to visa-free travel to Russia. It is may have economic reasons, but for sure has a cultural reason as well along with simple inability to get Estonian citizenship. Of course, Russian citizens, despite living in Estonia, would associate themselves with Russia, first of all. And the feel of Russia as a source of culture is present in all respondents of focus group as well. Many of them have relatives there and all of them feel cultural bounds with the country. But at the same time, visits to Russia are not common to respondents of the focus group.

But if we are going to talk about the state, then it is completely different. The state is often is in direct or indirect comparison with Estonia. Russian state is not defined through achievements, but through uncomfortable life and inconvenient bureaucracy.

Media do characterize relations in the same way as in Estonian description – respondents use Russian media, but not because they are Russian. However, it is true that still the strong presence of Russian media is an important factor.

Overall, it seems that relations with Russia are characterized by general assumptions about cultural heritage and legacy rather than through direct interaction. Many respondents are not interested in Russia at all.

How these relationships are forming the identity of Narva inhabitants? First of all, the analysis shows that Russia is playing role in lives of the limited number of people. Respondents which all had Estonian citizenship do not think much about Russia.

In the end, we can see that from the triadic nexus only Estonian nationalizing state plays a big role. And through it, as well as through the focusing on youth, it creates the identity of Narva inhabitants as full members of Estonian society. Even more – as “better” (or more lucky) Russians who are living in a right place and do not see the difference between Narva and Tallinn or Tartu.

Respondents did not articulate any identity as separate “Narva people” or Russians in sense of belonging to Russia. They are ethnic Russians, they are caring their

cultural heritage and clearly belong to “Russian cultural world”, but they have an identity which with stretch can be called in Russian “estonozemeletsy” – «inhabitants of Estonia”, people who are full members of Estonian society, yet are not ethnic Estonians. If we put it like this, then efforts of Estonia and Russia are supportive in the creation of such identity.

Daugavpils is the second case of this thesis. At first, here will be analyzed the relationship between Russian-speaking borderland community of Daugavpils and Latvia.

First of all, Daugavpils is a source of labor for all Latvia, which seen through the dramatic drop in its population which is continuing since the fall of Soviet Union. And this trend will continue since the unemployment is still high. Economically the city is bounded with Latvia by several big facilities, however, the rate on unemployment and the data on enterprises show that these facilities are insufficient and Latvians do not tend to invest much into the city.

Latvia itself is named as a home by respondents and that means their general attitude is favorable towards the country, they do not express any uniqueness of Daugavpils and Latgale besides the bigger Russian population, which is mentioned as a historical heritage. However, there is an economic criticism since several respondents suppose that Latvian state is not doing enough to help Daugavpils, they clearly expressed the feel of injustice.

The language sphere is complicated. Despite most of Daugavpils inhabitants do have Latvian citizenship and do know Latvian language, relations in this sphere can be characterized as troublesome. Russian language is historically prevailing in the whole region, but even knowing Latvian, respondents encountered hostile attitude from ethnic Latvians.

This leads to the next characteristic: the fragmentation. Latvia is perceived not as a united country, but rather as conglomerate of regions and cities, distinguished by language. Even more interesting, that the school education in Daugavpils is also divided and it is obviously a state policy. In the end, most of schools are Russian. This makes the city even more separated since Russian language can be a cause of hostility.

Because of this the same white crow fear is also articulated and even in a sharper form – not only the fear of isolation, but also the fear to offend someone and therefore, engage into a conflict.

The fragmentation is seen in cultural sphere as well. This fact was mentioned several times, but respondents agreed that there are some borders for particular artists and one could not see the same artist in Riga and Daugavpils.

Role of Latvian media can be characterized as equal to role of Russian media; they exist and are used, but are not the main source of information.

Relations between Daugavpils and Russia can be characterized as minimal; starting from the fact that only one respondent has ever been to Russia.

There are almost no Russian citizens in the city and the closest status is the status of a non-citizen.

For respondents it is a big neighbor and a valuable economic partner, but they do not at all express any kind of bounds with it. Russia is peculiar for them as a travel destination; Russia is in some sense source of culture, but even Russian culture is not so articulated or connected to Russia itself.

Russian media are rather popular, but equally to Latvian media. Respondents simply do not pay attention to such things.

How these two relationships are colliding with each other? As we can see, the influence of Russia is insignificant in this case. But at the same time influence of Latvia is not tending to be especially inclusive.

In the end, we can see that the city actually does not experience any particular influence and mostly is on its own: Russian influence almost does not exist and Latvian is very limited. Respondents seemed to associate themselves with Latvia, but Daugavpils itself with Latgale region. So, in some sense it can be stated that in case of Daugavpils there is a formed regional identity.

Are efforts of two states supportive in this way? The answer is yes. The little presence of Russian media helps to make an alternative way to get information, yet it is not purposely used like this. It just supports the possibility not to use Latvian media resources. However, in all other spheres Russia is irrelevant.

Paradoxically Latvian state is going in the same direction. It does not encourage integration by establishment more Latvian-based education (however, this also can create antipathy towards the state) and has no flexibility in questions of establishing ethnic peace and satisfying needs of Russian-speaking minorities. Anyway, the state is perceived rather negative since Latvians are not separated from Latvia in minds of respondents.

So, we can see that two states got two different results. In Narva the identity coincides with the whole nation. But in Latvia inhabitants of Daugavpils have a strong regional identity, based and nourished with feelings of injustice, hostility and antipathy.

How does it correlate with the stated hypothesis? It states that aspects of socio-economic status of Russian minorities in Narva and Daugavpils cause certain perceptions of homeland- and kin-states, which in turn (given a proper balance of 'supportive' and/or 'antagonistic' orientations) will lead to the creation of solid minority identity, but not a "deep horizontal comradeship" with ethnic Estonians and Latvians in Anderson's terms.

It is logical that Anderson's concept of imagined community will be used to evaluate the studied outcome of relations within the triadic nexus. Here we have a two generalized outcomes. Since he is talking about the nation as a state-wide entity the question of the hypothesis is basically did Estonian and Latvian states successfully integrate ethnic Russian minority? Or inhabitants of Narva and Daugavpils developed their own identities?

Yes and no. As we have seen, results differ dramatically in Narva and Daugavpils. I consider that that the hypothesis is partially confirmed. From the empirical material we see that Narva is steadily develops a state-wide identity: respondents are open to other places, other people, share values and cultural features of Estonian state.

Daugavpils, the second periphery city with big Russian-speaking community did not develop a horizontal comradeship with Latvians. Yes, they name Latvia as their homeland, but the discourse of hostility and fragmentation undermines the thesis that



they are part of broad Latvian nation. They clearly developed a separate minority identity – within the state, but not within the nation.

The outcome does not depend on ethnic composition or recent history – from premises it was more possible that Narva will be more deprived: no Estonians, basically no ties with pre-war history, the grim post-Soviet industrial city. But it appeared to be more open than the city with a big community of Latvians and historical continuity.

At the same time, the outcome heavily depends on particular political efforts and the present social context.

#### 4. Summary

This paper showed us that even two seemingly similar places can go completely different paths. However, the implication that socio-economic status determines the self-perception is conventionally true. It has a great impact not only on self-perception, but also self-evaluation within the state. The inequality and stagnation create more antipathy than many other reasons combined. But cultural context also have an important role. It determines relations of social groups outside government structures.

In any case, both culture and economics are dependent on the state policy and its efforts to bind people together rather than to coerce or ignore one part of the population.

That raises other issues such as at what extent everything above is dependent on society's attitude and at what extent on actions of the state? And which role does have the society within the nationalizing state since the government is formed by it?

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Narva focus group

Модератор: Меня зовут Семён, эта фокус-группа – часть моего магистерского исследования, посвященного русским Нарвы и Даугавпилса. Здесь нет правильных и неправильных ответов, наоборот, формат фокус-группы предполагает, что вы будете спорить и не соглашаться друг с другом и вопросами. Стенограмма нигде не будет опубликована, я не буду использовать имена, это сделано лишь для моего удобства. Итак, для начала, представьтесь и расскажите, сколько вам лет. Прошу вас говорить громко и чётко. Для начала, хотел бы узнать сколько каждому из вас лет.

Смех

Респондент 1: Двадцать один.

Респондент 2: Вот чёрт, сорок один.

Респондент 3: Двадцать пять.

Респондент 4: Мне двадцать, просто двадцать.

Респондент 5: Двадцать шесть.

Респондент 6: Тридцать.

Респондент 7: Тридцать два.

Респондент 8: Двадцать.

М: Спасибо. Вы родились в Нарве? Если нет, то где вы родились и когда переехали?

P8: В Нарве.

P7: В Нарве.

P6: В Таллинне. Эээ, в прошлом году, 29 августа начало учёбы здесь, вот приехала.

P5: В Нарве.

P4: Я родилась в Таллинне и с прошлого года я живу в Силламяэ.

P3: В Нарве.

P2: Нарва.

P1: Нарва.

М: Спасибо. У вас есть родственники в России? Если есть, то кем они вам приходятся?

P7: Родственниками.

М: Ну, какого порядка? Не обязательно конкретно называть, но хотя бы дальние или близкие?

Р: Ну, у меня есть родственники, но я о них ничего не знаю.

М2: То есть, не близкие родственники?

Р: Ну да.

М2: То есть не в контакте. То есть, вопрос тем, у которых есть родственники, кто с ними в контакте. У кого есть личные семейные отношения с Россией.

P5: Ну не каждый день, допустим, но в контакте есть, да. В Санкт-Петербурге живут. Двоюродный дядя со своей семьёй, бабушка, получается, двоюродная.

P4: Нет.

P3: Нет.

P2: Есть тётя, двоюродная сестра, двоюродный брат, племянница есть тоже в России.

М2: А у остальных?

P1: У меня тоже есть. И двоюродная тётя, три тёти по маминей линии, ну там очень много, и поддерживаем контакт постоянно.

P6: Есть родственники, кто кроме дядь и тётъ, кто как бы выше и дальше – все в России.

P7: Нет.

P8: Нет.

М: Хорошо, значит, следующий вопрос: какое у вас гражданство?

Хором: Эстонское.

М: Какое место вы считаете своей родиной? В вашем понимании этого слова.

P6: Эстония. Или надо город назвать?

М: Нет, ну, регион, например, внутри Эстонии или просто Эстония.

M2: Нет, вот как вы её понимаете. Что для вас родина?

М: Да, это чисто вопрос вашего понимания этого слова.

P7: Эстония. Это моя страна. То есть, я в своей стране чувствую себя как рыба в воде, мне всё равно где: в Нарве или Таллинне, в Отепя или ещё где-нибудь.

P6: Ага.

P5: Эстония

P4: Эстония, Таллинн.

P3: Родина – Нарва!

Смех

P2: Да, Эстония, но всё-таки большую причастность чувствую к городу Нарва.

P1: Ну вот для меня аналогично.

М: Что для вас значит Эстония? Какие ассоциации возникают?

Р2: Совсем недавно мы эту тему поднимали на одной из лекций и очень многие согласились с тем, что Эстония – очень комфортная страна. Здесь удобно, здесь приятно, она оснащена хорошей базой технической и демократична, и она для нас страна, в которой мы живём и которую мы любим. Для меня, по крайней мере.

Р1: Ну у меня Эстония тоже ассоциируется прежде всего с комфортом, потому что здесь и родственники, и обучение доступно, и всё близко. То есть, комфортно тут ощущаю, и в отношении климата, и людей. В принципе, я бы сказала, что это лучшее место для меня и время.

М2: Можно дополнительно спросить? Вы сказали, что для вас родина больше ассоциируется с Нарвой. Если вы говорите про комфорт, то это вы думаете про всю Эстонию, или про Нарву.

Р1: Про всю Эстонию.

М2: Про всю. А как насчёт комфорта Нарвы? В вашем городе?

Р1: Аналогично, ну вот вполне комфортно.

Р2: Есть, конечно, некоторые претензии.

Смех

Р3: Эстония ассоциируется с доступностью, свободой действий и слова, в принципе, достаточно развитая страна.

Р4: Ну, для меня, ну да, это родина, также друзья, семья, доброжелательные люди, как я считаю. Ну да, опять же, образование.

Р1: Можно, забыла сказать? Здесь очень тяжело – это климат.

Р: Неразборчиво.



P1: На каких антидепрессантах ты сидишь? Но тяжело, не считая лета и зимы, и то зима не очень. А вот осенью, весна, такие достаточно депрессивные времена у нас. Такие серые, тяжелые.

P5: Я в принципе согласна с девочками абсолютно. Это наш дом, и здесь достаточно хорошо жить. И я уверена, что большинство всё-таки согласятся, что хороший уровень жизни у нас в Эстонии, главное самому что-то делать для этого. Тогда будет всё хорошо.

P6: У меня Эстония ассоциируется, прежде всего, с природой, да. Богатыми лесами, морями, озёрами так далее, да. Если отвечать на прошлый вопрос, какой регион мне больше всего нравится, то, как раз середина Эстонии. Вот ближе к Вильянди, вот туда вот. Где этого всего много. Леса, озеро в Вильянди большое. Пярну, море, то есть вот такие вот места.

P7: Это мой дом и я везде себя комфортно чувствую в любом уголке страны.

P8: Ну, на мой взгляд, Эстония довольно уютная страна. Здесь довольно экологично, много природных участков, которые не затронуты, не срублены, не испорчены, как во многих странах. И, что ещё могу сказать, ну здесь и красиво.

M2: Я ещё спрошу, просто чтобы понять, с какими не словами, а вещами у вас ассоциируется Эстония. Если вы должны, скажем, вот Семён, который не из Эстонии, не родился в Эстонии. Вот если для Семёна вы должны объяснить свою родину одним предложением.

P6: Белый, синий, чёрный.

M2: Окей, вам белый, синий, чёрный. Для кого, как вы одним предложением объяснили бы, что такое Эстония?

P2: Технологически развитая демократическая страна, с красивой природой и комфортными условиями для проживания.

P5: Небольшая.

M2: Ага, то есть, технологии, природа, комфорт, демократия.

P1: У меня то же самое, но ещё обучение.

P6: Развитие сюда можно?

M2: Развитие в чём?

P6: За счёт того, что небольшая страна, по сравнению с другими она маленькая, развитие во всех смыслах, начиная от промышленности, во всех, не буду перечислять, идёт быстрее.

M2: То есть, вы видите постоянный прогресс?

P6: Ну да. То есть, я не считаю, что Таллинн сильно отличается от развития Нарвы. То есть, расстояние есть, но такого как в других странах, где можно приехать в глубинку России, где очень маленькая цивилизация, да, и, допустим, с Москвой или Питером разница чувствуется.

M2: Неравенство в развитии.

P2: Я бы тут немного подправила по поводу промышленности. Всё остальное верно, да, особенно сфера технологий, а вот промышленность, к сожалению, отстаёт и всё-таки больше исчезает, чем появляется.

M2: А нужна она нам?

P2: Не факт, не факт. Если мы научимся зарабатывать деньги на туризме, на услугах. Только леса наши не троньте!

M: Если это всё, то тогда следующий вопрос: что для вас значит уже Россия?

P3: Путин!

P2: Что для нас значит...?

M: Россия.

P2: А, Россия.

P6: Медведь, цирк.

M2: Нет, давайте всерьёз.

P7: Соседи.

P2: Страна, с которой хотелось бы иметь другие отношения. С которой мы действительно очень давно являемся очень хорошими партнёрами и даже были в содружестве, очень жаль было терять как вот такого партнёра, потому что туризм оттуда шёл оттуда в нашу страну. Эстония всегда была маленькой заграницей для российских туристов. Хотелось бы тоже сохранять. Страна, с которой хотелось бы наладить отношения.

P4: Страна с богатой культурой.

M2: Насколько тебе важна русская культура?

P4: Важна, потому что я говорю на русском, кто-то из моих старших родственников родились в России. И мне важно, потому что я тоже чувствую свою причастность к России, к русскому народу. Ну, мы русские.

P6: У меня немножко другое мнение. Кроме языка русского я ничего в принципе не испытываю к России. У меня нету никакой привязанности, ни там родственником, я была там последний раз в 1999 году и особо не хочу. У меня в другую, у меня больше в Европу направленность. С Россией нету связи абсолютно никакой.

M2: А что она для вас значит. Вот вы сейчас живёте в Нарве, вот она здесь.

P6: Да, здесь она ощущается, если честно. Ну, русские люди, больше просто русских. Не знаю.

P3: Нууу, скажу, что достаточно бюрократическая страна, очень много, там всё как-то сложно всегда, если касаться каких-то дел. Даже если делать визу, то

всегда это как-то очень сложно. Сейчас нет, потому что всё идёт через турагентства, а если самим, то это будет заворот мозгов.

M2: То есть, общаться с государством трудно.

P3: Да, вот эти все чиновники и всё. А общество... У меня деревня есть, куда я ездила, но с отменой гражданства (я раньше была российская гражданка) хочу сделать визу как раз таки, уже очень давно не была. Но общество такое, где я была, достаточно безбашенное. Те, кто далеко находится от Санкт-Петербурга или Москвы, деревенские люди, они такие своеобразные.

M2: А как вы себя чувствуете в этой деревне?

P3: Хорошо. Но мы тут все цивилизованные люди, а там можно расслабиться и делать какие-то чумовые вещи, например.

M2: Но там вы тоже себя чувствуете комфортно?

P3: Потому что я там выросла.

M: Именно в этой? Не в области в целом, а в месте, к которому есть личная привязанность?

P3: Да.

P5: Ну, это наши соседи, я тоже там давно не была по причине того, что надо делать визу. Если бы не надо было подавать на визу. То было бы проще. И отношение наше поменялось бы, мы здесь живём, видим Россию. Хотелось бы почаще там бывать, а вот из-за границы у нас нет возможности такой. Отношение хорошее, естественно, к России, но я бы не хотела там жить. Мне нравится жить в Эстонии.

M2: А что она для вас означает всё-таки?

P5: Очень много жителей, людей, где, может быть, не всегда возможно считаться со всеми мнениями. Очень сложно там жить, сложная страна.

M2: А вы себя как-то ассоциируете с Россией? У Респондента 3 деревня есть, с которой у неё эмоциональные отношения, у Респондента 4 тоже.

P5: Ну, я себя как турист в России чувствую. Вот я в детстве много на экскурсии ездила, поэтому у меня осталось такое впечатление, что это страна, по которой я хотела бы путешествовать.

M: Респондент 7?

P7: Да я уже говорил, что это наши соседи. Как P3 ранее говорила, это бюрократия, с этими бумажками много возни. Моя бабушка там живёт, моя мать родная рассказывала, через какие проблемы приходится пройти. Жить там не хотел бы, а так, в гости съездить – съездил, навестил, уехал обратно.

P8: Для меня Россия больше страна, куда можно съездить. Отдохнуть, где-то посмотреть. Я хоть и проводила там часть своего детства, но это совсем не то, я проживала всё-таки в Эстонии.

M2: Если поставить Россию на линию с другими, не знаю, Хельсинки, или Стокгольм, или Берлин. Респондент 6 сказала, что её больше тянет в ту сторону. Что Россия да, одна из стран в списке, но её больше тянет в Европу. Для других насколько Россия одинакова в этом строю городов, или она всё-таки отличается для вас лично, эмоционально?

P2: Очень сильно отличается. У меня много родственников живёт в Стокгольме, в Швеции. Посещала и в юности, и в более взрослом возрасте, жила там два месяца. Ещё тогда, ребёнком, я поняла, что жить в такой стране как Швеция я бы не смогла. Мне не хватает какой-то русской душевности, взаимоотношений, которые только среди русских людей. Там всё очень красиво, с улыбочкой, говорят о погоде, о том, что хорошо, что вкусно, это всё так наиграно. Поэтому для меня Россия это ещё и местно, где я себя комфортно чувствую в плане эмоциональном вообще. Но что мы подразумеваем под словом Россия – это, чаще всего, Москва и Санкт-Петербург, это деревня. Я была, например, в (неразборчиво) где-то там, там совсем другая Россия. Она очень отличается от того, что мы знаем про Санкт-

Петербург и Москву. Та Россия, конечно, красивая, развитая, похожа на Европу, потому что есть газ, нефть. А тут люди стараются как-то, мне кажется, как-то больше готовы пройти по головам для того, чтобы выжить и чего-то добиться.

М2: То есть, отличается Россия от других в длинном списке? Она как-то выделяется для вас или то же самое, что Швеция и Германия?

Р: Просто я, если была за границей, то больше всего была в России, поэтому мне она как-то ближе. И так мне сложно сравнивать с другими государствами, другими жителями. Ну, может, по темпераменту мы схожи с русскими людьми, которые там живут. Поэтому я что в России турист, что в Швеции.

Р6: Да, конечно, отличаются. Менталитетом, темпераментом, прочим. Но то, что Респондент 2 говорила, очень похоже тоже, как мне кажется, на правду. Но, наверно, как бы для меня на русской душе далеко всё равно не уедешь. То есть, надо ещё что-то. Вот, всё.

Р7: Ну, как сказать, Санкт-Петербург, Москва – красивые города, мегаполисы, да. Но если куда-то выехать за эти города, то есть, там совершенно другая жизнь. Но если брать Хельсинки, да, Стокгольм, то вот что-то на подобию, я могу сравнить, с Санкт-Петербургом, такая европейская жизнь. Если мы в Швеции или Финляндии выйдем за пределы больших городов, то там жизнь немножечко как бы спокойней, культурней, Россия немножечко по-другому. Здания заброшенные, дома, вот.

М2: Для вас эмоционально она отличается? Если бы вам поставили просто список стран и вдруг «Россия», вы почувствуете что-то, что она ближе?

Р7: Эмоциональней ближе, потому что там родственники живут.

Р8: Я считаю, что да, эмоционально тоже. Там вот свои обычаи, традиции. Там в Европе это чуждо, вот этим людям, они не знают, какие там обычаи в России.

Р1: Ну, мне эмоционально она тоже ближе, исходя из того, что там родственники, но могу сказать, что, сколько времени я проводила, ну вот максимально около

месяца проводила в России, и могу сказать, что после двух недель меня так душит эта атмосфера. Потому что очень много людей, к этому не привыкла, и всё равно при длительном общении они отличаются от тех же самых русских, которые у нас здесь в Нарве. Это раз. Насчёт того, что мегаполисы и какие-то города, которые намного дальше, тоже люди там люди отличаются. Я была в Гагарине и Почепе, там люди абсолютно разные, даже между собой. Соответственно, и города. Если сравнивать со Швецией и так далее, то, у меня так же туристический интерес, а в Швеции и какие там ещё варианты были, я тоже могу съездить, посмотреть. Единственное что они чище для меня и народу не так много, мне намного комфортнее. В России меня лично душит.

М2: Всех тревожит и для всех некомфортно, если народу много?

Р2: Мы, провинциалы, не привыкли к питерскому движению или московскому. На самом деле, день-два чувствуешь себя хорошо, но третий уже начинается усталость, ну у меня, по крайней мере. Мне даже в Таллинне некомфортно.

Р5: Мне тоже иногда в Таллинне некомфортно.

Р6: Нет, я люблю людей.

Смех

Р7: Быстро привыкаю, у меня нет такого. Да, устаёшь первый день, максимум два, потом также как рыба в воде в этих городах.

М: Что вы чаще всего смотрите по телевизору, если вообще смотрите?

Наперебой: спортивные передачи, (неразборчиво)

Р5: Я смотрю много мультиков, потому что у меня двое детей. А вообще, в принципе, у нас российское телевидение, русскоязычное, очень много каналов, поэтому хочешь, не хочешь.

М2: А мы даже не про каналы, а вообще.

P5: А вообще да, новости, фильмы смотрим. Получается, что российские.

P3: Я смотрю новости.

M2: Российские или эстонские?

P3: И те, и другие. И смотрю различные передачи, чаще всего документальные. И канал про готовку. Ну, шоу, в общем там.

M: Это всё? Что вы чаще всего смотрите и читаете в интернете? Тоже не доходя до сильной конкретики.

P4: Социальные сети.

P2: Да, что в фейсбуке попадает, то и читаем.

Хором: новости, мероприятия.

M2: То есть, социальные сети и новости?

P3: Какую-то литературу читать периодически.

M2: А соцсети какие? Фейсбук, в основном? Или Вконтакте? Или?

P5: В основном Фейсбук.

P4: У меня Вконтакте.

P6: Инстаграм.

M2: И так, и так, да? А новости какие? Сайты?

P7: Постимеес.

P1: Seti.

M2: Seti? А, это местный.

P6: ERR.

M2: А российские новости в интернете тоже читаете? Или только через соцсети?



P1: А они так или иначе...

P2: ...Попадают, да.

M2: Российские новости попадают вам через соцсети?

Хором: Да.

М: В каких мероприятиях вы принимаете участие в России, если принимаете?  
Ездите на какие-то конкретные мероприятия туда?

Хором: Нет.

P2: Но очень хочется.

М: Например?

P2: Например, я бы с удовольствием посетила Алые Паруса, про которые я столько слышала, в Санкт-Петербурге. Когда выпускники все собираются. Концерты, я любительница различных костюмированных праздников, там проходит очень красивый карнавал, в Таллинне тоже, мы туда ездим часто, но хотелось бы туда.

P1: На самом деле, нам Санкт-Петербург ближе, чем Таллинн.

P2: Да. Ну и естественно, музеи, концерты, Петергоф, всё такое.

M2: Вам очень хотелось бы, но никто не ходит?

P1: Нет, визы нет.

M2: Из-за визы?

P1: Да, виза это проблема.

М: Хорошо, а в Эстонии, какие мероприятия чаще всего посещаете?

Хором: концерты, всё.

P2: Какие-то городские мероприятия, если они появляются и вызывают интерес. Ну, типа Масленицы, дней города. Что устраивают.

P5: Спортивные.

P6: Выставки тоже.

M: А концерты, гастроли из России часто посещаете?

P2: Когда приезжают. Не каждый раз, но стараемся.

P7: Спортивные мероприятия.

P6: Ну, смотря кто приезжает, например. Кто что любит, тот и слушает. Может быть, что любимый исполнитель приезжает раз в год. Раз в год и ходишь. На всё подряд не будешь ходить, дело вкуса.

P2: И ещё цены, кстати, достаточно дорого посещать именно тех, кто из России приезжает. От 17 до 30, по-моему, евро, и если с семьёй выйти, то это сильно по бюджету стучит. Поэтому приходится выбирать: туда или туда.

M2: А если приехали бы ваши родственники из России, какие бы мероприятия, музеи, места посоветовали посетить в Эстонии? Одно-два.

Хором: Певческий праздник.

P1: Музеи, АННАА.

M2: Кто-то в этом году пойдёт на певческий праздник для детей?

P5: Да.

M2: Дети у вас участвуют?

P5: Ну, не участвуют, но знают.

P6: Teletorn.

P4: Парк Кадриорг.

P7: Старый город тоже можно. Если Нарву брать, то можно замок показать, казематы.

P8: KUMU (художественный музей).

M2: Эстонский национальный музей. Вы были? Никто не был.

P6: К морю можно отвезти, если из Москвы, там же не везде море есть.

M: Кстати, вот Эстонский национальный музей, он вообще вызывает интерес? Вы бы сами пошли? Гостя из России повели бы туда?

P: Ну, уже интерес вызвало.

M: Чувствуете ли вы какую-то культурную дистанцию именно между Нарвой и всей остальной Эстонией?

Смешки

M: Опять же, то, что вы понимаете под культурой.

P3: Ну тут вопрос такой, с подвохом, я думаю даже. Ну, во-первых, Нарва она достаточно отличается языковыми возможностями. Не со всей Эстонией просто. Где-то в глубинке той же самой, не пожилой, но взрослый человек, который не знает, не имеет опыта общения на эстонском языке, если он приедет в глубинку Эстонии, скорее всего, он не всегда найдёт общий язык с жителями. А если говорить о столице, то там тоже есть русскоговорящее население и я думаю, немаленькая часть. То есть, тут только проблема языка, остальное в принципе... ну, где-то просто больше поддерживаются традиции эстонские, начиная от питания и заканчивая одеждой, песнями, где-то меньше. Это не конкретно Нарва, а вообще разные части Эстонии есть, как мне кажется, разный уровень восприятия.

M: Для тебя важны эти различия в традициях? Если бы ты переехала в другую часть, тебе бы...

P3: Ну, вопрос куда. Опять же, если бы я переехала в город, где действительно чтут все эти традиции, я бы там чувствовала немножко как белая ворона, потому что я не очень углубляюсь в народные танцы, народные песни. А если то же самый Тарту, Таллинн... Начиная от Силламяэ и заканчивая Таллинном я себя комфортно ощущаю.

P2: Да, тоже смотря, что брать. Тарту, Пярну, Таллинн, в вопросах культуры, может, и не сильно отличаются. У меня муж эстонец, он рассказывал о своём детстве в эстонской деревне, на хуторах, и вот то, что он рассказывал о традициях, которые там, сильно отличается. В каком месте берём, там и сравниваем.

P: Как я сравниваю Нарву с Таллинном, то, наверно, как раз языковая среда отличается.

M2: Только ли языковая среда? Так-то Нарва такая же Эстония.

P5: Мне кажется, раньше больше делали различий, что Нарва такая русскоговорящая. В последние года, мне кажется, уже такого нет, что мы уже больше с Европой больше месте.

Шёпот: вестернизировались.

P4: Не так выражена эта ситуация в плане языка.

M2: А что изменилось?

P7: По-эстонски стало больше разговаривать.

P4: Людей стало больше владеть языком, да.

P7: У сестры муж эстонец и он тоже сказал, что и в магазинах стали понимать его.

P5: Отношение изменилось. Поколение меняется.

M2: Отношение кого к кому?

P5: Подрастающего поколения. Поколения меняются и, допустим, новое поколение, что сейчас школу заканчивает, мне кажется, они немножко по-другому рассуждают. Уже не относятся так, что Нарва это русский город, а Таллинн или какой-то другой город – эстонский. Когда я в эстонской школе училась в Нарве, вот эти эстонцы, кто не говорил по-русски, они прямо чувствовали, что Нарва это для них что-то другое, когда уезжаешь из Нарвы – у них Эстония. То есть, сейчас уже такой проблемы нету, уже все пытаются и русский учить, и эстонский.

M2: Поменялось поколение.

P5: Да, адаптация быстрее происходит.

P2: Я как раз принадлежу к тому поколению, которое не знало ни одного урока эстонского языка в школе и потом эстонский начали вводить. И вот мне кажется, что это сильно изменило подход сам к языку. Он не стал чем-то таким, что мы при смене, при появлении независимости обязаны, а стал просто обыденный. Воспринимается нынешней молодёжью довольно позитивно, хорошо. Мы живём в Эстонии, знать эстонскую культуру язык, это классно.

M2: Вот да, в Нарве среди русскоязычного населения меняются поколения. В университет идут уже те дети, которые родились в Эстонии, они про всё, что это когда-то было ничего, конечно, не знают. А со стороны эстонцев тоже идите какое-то изменение в отношении к Нарве?

P2: Да не совсем. Потому что очень многие эстонцы просто отказываются сюда ехать, поскольку ещё вот эта репутация.

P1: Я не знаю, многие даже на личном опыте. Я вот начала больше эстонцев здесь встречать. Я не знаю, может быть это связано с тем, что я... это не относится конкретно к нашему колледжу, а вообще на улицах, в магазинах, просто выйти и слышать эстонскую речь. Также вижу, как они относятся к людям, работающим в магазине, например. Если он говорит на эстонском, видят какой-то барьер, который препятствует общению и не реагируют как-то не то что негативно, ну

воспринимают это нормально и пытаются помочь человеку преодолеть языковой барьер. Есть, конечно, у некоторых, я не так часто встречала такое отношение, что «он русский», негативного. Но сейчас, мне кажется, всё намного проще.

М2: Кто-то хочет добавить?

Хором: нет, далее неразборчиво.

Р2: Если действительно, в начале двухтысячных годов ещё люди, которые живут даже в Таллинне, русские люди, на приглашение «приезжайте к нам в Нарву» реагировали «О нет, у вас там на улице стреляют» и сплошь наркоманы и вообще очень неприятно было слышать такое о городе в котором ты вырос и ничего подобного не видел, то последние лет десять такого не слышно совсем, то есть люди нормально воспринимают город.

Р3: Но всё равно остался такой стереотип, что в Нарве ходят...

Р2: Осадок остался.

М: Как вы оцениваете статус русского языка в стране в целом? Во всей Эстонии?

Р2: У него есть статус?

М: Ну, или его отсутствие.

Р3: Ну жалко, мог бы быть, раз столько русскоговорящих у нас в стране, вторым государственным языком, но не хотят.

М: Это, там скажем, важно для тебя лично?

Р3: Для меня лично это не важно, а вот тем, кто вокруг меня, старшее поколение, им тяжело выучить эстонский язык. И тем самым, эстонский язык сейчас очень как бы в приоритете и его как бы, когда идёшь на работу новую, ищешь, это является огромным плюсом. И люди, которые ещё не на пенсии, сейчас есть такая проблема, что уже не могу работать в полную силу, в итоге остаются между тем, что они не работают и ещё не на пенсии.

М: Ещё какие-то мнения?

М2: Респондент 5, тебя статус русского языка тревожит как-то лично?

Р5: Меня не тревожит, меня всё устраивает. Нам не запрещают говорить на русском, поэтому в том-то и дело, что общаться можем, как хотим. Меня поэтому всё устраивает.

Р2: Вот в Эстонии, не в Нарве, новое поколение эстонцев уже русского языка не знают. И если возвращаться к мечте о восстановлении взаимоотношений с Россией как с поставщиком туристов, это уже очень жаль. Потому что в Таллинне, Тарту, Пярну, особенно в Пярну, как мне кажется, в обслуживании ты сталкиваешься с тем, что на русском говорит не много.

Р5: Да, я вот как говорила, училась в эстонской школе, русский язык можно было бы вводить немножко раньше. Всё-таки начинать с пятого или шестого... Английский идёт сначала, в первом классе. У эстонцев английский, на самом деле, намного лучше, чем русский. И я бы ввела единственное что, русский как иностранный язык в эстонскую школу немного раньше, потому что чем меньше детки, тем они его лучше воспринимают. И многие эстонцы говорили, что им не хватало этого, что со школы его учат, этот русский язык, потом уже работа и уже сами эстонцы не мотивированны его учить. Вроде требуют, что хотелось бы, чтобы эстонцы тоже говорили на русском, но вот не даётся именно в образовании.

Р7: Да как-то в принципе всё равно. Единственное что, старшему поколению тяжело. Они не знают языка и как второй государственный да, был бы вариант. Для меня лично вот.

М2: Я вот слушаю ваши рассуждения, что для старшего поколения это важно. Но хотелось бы к вам возвратиться, потому что старшее поколение это вопрос демографии, то есть они через 20 лет, это жёстко звучит, эта проблема исчезнет. То есть она сейчас проблема одного поколения. Но для вас, как будущего поколения, давайте про вас. Насколько вам важен вопрос русского языка и статус русского языка?

P3: Так как русский язык наш родной и как бы мы ни учили эстонский, он всё равно остается для нас вторым, то работать с документами, ещё что-то, это тяжело. Даже в университете читать тексты на эстонском, эта тяжелая литература. Конечно, было бы хорошо, если русский язык был и остался.

M2: Для вас это принципиальный вопрос? Чтобы русский имел какой-то статус. Или это вопрос комфортности?

Хором: комфорта, не принципов

P3: Я не могу, что стала бы бороться и выступать за то, чтобы русский язык признали и сделали вторым языком. Это вопрос больше комфорта. Тут даже если посмотреть, что захотят вообще искоренить русский язык, что в первый класс ребёнок пойдёт и должен учиться полностью на эстонском языке, тогда уже будет перегибание палки. Мы не знаем, какие планы у государства, может быть, всех захотят на эстонский язык, всё-таки не правильно, потому что мы люди всё-таки с какой-то частью русской культуры.

P2: И вообще, амнезия культурная настанет.

M: Вы считаете, что Россия представляет какую-то угрозу Эстонии как государству?

P4: Я вообще не вдаюсь в политические темы, но если уже говорить на такие темы о том, может ли Россия быть угрозой? При случае войны Эстония, я думаю, не окажется выигрывавшей стороной в этой ситуации. Всё-таки Россия она и качество военной подготовки, и ресурсами, количеством она выигрывает намного. Я просто не воспринимаю Россию как угрозу для себя. Для меня она не приносит какого-то негативного или подавляющего ощущения.

P2: Если брать примеры прошлого: Чечня, Украина, то Эстония, наверно, слишком спокойная страна, чтобы пойти на конфликт, Россия, надеюсь, никогда не ответит, в смысле первая не пойдёт. Чтобы вот прям обострение до военных действий. Мы очень надеемся, что этого никогда и не произойдет, потому что



действительно мы тогда окажемся перед очень странным выбором: вроде как мы и русские, мы и эстонские русские. И, пожалуй, самый простой вариант будет детей подмышку и в Швецию.

M2: Насколько вас эта ситуация не пугает, а тревожит? Что в какой-то момент вы можете оказаться перед выбором.

P2: Очень тревожит.

P3: Да, потому что вообще в мире много волнений всяких. И даже не из-за Эстонии с Россией, а Россия с Европой, и тогда мы остаёмся как эти на границе.

P4: Я согласна.

P7: Не, я угрозы не вижу.

M2: Но вопрос тревожит?

P7: Я стараюсь об этом не думать.

M2: Неудобный вопрос, неудобная тема.

M: Тогда на более миролюбивую тему. Если говорить в целом, то вы считаете, что сможете эффективно реализовать свой потенциал в Эстонии? Семья, карьера. Ваши жизненные цели .

P3: Да, вполне может. В любой стране можно.

P5: Кто сам хочет, умеет адаптироваться, подстраиваться.

M2: То есть, вы не видите препятствий, чувства, что не все возможности для вас открыты.

P5: Для меня Эстония абсолютно моя страна, у меня нет такого чувства.

P2: Не знаю, у меня есть маленькие сомнения по поводу того. Опять же, язык. Я очень благодарна колледжу за то, что он создаёт здесь языковую среду, единственную в Нарве и больше нигде её получить нельзя. До этого я в 1992

периодически ходила на курсы, учила, он забывался. Сейчас чувствую, что хотя бы начинаю на нём говорить. Ели бы не было этого в колледже, то было бы достаточно много препятствий для совершения карьеры. Без эстонского языка – невозможно.

М: Вы бы хотели переехать в Россию?

Все: Нет.

М: Вы бы хотели переехать в другую страну Европы?

Хором: нет.

Р2: Был момент, когда я находилась в поисках работы и в Эстонии был кризис, который не позволял создавать работу, нигде была не нужна. Как раз в этот год я съездила к подруге в Англию, посмотрела другое устройство общества: другое отношение к людям, другие возможности для карьеры. В первый раз в жизни захотелось туда переехать всей семьёй. Семья не захотела.

Р3: Не, я бы рассматривала, потому что у меня сестра уехала в Швецию. И если бы здесь были затруднения с карьерой, тогда, может быть, и уехала.

Р7: Были мысли одно время. Во время кризиса работы не было, были мысли уезжать, но нашёл здесь.

М2: То есть, вопрос эмиграции это не вопрос постоянного дискомфорта, а вопрос работы?

Р2: Ну вот когда у меня возникло это желание, я пошла в банк, и мне девушка милой улыбкой сообщила, что моя пенсия будет 270 евро. И я подумала: «Какого черта я живу и работаю в этой стране?».

Р5: В каждой стране есть свои минусы и плюсы, мы не знаем, что там в Европе и решили, что там хорошо. Ты приехал в гости, путешествовать, но не жить. Зачем менять свою страну, уже проще здесь адаптироваться, язык выучить и жить спокойно здесь и работать.

P2: Я бы ни за что не уехала отсюда, если бы не...

P7: У меня друг в Норвегии работает. Норвежский язык знает, квартира, машина, работа хорошая. Но когда сюда приезжает, каждый раз говорит, что хочет вернуться обратно.

M2: Здесь комфортней ему?

P7: Абсолютно.

P2: С другой стороны, у меня тётя, дядя, двоюродный брат, двоюродная сестра, брат родной – все уехали в Швецию. Довольны, счастливы, живут в комфортных условиях, возвращаться не собираются. Кто как устроился. Как попал.

M: Перейдём к закрывающим вопросам. Есть ли что-то важное, что мы не обсудили? Какие-то болезненные темы, которые не были затронуты?

P2: Я считаю, что довольно болезненной темой в Эстонии является серый паспорт. Не смотря на то, что они комфортны для того же путешествия и в Россию, и в Европу, это как-то уже не солидно – столько лет и всё пришельцы.

M2: Вы уверены, что если бы Эстония положила паспорт на стол, то они бы его взяли?

P2: Я очень долго ждала, потому что мой отец здесь родился, я здесь родилась, мне было обидно. Ничего, я сдала, всё что нужно. Опять же, давайте обсудим вопрос получения визы. Получить достаточно дорого и долго.

M: Что ж, я очень благодарен вам за то, что уделили своё время и надеюсь, что это принесёт пользу моему исследованию и что вам также было интересно.

Daugavpils focus group

Модератор: Меня зовут Семён, эта фокус-группа – часть моего магистерского исследования, посвященного русским Нарвы и Даугавпилса. Здесь нет правильных и неправильных ответов, наоборот, формат фокус-группы предполагает, что вы будете спорить и не соглашаться друг с другом и вопросами. Стенограмма нигде не будет опубликована, я не буду использовать имена, это сделано лишь для моего удобства. Итак, для начала, представьтесь и расскажите, сколько вам лет.

Респондент 1: Двадцать один год.

Респондент 2: Двадцать два года.

М: А, и если можно - говорите как можно громче и чётче.

Респондент 3: Двадцать один.

Респондент 4: Двадцать два.

Респондент 5: Тридцать два.

Респондент 6: Двадцать два.

Респондент 7: Двадцать два.

Респондент 8: Двадцать два.

М: Вы родились в Даугавпилсе и если нет, то где вы родились и когда вы переехали?

P1: Родилась в Даугавпилсе.

P2: Нет, не родилась. Родилась в Дагде и переехала три года назад.

P3: Я родилась в Лудзе и сюда переехала два с половиной года назад.

P4: Я родилась в Краславе и переехала три года назад примерно.

P5: Здесь в Даугавпилсе.

P6: Родился в Прейли и приехал сюда где-то три года назад.

P7: В Даугавпилсе.

P8: Я родилась в Резекне, а приехала сюда девять лет назад.

M: У вас есть родственники в России и если да, то кем они вам приходятся?

P1: Да, у меня есть родственники по бабушкиной линии, это её брат и племянники.

P2: У меня тоже есть родственники в России, это, получается, уже мои троюродные тёти.

P3: У меня нет.

P4: У меня есть родственники, это, получается, мои бабушки, сестрёнка, наверно

P5: У меня нет родственников в России.

P6: У меня тоже нет.

P7: Нету.

P8: У меня есть, это, получается. Моей бабушки брат и его семья.

M: Хорошо. А какое у вас гражданство?

P1: Латышское.

P2: Угу, Латышское.

P3: Латышское.

P4: Латышское.

P5: Латвийское.

P6: Латышское.

P7: Тоже.

P8: Латышское.

М: Какое место вы считаете своей родиной? В том смысле слова, каким вы его понимаете.

P1: Ну, Латвию.

P2: Да. Страну в общем.

P3: Тоже Латвия.

P4: Я считаю, что моя родина это всё-таки Латвия.

P5: Если страна, то Латвия, Даугавпилс.

М: Не только страна, просто, что ты понимаешь под словом родина.

P5: Тогда Даугавпилс.

P6: Прейли, наверно.

P7: Даугавпилс.

P8: Ну, страна Латвия.

М: Что для вас значит Латвия? Какие первые ассоциации, какие мысли?

P1: Родина, семья.

P2: Красивая природа, все времена года, красивые города, любимые места.

P3: Дом, семья, озёра.

P4: Родственники, семья, и страна возле моря.

P5: На моём лице появилась улыбка. Я люблю свою страну, да. Эмоции какие я ещё чувствую...

М: Ассоциации.

P5: Ассоциации? Страна пытается что-то победить, страна борется. Жить здесь сложно, но жить здесь...

P6: Хммм, с чем ассоциируется. Ну, с семьёй, с местом, куда можно возвратиться, леса, озёра.

P7: Родное, хорошее.

P8: Ну, тоже семья, дом. Природа. Место, в которое, да, хочется вернуться всегда, по которому скучаешь, если за границей.

М: Хорошо. Что для вас значит Россия? Тоже если говорить о первых мыслях, которые вам приходят в голову.

P1: Соседи.

P2: Да, соседи. Конфеты! Нет плохих ассоциаций. Соседи, наши соседи.

P3: Ну, тоже соседи, большая страна такая. Не знаю, что ещё.

P4: Ну, это большая страна, с которой наша страна пытается дружить и решает всякие проблемы и, не смотря на то, поддерживать всё это чтобы развиваться вместе.

P5: Россия это что-то большое, что-то интересное. Ассоциации какие... Путешествия, хотелось быть единым целым, не считаю её соседом. Сосед, но нет. В том плане, что это ближе, чем сосед. Это всё-таки наша история, часть культуры, часть менталитета. Как-то так.

P6: Просто соседняя страна.

P7: Нууу, похожий менталитет

P8: Похожий менталитет, да, правильно. Язык, вот мы сейчас общаемся по-русски. Ну, тоже, то что люди чуть похожи.

М: Чем?

P8: Ну, вот менталитет, мне кажется, такой же, Латгалия находится ещё ближе к России, чем остальные наши регионы, и в Латгалии больше всего русских... \*неразборчиво\*. Ну, вот если уехать куда-нибудь подальше, то если ты русский, то тебя там убьют.

Смех

Ну, не убьют, но будут относиться очень скептически. Это связано с историей.

М: Хорошо. То есть ты проводишь границу некоторую между регионами?

P8: Да.

P5: Ну это фактически так и есть, это чувствуется.

М: Сильно чувствуется. Вы ощущаете себя?

P5: Здесь? Я ощущаю, когда доходит до языка. Есть ощущение, что он дискриминируется.

М: Кто-то ещё, например?

P1: У меня нет проблемы общаться на разных языках и я не вижу проблемы. Особенно в Даугавпилсе.

\*Входит новый респондент\*

М: Хорошо, садись сюда. Напиши, как мне тебя называть и можешь сразу представиться и сказать, сколько тебе лет.

Респондент 9: Двадцать три года, студент ДУ, магистерская программа.

М: Так, хорошо. Ты родился в Даугавпилсе?

P9: Да.

М: У тебя есть какие-нибудь родственники в России?

P9: Ну, с которыми активно общаюсь, наверно нет.



М: Да, извини, просто ушли вперед, и придётся сейчас прогнать это быстро. Какое место ты считаешь своей родиной?

Р9: Латвию.

М: А что для тебя значит Латвия?

Р9: Место, где я родился, где я живу, где живут мои родные.

М: А что для тебя значит Россия?

Р9: Страна, сосед...

М: Так, да, мы успели догнать всех остальных. Как часто вы посещаете Россию?

Р9: Ни разу не был.

Р1: Не была.

Р2: Не была.

Р3: Не была ни разу.

Р: Не была.

Р5: Был один раз в Москве пять дней, но просто как путешествие, экскурсия. Понравилась, но очень большая, очень шумная.

Р6: Не был.

Р7: Не была

Р8: Я тоже не была.

М: Что вы чаще всего смотрите по телевизору, если вообще смотрите? Не обязательно конкретные передачи, просто категории передач.

Р8: Новости.

Р6: Новости.

P2: Ну, больше да, новости и документальные фильмы.

P1: Больше всего новости, какие-то развлекательные программы.

M: А это латышскоязычное или русскоязычное телевидение?

P4: Русскоязычное.

P9: Какой канал включится.

P1: Русский и английский.

P8: Русский!

P7: Русскоязычные, да.

P5: Ну, в основном русскоязычные новости.

P6: Русский и латышский.

M: Что вы чаще всего читаете и смотрите в интернете? Тоже в общих категориях.

P7: Новости Даугавпилса.

P8: Социальные сети. На русском.

P6: Delfi, новостные сайты.

M: На каком языке?

P6: Там, по-моему, есть и на русском, и на латышском.

M: То есть, для тебя это равнозначно, ты не выбираешь.

P6: Нет.

P5: Социальные сети, почта, в основном всё на русском. Если надо для учёбы, то тогда на латышском.

P4: Социальные сети, новости. Тоже на русском, на латышском. Бывает когда на русском читать интересней, чем на латышском. Ну и всё.

P3: Новости, ну и на латышском, и на русском, как когда. Ну тоже социальные сети, журналы изредка.

P2: Социальные сети на латышском, новости какие-то больше не английском.

P1: На социальном сайте новости иногда на латышском, иногда на русском.

P9: Социальные сети, почта, новости. Русский, латышский, английский. Какие-то известные порталы, Guardian.

M: Хорошо, давайте тогда дальше по поводу языков. Как вы оцениваете статус русского языка в вашей стране?

P9: Затрудняюсь ответить.

P1: Что конкретно?

M: Нет, какие-то твои личные ощущения. Это всё не по поводу каких-то объективных факторов, а каких-то личных ощущений, мыслей.

P1: Это просто способ общаться. В Латгалии мы общаемся на русском, на латышском, в Лиепае на латышском, не стоит из этого делать проблему. Если у тебя есть возможность говорить на разных языках, тогда стоит приспосабливаются к ситуации, к человеку. Который не умеет говорить на другом языке. Это только делает тебя умнее.

P2: Ну, я тоже согласна, что нет никакой проблемы, что ну, как говорят, чем больше языков знаешь, тем лучше, и... я не знаю. Многие у нас разговаривают по-русски, я считаю, что это хорошо. В принципе, многие разговаривают по-русски в сторону Латгалии. Чем дальше от Латгалии, тем русский язык распространяется меньше. Всё равно были ситуации, когда да. Люди разговаривают на русском языке не смотря на то, что это Рига или другое место и я считаю, что это ещё влияние того, что раньше наши родители общались больше на русском языке, родители родителей говорили на русском, это передаётся нам, мы тоже большинство разговариваем на русском.

P5: Статус русского языка. Я бы присвоил русскому языку статус второго государственного языка. Потому что я считаю так, что не объективно обидели русский язык и сделали его языком русского меньшинства. Из-за этого, вот и-за того, что русский язык не делают вторым языком. Это постоянно, вот уже на протяжении двадцати пяти лет повод для каких-то стычек. Людей сталкивают. Нужно это решить и забыть.

P6: Я считаю русскоговорящих большое количество на региональном плане, но статус – как в чтении истории это обосновалось? Со временем статус языка разным местам...

P7: Я считаю, что статус русского как второй язык нужен и на работе говорить, и везде, а вот в остальных городах лучше говорить по-латышски.

P5: Почему?

P7: Ну, как-то там русскоговорящих меньше.

M: То есть, это только из-за количества?

P7: Ну, как-то, я в основном бываю в Риге, там больше вот по-латышски. Когда я что-то не понимала, то даже смеялись, что вот она русскоговорящая, она ничего не понимает.

P8: Я тоже считаю так же. Если Давугавпилс, то, конечно, можешь говорить по-русски, а вот если приедешь в другое место, то нужно подумать. Нет, ну в Риге тоже можно по-русски говорить, там, мне кажется, население большое русскоговорящее. И школы там на русском есть, и садики, и чего только нет. А если едешь, допустим, в Лиепая – чисто латышский город. И там, знаете, бывают такие майки, где написано «Я русский», говорят, если в такой майке пойдёшь, то всё. Ну то есть как бы очень такой, относятся так, националисты.

M: Понятно. Вы чувствуете культурную дистанцию между городом, именно Даугавпилсом и остальной страной? Различия, которые очень сильно влияют на отношения

P9: Да нет, не особо. Понятно, что у нас больше населения, которые говорят на русском в Латгалии, это связано с регионом и как он относится к России, но всё равно каких-то сильных отличий нет.

P1: Наверно, нет.

P2: Ну, я думаю, что да, можно вспомнить концерт на День города и какие-то большие праздники, когда к нам приглашаются в основном определённые группы, а если это праздник в Риге, то это совсем другого уровня. Ну, ладно, Рига, это столица, но всё равно, чувствуется, что Латгалия это как бы совсем другой регион и он во многом отличается от остальных трёх регионов Латвии. Но это не плохо, не хорошо, это нормально.

P3: Ну, вот когда праздник песни, мы же все вместе с регионами в Риге и ничего.

P2: Нет, я говорю, что мы сами знаем, кто приезжает на День города к нам. Не приезжают, не будет спроса на популярную латышскую группу, а будет спрос на совсем других исполнителей.

P5: Если \*неразборчиво\* мероприятие, то пойдут все.

P2: Ну, да, как обычно, но это такие, некоторые есть. Но если это те же самые \*неразборчиво\*, человек, который в прошлом году ехал на Евровидение от Латвии, приедет в Даугавпилс, люди на него посмотрят и пойдут дальше слушать радио.

P1: Конечно, когда приглашают иностранных, на них идут больше, чем на латышских.

P2: Не знаю, я считаю, что Латгалия отличается от других регионов.

P3: Я особой разницы не чувствую.

P4: Я считаю, что разница возможно и есть, но очень маленькая, потому что обычно по поводу Латгалии другие регионы говорят, что да, они русскоязычные,

там больше русских и так далее, но по поводу культуры мне кажется. Что всё полностью одинаково.

P5: Ещё раз вопрос можно повторить? Чтобы звучало правильно.

M: Да, конечно. Вы чувствуете культурную дистанцию между Даугавпилсом и всей остальной страной?

P5: Да. Конечно. Взять ту же самую Лиепая. Пример с Лиепай. Вот отличается: разные национальности. Разные народы, разная культура: это и еда, и музыка, и кино, и литература. Если я поеду в ту же самую Лиепая, я там себя свободно чувствовать не буду. Я не знаю как себя вести, куда ходить, как ходить, как говорить, что говорить, так чтобы не обидеть, то есть, как дома я себя свободно чувствовать не буду. Город, получается, чужой, значит, дистанция большая.

M: А столица, крупные города?

P5: В столице да, в принципе чувствую себя нормально. Там 50 на 50, там смешанное такое население. С ними культура смешалась, там, в принципе дистанции нет.

P6: Никакой особой дистанции не чувствую.

P7: Тоже не чувствую.

P8: Вот я соглашусь с респондентом 5, вот я так же считаю. Есть дистанция всё-таки.

M: Ты прямо полностью согласна?

P8: Да. Ну, действительно есть. Потому что я вот и в разных городах это видела, на своём опыте знаю. Нет, ну каких-то плохих вариантов не было, но мне всё равно обидно. Вот я иду, допустим, по телефону по-русски говорю, на меня все смотрят, ну как-то тоже такой момент отчуждения.

M: Ты говоришь про отчуждение, а в любом большом городе ты это чувствуешь?

P8: Ну, в Риге чувствуется, что лучше отношение. Идёшь, приезжаешь, и сразу слышишь и русский, и латышский язык. В Даугавпилсе такого нет. Конечно, в городе слышно латышский язык, но не так, в основном все по-русски говорят, если ты идешь по городу или гуляешь. А вот если в парке в Риге, то чаще ты латышский услышишь.

М: Хорошо. А были у вас проблемы в общении с согражданами из других частей страны? Если были, то какого рода?

P9: Нет.

М: Вообще никаких?

P9: Нет.

P1: Можно вот такое, тебя спрашивали на выбор, на каком тебе лучше говорить на латышском или на русском, то есть тебе дают выбор. И ты отвечаешь «ну давайте на русском» и всё, тогда пренебрежение такое: «мы живём в Латвии». Ну, зачем тогда надо предлагать такое?

P2: Нет, не было.

P3: У меня вот тоже не было, всегда понимали друг друга.

P4: У меня тоже без инцидентов.

P5: В частной жизни нет, всё нормально, с друзьями ничего, на работе общаемся нормально абсолютно. Бывают случаи интересные в государственных учреждениях. Например, я пошёл в налоговую службу, это было лет восемь назад, что-то мне надо было там уладить. И со мной говорили только по-латышски. То есть, я говорил по-русски, она мне по-латышски, мы друг друга понимаем. В Лондоне пошёл в посольство Латвии, со мной тоже говорили принципиально по-латышски. То есть, я по-английски, мне по-латышски, общение происходит. Ну вот в государственных на верхних уровнях бывает такое.

М: На низших уровнях нет?

P5: Нет, на низших нет.

P6: Без инцидентов

P7: Было когда-то давно, когда ещё был низкий уровень латышского языка были такое, я уже упоминала. Молодежь высмеивает, что ты что-то не понимаешь. Но это давно было, сейчас уже такого нет.

M: Сейчас такого нет?

P7: Нет, язык выучила.

M: То есть, этого нет, потому что изменилось отношение или потому, что выучила язык?

P7: Выучила язык скорее.

M: Как вы думаете, представляет ли Россия какую-то экзистенциальную угрозу для Латвии? Если да, то какого типа угрозу?

P9: Нет.

P1: Я думаю нет.

P2: Нет.

P3: Я думаю, нет.

P4: Ну, нет.

P5: Вообще никакой угрозы. Считается, что Россия угрожает латышскому языку. Что вот граница с Россией, постепенно русских станет всё больше, больше и больше, латышей выживут, ну, есть такое мнение. Считаю, что нет никакой угрозы.

P6: Вопрос был про угрозу со стороны России?

M: Да.



P6: Я считаю, что угроза идёт с любой стороны. Ну, просто она есть.

М: Ну, какого типа?

P6: Гуманитарная, культурная, всякого рода. Она просто есть, всегда будет. Россия это не специальный вариант, не отличается.

P8: Я думаю, что нет, потому что у нас всё-таки ресурсов ни газа, ни нефти, этого в России навалом. Если они и смогут захватить, то своей национальностью. Ну, думаю, вряд ли это случится. Думаю, для России Латвия не лучший вариант для захвата. Тут ничего нет кроме лесов, а у России своих лесов хватает, кажется. Но если политическое – депутаты, министры, то там могут мысли возникнуть. Но вот так вот – вряд ли.

М: То есть, экономически нет, но ты упоминала что-то про культуру и национальности?

P8: Ну вот, допустим, если сделают русский язык вторым государственным языком, то я думаю, ну как-то, русских, не то чтобы больше станет, а будут уверенней себя чувствовать, продвигаться в правительство, Дума, так постепенно, а потом хоп, и у нас уже русское правительство. Вот постепенно мы превратимся в Россию. Вот в таком плане. Но я не думаю, что это случится.

М: Как вы оцениваете взаимоотношения между Даугавпислом и государством? Культурные, экономические, бюджетные.

P9: Ну, наверно, не студентов надо спрашивать?

М: Но у тебя же может своё мнение по этому вопросу.

P9: У нас проводится довольно много праздников. Празднование Лиго, праздник города, все эти культурные. Видно, что культурная сфера спонсируется и моё мнение, что всё хорошо.

P1: Мне сложно ответить.

P2: Мне кажется. Что всё хорошо, но могло быть лучше в смысле того, что Даугавпилс это второй самый большой город, но есть, если смотреть, турист, то когда он приезжает в Ригу, он выбирает Ригу как первое место чтоб посетить и второе... очень редко он поедет в Даугавпилс. Думаю, можно было бы развить наш регион и Даугавпилс так, чтобы больше манило туристов. Для нас, я считаю, делается много. Как бы туристы, палатки, с удовольствием приезжают в Латгалию, латгальцы с удовольствием едут в разные города Латгалии. Для нас всё делается. А вот для иностранных туристов можно было бы стараться.

М: Ты считаешь, что государство недостаточно делает для этого?

P2: Ну, не только государство, у нас есть разные учреждения, туристические центры разные. Можно было бы как-то привлечь людей. Ну не только государство, я не виню их.

М: А в экономическом плане взаимоотношения равноправны?

P2: Я думаю да, потому что на каждый город выделяется определённая сумма, я думаю, не нам об этом спорить, это уже определено по разным критериям.

P3: Мне кажется, что всё-таки не равноправные отношения.

P4: Мне кажется, Даугавпилс не тот город, который обделяют с финансами и поддержкой. Потому что, как уже сказали, есть определённый бюджет на каждый город и мы не можем просить больше, потому что тогда мы бы обидели других.

М: То есть, ты считаешь, что в латвийских условиях вы получаете справедливую долю?

P4: Ну, для Латвии да, как есть, ну, сколько государство даёт, больше. Я думаю, очень трудно достать эти деньги. Там, как я уже говорила, думаю, что всё уже разделено и сейчас идти доказывать, что Даугавпилс обделяют, нам не хватает денег, ну, это не логично, потому что есть и другие города.

P5: А ещё можно вопрос?

М: Как вы оцениваете взаимоотношения между Даугавпилсом и Латвией? Культурные, экономические, бюджетные.

Р5: Ну, учитывая, что Даугавпилс это часть Латгалии. Самый бедный регион считается, не такой богатый, как соседи. Россия, Белоруссия там. Учитывая, что из Даугавпилса люди уезжают, значит, в отношениях между Даугавпилсом и страной что-то не то. Да, денег распределяется мало. Кому-то больше, кому-то меньше. То, что распределяют, да, но распределять может быть как-то надо по-другому. Если демография ухудшается, экономика ухудшается, уровень вообще ухудшается.

М: То есть, для тебя бюджетные распределения изменяемая величина.

Р2: Я не могу сказать, что я не согласна, это так как начался разговор: нет правильных и неправильных мнений. Есть очень много факторов и нельзя сказать, что вот это правильно, а вот это нет.

Р5: Опять-таки, мы можем жить хорошо, мы можем жить лучше, развивать какие-то комплексы производства, если бы не санкции. Если бы не народ, а правительство. Отношения не так складываются.

М: Санкции, чьи против кого?

Р5: Ну, санкции американские и европейские вместе, и вместе с Латвией против России. Что касается России и русских, это плохо, поэтому мы теряем возможность зарабатывать и теряем возможность развиваться. Что-то строить.

Р1: Например, если бы у нас была возможность. Например, Латгалия в идеальном месте, чтобы сотрудничать с Беларусью и Россией. Мы могли бы развивать туризм, какие-то экономические отрасли, но у нас есть только забор. Есть возможность переползти его разными проектами, но это очень сложно. Можно было бы упростить, и мы бы жили хорошо. Для них это особого веса не имеет, зато Латгалии дало бы возможность развиваться.

Р5: Мы могли бы сами развиваться и меньше денег просить у правительства.

P6: Нечего так сказать.

P7: Ну, чувствую. Я слышала, что нам бюджета меньше выделяется, хотя мы крупный город, другим городам больше выделяется не очень крупным. И зарплата – такая разница. Я понимаю, что столица, но не такая уж большая разница. И рабочих мест нет, там хоть можно найти работу в любом случае. Как бы одна страна, столько разниц.

P5: Все пытаются уехать. Из маленьких городов все пытаются уехать. Потому что там что-то нормально делают, а в других местах не развиваются. Тонет.

М: Тонет? Расшифруй.

P1: Ну, если рабочих мест нет, все уехали, никто не остался, одни пенсионеры, то, конечно, город тонет.

М: То есть, для тебя это скорее целенаправленное отношение.

P1: Ну да.

P8: Ну я тоже так считаю. Потому что у нас люди уезжают, это правда, большая безработица. Нереально тут работать, если смотреть зарплату в Латгалии, то в других городах она выше, чем у нас здесь. В Риге намного выше, чем здесь. Чувствуется, что люди уезжают. Находимся в таком депрессивном регионе.

P3: Зато здесь тихо. Тихо, спокойно.

P8: Да, здесь тихо, спокойно, нет больших аварий, чтобы убили кого-то, этого всего нет. Тихо, да, но не есть хорошо, потому что чем меньше людей, тем меньше возможностей найти работу. Остаются одни старики.

P2: Мне кажется, работа есть, просто это вопрос личных амбиций, что я вот за такую-то сумму не хочу, я хочу больше. Получается, что большинство сидят, не готовы идти на какую-то определенную работу. Так что вообще нет.

М: То есть, это вина не государства, а людей?

P2: Ну, может, есть немножко и государства, есть и вина индивидуальная.

P3: То есть тоже, большая часть тех, кто сидит без работы, на работу, которая им не нравится не пойдут. Если десять лет отработала управляющей магазина, то вот простым продавцом не пойду и все, буду сидеть дома. И нет работы. То есть так просто это от человека зависит. Но вот то, что такая ситуация – её как-то надо улучшать, это есть.

P4: По поводу работы да, есть некоторые, которые говорят, что не пойду работать на эту работу, но есть большая проблема – берут на работу тогда, когда у тебя есть опыт работы, но где ты можешь достать опыт работы. Если тебя нигде не берут без опыта работы. Это получается замкнутый круг.

P5: Сейчас нашли выход из этого – идите добровольцами. Но опять-таки, не все хотят брать бесплатную даже рабочую силу. С ними надо возиться, объяснять, показывать все тайны компании.

P7: Всё зависит от человека, наверно, какой он активный, как он ставит себя. Если ты целеустремлённый, то ты добьёшься много даже в таком тихом городе.

M: То есть, можно в Даугавпилсе добиться?

P7: Можно, если ты очень активный.

P1: Если у тебя нету, например, у нас Даугавпилс не такой большой, люди иногда отказываются работать и только из-за того, что им неудобно доехать: «ой, я не буду тратить час дороги от одного района до другого», «ой, у меня там автобусы не идут». Только из-за этого.

P5: Я считаю, что если предлагают работу условно за 300 евро и 10 часов в день, то человек не будет.

M: Считаете ли вы, что можно эффективно реализовать свой потенциал в своём регионе? В Даугавпилсе и, возможно, шире в Латгалии. Ваши жизненные цели, что вы считаете символом успеха.

P9: Да, конечно, всегда можно найти работу, проблем нет, у нас есть и высшие заведения, тое есть можно реализовать высшее образование, технические университеты, это всё востребовано, главное желание.

P1: Ну, опять-таки, зависит от человека. Если хочешь сам, то сам и добиваешься, никто тебе не поднесёт.

М: Если говорить не в целом о жизни, а именно о Даугавпилсе?

P1: Да, возможно.

P2: Я тоже считаю, что при желании здесь можно добиться того, что ты хочешь. Конечно, в столице будет больше возможностей, но мне кажется, что и здесь тоже вполне возможно.

P3: Не считаю, что можно, но самое главное – это искать всегда какие-то варианты и идти к своей цели, тогда получится.

P5: Да, я тоже считаю, что можно развивать свой потенциал, можно многого добиться и главное, это цель и желание. Тяжело, но можно.

М: Но есть условия?

P5: Условия, в принципе, да. Есть учёба, бюджетные места, есть какая-то работа, да, я считаю, что можно.

P6: Возможности сами не появляются, ты мотивируешь себя на какую-то цель. И можешь найти, что искал.

P7: Можно добиться, но не во всех сферах. Если сфера прибыльная, то да. А если пытаешься заработать на своём хобби, то тогда вряд ли получится.

М: Какие сферы ты считаешь прибыльными?

P7: Бизнес?

P8: Какие сферы прибыльные по доходу, вы имеете в виду?

М: Да, примерно.

Р7: Свою торговлю какую-нибудь.

Р5: Недвижимость, может быть.

Р7: Да сколько они стоят? Тут такие цены смешные на квартиры, если сравнить. Что они зарабатывают? Покупатель скидывает до последнего.

Р5: Ну, купи-продай, авто.

М: Респондент 8, а ты считаешь, что можно добиться успеха в Даугавпилсе?

Р8: Ну, если у тебя есть соответствующее образование и нашёл работу в государственном учреждении, то да, здесь можно жить хорошо. А если ты работаешь где-то в школе поваром, хм.

Р1: Ну, школьный повар тоже как начала работать, так и работает. Не надо на курсы ездить, не надо учиться. Вот и всё, вот её предел, потому что она сама ничего не хочет.

М: А на государственной службе ты свой потенциал сможешь реализовывать?

Р8: Ну как, государственная служба, например, пошла работать в думу, то есть как бы, себя не забываешь и занимаешься делом. Вносишь новые какие-то идеи, пытаешься сотрудничать с другими городами, собираешь свою команду и вместе вы это делаете, улучшаете город.

М: То есть, в принципе, хорошие карьерные перспективы?

Р9: Да.

Р1: Неплохие, наверно.

Р2: Зависит от уровня знаний и профессий. Технические – да, большинство того, что мы можем получить здесь в университете – нет. Половина уверена, что будет работать не по специальности. Инженеры там, высококвалифицированные работники, думаю, имеют спрос.

P1: Если будет много спроса и все будут учиться на инженеров...

P2: ...Не учатся все на инженеров.

P1: Да, но сколько из них тогда будет работать по специальности?

P3: Я считаю, что да, можно добиться того, что ты хочешь.

P4: Я считаю, что тоже да, но это зависит от сферы, где ты хочешь развиваться и профессии

P5: Да, перспектива есть всегда, но насколько она хорошая? Я, допустим, не уверен, что по окончании своей учёбы я по профессии пойду. Перспектива найти работу есть, а найти работу по специальности – уже другой вопрос. Как показывает опыт, здесь всё, ну, 90% делается через знакомых. Какая-то не особо весёлая перспектива. Есть знакомые одно, нет знакомых другое.

M: Ты считаешь, что есть кумовство?

P5: Сталкивался не раз и слышал истории. Есть, очень.

M: Это, ты считаешь серьёзным препятствием?

P5: Да. Кумовство – это что получается. Если начальник на работу на специалиста берёт своего знакомого или родственника. Знакомый или родственник и работать особо не будет, потому что он знакомый, потому что родственник. С другой стороны, он забирает место у нормального специалиста. Который учился, закончил. Это не есть хорошо, это препятствие, которое тормозит. Никакого развития, никакой конкуренции.

P6: Это правда, что по знакомству большинство случаев рабочие места занимают, но возможность есть. Если можешь себя показать, то возможность есть.

P7: Да, пока надежда есть, что реализуюсь, но согласна, что нужно много связей. Если нет связей, то... трудновато будет.



P8: Ну, я тоже согласна с ребятами, потому что через связи много делается, а если не через связи, то я думаю, что и не у нас в городе. Может, в Риге.

M: Да, я говорю про Латвию сейчас. Ты считаешь, что в Риге у тебя больше возможностей?

P8: Ну, побольше. Тоже зависит от специальности, которую получаешь. Я учусь на юриста. Много-много лет говорят, что в Латвии юристов как собак не резанных, что их хватает, но их всё выпускают. То есть люди получили образование и не работают. С врачами другая ситуация. Очень не хватает.

P1: Хороших мало.

P5: А ничего не изменится. Они здесь бесплатно на бюджете отучились и поехали. Государство за них заплатило, место им дало. Вот тебе и перспективы

M: Как вы оцениваете образовательные перспективы?

P9: В каком смысле?

M: Ну, вот вы студенты университета в Даугавпилсе. Вы считаете, что диплом ДУ или другого университета – это хороший старт?

P9: Да, конечно, у нас в университетах хорошие знания. Как я сказал, у нас есть технический университет. И это довольно конкурентоспособно.

P1: Я считаю, что вот не правы те, кто ставят университеты выше в одних городах, в Риге, допустим, а про другие думают «нет, не пойду сюда», лучше заплачу там за ту же самую, в принципе, программу.

M: Ты считаешь, что они равнозначны?

P1: Да, так же как и школы некоторые конкурируют, а знания, тематика и там и там одинаковые.

P2: Я тоже думаю, что с этим в Латвии всё нормально. Есть возможность бесплатно учиться, если хочешь – платно. Очень большой спектр профессий,

также закончив бакалаврскую программу ты можешь поступать дальше и дальше, никаких вообще препятствий нету. Также если есть платные программы, есть разные программы помощи, где через какое-то время только можешь начинать оплачивать сумму за учёбу. Если хочешь учиться, даже на платном.

P3: Мне кажется, что с образованием всё хорошо, много разных сфер, куда человек может пойти, выбрать, что ему больше нравится, пойти учиться, как бы возможность есть. Другой вопрос насчёт того, найдёт он потом работу или нет. Насчёт образования – мне кажется, можно найти подходящее.

P4: Я считаю, что в Латвии с образованием действительно нету проблем. То, что есть большой выбор, можешь учиться на кого ты хочешь, платить, как говорили, есть возможность позже, не сразу. И я считаю, что говорят большинство, что за границу уезжают медики из Латвии. Значит, они хорошие специалисты, если их туда зовут работать. С образованием проблем нет.

P5: Ну, им можно меньше платить. Возможность образования да, есть. И бюджетные места, и частные высшие школы, где можно учиться платно. Какие-то котируются лучше, какие-то дипломы не ценятся. Какие-то моменты в образовании я бы поменял. Для учеников средней школы, например. Нужно развивать в детях, студентах развивать потенциал предпринимателя. Потому что это важно, предприниматель поднимает экономику. Дети заканчивают школу – они абсолютно ничего про это не знают. Выучил математику. Физику химию, географию, языки – и всё. Это дальше никуда, ну, почти никуда не идёт. Надо в университетах людям показывать бизнес. Но перспективы в учёбе есть. ВУЗы, бюджетные места. Частные школы.

P6: Возможность, конечно, есть. Есть училища попрестижней, подороже, есть целый ассортимент специализаций. Возможность учиться есть.

M: Но это хорошее образование, перспективное?

P6: Это уже вопрос на кого ты идёшь.

P8: Каждый университет как бы работает на своё имя, когда какой-то человек получает диплом в этом университете. После этого ходит и рассказывает, как он его получил. Было тяжело, или легко, какие там преподаватели, что он узнал, помогло или не помогло. Это всё идёт дальше, дальше и дальше. Поэтому, например, какие-то, даже в городе у нас университет ценится, а некоторые – диплом получу и будет у меня бумажка.

P7: Мне кажется, образование у нас хорошее, но вот печально, что магистратура у меня, допустим, будет платная. А вот в технаре ты можешь и бесплатно учиться, и получать стипендию. Как-то не стимулирует. Чтобы ты развивался и развивался дальше.

М: Не стимулирует?

P7: Ну да. Если у меня нет денег, то я не могу в магистратуру пойти учиться. Придётся платить за жильё, за учёбу.

P5: Но у нас, по-моему, тоже есть два бесплатных места на экономе.

P7: Но это же очень мало!

P5: Зато на бакалавре 15. Важнее же. Чтобы люди бакалаврами стали. Станешь бакалавром, пойдёшь работать, сможешь платить за учёбу.

P7: Ну, лучше тогда в технаре платить эту стипендию.

P5: Это стимул для работы.

P1: Это другое, это совсем другое. Это европейские проекты, которые дают стипендию, а не государство выделяет

P5: Но это хороший стимул. У меня племянник учился на четвёрки, понял, что можно получать 90 евро и начал учиться на шестёрки.

P7: Ну, а высшее образование хотят полностью платным сделать

P5: Вот это будет ошибка.

P7: Угу, уровень хороший, а никто не придёт.

М: Респондент 8?

P8: Я тоже считаю, что много сфер есть, много учебных заведений, ну, в Латвии. И с врачами связанные, и технические науки, и гуманитарные науки, но только что... всё-таки чтоб работу потом нашёл по специальности.

М: Рассматриваете ли вы или рассматривали когда-либо возможность переезда в Россию для образования, работы, чего-то иного?

P9: Нет.

P1: Может быть, рассматривала одну интересную программу, я у нас такой не нашла.

М: Какую, учебную программу?

P1: Ну да. Ну, жить я хотела бы в Латвии.

М: Возможно учиться, но жить в Латвии?

P1: Ну да.

P2: Рассматривала, даже разговаривали насчёт, может быть, какой-то возможности уехать на практику или на какое-то время учиться. Но пока у нас нет такой возможности, не проектов, которые соединяют нас с Россией, но жить не могу сказать, но попробовать там поработать или поучиться хотела бы. Может быть не на очень долгое время, но попробовать, на пару месяцев.

М: А почему такие рамки?

P2: Не только России, так как мы учимся, мы изучаем Россию, Белоруссию, Литву, Польшу и Латвию. И в каждой из этих стран я хотела бы какое-то время пожить, чтобы больше понять, изнутри понять, и потом уже выбрать в какой стране остаться, если такая возможность будет. Я не привязываю себя к определённому месту.

P2: Ну, я вроде в своей стране.

P3: Я такой вариант не рассматривала, чтобы переехать или учиться там, не рассматривала.

P4: Я слышала, есть люди, которые учатся в России и слышала хорошие отзывы, но как-то меня это не увлекает, чтобы переехать в Россию учиться и работать. Может быть в будущем, может быть всякое, но на данный момент нет.

P5: Да я думал про Россию, чтобы там учиться в Москве или Санкт-Петербурге, дошло до того, что я искал уже себе жильё, но потом всё-таки я поехал в Даугавпилс. А, и женился, и не получилось.

Смех

М: Но планы были?

P5: Да очень плотно смотрел, узнавал там всё.

P6: Нет, таких планов не было.

P7: Нет.

P8: Неа.

М: Хорошо, тот же вопрос, но по поводу переезда в любую европейскую страну.

P8: Не было.

P7: Если придётся. Но всеми силами хочется здесь остаться. Здесь своё родное, здесь семья, друзья.

P6: Нет, тоже не было.

P5: Было. Я в Англии шесть лет жил и работал, были мысли уже там учиться, основательно так учиться, оставаться. \*Неразборчиво\* Иногда жалел.

P4: Ну, я рассматриваю, что если за границей, то, может быть, была, возможно, как практика. Посмотреть как там что. Не только то, что ты слышишь от других,

но самому понять. И тогда, если бы это получилось, тогда можно было бы решить остаться в Латвии или нет.

М: Но уже колебания какие-то?

Р4: Пока что маленькие колебания, ещё только думаю по поводу того, что да, можно было бы на практику хотя бы на три месяца. Это было бы интересно и плюс опыт.

Р5: На самом деле, здесь есть побочный эффект большой, когда студент уехал за границу на практику. Там провёл год, приезжают сюда. Тоже на своём опыте столкнулся, приезжаю сюда, также как студенты с практики, устраиваются на латвийского работодателя, а у нас эти способы управления персоналом, мягко сказать, другие. Здесь не ценят так человека. Здесь зарплата другая, здесь условия труда другие, продолжительность часов другая. Если человек поработал за границей, посмотрел как хорошо работать в Европе, он приезжает сюда и здесь уже работать толком не может. Мы начинаем возмущаться, нам это не нравится, это не нравится. И тем самым сами себе делаем хуже, потому что в какой-то момент нам говорят: «слушай, не доволен? Ищу другую работу». Да, интересно посмотреть, как работают в Европе, но потом здесь сложно с этим багажом знаний.

Р3: Я планирую остаться здесь, как-то хочется именно в Латвии устроить свою жизнь. Другую страну как место для жительства или для учёбы я не рассматривала.

Р2: Ну, я рассматриваю, но не потому, что мне не нравится здесь жить, а потому что мне интересно как это делается в других странах. Есть опыт учёбы и работы в других странах, это всегда интересно, ты познаёшь себя, учишься. Поэтому, может быть.

Р1: Ну, в качестве практики, путешествия на небольшое время. Но так чтобы остаться в другой стране я не рассматривала.

М: Хорошо. Давайте тогда перейдём к заключению. Есть ли по вашему мнению что-то важное, что мы не обсудили?

P8: Ну вроде нет.

P1: Вопросов много, мы можем их обсуждать хоть до... У каждого, наверно, свои вопросы, которые он хочет обсудить, почему так и так.

М: А, скажем так, в пределах общей тематики дискуссии?

P1: Ну вот как некоторые рассматривают русский негативно, а английский почему-то не рассматривают, во всех школах обязательно учат, могу свободно на нём говорить. А русский в Латвии как –то воспринимают очень негативно. Хотя английский, немецкий, другие языки очень активно изучают.

P5: Если мы хотим жить в Европе нам английский ведь нужен, если мы так стремимся в Европу? Это интернациональный общий язык

P1: Некоторые пытаются активно учить русский, как китайцы, допустим.

P5: Они больше с Россией, им надо учить.

P1: Может когда-нибудь и выйдет тоже интернациональным.

P5: Мы хотим жить в Европе, нам надо английский учить.

P1: Никто не воспринимает это как-то негативно, почему именно английский больше.

P6: Нет активно говорящих на английском.

P1: Если бы я всё время ходила говорила на английском, то меня бы тоже начали...? Просто есть активно навязанное мнение, что Россия это враг, что русские это плохо.

P2: Что это плохое, а другое это немножко лучше, хорошее.

М: Есть ещё у кого-нибудь что добавить? Если нет, то большое вам спасибо за потраченное время, надеюсь, вам было интересно.

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To the Head of the Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies  
of the University of Tartu

Date \_\_\_\_\_

#### Application

I hereby apply for authorisation for my MA thesis, titled “Between homeland and fatherland: Russian identity in Estonia and Latvia”, to be defended in order to obtain an MA Degree in \_\_\_\_\_ (name of curriculum).

#### Appendices:

1. 1 hard copy of the MA thesis, bound
2. Annotation of MA thesis in English

Name \_\_\_\_\_

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