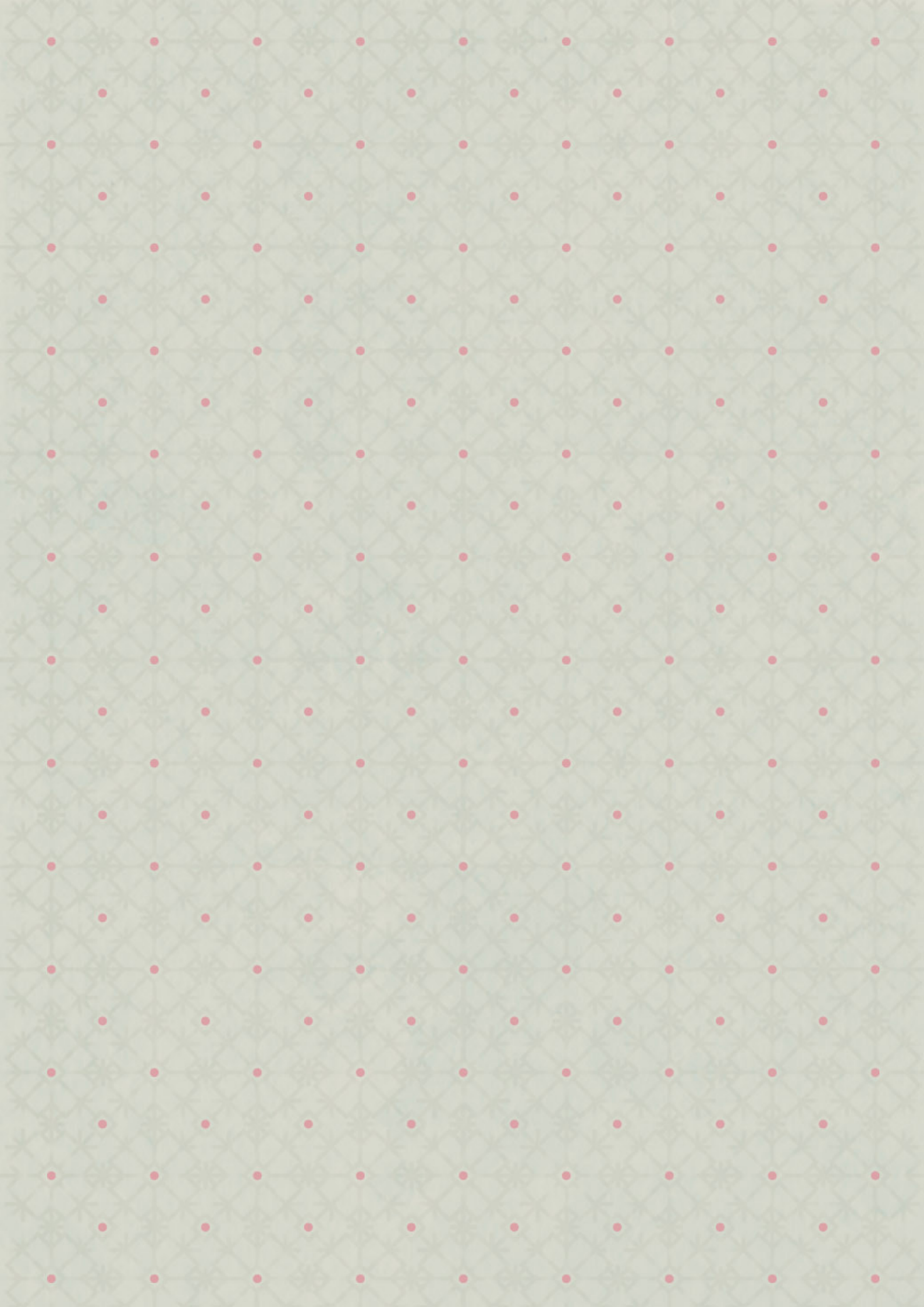


# THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE AGENCY





# THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE AGENCY



UDK 811.174(474.3)  
In 280



[www.valoda.lv](http://www.valoda.lv)

**Authors**

Māris Baltiņš, Dzintra Hirša, Gunta Kļava, Kristīne Motivāne, Jānis Valdmanis,  
Andrejs Veisbergs

**EDITED BY**

Gunta Kļava

**DESIGN and LAYOUT**

Zane Ernštreite

The present translation was prepared by compiling and extending the research “The Influence of Migration on the Language Environment in Latvia” (the Latvian Language Agency. Rīga: Zinātne, 2009. p. 143)

**TRANSLATED BY**

Janušs Kaminskis

**THE TRANSLATION EDITED AND PROOFREAD BY**

Regīna Jozauska

© Latviešu valodas aģentūra, 2011

© Authors, 2011

© Translator, 2011

© Zane Ernštreite, 2012

ISBN 978-9984-815-70-1

# CONTENTS

7

Foreword. **J. Valdmanis**

9

1. Changes caused by migration to the language situation and the implementation of language policy

**G. Kļava, K. Motivāne**

15

2. Migration and language – the history of their relations in Latvia.  
A few historical analogies from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

**M. Baltiņš**

23

3. Challenges of migration for the Latvian language policy. Historical overview

**Dz. Hirša**

33

4. Migration policy in the European Union context

**G. Kļava, K. Motivāne**

39

5. Migration and language policy in Latvia after joining the European Union

**Dz. Hirša**

45

6. Migration and integration

**G. Kļava**

49

7. Migration and language

**Dz. Hirša, G. Kļava, A. Veisbergs**

53

8. The role of education in the integration process of immigrants and their children:  
the experience of other countries for Latvia.

**K. Motivāne**

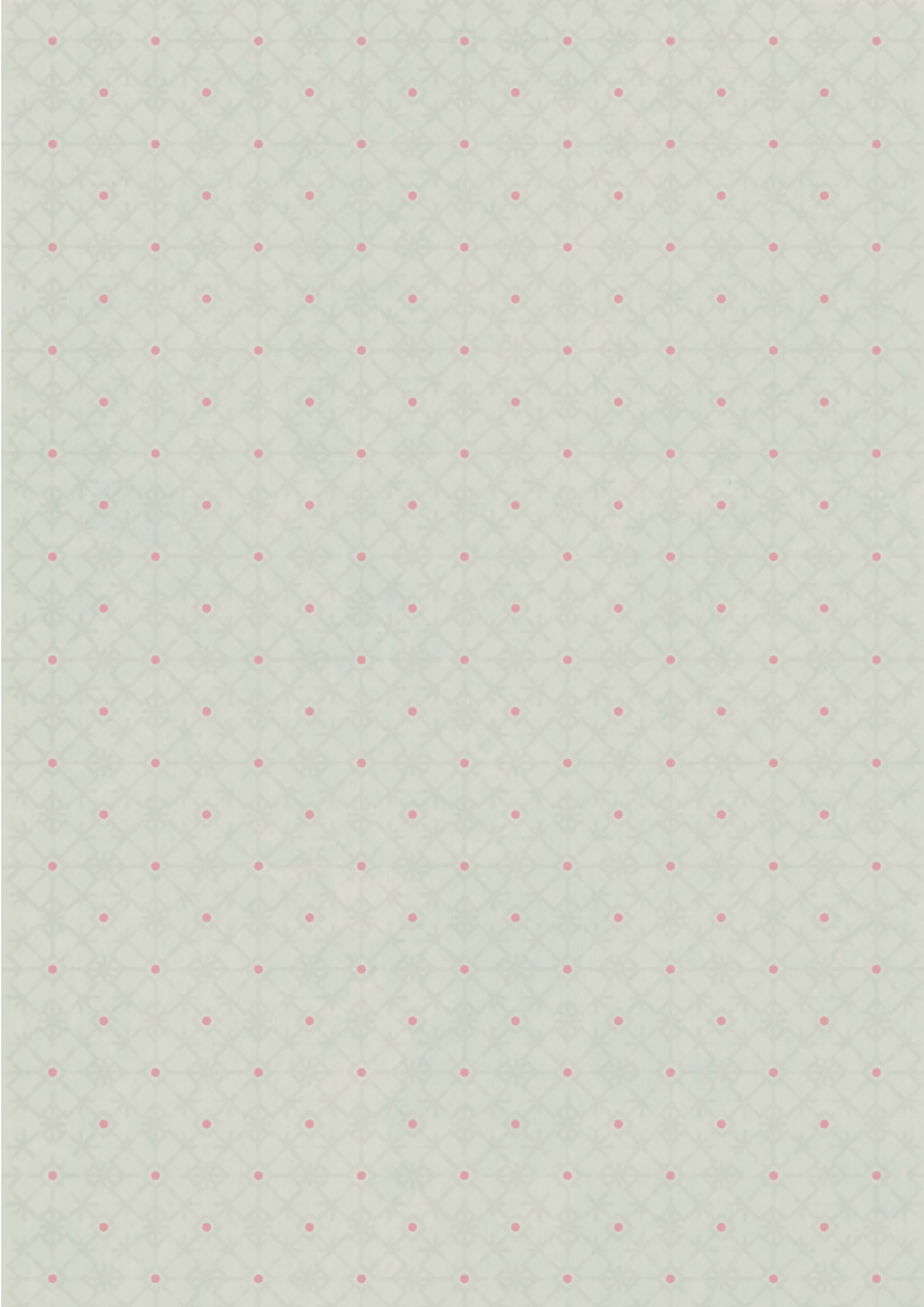
59

Conclusion

63

Bibliography





# FOREWORD

**M**igration, i.e., movement of people in the world has never been so extensive and varied than today. Furthermore, the reasons and causes of migration are also numerous – economic, social and political.

Over the last half of the century fast growing migration has caused well-grounded agitation, concern and anxiety about national traditions and the identity of the native people in their own country. Therefore, along with the growth of the scale of migration, the resistance to it is growing too, and governments have come to the development of a unique migration policy.

The migration policy is closely related to the language policy in the country. European linguistic and cultural diversity is seen as a great advantage for competitiveness. Consequently, it is necessary to pay more attention to languages of immigrants in the European countries and develop a very thorough and detailed language policy in each state as language situations are different in each European country. The hierarchy of languages is formed by recognizing the use of official / state languages and languages of minorities, and the use of foreign languages in the most significant language functions and educational system.

Language proficiency is the most relevant prerequisite for successful mutual communication. In migrants the attitude towards national and state values is also shaped only through language in the process of integration, and language is perceived as the first and major form and means of integration. It is the language barrier that creates main problems that the member states of the European Union are trying to solve, which was also mentioned in the OECD study – the major problem for integration is a language barrier, which nowadays is becoming more and more urgent issue.

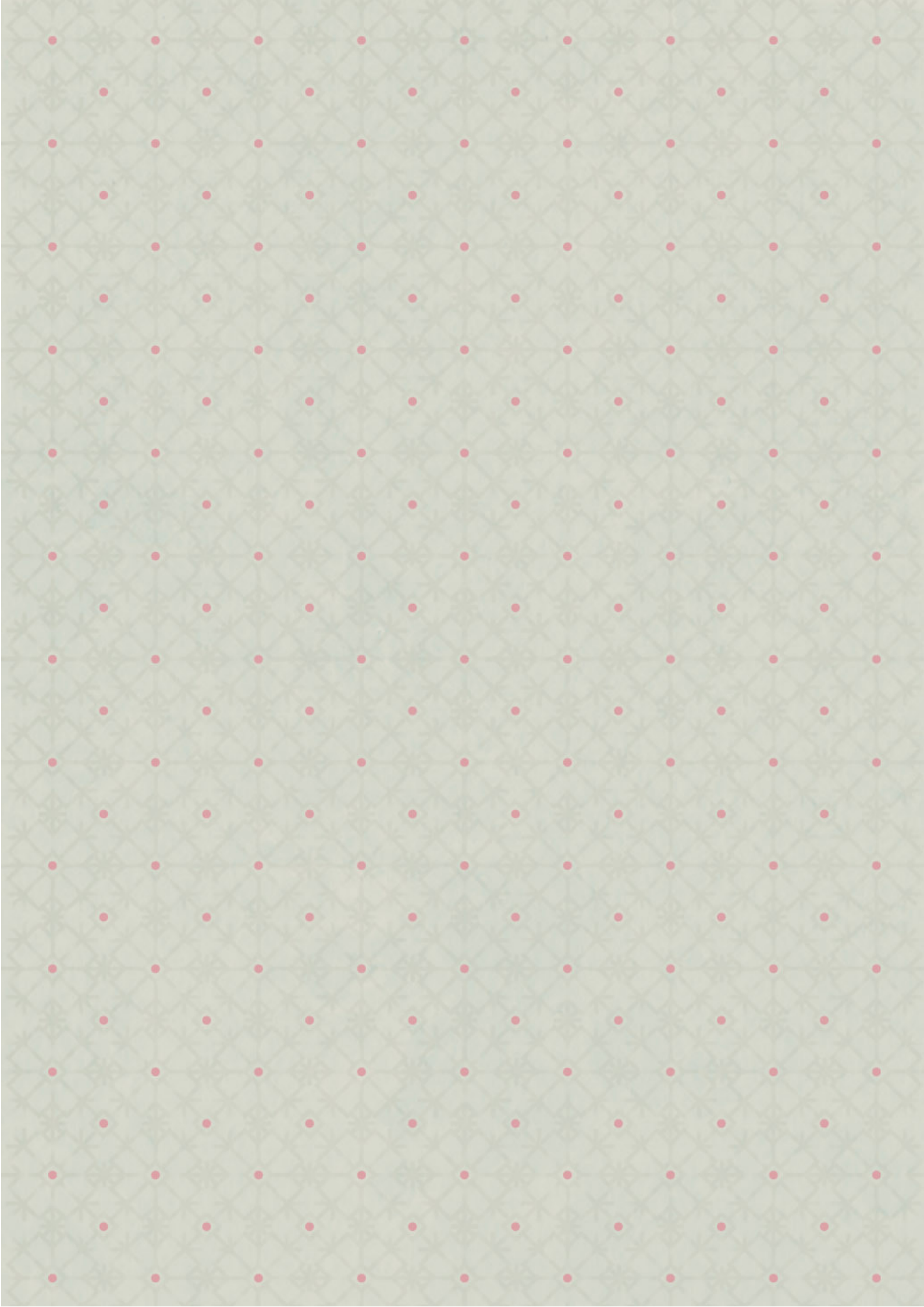
On the one hand, the reasons for these problems might be objective. After a recent expansion of the European Union, 27 member states are inhabited by over 500 million people and there are 23 official EU languages in these countries, some of which are languages of international communication used worldwide. Moreover, the extensive and diverse variety of languages has also been enriched by the arrival of immigrants to Europe. The data show that the EU is inhabited by members of at least 175 nationalities.

Respecting the language diversity is the basic EU value and promoting multilingualism serves as the ground for the EU language policy. Nevertheless, the real form of reaction is in the competence of the member states. Each country develops and implements language policies along with the coordination of transnational language policy.

The present study has been conducted to help to evaluate positive and negative factors of the integration process, the development and implementation of new, adequate socio-political and economic solutions (taking into account the latest trends in migration processes and the decrease of the number of the population in Latvia), and in order not to allow for the continuation of the processes that are unfavourable for the language longevity.

It must be also noted that the work prepared by the authors is a scientific study that looks at the question of immigration mainly from the linguistic and integration perspective.

*Jānis Valdmanis,*  
Director of the Latvian Language Agency





# 1. THE CHANGES CAUSED BY MIGRATION OF POPULATION TO THE LANGUAGE SITUATION AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LANGUAGE POLICY

The linguistic landscape of the world has been changing alongside with the development of mankind and “the convergence and divergence processes have constantly taken places”<sup>1</sup>, namely, different types of language alternations on different levels. A contact of languages (or language dialects) may lead to different consequences or results in different circumstances and environment, for instance, bilingualism, language shift, language death, emergence of pidgin language, etc. Nowadays one of the most active facilitators of language contacts is migration of people, which is not a new phenomenon as such, and which is stimulated by the principle of global free market that appeared at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries; possibilities of free movement; free access to information, which contributes to the destruction of psychological barriers between countries; and the reinforcement of the consumer culture (i.e., if I don’t feel good here, I will go elsewhere).

As a socio-economic phenomenon migration has a range of theoretically and practically significant linguistic imprints. Migration is movement of people which is caused by various reasons. Historically human migration has been stimulated by discoveries and conquering of new territories, an urge to find more convenient conditions for living, better job opportunities as well as numerous political events – wars, colonization, etc. Of course, the roots of some of the present events are to be looked for in the history, i.e., in cultural, demographic and geographic factors. Consequently, many countries have experienced the emergence of large ethnic diversity and strengthening of transnational relations between state and society.

The present migration is mainly caused by social (change of lifestyle, improvement of the level of education, etc.), economic (enlarging income, improving life and living conditions, etc.), military (occupation, evacuation, etc.), political (political, national, racist, religious oppression, etc.) reasons. International migration has never been so socio-economically and politically important than today. Never before have the question of migration been addressed with such an intensified attention in the political decision-making process.<sup>2</sup>

Especially the post-World War II history in Eastern Europe experienced not only changes of borderlines, but also cultural standards. International mobility and globalization processes have led to more and more serious doubts about national symbols, politics, traditional values and widely understood institutions.<sup>3</sup> Since the 1950s growing international migration and labour mobility have intensified the concern and anxiety about traditions, national identity and capability of preserving the language of each nation-state. Hence, it is possible to observe a slow and largely discussed development of migration policies in many member states of the European Union (EU).

<sup>1</sup> Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā*. Rīga, 1998. P. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Castles, S., Miller, M., J. *The Age of Migration. International population movements in the modern world*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. P. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Schandevyl, E. Immigrants and the Brussels Labor Movement: Activism, Integration, and Exclusion since 1945. In: *Migration and Activism in Europe since 1945*. Ed. W. Pojmann, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P. 129.

Notwithstanding the growth of migration trends and the factors that facilitate them, the resistance of society towards it is also growing – a significant part of population in the countries where many immigrants have arrived object to further admission of immigrants. The governments reactions are varied – they develop and implement new strategies that are targeted at reducing and / or blocking the flow of migration (banning the influx of immigrants, etc.); in other cases mass deportations and repatriations are carried out. The possibilities of governments of regulating and influencing international migration are as various as the means of fighting with illegal migration.<sup>4</sup>

The linguistic models in the European countries are also very complex and they are based on a language environment and situation in each country. Some languages account for the richness of Europe, and EU multilingualism and multiculturalism is perceived as a huge competitive advantage. In the recent decades, migration trends have called for special attention to the national languages of immigrants and immigrant integration into local communities. For example, the 2006 study “Programme for International Student Assessment” concluded that there are an increasing number of students (the study was conveyed in the group of 15-year-old pupils) who speak at home a language other than the official state language. In total, in 27 EU countries they account for 7.4%. The highest number of such pupils is in a German-speaking community in Belgium (25%), in Slovakia (15%), Spain (14%) and Italy (12%).<sup>5</sup> A significant conclusion of the study is that a quite large number of pupils speak at home a language that is not a language of any inhabitants, for instance, in Luxembourg (24%) and Lichtenstein (12%), which means that these pupils are descendants of immigrants. These facts prove a rapid and great growth and expansion of migration.

In the context of increased mobility and migration it is important that people **acquire the host country's language** and therefore be able to successfully integrate into the society. **In addition, the member states themselves must be the major decision-makers as to their language policy.**

### **Why is it necessary to analyze migration processes and their impact on language?**

Notwithstanding its direction, migration is disruptive to the traditional lifestyle. Movement of people between different regions consistently and regularly influences linguistic behaviour and stability. Therefore, the sociolinguistic situation changes alongside with a regular growth of migration.<sup>6</sup> It can be argued that globalization together with migration, cosmopolitanism, expansion of borders, etc. are closely related to linguistic and identity changes in different ways.

Let us note some important facts that make us focus on the analysis of migration in the context of linguistic situation:

1. There are now approximately 214 million people (i.e., approx. 3.1% of the world's population) who live outside the country where they were born in. It means that every 33<sup>rd</sup> person is a migrant.<sup>7</sup>

2. Since the 1960s the population of EU has been growing regularly and in 2009 the number of inhabitants was more than 499 million (to compare, in 2000 they were approx. 480 million). 80% of the population growth in 2007 comprises of migrants, which in Western European countries is a response to an explicitly negative natural growth (population mortality rate is higher than birth rate).

3. The problems of some countries with the situation of their state languages and their use that have been caused by active labour mobility (ghetto, enclosed communities, poverty of immigrants with consequent crimes, etc.).

4. The EU lacks comprehensive national-level measures aimed at improving immigrants' employability, primarily due to insufficient state language acquisition. The hope that these problems will solve themselves has not justified itself.

5. Language skills or, more precisely, the lack of skills is absolutely not an obstacle for restricting migration.

The current migration trends show that international migration has become a global phenomenon and one of the characteristic features of the 21<sup>st</sup> century that cannot be ignored. The number of countries affected by immigration, emigration or both is growing;

<sup>4</sup> Castles, S., Miller, M., J. *The Age of Migration. International population movements in the modern world.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. P. 300.

<sup>5</sup> *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe.* Eurydice network, 2008 Edition. P. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Das, A. K. *Survival and Maintenance of Regional Languages in the New Europe: Consequences of Expansion and Changing Demography.* In: *Reģionālās valodas mūsdienu Eiropā.* Materials from the international academic conference. Rēzekne, 2004. P. 152.

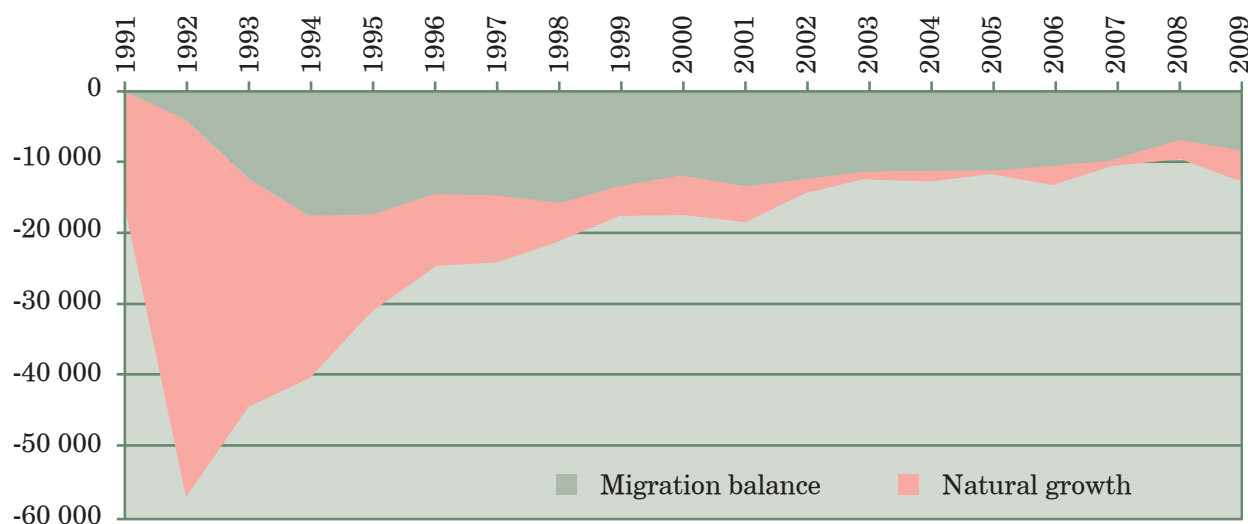
<sup>7</sup> *Facts & Figures. Global Estimates and Trends* [online]. [Accessed on 15.01.2011]. Available at: <http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/facts-and-figures/lang/en>.

there is also intensive cross-border movement of people which can be explained by general globalization trends.

### Trends of demographic situation in the world and in Latvia

When faced with migration used as a response to economic problems, one must also highlight the negative trends of a demographic situation, particularly in highly developed countries. Western European countries are more concerned about rapidly aging nations and their birth rate indicators, which are still too low and insufficient. In order to stimulate demographic development of the countries international migration is perceived as one of the solutions (e.g., in Great Britain, Spain, etc. migration provides a growth of the number of population).<sup>8</sup> Migrants are not only seen as productive forces, but they are also stimulants of the reproduction in the population.

What is typical of the situation in Latvia, like in many other “new” EU member states, is that it is a source of labour emigration, although there are attempts to use immigration to solve the problems caused by emigration. There is a mutual relationship between emigration and immigration – labour emigration creates a lack of labour force which employers try to replace with labour importation. The return of economic migrants to their homeland is one of the most effective ways of replenishing the labour market, but unfortunately it is impossible without solving economic problems that were the reasons for migration – unemployment, poverty, insufficient salary, lack of educational possibilities and social benefits, etc.



**Figure 1** The change of number of inhabitants in Latvia and factors influencing it in 1991–2009. Data: Central Statistical Bureau of the Latvian Republic. *Main indicators of demographical statistics in 2009: Informative newsletter* [online]. 2010, p. 1. [Accessed on 12.12.2010]. Available at: <http://www.csb.gov.lv/dati/informativie-apskati-28307.html>

It must be noted that each country has reasons to worry about a mass outflow of its inhabitants. For Latvia this problem has been especially relevant since joining the European Union in 2004 due to a low birth rate and notable aging of the society. Despite the fact that in the present economic situation the recruitment of guest workers in the Latvian labour market is not necessary owing to a considerable unemployment rate in the country (the unemployment rate registered at the beginning of 2011 – 14.2%)<sup>9</sup>, in future Latvia is expected to face a large labour deficit. Such a trend was already noticeable in 2005–2007 when Latvian economy was developing very rapidly, whereas a large proportion of population immigrated for labour to the EU countries (mostly to Great Britain and Ireland).

In order to resolve the problems created by labour deficit foreign labour is attracted to work in the Latvian labour market. Many employers<sup>10</sup>, mainly from construction, transportation and

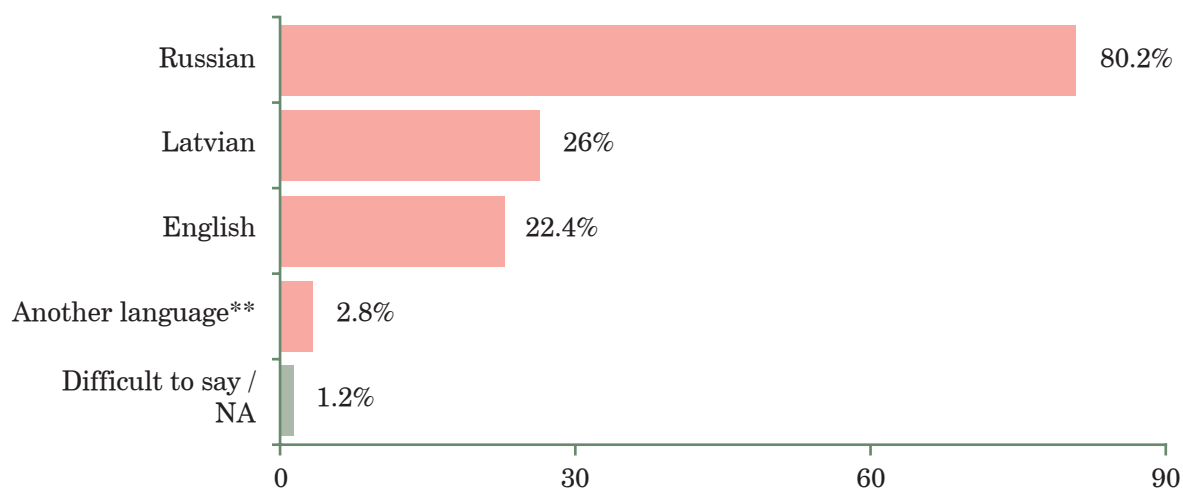
<sup>8</sup> Salt, J. *Current Trends in International Migration in Europe*. Consultant's Report to the Council of Europe. March 2006. P. 23.

<sup>9</sup> LR CSB. *Employment and unemployment*. Main indicators [online]. [Accessed on 19.07.2011]. Available at: <http://www.csb.gov.lv/statistikas-temas/nodarbinatiba-un-bezdarbs-galvenie-raditaji-30263.html>.

<sup>10</sup> *Latvijas uzņēmēju aptauja, 2006* [online]. [Accessed on 14.04.2009]. Available at: <http://www.swedbank.lv/news/150606.php>.

communication branches, have observed that in comparison with other EU countries, Latvia has got too strict and conservative immigration policy and too strict restrictions for the access of third country employers to the Latvian labour market. As the researcher I. Indāns argues, since the restoration of state independence a negative approach to the migration policy has prevailed in all three Baltic States: “Due to historically objective reasons, after the collapse of the USSR the Baltic states have been making an effort to restrict migration processes. After joining the EU by Latvia such an approach is unacceptable any more. It is an economic development that forces to change the proportions of the approaches to migration”.<sup>11</sup>

When developing of a long-term state migration policy one must also take into account a historically determined language situation in Latvia. As it is shown in the 2008 survey conducted among Latvian residents by the State Language Agency (since 2009 – the Latvian Language Agency) and the Centre for Public Opinion Research “SKDS” on the attitude towards guest workers (hereinafter called – SKDS 2008, I) 80% of respondents communicate in Russian with people who have settled in Latvia after 1991 in order to work.



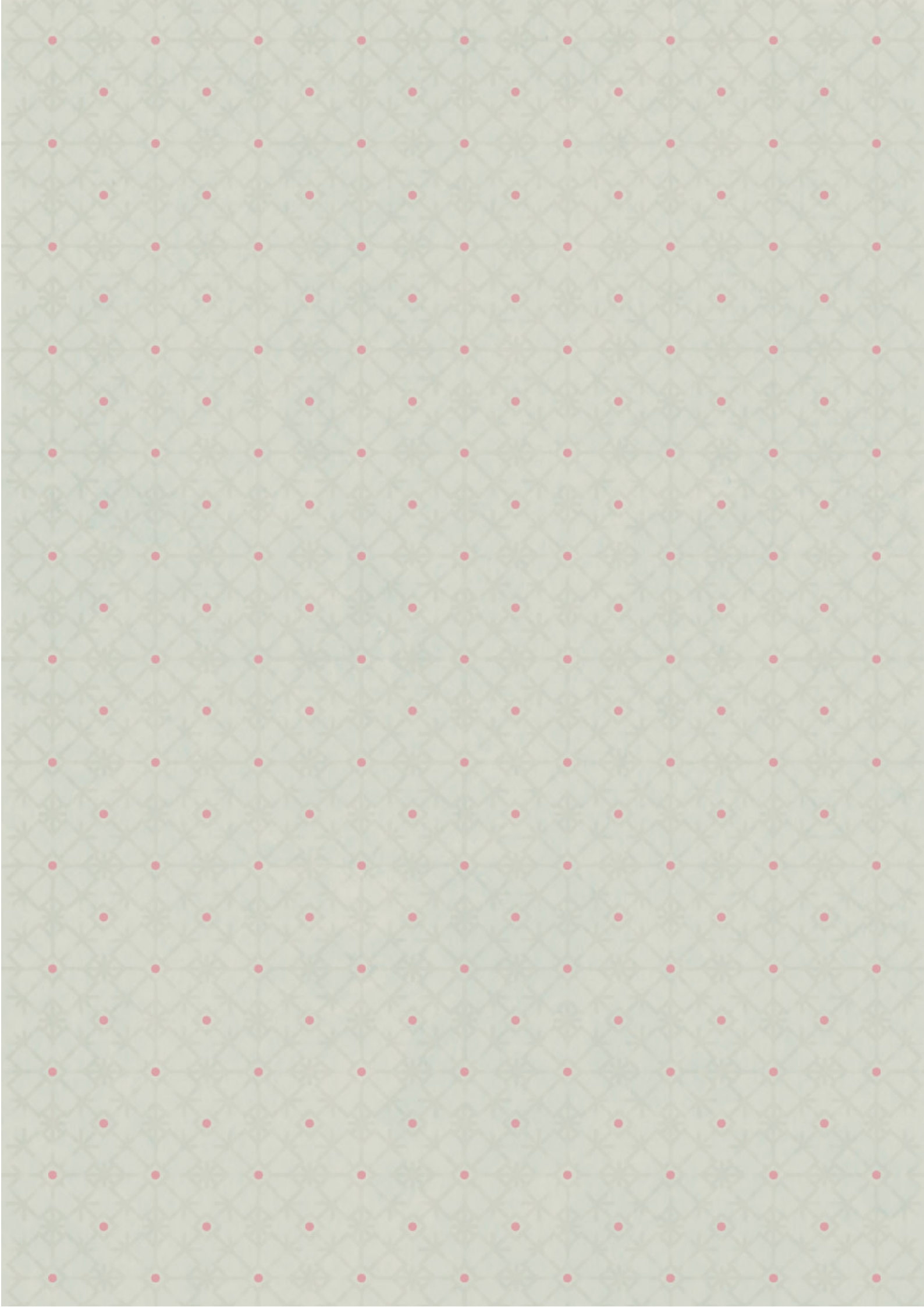
**Figure 2** The preference of the language of communication of inhabitants in Latvia in contacts with people who have settled in Latvia after 1991. Data: SKDS 2008, I

The guest workers have also admitted that not knowing the state language is no obstacle for life and communication with inhabitants and institutions in Latvia. It means that the use of the Latvian language may be significantly jeopardized by guest workers from former USSR republics, whose Russian language skills are still good and satisfactory. In order to avoid the growth of Russian-speaking percentage of population, the state has to tackle both the efficient model of guest workers integration on the state language basis and encourage people to show respect for the country they live in.

<sup>11</sup> Indāns, I. *Baltijas valstu migrācijas politika: pārmaiņu laiks tuvojas* [online]. [Accessed on 29.09.2007]. Available at: <http://www.lv.lv/index.php?menu=doc&sub=komentars&id=163855>.







## 2. MIGRATION AND LANGUAGE – THE HISTORY OF THEIR RELATIONS IN LATVIA. A FEW HISTORICAL ANALOGIES FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

**M**igration process is an essential part of the human history which has more or less intensively existed throughout the history and significantly affected the economic development of various regions and their ethno-demographic and linguistic environment. In order to have a more detailed look at these processes it is important to isolate different types of migration by nature and influence on a linguistic situation.

Although more or less extensive migration process has been known throughout the written history, it was only during the French Revolution, which took place at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, that it started to be called emigration. Originally, migration referred only to irreconcilable sympathizers of the royal power and old regime who were unwilling to stay in France or whose life in the country was endangered.

Conceptually it is possible to distinguish the following 2 notions:

- **voluntary migration**, which mainly occurs in order to look for better living conditions, but in some cases may also include an escape from religious and political persecutions;
- **forced migration**, which is caused by a consistently implemented policy that in many ways facilitates the inflow of some groups of people into a specific area and outflow of other groups.

These processes may take place **spontaneously** or **be planned and managed** (thus, it is possible to talk about planning and displacement of labour resources or colonization and deliberate alternation of an ethnic composition). The terms which are related, but not identical to voluntary and forced migration are **economic** and **political migration** as they are linked with the nature of motivation for emigration rather than with a necessity to do so.

When discussing different dimensions of migration one can talk about permanent migration when a person arrives or leaves in order to permanently settle in another place, or temporary migration when departure is at least originally meant to be for a specific period of time (to perform a specific job or obtain education). Seasonal migration is a typical type of temporary migration which might as well be connected with a cyclical activity of educational institutions or job in specific seasons as well as relaxation in the summer months. However, it is well known that in many cases the people who originally planned to leave the country for a short period of time settle in that place, whereas a part of seemingly permanent emigrants or their descendants do, however, return to their ethnic homeland.

It is possible to distinguish:

- **internal migration** (without crossing the borders of a country or administrative territory), which in case of Latvia until 1918 could be the borders of the regions traditionally

inhabited by Latvians within the Governorates of Courland, Livonia<sup>12</sup> and Vitebsk;

• **external migration**, which includes movement to other countries (or remote administrative territories within a big country) and movements into the territory from a distant place.

This process is mostly individual, refers only to a specific person or family, however in such cases the motivation for migration and its destination is to a large extent determined by the experience of other individuals, therefore each case should be discussed in a wider social context.

As a separate problem to discuss, one could examine **mass migration** of people occurring as a result of great political turmoil, which in its final manifestation (which in this case could be called ethnic cleansing) may lead to an almost complete shift of the ethnic composition of inhabitants. Large groups of people who were forced to leave their homeland due to political turmoil tend to be justly called refugees, whereas an organized part of a nation which in consequence of such processes was forced to leave the country is often referred to as **political emigration** or **exile**.

In 1915 and the following years, large masses of inhabitants of Latvia (especially from Courland and Semigalia) were forced to leave their homes and go abroad. These people officially and in the press were called refugees, and all this period (until 1922) is known as “the era of refugees”. It is estimated that during the First World War approximately one million people left the Latvian territory, including a considerable number of non-Latvians. The problem of naming the part of the nation that had gone abroad dramatically escalated after the Second World War when approximately 250 000 Latvians left their homeland in order to escape from the Soviet occupation. Initially, these people by analogy continued to be called refugees or displaced persons, but later foreign press started to write about the Latvians in exile, whereas the Latvian media called them emigrants or compatriots abroad. After the restoration of Latvian independence there was a brief period of terminological ambiguity (as there were no external conditions to cause exile), but in the recent years the term “Latvian diaspora” has more and more consequently been appearing in practice, and it has been used to denote an umbrella term for all groups of Latvians that in different times and for different reasons have settled for residence outside Latvia.

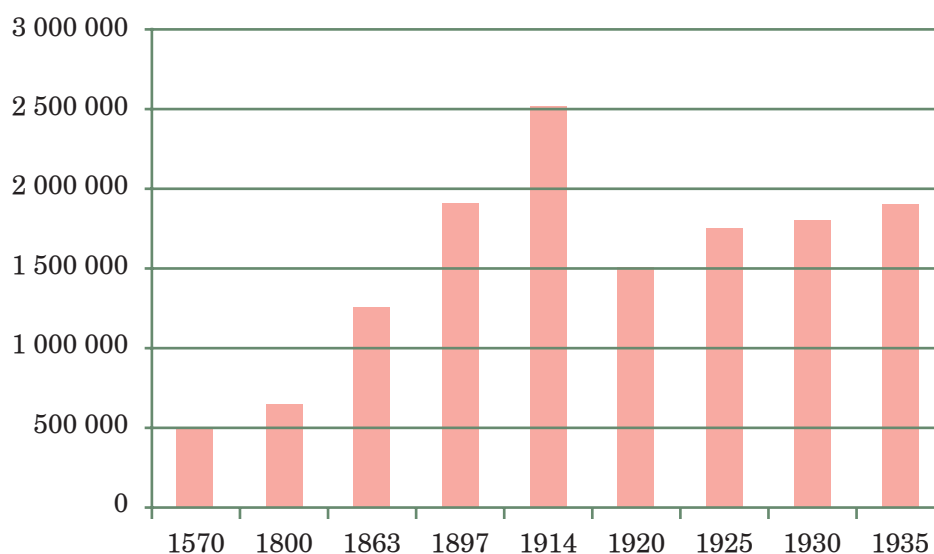


Figure 3 Number of inhabitants in Latvia in 1750–1935<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Historian Edgars Dunsdorfs once suggested that Swedish Livonia and the Governorate of Livonia in the Russian Empire (*Livland, Livländische Gouvernement, Лифляндская губерния*) should be more precisely called the Greater Livonia as it also included five South Estonian districts and Estonian islands in order to distinguish it from Livonia being a Latvian province, however, this governorate has been traditionally called the Governorate of Livonia.

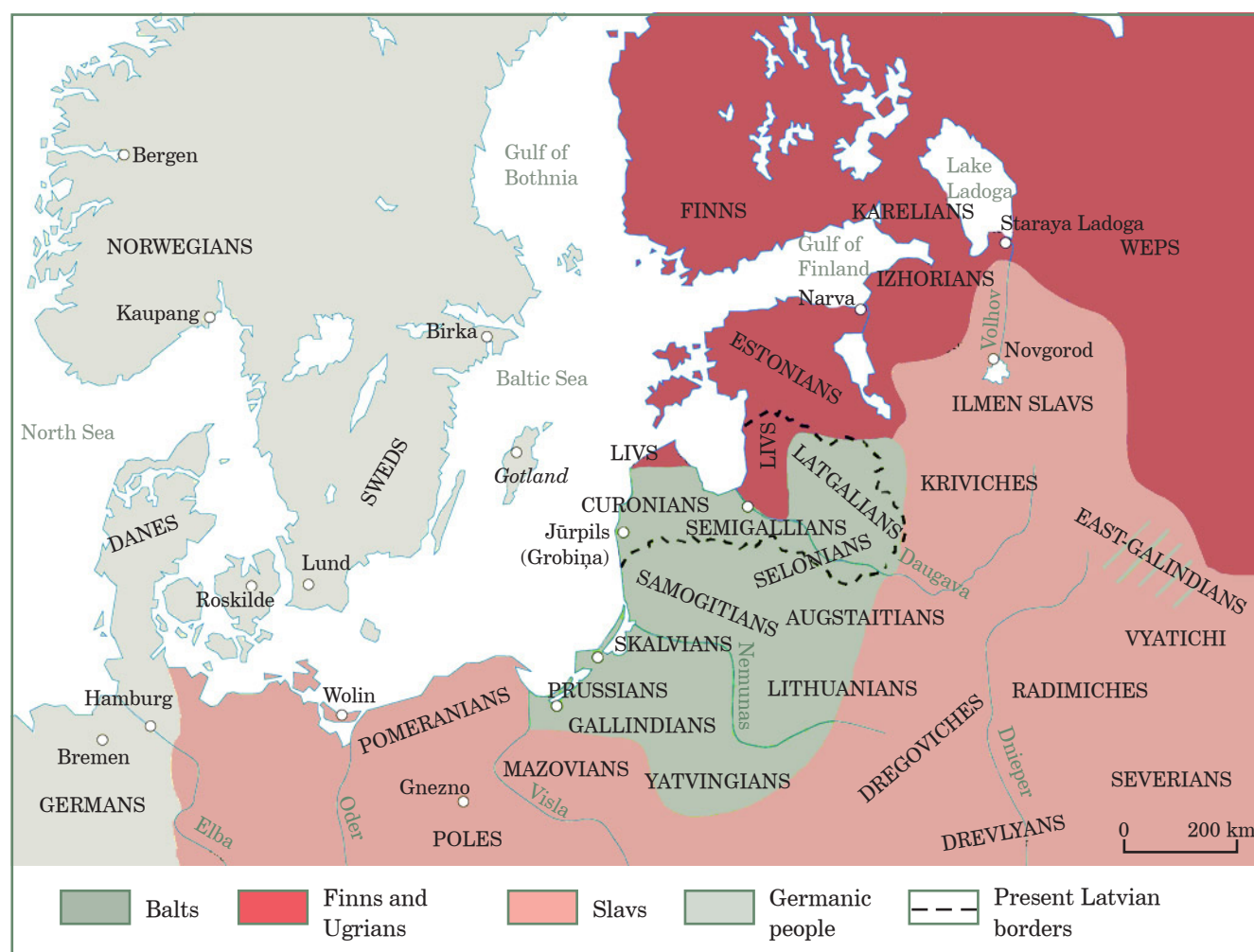
<sup>13</sup> Skujenieks, M. *Latvijas statistikas atlase XX. Rīga : Valsts statistiskā pārvalde, 1937* [online]. [Accessed on 15.05.2010]. Available at: [http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/04\\_iedzivotaji.pdf](http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/04_iedzivotaji.pdf).

Throughout the history it is possible to see many regularities typical of global migration processes (e.g., a gradual concentration of population in cities, i.e., urbanization), but **those processes have always had many specific features that are characteristic of a specific region or nation, and are connected to political and social history as well as the features of nation's mentality**. In order to examine these processes in Latvia it is essential to remember that they always combine the territorial (migration process within the Latvian territory) and ethnic (migration of Latvian



nation and Latvian-speaking people) principles. Moreover, these processes and their influence may be examined both in short-term perspective (e.g., seasonal migration due to educational reasons and seasonal jobs) and as long-term processes that leave significant footprint within one or more generations.

**Migration processes have considerably affected the composition of the population of Latvia and the process of creation of the Latvian nation throughout its written history.** Let us just recall the 13<sup>th</sup> century outflow of a part of ancient Semigalians to Lithuania (this process took place in a number of waves, but the largest outflow occurred under Nemeisis in 1281 and after the uprising in 1290<sup>14</sup>), which significantly affected the formation of the Middle dialect. Similarly, integral migration within two generations allowed to compensate the decrease of the number of population in the Western part of Livonia at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that occurred due to the Northern War and Great plague<sup>15</sup>, and it strongly stimulated the assimilation of the remaining Gauja and Salaca Livs as the damages to the territories inhabited by them were especially severe.



**Figure 4** Baltic and neighbouring tribes in 9–11 cc.<sup>16</sup>

However, when discussing the language environment and its changes it is important to narrow the analysis down to approximately 170 years (i.e., from the second third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) when these processes were significantly intensified by the forthcoming national awakening and the increasingly active policy of the Russian Empire aiming at diminishing the uniqueness of the Baltic provinces and the development of modern means of transport (in particular railway and ocean steamship). It is necessary to emphasize that after the abolition

<sup>14</sup> Šterns, I. *Latvijas vēsture (1180–1290): krustakari*. Rīga : Latvijas Vēstures institūta apgāds, 2002. P. 734.

<sup>15</sup> Bērziņš, J. *Mēra postījumi Vidzemē 1710. gadā*. In: *Valsts Arhīva Raksti*. B. sērija. Nr. 1. Rīga, 1935. Pp. 167–233.

<sup>16</sup> *Vēstures atlants Latvija Eiropā* [online]. Rīga, 2008. [Accessed on: 12.03.2011]. Available at: <http://www.omip.lv/kartes>.

of serfdom in Courland (1817) and Livonia (1819) the peasants, who comprised of more than 95% of Latvians, still suffered limitations of mobility that did not let them cross the borders of their home governorates, although one could observe the migration to neighbouring governorates (Kovno, Pskov and Vitebsk Governorates) due to excessive corvée.<sup>17</sup>

As the first examples of extensive voluntary economic migration in Latvian history one could consider the so-called 1841 movement, i.e., the strong willingness of peasants to emigrate to the so-called “warm countries” (i.e., Southern Russia and Southern Ukraine). At the same time vast areas of Livonia experienced conversion of Latvians to Orthodoxy, who were naively hoping that such affiliation to “tsar’s confession” would rescue them from the abuse of landlords and give them more hope for obtaining a piece of land outside their homeland. Although the real number of emigrants who left the country due to repressions imposed by the tsar’s administration was low, it exposed, however, peasants’ wish to look for other place for living with better welfare, which in the late 1840s led to passing acts that allowed the peasants to change their place of residence, enter cities or move to other governorates. While characterizing this process Mārgeris Skujenieks already in 1930 wrote that “mass migration always proves that the society is suffering from a serious social disease”.<sup>18</sup> In addition, he explicitly rejected the illogical and false presumption that overpopulation leads to extensive migration as the Latvian territory had never had large congestion of population; and the experience of other countries also showed that it is not the inhabitants of the most densely populated territories that more come to the decision to emigrate. Therefore, he concluded that the peasants who lived in the Latvian countryside in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were forced to consider emigration by chaotic agrarian relations and lack of work (because rational agriculture decreased the need for hired farm workers) rather than an excessive number of population.

Alongside with the emigration of peasants to the countryside (in the 1860s, K. Valdemārs intended to promote extensive migration of Latvian peasants to the sparsely populated parts of Novgorod Governorate), one could observe intensive migration not only to the biggest Latvian cities (Rīga, Jelgava, Liepāja, etc.), but also to both capital cities of the Russian Empire (Moscow and Petersburg), where quite sizable Latvian colonies formed over time. At first the emigrants were mostly poorly educated people from rural areas who were looking for simple physical work abroad, whereas with the improvement of the overall level of education, the later periods could be characterized by a distinct growth of percentage of better educated people or graduates among emigrants. It could be explained with the wish of the Baltic Germans to preserve numerous liberal professions (especially doctors and preachers) and maintain the positions of municipality officials in the hands of the Germans as well as with the growing Russification policy in Tsar’s Russia, which was aimed at limiting career possibilities for non-Russians in their ethnic territory while alluring with lucrative jobs in other parts of the country.

Whereas until the Revolution of 1905 the Russification affected mostly educational institutions, regional administration and courts, in the post-revolutionary period its main objective was to change the composition of the population, although it led to financial losses at the expense of economic development. This process, which virtually endangered the existence of the Latvian nation, was well characterized by M. Skujenieks, who personally witnessed it: “The verdict on the fate of the Latvian nation was signed before the war. Whole Russia was to become Russian. One tsar, one confession, one nation – this was the leading motto of the government in Petrograd. All resources were allotted to encourage the emigration of Latvians to different Russian regions, and in the meantime Russian colonists were displaced to Latvia. The vast majority of not only higher posts, but also lower officials, like policemen, rail trackmen, foresters in state forests, everywhere in the recent years of the Russian dominance all vacancies were given only to Russians”.<sup>19</sup>

The Russification policy manifested itself particularly in Latgale where after the Polish Uprising of 1863 the crown land was purposefully sold almost entirely to the colonists from Russia, therefore in a relatively short time the number of Russian inhabitants grew almost sevenfold. While in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the areas inhabited by Latvians in the Governorate of Vitebsk were inhabited by 20 000 Russians, a significant part of whom comprised of Old-believers who had arrived a long time before, the data of the 1897 census showed the number of 144 324 Russians.<sup>20</sup> Similar plans were to be realized in Courland and they meant to grant great privileges for land purchase for the settlers from Russia and spread among

<sup>17</sup> Švābe, A. *Latvijas vēsture 1800–1914*. Stokholm: Daugava, 1958. P. 120.

<sup>18</sup> Skujenieks, M. *Latvieši svešumā un citas tautas Latvijā. Vēsturiski statistisks apcerējums par emigrāciju un imigrāciju Latvijā*. Rīga: Valters un Rapa, 1930. P. 140.

<sup>19</sup> Ditto, p. 140.

<sup>20</sup> Ditto, p. 108.

Latvians propaganda materials on possibilities of beneficial land purchase in Siberia or other Russian provinces.

In general, at that time one could observe a unique social stratification of the emigrating Latvians: rural population set off to Siberia and Russian provinces to establish their own households. Very numerous social groups were represented in Russian cities, although educated circles and qualified workers played a relatively bigger role there. The first emigrants in the USA originated mostly from peasants, however in most cases they became factory workers in urban areas. On the other hand, the Latvians who migrated to Western Europe predominantly came from among the political emigrants of the 1905 Russian Revolution and they represented the most various social classes. Although these groups were quite diverse, their uniformity allowed them to create their own social organizations and parishes, which at least partly could preserve the language environment abroad. In this regard, those who were employed in the state administration of the Tsar's Russia were in a much more difficult position because many of them lived in seclusion in random places, where it was not possible to speak about establishing even a relative language environment.

Being aware of the scarcity of the data of the 1897 census in Russia, M. Skujenieks believed that the number of Latvians who lived in the Russian Empire outside their ethnic territory (112 322 out of a total of 1 435 937, i.e., almost every twelfth Latvian) is not particularly accurate because the number includes the Latvians who lived in the Estonian districts of the Governorate of Livonia (present state borders) and Kovno Governorate as well as children who were born outside the homeland, many of whom were born in mixed marriages.<sup>21</sup> However, he had to recognize that this number continued to grow and just before the outbreak of the First World War approximately 225 000 Latvians lived in Russia outside Latvia. Moreover, all the data showed that in all times there was a clear predominance of men among the emigrants, which might be explained with a small proportion of economically active and employed women at that time. It should also be noted that the whole group of individual emigrants was dominated by people of younger age, who under new circumstances were more likely to establish mixed families and later alienate themselves from their own nation. This assumption to a smaller extent refers to those countrymen who emigrated with whole families, including elderly parents and small children. According to A. Plakans, after 1897 at least 4 000 Latvians left Latvia every year.<sup>22</sup>

Examining migration processes it is important not only to record the number and structure of emigrants, but also their motivation and intention to come back or not to come back to their homeland. Obtaining education in other centres of higher education of that time (excluding Tartu University and Riga Polytechnical Institute, which were perceived as local Baltic institutions of higher education) cannot be directly regarded as a factor that stimulated not coming back, but due to later work possibilities a part of graduates did not come back to Latvia after finishing their studies. A similarly important factor that determined potential return or non-return was purchase of a land plot abroad and the distance of the place of migration from the homeland. This was evident after 1905 when the majority of political emigrants, originally at least, intended to return to their homeland as soon as it was possible (and quite a large percentage of them later on did so). On the other hand, the theoretical willingness of the people who had emigrated to the USA, Brazil or Siberia to return to the ethnic homeland was quite low, and the actual condition after the First World War showed that the possibility of the return to the homeland from these places was quite limited.

It must also be also noted that the Latvians who had settled in Latvian colonies, which had been established in many parts of Russia, lived in a single, relatively compact place and were able to provide adequate language environment at least for a few decades. In many of these colonies there were schools, parishes and associations which also strengthened bonds with Latvia and allowed to maintain language skills. In a similar way, in many Russian cities and the cities on the U. S. East Coast quite active local Latvian communities developed, which reinforced the sense of community and national identity of the local Latvians as well as opened more real possibilities of establishing families within own nation. However, in its 3<sup>rd</sup> yearbook in 1911 Latvian Education Society (*Latviešu Izglītības biedrība*) pointed out the problems of this process and the necessity of obtaining support from the homeland. In order to characterize the problems of the colonies such words were written therein: "...in order for the Latvian colonists not to lose their importance as a medium of culture, one must ensure and guarantee that the colonists are in

<sup>21</sup> Skujenieks, M. *Latvieši svešumā un citas tautas Latvijā. Vēsturiski statistisks apcerējums par emigrāciju un imigrāciju Latvijā*. Rīga: Valters un Rapa, 1930. P. 108.

<sup>22</sup> 20. gadsimta Latvijas vēsture. 1. sēj. *Latvija no gadsimta sākuma līdz neatkarības pasludināšanai. 1900–1918*. Rīga: Latvijas Vēstures institūta apgāds, 2000. Pp. 97–111.



a close relation with the homeland and do not lose their ethnic background. However, it will be possible for the colony only when it is provided with its own school and social centre".<sup>23</sup>

However, not in all cases the Latvians who lived in those cities truly actively involved themselves in the activities of the associations; what is more, it mostly referred to people who had established families with partners of a different nationality and to pupils and students whose contact with the local Latvian society was often insignificant. For example, as an additional factor for reinforcing Russian influences served the fact that for many educated Latvians career possibilities opened up only outside the homeland, therefore their children were often deprived of the language environment. Although directly after the 1905 Russian Revolution the policy of Russification at schools eased off for some time, around 1913 it gained in force again affecting this generation in the most direct way.

Another important trend that was characteristic of the Latvians living outside their homeland in the Russian Empire was a relatively small number of Russified Latvians when compared with the ones who had been Germanized. It was strongly facilitated by the lack of their own national parishes and associations (in comparison with German cultural organizations and churches, which at that time were in almost every major Russian city) and a completely paradoxical phenomenon of many Latvians working as German teachers. Nevertheless, in the course of time the tendency to integrate into the German society abroad weakened, which could be explained with the Russification of secondary schools from the late 1880s (until then the majority of educated Latvians had obtained education in German), greater indifference to questions of religion and the fact that mixed Latvian and German families more often were replaced by Latvian and Russian families, which was also often connected with conversion to Orthodoxy. As a result, a Latvian nationally oriented commentator Miķelis Valters pointed out, the scattered Latvians were quickly assimilating with Russians.<sup>24</sup> According to him, in order to avoid that, in every social class one must actively reinforce the national awareness and strongly turn against indifference to the matters of nationality, which had widely spread in different social spheres, whose all efforts had been aimed at the improvement of material well-being.

In his research on the Latvian society in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s, a journalist Uldis Ģērmanis indicated that the ones who were returning to Latvia incomparably more actively were recent emigrants, urban educated people and First World War refugees, rather than the colonists who had settled earlier, accumulated enough property and cultivated land, and whose closest relatives were living in the same colonies, but whose direct contact with the homeland had weakened or was completely broken. Those people constituted approximately 70% of all 250 000 Latvians, but they were usually not too socially active.<sup>25</sup> The author interpreted this phenomenon with a radically individualistic orientation among compatriots and a prevailing spirit of materialism as many people believed that it would be possible to talk about the questions of nationality only when certain material welfare was achieved.

This is an issue that equally harshly affected the Latvians who lived outside their homeland in the Soviet Union, Western Europe, the USA and other places after the Second World War because it significantly diminished the participation of next generations in the Latvian society both due to language barrier and lack of interest.

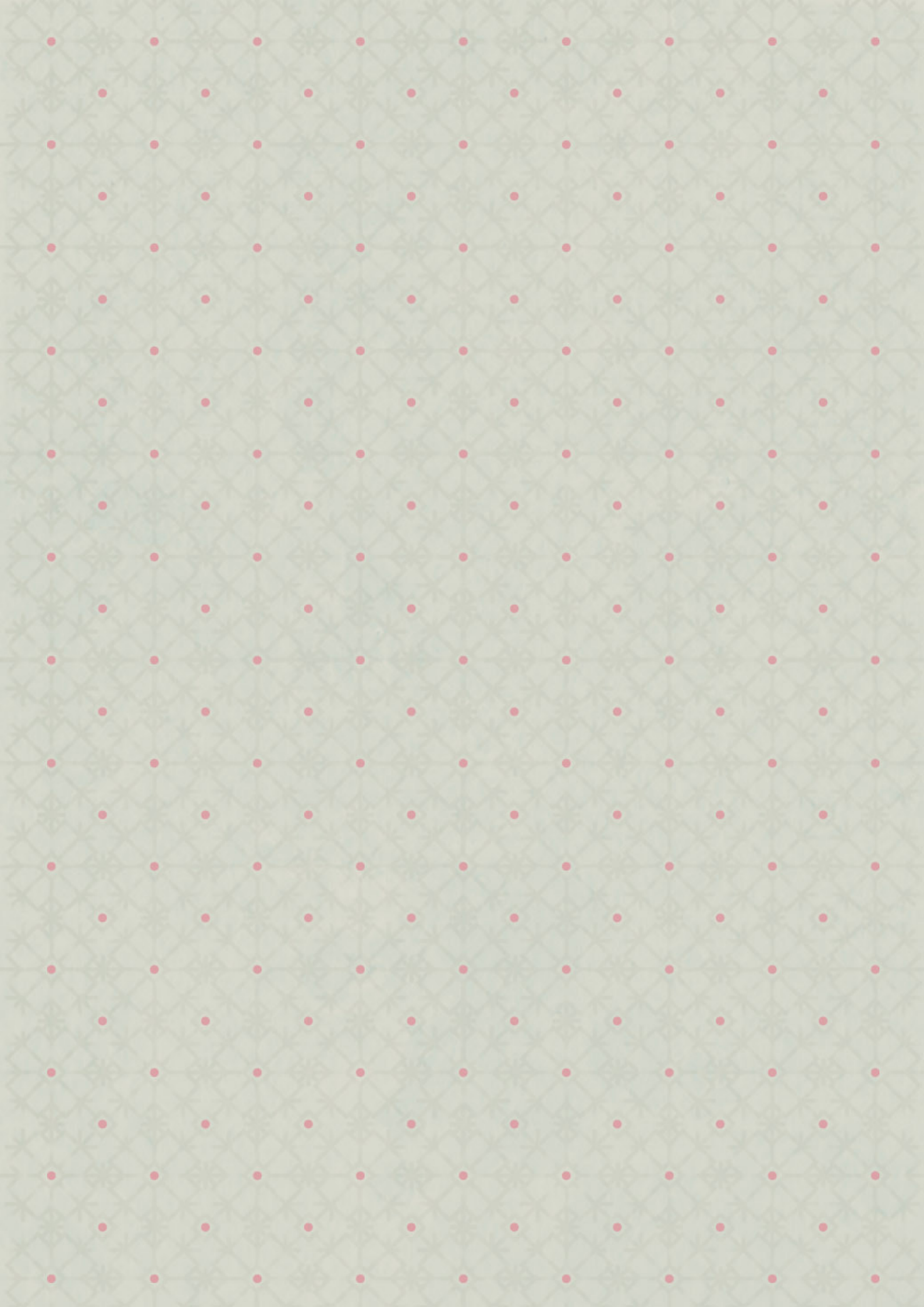
<sup>23</sup> *Latviešu Izglītības biedrības gada grāmata, III*. Rīga, 1911.

<sup>24</sup> Valters, M. *Mūsu tautības jautājums. Domas par Latvijas tagadni un nākotni*. Rīga: Valters un Rapa, 1914. P. 175.

<sup>25</sup> Ģērmanis, U. *Latviešu darbība un likteņi Padomju Savienībā divdesmitajos un trīsdesmitajos gados*. In: *Zināšanai. Raksti par mūsu un padomju lietām*. Stokholma: Ziemeļzvaigzne, 1986. Pp. 140–152.







### 3. CHALLENGES OF MIGRATION FOR THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE POLICY: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Countries in the world and Europe have been anxious about integration of immigrants in their societies and their ability to use the official language or the language of the host country. At the same time, laws of citizenship are also being reviewed in these countries, which are not going to be discussed in this research.

For Latvia, the attempts of other countries to limit immigration are important for 3 reasons that have not been mentioned before: 1) language situation in these countries, 2) instruments chosen to restrict immigration, 3) the social groups which are reluctant to the measures of limiting immigration.

Table 1 shows the main elements characterizing the language situation in European countries, i.e., numeral relations between minorities and native people, as these relations show the basic model of coexistence in the respective country.

Percentage of minorities in the population	Countries
None	Iceland, Portugal
Less than 10	Albania, Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Finland, Hungary, Germany, Sweden
10–20	Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, Ireland, Lithuania, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey
20–30	Moldova, Serbia, Spain, Ukraine
30–40	Estonia, Luxembourg, Macedonia
40–50	Latvija

**Table 1** The classification of the European national states by the percent of minorities of total population (including linguistic, regional and immigrant minorities)<sup>26</sup>

The table gives an idea of a possible language situation in the European countries. What is more, **the total number of minority languages** does not threaten the existence of native people in almost all countries, except for Latvia. However, the total number of minority languages is just one of the aspects in a language policy as the quantitative aspect and localization of each minority is also of great importance.

<sup>26</sup> *Ethnic Groups. The World Factbook* [online]. [Accessed on 15.03.2011]. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2075.html>.

If we were to compare small and big countries, the number of minorities in big countries (France, Italy, Germany and also Great Britain) is considerably lower than in small countries, which may be an evidence of greater assimilation trends in big countries. However, the growth of immigration into these countries forces them to search for protective measures for their state languages, which are the most common global languages. Thus, such actions are evidently determined mainly by immigrants' attitude towards the basic language as even 10 years ago the agenda of these countries did not include so many measures in the sphere of language regulation. **The concentration of immigrants in certain territories and urban areas, self-sufficiency ensured by the ideologies of these countries, which allows to ignore the linguistic rights of the inhabitants of the host country and wrongly favours the human rights aspect of multiculturalism, is a harsh contemporary model of the implementation of human rights and multiculturalism, which apparently in a foreseeable future will call for the revision of the entire value system in Europe.**

The historical situation in Latvia has determined the fact that the Latvian language has always had to fight for its existence. The current language situation in Latvia also reflects the complicated political, ethno-demographic and psychological processes that took place on the territory in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and are still influencing the present guidelines of language policy. It is worthwhile to present this short description so that the Latvian experience allows evaluating measures of limiting immigration that are being implemented by the countries mentioned in this paper, and which we should implement into the language policy, which also includes language requirements for immigrants.

The consolidation of the Latvian nationality and Latvian language took place throughout many centuries. Due to its favourable geographic location the Latvian territory was often an object of interest for the neighbouring countries (Sweden, Germany, Poland, Russia) therefore many foreigners arrived or were relocated to this territory. Thus, since the formation of the Latvian nationality the Latvian language and culture has always been in close contact with many other cultures and languages: the Liv, Estonian, Russian, Belorussian, Lithuanian languages – neighbouring and minority languages; the Russian, German, Polish and Swedish languages – the languages of state authorities and administration in specific periods of time. From the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the speakers of Latvian were exposed to indirect or direct Russification and Germanization trends, until in the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Latvian language reached a high level of development. It started to be quite commonly used in cultural and educational spheres and to claim its place in the most important sociolinguistic functions.

During the First World War, not only the Latvian territory was a stage of fierce battles, but also a period of relentless language competition. The decision of the first government that declared the Latvian language as the official language “Decree on the Use of Latvian in Official Administration” was published as late as on 4<sup>th</sup> January 1918 in the so-called Iskolat Republic in Valka. This document granted the Latvian language the rights that were equal to the ones enjoyed by the German and Russian languages. After the proclamation of the Latvian Republic on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1918 numerous laws and regulations were passed that reinforced the status of the Latvian language. Nevertheless, the law on the Latvian language as a state language was passed as late as in 1935 when Latvian had already had an established position as a state language.

In the meantime the rights of the minority languages were also guaranteed. One of the most important acts that granted these rights was the Law on establishing schools for the national minorities in Latvia. Owing to that, as early as in the 1930s it was possible to obtain primary and secondary education in the country in 8 languages of the nations residing in Latvia (i.e., Latvian, Russian, German, Polish, Hebrew, Estonian, Lithuanian, and Belorussian). Overall, more than 90% children from the national minorities learned in minority schools and classes. The majority of the inhabitants (mostly in cities) could also speak at least three languages – Latvian, Russian and German.

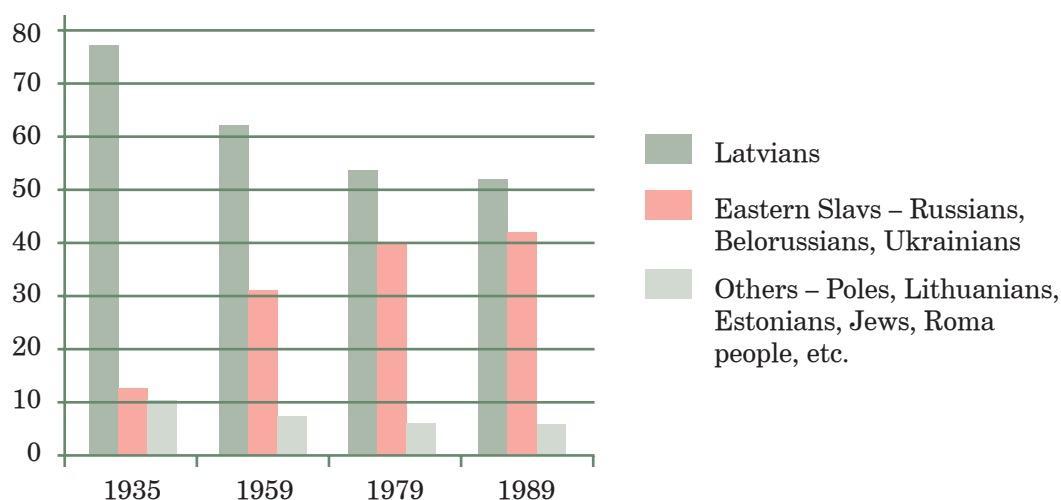
After the incorporation of the Latvian Republic into the Soviet Union in 1940 and proclaiming Russian as the official language the prerequisites for linguistic assimilation of the nations living in Latvia emerged quickly. First of all, it was facilitated by great changes in the ethnic composition of the inhabitants of Latvia, which resulted in the nation becoming a minority in its historical territory.<sup>27</sup> Secondly, by imposing the Russian language and the expansion of its use, thirdly, by depriving the Latvian lan-

<sup>27</sup> See also: *Par latviešu valodu. Pret rusifikāciju. 1944–1989. Dokumenti.* Compiled and translated from Russian by J. Riekstiņš. Academic foreword by U. Ozoliņš, foreword by J. Riekstiņš. Edited by D. Liepa. Rīga: LVA, 2012. P. 152.



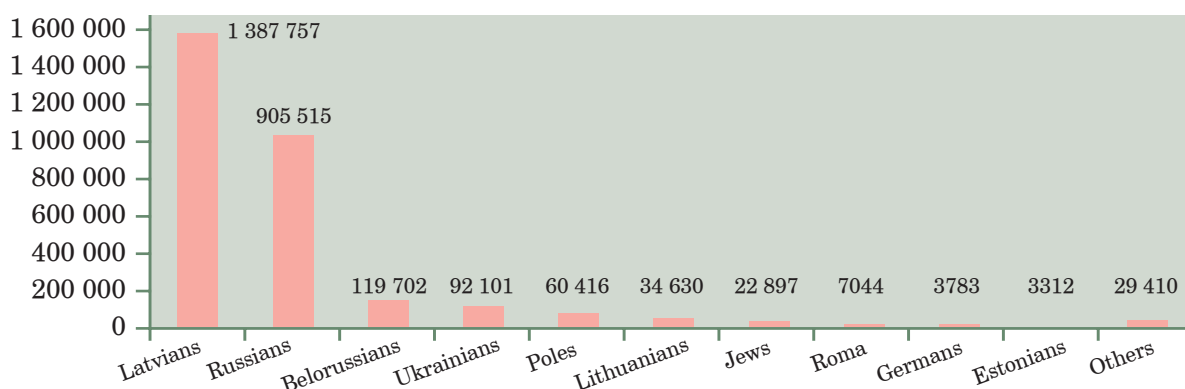
guage of its state language status, owing to which it lost its possibilities of functioning in many spheres of social activity.

The changes in the national composition of the population in Latvia are demonstrated by the data of the 1989 census (fig. 5).

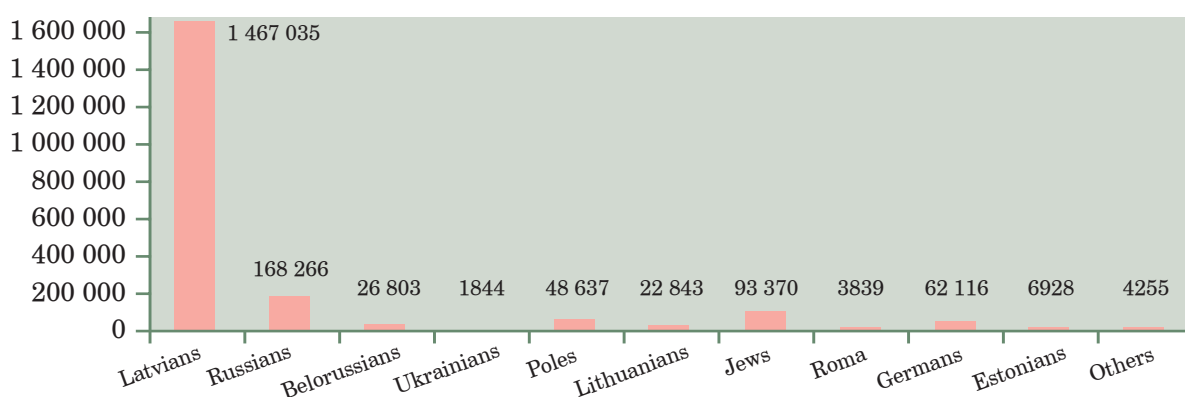


**Figure 5** The changes in the composition of the population in Latvia in 1935–1989 (%)<sup>28</sup>

As presented in Figure 5, the percentage of Latvians dropped from 77% in 1935 to 52% in 1989. On the other hand, the number of Eastern Slavs grew due to migration from 12.7% in 1935 to 42% in 1989. In this period the percentage of traditional minorities also decreased – from 10.3% to 6%, which also altered the structure of minorities in the country (fig. 6, 7).



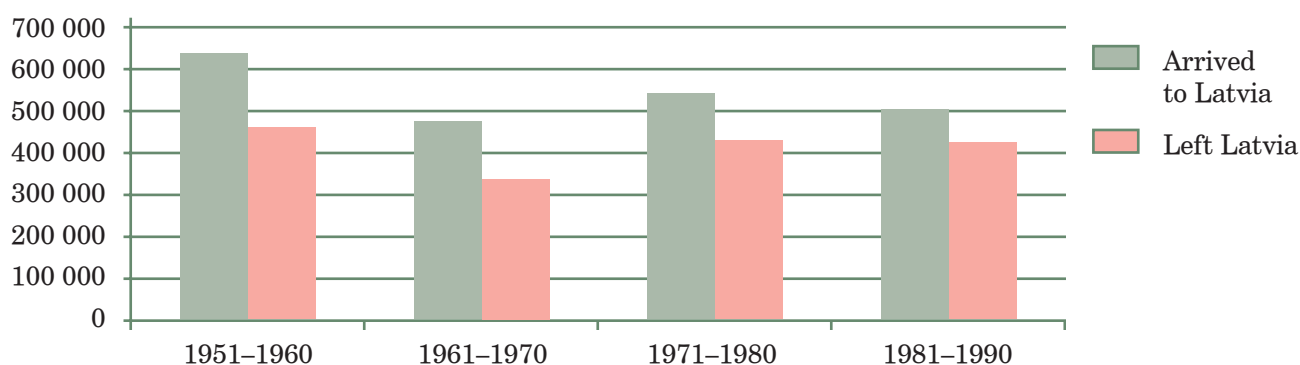
**Figure 6** The national composition of permanent residents at the beginning of 1989  
Data: Central Statistic Bureau of the Latvian Republic



**Figure 7** The national composition of permanent residents at the beginning of 1935  
Data: Central Statistic Bureau of the Latvian Republic

<sup>28</sup> *Etnosituācija Latvijā. Fakti un komentāri*. Rīga, 1994. P. 7.

The post-war Latvia experienced intensive so-called interrepublic migration. Of course, it was not migration which was regulated by the Latvian state. It was the national policy implemented by Russia (i.e., the USSR) which provided for either the displacement of the nation, destruction of pre-war intelligentsia, deportation of the native nation of the republic or destruction of the wealthiest social class. It is worthwhile to mention some examples of this migration, i.e., this policy. Throughout the post-war period almost 700 000 people arrived to Rīga and the mechanical growth of the number of city dwellers in those years reached 310 000 people. In 1958, only in Rīga 28 000 people were registered, out of whom 10 500 were Latvians and 17 000 others. During 5 months of that year [i.e. in 1959 – Dz. H.] almost 8 500 people were registered in Rīga, among whom Latvians accounted for almost 3 000.<sup>29</sup> Out of all main physicians from 44 medical centres in the republic there were 18 Latvians, whereas in Rīga out of 53 main physicians 19 were Latvians. 1 334 employees worked for the system of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, and out of them 361 workers were Latvians.<sup>30</sup>



**Figure 8** Long-term international migration of people by periods  
Data: Central Statistic Bureau of the Latvian Republic

Due to this policy of the USSR almost 4 million of foreigners went through Latvia. It was in the cities where the national composition of the population changed most dramatically. **Rīga became the only capital city in Europe where the percentage of the native people did not exceed 40% of the total number of inhabitants** (the percentage of Latvians dropped from 63% in 1935 to 36.5% in 1989).<sup>31</sup>

		Daugavpils	Jelgava	Jēkabpils	Jūrmala	Liepāja	Rēzekne	Rīga	Valmiera	Ventspils
1935	Latvians	34%	79%	66%	86%	68%	44%	63%	95%	83%
	Others	66%	21%	34%	14%	32%	56%	37%	5%	17%
1989	Latvians	13%	50%	48%	44%	39%	37%	37%	75%	43%
	Others	87%	50%	52%	56%	61%	63%	63%	25%	57%

**Table 2** The ethnic composition in Latvian cities in 1935 and 1989<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Data from the speech of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR made on 7<sup>th</sup> July 1959 at the 7<sup>th</sup> closed plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia.

<sup>30</sup> *Migranti Latvijā. 1944.–1989. Dokumenti*. Rīga: Latvijas Valsts arhīvs, 2004. Pp. 143, 233, 134.

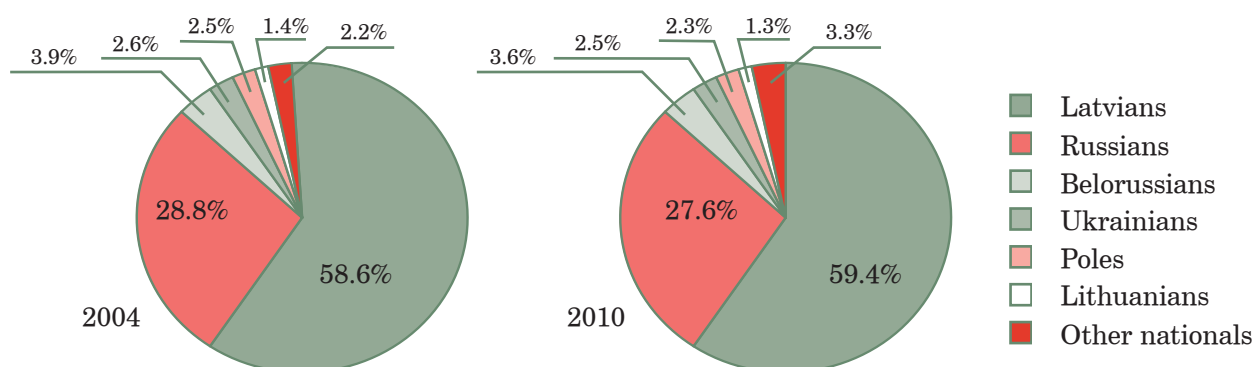
<sup>31</sup> *Etnosituācija Latvijā. Fakti un komentāri*. – Rīga, 1994. P. 5.

<sup>32</sup> Mežs, I. *Latviešu valoda statistikas spoguļi*. Rīga: Jāņa sēta, 2004. P. 16.

<sup>33</sup> The database of the Central Statistic Bureau of the Republic of Latvia [online]. [Accessed on 15.12.2010]. Available at: <http://data.csb.gov.lv/DATABASE/Iedzsoc/Ikgad%C4%93jie%20statistikas%20dati/Iedz%C4%ABvot%C4%81ji/Iedz%C4%ABvot%C4%81ji.asp>.

It must be mentioned that even in 2000 in five biggest Latvian cities Latvians were in minority (Daugavpils – 41%, Rīga – 41%, Rēzekne – 42.6%, Jūrmala – 49.1%, Liepāja – 49.4%) and only in two cities (Jelgava – 51% and Ventspils – 51.6%) the percentage slightly exceeded a half.<sup>33</sup> Over the recent years the percentage of Latvians in the whole country and in the biggest Latvian cities has slightly grown (for instance, in 2011 the percentage of Latvians in Rīga was 42.5%, Daugavpils – 18%, Jelgava – 55.7%, Jēkabpils – 59%, Jūrmala – 50.8%, Liepāja – 53.2%, Rēzekne – 42.6% and Ventspils – 55%), however,

as the demography academician P. Zvidriņš argues, **the number of Latvians in their homeland is systematically decreasing**.<sup>34</sup> Around the period of 1989 census there were 1.39 million inhabitants in Latvia, whereas the 2000 census showed 1.37 millions, and 2007 census only 1.35 Latvians, which means the number of Latvians decreased by more than 52 thousand.



**Figure 9** The national composition of Latvia in 2004 and the beginning of 2010 (%)  
Data: Central Statistic Bureau of the Latvian Republic

When compared with the European countries, Latvia can be also characterized as a country with the biggest number of foreigners, which is reflected by the data of table 1.

In such an ethnic situation the Russian language was consistently imposed on the Latvian social life in order to make it the main language both for the native people and the minorities. As early as in 1940 the Russian language was introduced in records management, as well as political and administrative sphere. Moreover, the number of hours allotted to teaching Russian was increased in schools curricula. During the Soviet times not a single minority was able to enjoy the rights to establish their national school. The educational system started to form quickly, and the following two types of schools developed steadily – with the Latvian or Russian language of instruction. For example, in 1991/1992 school year 53.7% of all pupils were learning in schools with the language of instruction that was Latvian. Under the Soviet rule, in Latgale quickly grew the discrepancy between the percentage of Latvians and the development of the network of schools with Latvian as the language of instruction. As a result, in the early 1990s there were still 14 rural districts in Latgale with the percentage of Latvians above 20%, but the children did not have an opportunity to obtain education in their mother tongue.<sup>35</sup>

In terms of language all minorities and the native people were forced to use Russian as the official language, which means they were Russified. It is indicated by data of the 1989 census presented in table 3.<sup>36</sup>

Nationality	Percentage of the total population	The language of one's own nationality		Latvian		Russian	
		mother tongue	second language	mother tongue	second language	mother tongue	second language
Together	100.0	89.9	2.3	52.0	9.7	42.5	39.1
Latvians	52.0	97.4	1.3	–	–	2.6	65.7
Russians	34.0	98.8	1.0	1.1	21.1	–	–
Belorussians	4.5	32.2	11.6	2.5	15.5	64.8	29.7
Ukrainians	3.5	49.5	14.7	0.9	8.9	49.4	43.8
Poles	2.3	27.3	33.8	14.7	22.8	54.2	33.8
Lithuanians	1.3	63.9	9.6	23.8	40.3	11.9	36.0
Jews	0.8	22.5	4.4	2.0	27.0	74.9	17.7
Roma people	0.3	84.7	3.4	10.2	52.3	5.1	28.6

**Table 3** Mother tongue and second language spoken fluently by different nations residing in Latvia in 1989 (percentage)

<sup>34</sup> Zvidriņš, P. Paudžu nomaiņa un migrācija Latvijā. In: *Politikas gadagrāmata. Latvija 2007*. Stratēģiskās komisijas analīzes komisija. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008. P. 61.

<sup>35</sup> Mežs, I. *Latvieši Latvijā*. Rīga: Zinātne, 1994. Pp. 30–35.

<sup>36</sup> Eglīte, P. *Latviešu valodas izplatība cittauniešu vidū. Valodas politika Baltijas valstīs*. Conference materials. Rīga, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> December 1992. Pp. 70–80.

The analysis of the data showed in table 3 allows drawing several important conclusions. There is a difference between a documented nationality and mother tongue:

- the Russian language is declared as a mother tongue by 74.9% of Jews, 64.8% of Belorussians, 54.2% of Poles, 49.4% of Ukrainians and 2.6% of Lithuanians;
- the Latvian language is declared as a mother tongue by 23.8% of Lithuanians, 14.7% of Poles, 10.2% of Roma people and 1.1% of Russians, i.e., the representatives of not numerous traditional minorities.

The discrepancy between nationality and mother tongue undoubtedly indicates linguistic assimilation of an individual, which is a significant aspect of the characteristics of the language situation. On the level of a linguistic group it means there is a discrepancy between an ethnic minority and linguistic minority. As the table 3 shows, **the minorities in Latvia whose linguistic identity does not comply with the ethnic one have not assimilated into the linguistic group of the native people, but into the linguistic group of another nation, i.e., the linguistic group of Russians.** Therefore, for this group of population the main element distinguishing their identity supposedly is not an ethnic feature, but a linguistic one.

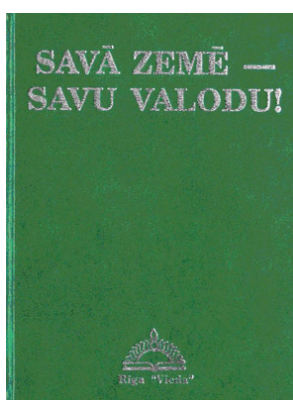
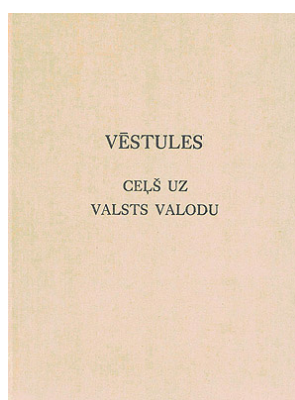
Among numerous minorities in Latvia the proficiency in Latvian in 1989 was quite varied. The language was best acquired by Roma people (52.3%), Lithuanians (40.3%), Jews (27%) and Poles (22.8%), i.e., the traditional minorities, which are the oldest and the smallest by number. On the other hand, among Russians, who accounted for 75% of all non-natives, only 22.2% knew Latvian. All in all, the Latvian language was spoken by 62% of all the inhabitants of Latvia.

The Russian language was fluently spoken by 81.6% of the inhabitants, including 68.3% of Latvians.

97.4% of Latvians declared Latvian as their native language. It indicates that the Latvian language is, however, prestigious enough for the Latvian nation and notwithstanding small difficulties it can stand the linguistic competition.

In asymmetrical bilingual conditions, the Latvian language functioned fully only in culture, families and partly in education. In reality, the existence of Latvia as a nation-state was undermined.

It seems that it was only at the Plenum of the Latvian Creative Unions on 1–2 June 1988 when the first demand to establish Latvian as the official language was raised publicly. In order to ascertain the opinions of the population on this matter the working group of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Council, objective of which was to examine the question of establishing the status of state language, in the 30<sup>th</sup> August 1988 issue of the daily “Padomju Jaunatne” (*Soviet Youth*) published the article entitled “Par latviešu valodas statusu – esošo un vēlamu” (*On the language status of Latvian – existing and preferred*). A large part of the population from all Latvian regions referred to this article when they sent 9 385 letters with 354 280 signatures to the Latvian SSR Supreme Council. In fact, it was the first referendum for their mother tongue under the Soviet rule, i.e., in the third period of the fight for independence or the third national awakening.



**Figure 10** A part of the letters of the inhabitants of Latvia on the status of Latvian sent in 1988 were gathered and published in two publications: a facsimile edition of the State Language Centre “Ceļš uz valsts valodu” (A Road to State Language) (R., 1994, p. 168) and the book “Savā zemē – savu valodu” (Our language in our country) (R., 1999, p. 162)

Taking into account the wish expressed by the nation, on 29<sup>th</sup> September 1988 the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Council passed the “Resolution on the Status of the Latvian Language” which says:

- “1. To acknowledge that:



- in the territory of Latvian SSR the Latvian language is granted the status of the state language;
- the state must guarantee a comprehensive development and teaching of the Latvian language, as well as the use of the language in state-run companies, institutions and organizations, in education, science, culture, technology, health care, social services, etc.;
- in communication with state institutions, bodies and organizations, citizens should be able to use Latvian or Russian, upon their discretion, as a language of oral and written communication. In federal relations the Russian language should be used”.

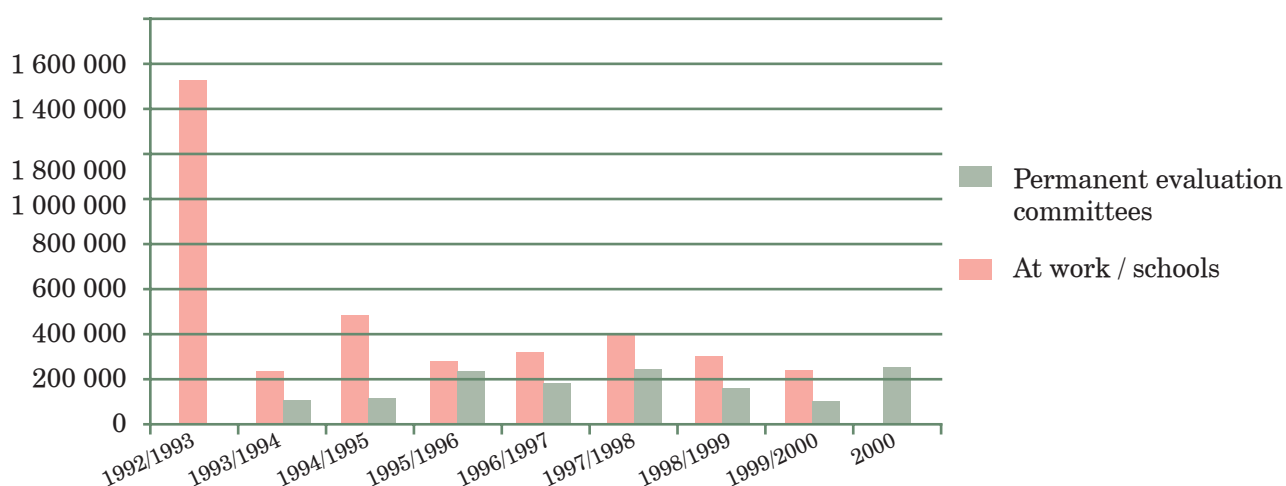
On 5<sup>th</sup> May 1989 the Latvian SSR language law was passed which:

- established the Latvian language as a state language;
- regulated the use of Latvian and other languages in state, economic and social spheres as well as established citizens’ rights to choose a language and language protection;
- guaranteed the rights for all the inhabitants of Latvia to learn Latvian by financing a Latvian teaching programme in state education institutions from the state budget;
- asserted a respectful attitude of the state towards all the languages and dialects used in Latvia.<sup>37</sup>

Considering the political situation in those times this law should be viewed as an undeniable success which initiated a long lasting process of changing the language hierarchy.

For the purpose of implementing the Language Law, on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1989 the Council of Ministers made a resolution which approved “The Programme of Ensuring the Use of the Latvian Language in State, Social, Cultural and Other Spheres”. The programme (1989–1992) included priority measures in various directions of language enhancing: Latvian language teaching for adults, development of methodological base, improving the physical infrastructure for the reorganization of documentation and purchase of the equipment for simultaneous interpretation, etc.

Complying with the approved programme, the state initiated intensive Latvian language teaching, mostly for the state budget resources allotted to national economy branches. Free Latvian language courses were organized at workplaces during working hours for all managing staff and workers employed in services. For example, only in 1989 18 thousand people attended Latvian language courses conducted in companies, institutions and organizations which were paid for by these companies, institutions and organizations, and approximately 10 thousand people learned Latvian on qualifications improving courses and in folk high schools (fig. 11). This was possible owing to 1.5 thousand specialists. Moreover, the government passed the decision on preserving pensions and salaries for teachers who were involved in the Latvian language teaching. The materials for learning Latvian were published in all national and regional newspapers, special language programmes were broadcast on radio and television. Many reference books, supplementary materials and dictionaries were prepared and published.



**Figure 11** International long-term migration of the inhabitants in 1991–2007. Data: Central Statistic Bureau of the Latvian Republic<sup>38</sup>

On 31<sup>st</sup> March 1992, the Law on “Amendments and Additions to the Language Law of the Latvian Socialist Soviet Republic” was adopted in the Republic of Latvia. The amendments and additions reflected the changes

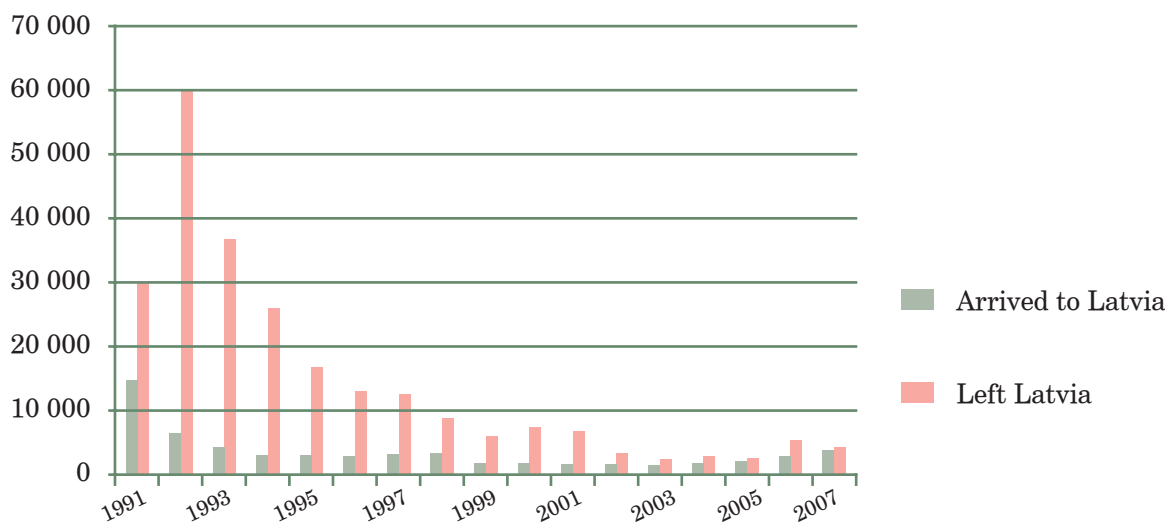
<sup>37</sup> *Latviešu valoda 15 neatkarības gados*. Rīga: Zinātne, 2007. P. 495.

<sup>38</sup> *Valodas politikas īstenošana Latvijā: Valsts valodas centrs 1992–2002*. Rīga, 2002. P. 16.

in the status of the state of Latvia. Having regained independence in 1991, in 1992 Latvia strengthened the state language status by expanding its rights.

What was described above shows that **the situation and environment of the Latvian language took shape in a complicated political situation, which gave a basis for the language policy realized at the end of the century that recreated the positions of the Latvian language that were lost in the Soviet times.**

After regaining statehood, the emigration of foreigners from Latvia increased in the first years of independence (fig. 12).



**Figure 12** International long-term migration of the inhabitants in 1991–2007  
Data: Central Statistic Bureau of the Latvian Republic

In 1999, in order to further strengthen the Latvian statehood, the State Language Act was passed, which was intended to strengthen the shift of the linguistic hierarchy in favour of the Latvian language. However, in the debates on the provisions of the Act the linguists from Latvia could not reach an agreement with Western European experts (from Great Britain, Germany, etc.) and they were unable to convince them of language relations in the private business sphere (firstly, considering the situation where the number of foreigners is as large as the one in Latvia, secondly, emphasizing the fact that the language must be regulated in the private business so that the native people and citizens could always and anywhere in the country use the state language in employment relationships). **The actually political unwillingness to respect the consequences of uncontrolled and illegal immigration, unwillingness not to deliberately separate the rights of the local minorities and illegal immigrants and the experts from these countries only complicated the linguistic situation in Latvia and delayed the strengthening of the state** (as evidenced by the language situation after 2002 when the requirement to speak the state language by representatives of the state authorities was removed from the election law).

By nature language is dual: it belongs both to a social and private sphere, but **a private sector is not just a private sphere**. Once a job contract is concluded it also provides for the participation of the state as a third party through taxes, a legal guarantee of the contract, which means that the state is present in the drawing up of the contract as a document and legal employment relationships. Therefore the state must have the right to demand the use of the state language in employment relations of employees (of course with some exceptions, e.g., family-run companies). At present it is the biggest stumbling block of linguistic rights in Latvia and, as it seems, also in Europe. Only when all the members of a given society know the language of their country or the country where they reside will one of the most important aspects of social integration have been realized. It refers not only to Latvia, but also to Europe.

**The language policy in Latvia is still resolving the consequences of mechanical, illegal and unregulated migration.** Migration is currently under control, but the Latvian ethnic composition is still unfavourable for the native people (fig. 9), the number of non-citizens (319 267<sup>39</sup>) is large, the main direction of immigration is similar to the previous one – predominantly former USSR republics,

<sup>39</sup> *Latvijas iedzīvotāju sadalījums pēc valstiskās piederības*. Date: 01.11.2011 [online]. [Accessed on 20.08.2011]. Available at: <http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/statistika/iedzivotaju.html>.

whose inhabitants are enlarging the space of the Russian language in the country, which does not stimulate the acquisition of the state language. All these components of immigration form obstacles for the stabilization of the language situation and integration of the society. **That is why the implementation of the national approach in immigration, and also linguistic matters can only strengthen the state language in Latvia and the Latvian statehood.**

In a situation when large countries are also looking for the ways to restrict immigration and evaluate possible mechanisms for strengthening their languages, which are still not jeopardized, one must hope that, firstly, much more people in Europe will understand that the market does not regulate spiritual values such as identity (in the survey on negative aspects of migration in Latvia the first place was the concern about the possibilities of preserving the Latvianness<sup>40</sup>), moral and ethical values, art and, of course, language. Secondly, one must believe that the political experience of Latvia in terms of immigration will be useful for Europe. Thirdly, the fact that the large countries have come across language problems in their own states may force to re-evaluate the attitude towards the language policy implemented in Latvia.

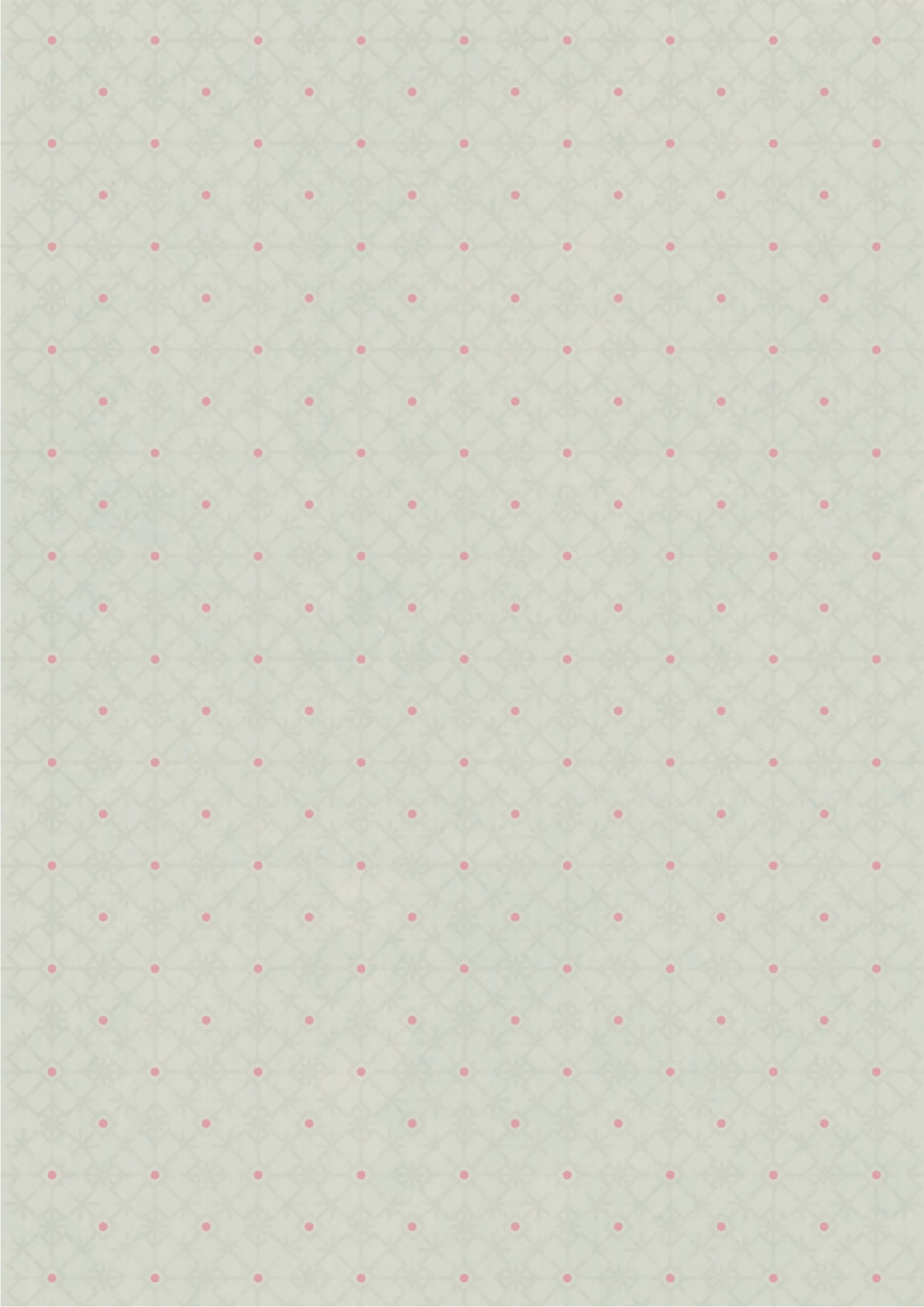
In its first report on migration and integration in Europe as of June 2004 the European Commission stated that an improved access to labour market, language skills and education will be the determinant conditions for the successful assimilation of immigrants.<sup>41</sup> Hopefully, the language skills are perceived from a multilingual perspective as well as in the context of the skills to use the language of a host country.

In terms of ensuring the longevity of the Latvian language, the Latvian policy-makers should take into account not only the warnings of linguists, but also sociologists and demographers, which concern the threats for the Latvian language. "As the analysis of the speakers of Latvian and their changes shows," a demographer P. Eglīte argues, "the establishment of political and legal conditions is not enough to ensure the longevity of the Latvian language. In the period after regaining independence a serious threat has been posed by the decrease of the number of Latvians with families limiting a number of children due to low living standards and a part of younger people leaving to other countries with better salaries. The so-far implemented **policy of family allowances and migration does not stimulate** the return of labour emigrants and **interruption of the process of nation's extinction that has already started** [...] It rather threatens with the arrival of new immigrants and the increase of their percentage in the population [...] Due to this **the state's social policy and economic solutions for its implementation must be immediately changed in order to prevent the processes which are unfavourable for the nation and the longevity of the language with all their impending consequences**".<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Migrācijas ietekme uz etniskajām attiecībām Latvijā.* Rīga: Sociālās alternatīvas institūts, 2008.

<sup>41</sup> Information and Communication Unit. Directorate General Justice and Home Affairs. B-1049 Brussels, August 2004.

<sup>42</sup> Eglīte, P. Latviešu valodas pratēju skaita pārmaiņas Latvijā kopš neatkarības atgūšanas. In: *Letonikas otrais kongress. Valodniecības raksti – 2.* Rīga: LZA, 2008. P. 241.





## 4. MIGRATION POLICY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION CONTEXT

There are approximately 500 million people in the European Union, 27 member states, 3 alphabets and 23 official EU languages, some of which are used elsewhere in the world. There are also 60 more languages that form EU heritage and they are used in selected regions and groups. What is more, a wide range of languages appeared due to the arrival of immigrants: it is believed that at present there are around 175 nations living in the EU.<sup>43</sup> One of the main values of the EU single market is free movement of people. This way any EU member state citizen enjoys the rights to live in any other EU member state, study, travel, apply for a job and work on the same conditions that apply to the citizens of a given country.

It must be noted that citizens of the EU member states actively use these advantages and intensive cross-border movement of people is noticeable. The main flows of migrations are formed by labour migration. Labour migration equalizes salaries in different countries, increases the global gross product in manufacturing and guarantees a more effective use of labour resources.

As it was mentioned before, since 1960s the population of EU has been growing regularly and in 2009 the number of inhabitants reached 499 million (to compare, in 2000 they were approx. 480 million (fig. 13).

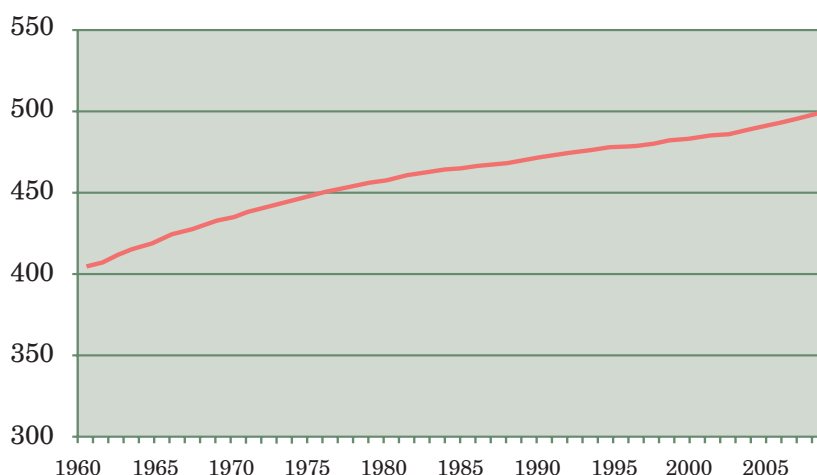


Figure 13 The number of population in the European Union. Data: Eurostat<sup>44</sup>

Interestingly enough, in 2007, for example, 80% of the growth of population was formed by migrants who mostly in the Western European countries compensate for a negative population growth, which is close to the minus sign (i.e., death rate is higher than birth rate). In European countries, along with the growth of welfare, the depopulation process<sup>45</sup> and ageing of population, which leads to labour shortage and impedes economic development, are getting more and more topical. In addition, the shortage of labour is growing quickly. In the European Union immigration is perceived as a solution to economic and social problems caused by a low birth rate, which has its supporters and

<sup>43</sup> *Europe in Figures: Eurostat Yearbook 2006–2007*. Eurostat. Luxembourg, 2007. P. 50.

<sup>44</sup> *Population and social conditions* [online]. Eurostat. Statistic in focus. 81/2008. [Accessed on: 14.03.2011]. Available at: [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY\\_OFFPUB/KS-SF-08-081/EN/KS-SF-08-081-EN.PDF](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-08-081/EN/KS-SF-08-081-EN.PDF)

<sup>45</sup> Zvidriņš P. Paaudžu nomaiņa un migrācija Latvijā. In: *Politikas gadagrāmata. Latvija 2007*. Stratēģiskās analīzes komisija. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008. P. 56.

adversaries. Moreover, immigration is viewed in the EU as a means of the growth of the region, which could possibly provide a high level of employment and productivity<sup>46</sup> by both replacing the shortfall in labour with immigrants, thus providing employers with necessary labour resources, and replenishing the shortages in the structure of the population.

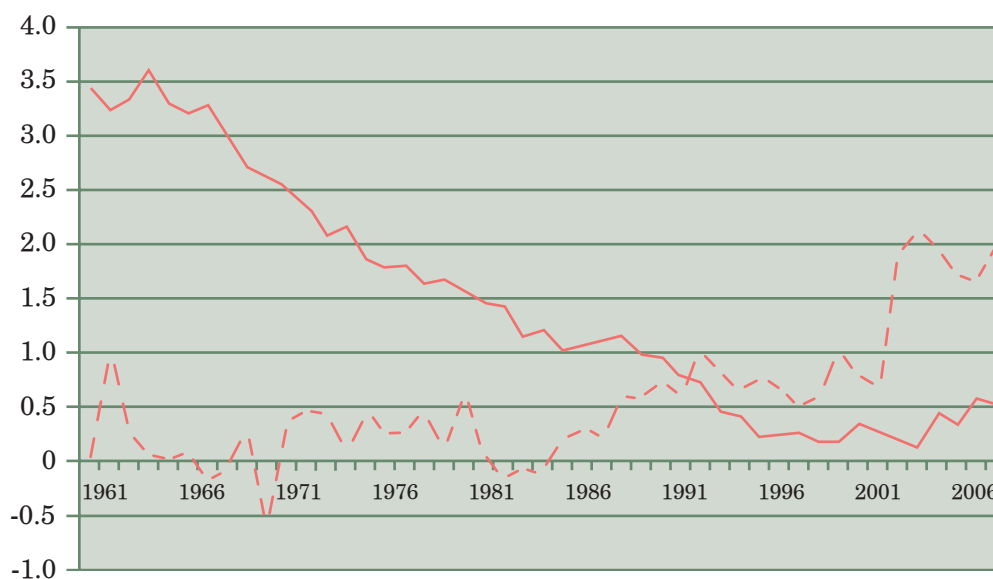


Figure 14 Migration in EU-27 member states: — natural growth; ----- migration balance.  
Data: Eurostat<sup>47</sup>

However, migration singlehandedly cannot be the only solution to demographic and economic problems. Immigration can contribute to the growth of welfare in Europe provided it is combined with other political instruments.<sup>48</sup> Each country should develop such a migration policy that is based on the conditions determined by economy of a given country and common European migration principles since only the controlled management of migration processes can facilitate the economic development of each country and the whole region.

Practice has shown that **the use of immigration for increasing the welfare in Europe stumbles upon obstacles as differences in culture, traditions, etc, which often is a cause of different conflicts.** Migration can stimulate development as well as lead to stagnation and recession. Hence, an important task is to balance possible benefits and, taking into account all

negative consequences, create such a politically justified migration system that could ensure positive development of each country without violating the human rights of each individual, including immigrants, and key principles of statehood in each country.

Once the EU policy of internal movement of labour is determined and has foreseeable results, the other urgent and problematic question to tackle is the migration of third country nationals into the EU. Already since 1970s the immigration policy of the vast majority of the EU member states has been restricting the movement of third countries nationals, although there have been a large number of legal and illegal immigrants as well as asylum seekers in the European Union. Consequently, a problem occurs which is crucial for social integration and preservation of national values.

Faced with the problems caused by illegal immigration, i.e., the increase of crime rate, including the boom of black labour market, terrorism, etc., the development of a common EU immigration policy has become one of the most important issues. Therefore in 1999 a council in Tampere (Finland) was convened for the leaders of EU countries and governments. The council decided to harmonize the questions of national legislation in order to

<sup>46</sup> Zagorskis V. Imigrantu integrācijas sociālie aspekti ES. Referāts 08.12.2006. konferencē *Migrācijas ietekme uz Eiropas politisko domu un lēmumu pieņemšanas procesu* [online]. [Accessed on 15.12.2008]. Available at: [http://www.va.lv/files/valdis\\_zagorskis\\_runa.pdf](http://www.va.lv/files/valdis_zagorskis_runa.pdf).

<sup>47</sup> *Population and social conditions* [online]. Eurostat. Statistic in focus. 81/2008. [Accessed on: 14.03.2011]. Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY\\_OFFPUB/KS-SF-08-081/EN/KS-SF-08-081-EN.PDF](http://ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-08-081/EN/KS-SF-08-081-EN.PDF).

<sup>48</sup> Zagorskis V. Imigrantu integrācijas sociālie aspekti ES. Referāts 08.12.2006. konferencē *Migrācijas ietekme uz Eiropas politisko domu un lēmumu pieņemšanas procesu* [online]. [Accessed on 15.12.2008]. Available at: [http://www.va.lv/files/valdis\\_zagorskis\\_runa.pdf](http://www.va.lv/files/valdis_zagorskis_runa.pdf).

regulate the flow of migrants that would comply with the economic requirements, ability of the EU to admit and integrate new immigrants, admission of legal immigrants and limiting illegal migration. The 1999 agreement made in Tampere (the Tampere Programme) included four main elements of the asylum policy:

- 1) partnership with countries of origin;
- 2) a common policy towards asylum seekers;
- 3) fair treatment of third country nationals;
- 4) the management of migration flows.<sup>49</sup>

The Tampere Programme provided for stricter integration of third country nationals in order to let third country nationals enjoy the same rights and obligations as EU citizens. The Tampere Programme was accepted in 2004 together with the adoption of the Hague Programme, which defined the tasks for strengthening freedom, safety and justice in the European Union in 2005–2010.

This way the term a “common EU immigration policy” in the European Union is applied to the legal immigration of third country nationals and the prevention and control of illegal immigration setting the integration of third country nationals into the EU member states as one of the most important objectives.

The EU member states have set out common principles of the immigration policy in order to manage legal migration and integration and fight with illegal migration. In June 2008, the European Commission adopted a declaration “A Common Immigration Policy for Europe – Principles, Actions and Tools”,<sup>50</sup> which included ten common principles divided into three groups:

- prosperity and immigration: 1) clear rules and a level playing field; 2) matching skills and needs; 3) **integration is the key to successful immigration**;
- solidarity and immigration: 4) transparency, trust and cooperation; 5) efficient and coherent use of available means; 6) partnership with non-EU countries;
- security and immigration: 7) a visa policy that serves the interests of Europe; 8) integrated border management; 9) stepping up the fight against illegal immigration and zero tolerance for trafficking in human beings; 10) effective and sustainable return policies.

The European Union has great expectations for regulating the flow of immigrants and its use in the economic development of Europe, however, it must be noted that a beneficial application of numerous economic solutions that immigration offers is possible provided that successful integration of immigrants has been ensured.

**It is the successful integration of immigrants into a host country's society that is the most important prerequisite for a possible contribution of immigration for the European economic development.** It is important to perceive immigration not only as a benefit for the economic development of a specific country, but also to understand it as a challenge and prepare oneself for the protection of the rights of the inhabitants of each country and ensure the rights of immigrants.

The integration of immigrants into a society of a host country is subject to important political spheres that are connected with a broad concept of integration. As immigration researches have argued, the important prerequisites for the successful integration of immigrants are: an access to labour market, possibility of family reunion, long-term residence, ensuring access to the participation in political life, access to citizenship and anti-discrimination legislation.<sup>51</sup> A successful access to labour market, residence in a given country or obtaining residence permit in Europe is unthinkable without knowing the language of a specific country, in other words, its official language.

*Maybe it'll sound cruel, but it is necessary that each foreigner attend a course once a week so that they could at least tell letters apart and read and understand anything, because, for example, it might be written that it's not allowed to smoke here and a policeman comes and makes a person pay a fine, and he doesn't care that the foreigner doesn't understand.* (SKDA, 2008, II)<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Zagorskis V. Imigrantu integrācijas sociālie aspekti ES. Referāts 08.12.2006. konferencē *Migrācijas ietekme uz Eiropas politisko domu un lēmumu pieņemšanas procesu* [online]. [Accessed on 15.12.2008]. Available at: [http://www.va.lv/files/valdis\\_zagorskis\\_runa.pdf](http://www.va.lv/files/valdis_zagorskis_runa.pdf).

<sup>50</sup> Kondrāts, Ģ. Imigrācija – gan galvassāpes, gan cerības. *Latvijas Avīze*, 21 Jun 2008.

<sup>51</sup> *Mācāmies uzņemt. Imigrantu integrācija Latvijā un Polijā*. 2008. Rīga: Sabiedriskās politikas centrs “Providus”. 2008. P. 10.

<sup>52</sup> The present and following statements of respondents are quoted without correcting their form and language mistakes.

As an EU member state, in terms of the implementation of a common migration policy Latvia has to follow the common main principle, i.e., free movement of people, and a migration policy must be implemented according to the international legal standards and the interests of Latvia. As it is argued by migration researchers, **the migration policy in Latvia is neutral (or even stimulating) for emigration and restricting for immigration.**<sup>53</sup> The main normative act which regulates the immigration of foreigners into Latvia is Latvian Immigration Law. A person who works legally in Latvia can be employed for the period the residence permit has been issued. An immigrant can reside in Latvia upon one of three residence permits:

- **temporary residence permit** (one year for a self-employed person and five years if a person arrives on the basis of a job contract, business contract or another civil-law contract);
- **permanent residence permit;**
- **European Community (EC) long-term resident permit in Latvia.**<sup>54</sup>

Without questioning the contribution of immigration to economic development and solving demographic problems and by recognizing the future needs of Latvia to attract labour and taking into account the experience of the EU countries and problems related to immigration, the most important work to be done is ensuring the integration of immigrants as the economic grounds alone cannot serve as a justification for the loss of state's national values and ideals. One of the most significant preconditions of successful integration is the knowledge of the state language and the basic knowledge about the country. The Latvian Immigration Law requires the knowledge of the state language only from those immigrants who want to obtain a permanent residence permit (Article 24 par. 5 of the Latvian Immigration Law) after five years of residence in Latvia on the basis of a temporary residence permit. After a period of five-year residence in Latvia upon a permanent residence permit or EC long-term resident permit, an immigrant can become naturalized and obtain Latvian citizenship.<sup>55</sup> In other words, **an immigrant can reside in Latvia for a period of five years with temporary residence permit and he / she does not have to acquire the state language.** If after these five years an immigrant wishes to obtain a permanent residence permit, he / she needs to submit a state language proficiency certificate that confirms the knowledge of the state language on at least A2 level. During this period of five years, however, the person is required to participate in public life, and the lack of knowledge of the state language can obviously impede a person's ability to join the local society or simply get high quality services. Therefore Latvia should develop such an integration programme that would allow each new resident of the country to take part in all the processes of the social life as quickly as possible.

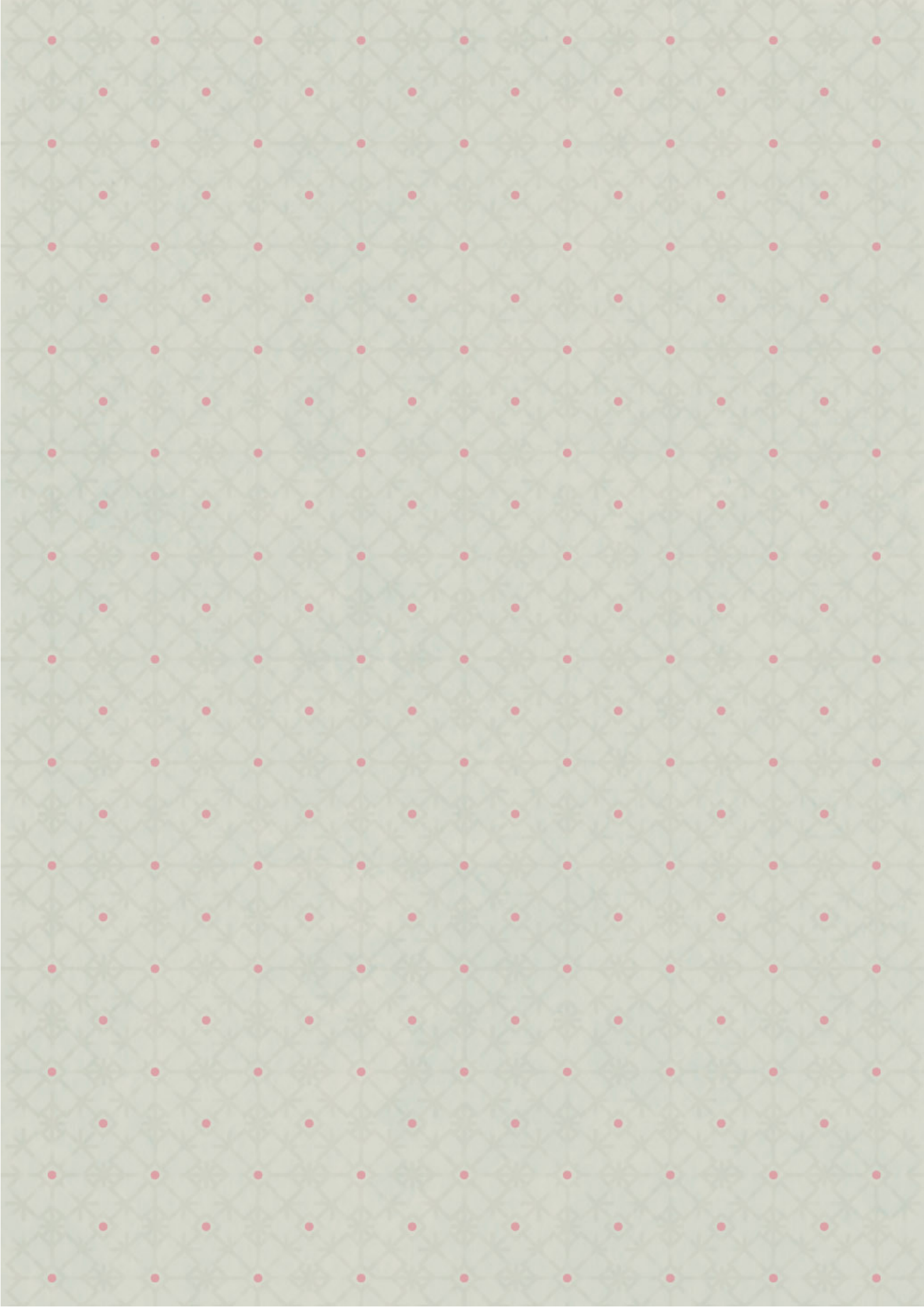
<sup>53</sup> Karnīte, R., Karnītis, K. *Iedzīvotāju starpvalstu ilgtermiņa migrācijas ietekme uz Latvijas tautsaimniecību* [online]. Rīga, 2009. [Accessed on 15.01.2011]. Available at: [http://www.politika.lv/temas/fwd\\_eiropa/18267/](http://www.politika.lv/temas/fwd_eiropa/18267/); *Imigranti Latvijā: iekļaušanās iespējas un nosacījumi*. Rīga: BISS, 2009. P. 6.

<sup>54</sup> Karnīte, R., Karnītis, K. *Iedzīvotāju starpvalstu ilgtermiņa migrācijas ietekme uz Latvijas tautsaimniecību* [online]. Rīga, 2009. [Accessed on 15.01.2011]. Available at: [http://www.politika.lv/temas/fwd\\_eiropa/18267/](http://www.politika.lv/temas/fwd_eiropa/18267/).

<sup>55</sup> Ditto; for more information on the procedure of admission and residence of immigrants visit the webpage of the Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs at [www.pmlp.gov.lv](http://www.pmlp.gov.lv).







## 5. MIGRATION AND LANGUAGE POLICY IN LATVIA AFTER JOINING THE EUROPEAN UNION

The migration policy in Latvia started to be developed in the late 1980s when the immigration flows from the former USSR territories were restricted. The beginning of the implementation of the migration policy dates back to the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1992, when the Law on the Entry and Residence of Foreign Citizens and Stateless Persons in the Republic of Latvia<sup>56</sup> came into force. This law was strongly influenced by national interests as Latvia had only recently regained independence from the USSR.

Different aspects of migration have been described by political scientists, historians and linguists. Similarly to the language policy, the migration policy in Latvia is and will also be implemented in the context of the migration policy in the European Union. However, as it is argued by the researcher from Latvian Institute of Foreign Affairs Ivars Indāns and the researcher of international migration rights Kristīne Krūma: “The EU immigration policy is full of controversies because its formation and development at the same time relies on global economic factors and socio-political factors of national interests. In a broader sense, such a situation is also determined by internal conflicts between European political values. Development tendencies arise from three approaches to the EU immigration policy: national, intergovernmental and supranational. The presence and overlapping of these three approaches also mark the controversies that are reflected in the EU legislation”.<sup>57</sup> For these scenarios to be clear, it must be noted that a “**national approach** is based on an emotionally cultural perspective and national identity sentiments”, namely, countries develop their national policy by themselves.<sup>58</sup> It is believed that this approach is based not on the identity sentiment, but identity threat, and not on emotionally cultural perspective, but rather on justified anxiousness about the culture of one’s own nation. The history of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, especially in the Eastern Europe, proves this.

The national approach is used in France, Germany, Austria and the Netherlands. On the other hand, “an **intergovernmental approach** is based on possible compromises that the governments of the member states are able to reach”. Whereas “a **supra-national approach** is an economically rational (mercantile) reaction to the demand for labour in Europe, and it does not reckon with domestic political stand and identity of countries”.<sup>59</sup> In some cases the implementation of international rights results in a gradual withdrawal from the previously defined main principles of the traditional rights. For example, it also applies to the norms regulating each country’s right to decide not to admit other nationals into their countries. “It was only in the recent years,” the researchers argue, “that the exceptions to this international human rights principle appeared. In this respect, one can argue that the EU has introduced a special procedure for the third country nationals who legally reside in the EU”.<sup>60</sup> Since for each country it is important to define their stand on these issues, the conclusions of the researchers might cause unpleasant reflections as they say that “Latvia has broad possibilities for participating in the development of the EU immigration policy. However, in order for the positions of Latvia to be consistent and easier to be defended and justi-

<sup>56</sup> The Law of the Republic of Latvia on the Entry and Residence of Foreign Citizens and Stateless Persons in the Republic of Latvia [online]. [Accessed on 14.05.2009]. Available at: <http://www.likumi.lv/doc.php?id=73092>.

<sup>57</sup> Indāns, I., Krūma, K. Eiropas Savienības nākotne un imigrācijas politika. In: *Latvijas skatījums uz Eiropas Savienības nākotni*. Stratēģiskās analīzes komisija. Rīga: Zinātne, 2007. P. 152.

<sup>58</sup> Ditto, p. 153.

<sup>59</sup> Ditto, pp. 156–157.

<sup>60</sup> Ditto, p. 164.

fied, it is important to define national interests within the EU. Latvian choices are constrained by the fact that the national policy is not on the level of executive authorities which plan the immigration policy, and there is a lack of cooperation with professional associations, business environment and trade unions”.<sup>61</sup>

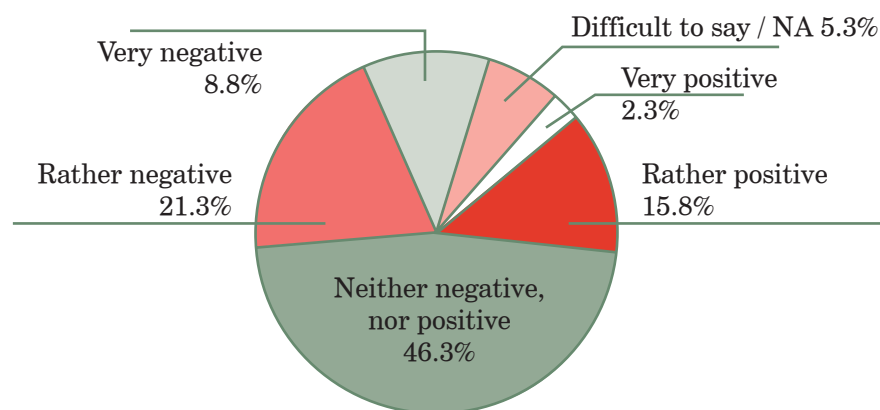
Linguists as representatives of their field are already making and can make their contribution to the development of a language policy by taking into consideration a special place of language in the state policy.<sup>62</sup>

The institutions in the European Union and European Community are developing new migration laws, and although the economic reasons prevail over the conservatively national ones, the member states have the right to require at least third country nationals to assimilate into the host country society through language, culture and history acquisition.

There is a paradoxical situation in Europe: it seems that in political and economic elites much more is said about a mercantile approach to immigration, whereas on the whole level of society there is a demand for limiting immigration. As a result of the pressure of societies, in Italy, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Greece and other countries immigration laws are going to be altered and there are going to be stricter requirements for immigrants, and these countries have showed particular concerns about the condition of their official state languages. For instance, even Germany has taken steps to ensure the reinforcement of the German language in the constitution. Due to an inflow of immigrants, British municipalities are also seriously warning the government about problems in providing social services, and they are pointing out the necessity to increase the number of English teachers in order to provide the immigrants with the possibility to acquire the language. Not to speak about such an aspect of immigration as the attitude of a society towards immigrants. Quite a negative attitude towards foreigners has historically developed in England, which is occasionally showed in the works of the classics of English literature (e.g., in the works of the queen of detective stories A. Christie). This is why the results of a survey carried out by *The Sunday Times* should not come as a surprise, i.e., 77% of British respondents wish for immigration restrictions; on the other hand, other numerous sociological surveys show that not only British people, but also voters in other European countries, feel threatened and defenceless due to migration.<sup>63</sup>

As already mentioned, at the beginning of 2008 the survey “The attitude towards foreign workers in Latvia” was carried out with the support of the State Language Agency (since 1<sup>st</sup> July 2009 – the Latvian Language Agency). The survey showed that 30% of the respondents have a negative attitude towards immigrants, 18% – positive, 46% of the people are indifferent, yet the most interesting figures are the ones on the attitude of Latvians and Russians towards immigrants – 14.3% of Latvians and 21.6% of Russians declared a positive attitude, 36.3% of Latvians and 21.1% of Russians declared a negative one, and on both sides a neutral attitude towards foreign workers was declared by 45% and 50% of respondents respectively.

**Therefore, in Latvia the attitude towards immigrants is not as negative** as, say, in Great Britain, notwithstanding the negative historical experience of Latvia. The figures obtained from the survey in Latvia are most surprising due to the fact that for a quite significant number of Latvians the problems of migration do not seem important.



**Figure 15** The attitude of the population in Latvia towards foreign workers. Data: Centre for Public Opinion Research SKDS 2008, I

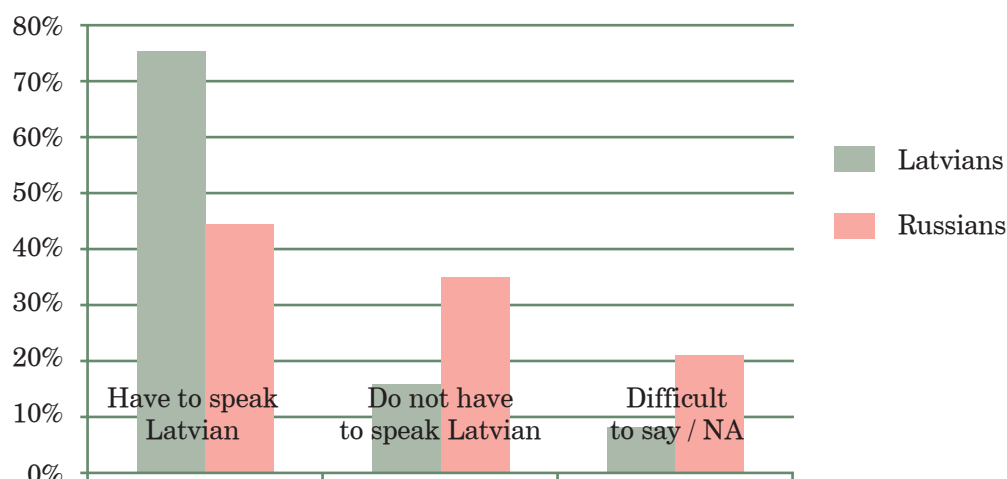
<sup>61</sup> Indāns, I., Krūma, K. Eiropas Savienības nākotne un imigrācijas politika. In: *Latvijas skatījums uz Eiropas Savienības nākotni*. Stratēģiskās analīzes komisija. Rīga: Zinātne, 2007. P. 153.

<sup>62</sup> see: Valodu prasmes ietekme uz ekonomiski aktīvo iedzīvotāju dzīves kvalitāti: sociolingvistiskā pētījuma kopsavilkums. Data Serviss. Rīga: Talsu tipogrāfija, 2006; Attieksme pret valsts valodu. Latvijas iedzīvotāju aptauja. SKDS. Rīga, 2007; Viesstrādnieku attieksme pret valsts valodu Latvijā. SKDS. Rīga, 2008; Attieksme pret viesstrādniekiem Latvijā. SKDS. Rīga, 2008; etc.

<sup>63</sup> Indāns, I., Krūma, K. Eiropas Savienības nākotne un imigrācijas politika. In: *Latvijas skatījums uz Eiropas Savienības nākotni*. Stratēģiskās analīzes komisija. Rīga: Zinātne, 2007. Pp. 160–161.



Comparing these figures with those that show the attitude of the population towards requiring language skills one can see that 76% of Latvians and 44.2% of Russians believe that immigrants must know the language, 16% of Latvians and 39.4% of Russians believe they do not have to know it, and 8% and 20.9% of respective groups are neutral (SKDS 2008, I).



**Figure 16** The attitude of the population in Latvia towards the necessity for immigrants to know the state language. Data: Centre for Public Opinion Research SKDS 2008, I

Thus the percentage of Latvians who, as it seems, are indifferent to the fate of the Latvian language is about 24%. These figures possibly show also that approximately 15–16% of Latvians might be in favour of a supranational approach to immigration. **It is also probable that 76% of Latvians (and 44.2% of Russians) who are in support of requiring the knowledge of the Latvian language from immigrants might theoretically and temporarily be perceived as supporters of a national approach towards the European immigration policy.**

An important aspect of immigration policy is the attitude of immigrants towards the host country and its language. There are around 10 million immigrants in Germany, among whom 1.7 million constitute Turks, but it is Turks who find it difficult to learn German.<sup>64</sup> Not only Latvians, but also Germans believe that the acquisition of the state language is the key to long-term integration. The 2008 survey “The attitude of foreign workers towards the Latvian language” carried out by the State Language Agency and the Centre for Public Opinion Research “SKDS” (hereinafter called SKDS 2008, II) shows that foreign workers believe it is important to know it on an elementary level, but since they communicate with the local population predominantly in Russian, they are not motivated enough to learn Latvian. According to them, the acquisition of Latvian could be stimulated by two conditions, i.e., one’s own interest and residence in the country.

*When you ask an inhabitant of Latvia about something, they answer in their mother tongue, but if you ask them to switch to Russian, they will definitely do it. (SKDA, 2008, II)*

*I believe that there is only one thing that could motivate. If I met a woman, got married and was going to stay here. This could motivate me to learn Latvian. Because my family would live here. (SKDA, 2008, II)*

*What motivates is the fact that this is the official language of this state and also personal motivation – to learn for yourself. As you will have some memories about the country you have lived in. It is simply interesting to understand what people say, how you call things, etc. (SKDS 2008, II)*

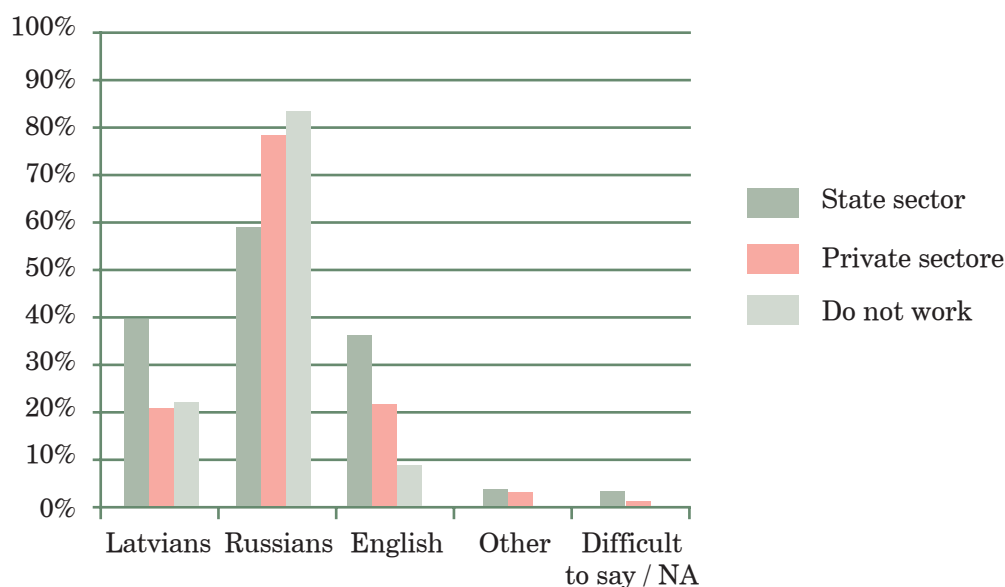
*I might stay here to work, maybe I’ll make it. Language skills will definitely be useful. (SKDA, 2008, II)*

*Television and press can motivate too. Because there is television and press in Latvian. One would like to watch the news on what’s happening in Latvia. As the Russian media present just general opinions and events, but I’d like to watch local news about what is going on in Daugavpils or Liepāja for that matter. (SKDA, 2008, II)*

<sup>64</sup> Krēķis, J. Vācieši vēlas sargāt savu valodu. *Latvijas Avīze*. 18 Dec 2008.

*There is simply a possibility to speak Russian and this is the main reason that halts the acquisition of the state language. When you come to Spain you must learn Spanish, because there is no possibility to speak Russian. But here you can talk to anybody in Russian, which is also another reason why not to learn Latvian.* (SKDA, 2008, II)

This attitude undoubtedly reflects the situation of the Latvian language as it virtually correlates to the following figures that reflect the present use of language in Latvia: **in public sector in 41.7% of cases immigrants are addressed in the state language, in 62.1% of cases – in Russian and in 38.2% of cases – in English.**



**Figure 17** The language of communication with immigrants used by inhabitants of Latvia by employment sectors. Data: Centre for Public Opinion Research SKDS 2008, I

There are, however, two more aspects of the attitude of foreigners towards the Latvian language: firstly, foreign workers from the former Soviet republics continue to live under the influence of the Soviet language policy, i.e., in Latvia, as in a former Soviet republic, everyone has to speak Russian, when they do not, they are definitely Russophobes. Foreign workers do not understand the new idea of Latvian statehood just as much as it is still not understood by a large part of the population in Latvia.

*Well, there are some problems, as people are different – both Russians and Latvians are different. For that matter, for example, a woman goes by bus and asks about something in Latvian, I answer in Russian, and she would stick to Latvian although I don't understand it. **And I say, 'You used to know Russian before and not anymore?'*** [Highlight by LVA] *Well, I'm not a Russian, but does it mean I should be told off for answering in Russian?* (SKDA, 2008, II)

The answers that both Latvians and Russians give to the question “Who needs to make sure that foreign workers learn the Latvian language?” are also worth further exploration. Both Latvians – 23.5% and Russians – 25.6% believe that an employer needs to take care of it, 22.6% of Latvians and 29.5% of Russians believe that it needs to be done by the state, and **the majority of Latvians (51%) and majority of Russians (41.7%)** think that foreign workers need to take care of it themselves. It might be argued that the attitude of Latvians and Russians to this problem is almost equal, namely **a foreign worker bears main responsibility for the acquisition of the language.**

*The government should stimulate this (language acquisition), perhaps it is possible to provide some allowances for those who are learning Latvian, I mean for foreign workers, not the local people.* (SKDA, 2008, II)

*Organize some courses. There should be more advertisement about it. And, of course, these courses should be organized in a good place so that the access is convenient. Maybe some evening classes would work.* (SKDA, 2008, II)

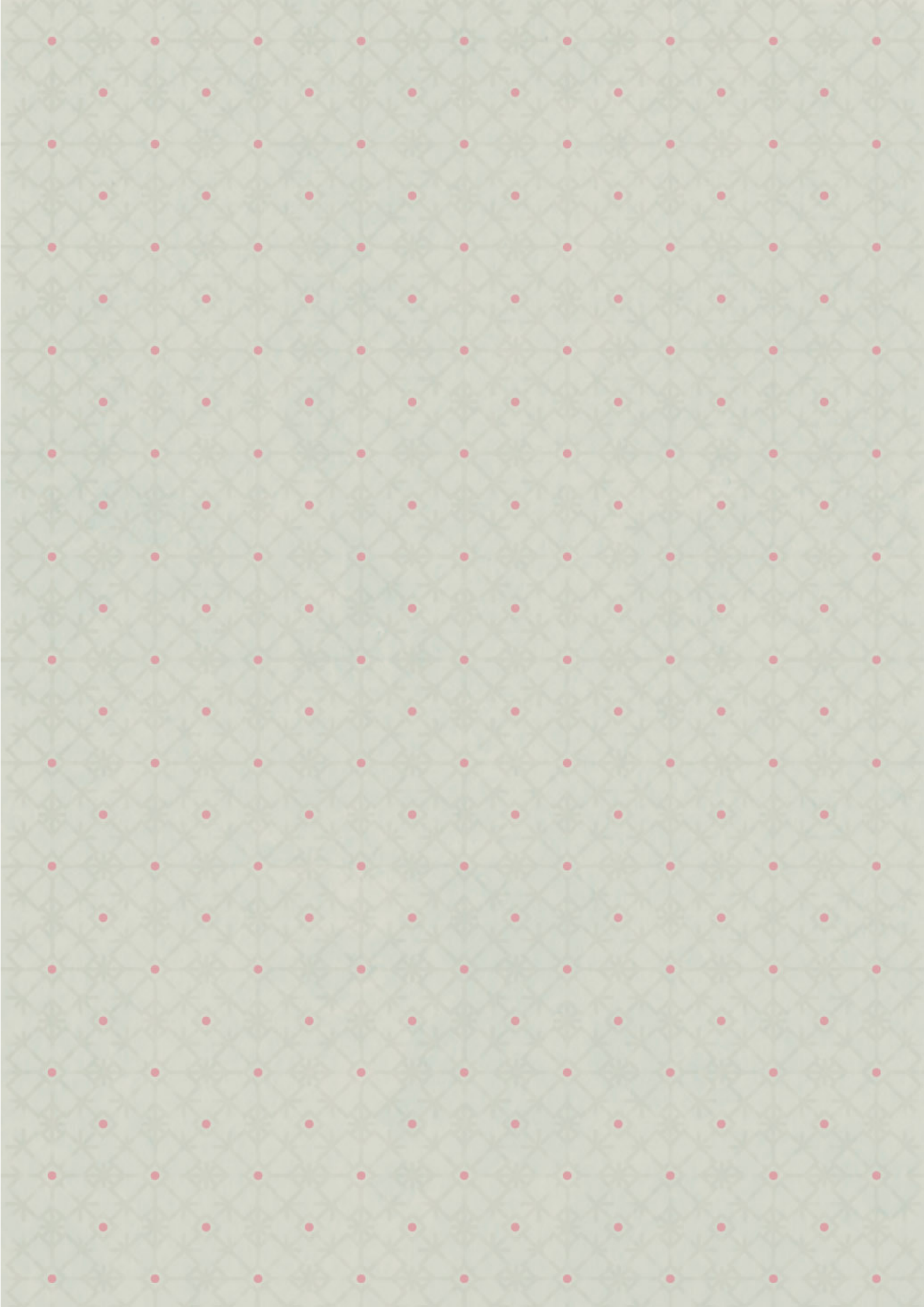
*It depends only on each person, but people can do everything, everything. You can learn any language. But since you've arrived here you must show some respect. You must respect the nation.* (SKDA, 2008, II)

It is, however, necessary to point out that in terms of the language teaching, which has been carried out since 1988, those who do not know the language for their inability to speak it have blamed and blame mostly others, namely the fact that they have not been taught the Latvian language, no one has taken care of their language skills, lack of possibilities to learn Latvian, lack of course books, etc.; or they blame their age (although it refers to the knowledge of the state language among the economically active population), or they blame the lack of necessity to speak Latvian as all the others speak Russian anyway. The psychology of the acquisition of the Latvian language is to a certain extent dominated by a principle of an ideologically psychological surplus, namely, the Latvian language continues to be perceived as a language of a small nation which must be acquired in order to obtain a certificate, rather done as a state language of one's host country. A similar approach exists in a part of foreign workers who do not see any point in using Latvian because it can be spoken only in Latvia.

*It's because Latvian can be spoken only in the territory of Latvia. Let's say that I, for that matter, will go to France, will anybody understand me there if I speak Latvian? Or in Spain? Or any other country? In all the EU? Nobody will understand me. There is no point in knowing this language.* (SKDA, 2008, II)

*...outside Latvia the Latvian language isn't useful. Latvian is necessary only for domestic communication. There is no point in learning Latvian, since all the local people speak Russian. We have just a year, and what's in it for me to learn Latvian if it's not going to be useful for me in future. English definitely. Because it has long been considered an international language.* (SKDA, 2008, II)

From what has been said above one must conclude that the attitude towards the proficiency in the Latvian language of the local people who do not know the language is the same as the one of new immigrants who mostly come from post-Soviet countries (Belarus, Uzbekistan, Lithuania, but predominantly from Ukraine, although there are also immigrants from Romania and even India). It must be mentioned that in the Soviet times the main flow of immigration also came from Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. What is more, in the survey "The attitude of the population towards labour migration" the first 3 answers to the question "...out of which three countries would you accept immigration of foreign workers" were Belarus, Ukraine and Russia (SKDS 2006). It is one of the aspects of the language policy which justifies the requirements of the Latvian national immigration policy for state language skills among new immigrants. And **this solution fully complies with the EU immigration policy towards third country nationals**. There is already an institution that could teach the state language to the immigrants in Latvia. This work, in co-operation with the State Employment Agency and employers, must be started now.





## 6. MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

**W**hen developing and revising the state migration policy it is important to balance immigration and integration issues so that, on the one hand, it promotes economic development and, on the other hand, it does not create domestic political tensions in separate member states.<sup>65</sup> Each country has its history, traditions and customs that serve as a basis for random stereotypes and / or beliefs. Many European countries have different views on immigration problems and solutions to them; they are in a different economic condition and have different social attitude and collective memory. The foundation of each community's traditions and identity consists of the values created by these collective memories that are relevant for the self-preservation of a given human community (also understood as respective state formations), which is a natural process. **Today's globalization also determines the efforts of many European countries to protect their national features like language, culture, national symbols, etc.**

Taking into account a distinctive history of each country and a sense of uniqueness of a community, which is essential for the existence of an independent state, the common legal acts of the European Union also provide general instructions and directions allowing for the adjustment of the legal acts to the situation of the member states. The main provision in the EU migration legislation is free movement of persons and ensuring integration of legal immigrants; however the legal acts of the member states still contain quite intricate and diverse regulations of migration issues.

Although rational reasons and economic benefits have prevailed in the EU, yet, as it was mentioned before, at the same time intolerance towards immigrants and minorities in general is growing in the EU societies.<sup>66</sup> As shown by the 2003 Eurobarometer survey, 80% of respondents supported a stricter border control of people who arrive from the third countries.<sup>67</sup> In the 2008 Eurobarometer survey the inhabitants of Great Britain were mostly concerned about crime (38%) and immigration (35%) in their country.<sup>68</sup> The basis for this intolerance is different social, ethnic and political problems in Europe that have been more and more often discussed by the media in the recent years, for example "Ireland faces widespread discrimination of immigrants (LETA, 27.05.2008), "Stabbing an immigrant in Spain leads to riots" (LETA, 08.12.2008), "Right-wing radicals and immigrants clash in Athens" (LETA, 25.11.2008), "Immigrants riots in southern Spain" (NRA, 09.09.2008), "Immigrants' disorders in Paris pose a warning for Europe" (LETA, 03.11.2005), etc.

The EU immigration processes are of great importance, therefore an important objective for a successful development and competitiveness in Europe is to ensure integration on a legal level not to create grounds for intolerance, which is a natural self-defence mechanism, and to ensure respect for the others at the same time. **Successful integration is possible if each country fully ensures integration of all immigrants into the society without infringing the rights of the native people.** The so-called principle of equality means that immigrants and native people must have equal rights and also **equal obligations**.<sup>69</sup> It is a complicated task. In other words, the policy must be based on

<sup>65</sup> Indāns I. *Migrācija Latvijā vēsturiskā perspektīvā* [online]. [Accessed on 05.01.2008]. Available at: <http://www.politika.lv/temas/cilvektiesibas/6316/>.

<sup>66</sup> Indāns I. *Eiropas imigrācijas politikā – risku izvēle* [online]. [Accessed on 15.08.2008]. Available at: <http://www.portalslv.lv/index.php?menu=doc&id=156523>.

<sup>67</sup> Communication from the European Commission. *Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: Assessment of the Tampere Programme and Future Orientations*. 52004DC0401. [Accessed on 15.12.2008]. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu>.

<sup>68</sup> Eurobarometer 69. 3. *European's State of Mind*. November 2008.

<sup>69</sup> Karan, O. State management of Immigrant Organizations in Sweden. In: *Migration and Activism in Europe since 1945*. Ed. W. Pojmann. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P. 175.

equal treatment and prevention of discrimination by acknowledging each country's traditions and preferences of the native population.<sup>70</sup>

Today the notion of 'immigration' has acquired and is used in a very broad sense in different spheres. The term is used in such branches of science as economics, social science, mathematics, computer science, biology, etc. A common feature of integration is the act of unifying a part of a whole and close unity and integrity of such a unified whole. Hence, common values and mutual understanding are an important condition for an integration process. Social integration is an inclusion of a specific minority group, e.g., ethnic minority, refugees, migrants or any other underprivileged group, into the society of a majority resulting in the acquisition of the rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities of the majority. It is a mutual interaction when two communities – immigrants and hosts – unify and find common values and possibilities, respect each other, they are open and listen to and learn from each other; in addition, all parts of the society have equal opportunities; close relations between people from different backgrounds at work, school, etc.

Social integration can take place and is necessary if one of the social groups is subject to social isolation and suppression. One of such groups is immigrants. The inclusion of immigrants to labour market and social life is a pillar of the integration of immigrants. Employment is a key component of integration in order for immigrants to be able to contribute to local social life and increasing welfare<sup>71</sup>, yet the knowledge of a local language, history, culture and traditions is indispensable, and only this knowledge can ensure the essence of integration – finding a common ground, mutual understanding and unity.

The question of integration is closely related to the question of language. Language skills are one of the fundamental prerequisites of successful mutual communication, but it is also clear that it cannot be always expected and taken for granted that immigrants arrive to a specific country with the perfect knowledge of the language, culture and customs. It is possible to prepare immigrants for successful integration into the society of a host country only on the condition that immigrants are provided with a possibility to learn the language and national values of the host country. A very important factor is the willingness of immigrants to become a member of the society which is based on the respect of the culture, language and traditions of the host country.

*For instance, say, you go to a hospital or out-patient clinic. Everyone starts speaking to you in Latvian. The same happens with the police, they stop you and start speaking in Latvian. You start asking them to speak to you in Russian. It's not pleasant for me because I don't know Latvian.* (SKDA, 2008, II)

On the arrival to a foreign country a person has to face numerous obstacles. Even on the labour markets with the best conditions and best-prepared admission to a new job and workplace, immigrants can find themselves in unpleasant situations that result from the lack of language skills, cultural differences and unstable employment. As a result, mutual understanding get hindered, discrimination and indifference appears. For instance, the European Parliament resolution on strategies and means for the integration of immigrants in the European Union (2006/2056(INI)) points out that the failure by a single member state to implement successful integration policies can

have adverse consequences for the Union as a whole, for example:

- under-employment of immigrants, weakening the entire Union economy and thwarting fulfilment of the Lisbon agenda;
- high- and low-skilled workers needed by the EU, seeing how inhospitable Europe can be to them, being driven into the underground economy or into the arms of the EU's economic competitors;
- absence of effective integration policies, leading to negative perceptions of immigrants and to defensive immigration policies;
- fear among citizens subverting respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities;

<sup>70</sup> Zagorskis V. Imigrantu integrācijas sociālie aspekti ES [online]. The paper presented on 08.12.2006. at the conference *Migrācijas ietekme uz Eiropas politisko domu un lēmumu pieņemšanas procesu*. [Accessed on 15.12.2008]. Available at: [http://www.va.lv/files/valdis\\_zagorskis\\_runa.pdf](http://www.va.lv/files/valdis_zagorskis_runa.pdf); Communication from the European Commission. *Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: Assessment of the Tampere Programme and Future Orientations*. 52004DC0401. [Accessed on 15.12.2008]. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu>.

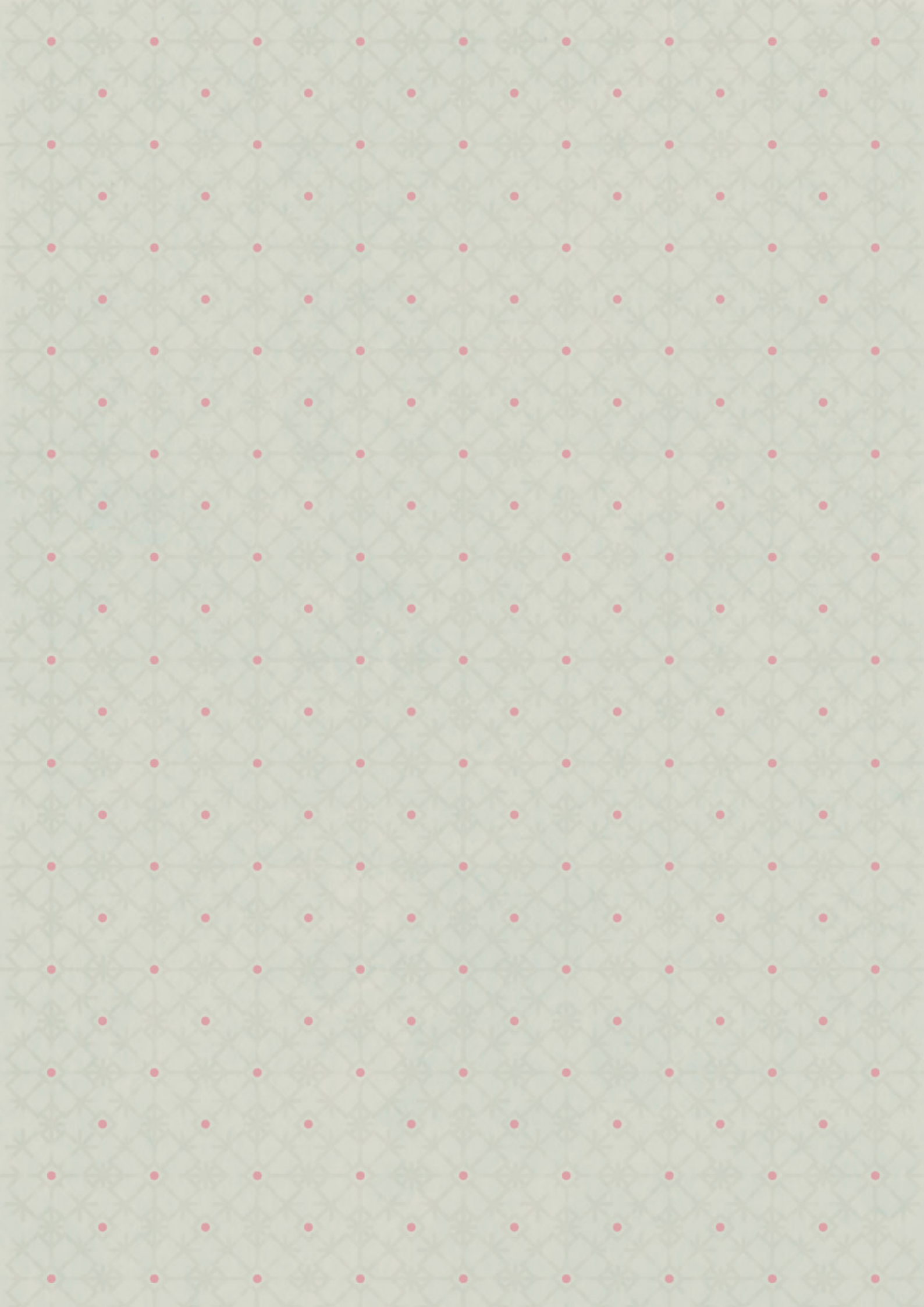
<sup>71</sup> The paper presented on 08.12.2006 at the conference *Migrācijas ietekme uz Eiropas politisko domu un lēmumu pieņemšanas procesu* [online]. [Accessed on 15.12.2008]. Available at: [http://www.va.lv/files/valdis\\_zagorskis\\_runa.pdf](http://www.va.lv/files/valdis_zagorskis_runa.pdf).

- perceptions and prejudices about immigrants who have not integrated undermining the Union's successful enlargement.

Hence, it can be concluded that the factors that are crucial for immigrants to successfully integrate themselves into host country's cultural, social and economic environment are the understanding of host country's cultural norms and traditions and the knowledge of the state language. It can be argued that the knowledge of the state language is the key to immigrant's integration.<sup>72</sup>

Different European countries have different models of attracting foreign labour; there are also different models of how and from whom countries require learning and acquiring their own state or official language. These requirements are based on each country's language situation, history, traditions and customs.

<sup>72</sup> *Migrations et plurilinguisme en France*. Cahiers de l'Observatoire des pratiques linguistiques, N 2. Éditions Didier, septembre 2008. P. 7.





## 7. MIGRATION AND LANGUAGE

With a growing scale of migration in a modern world, the problem of the relation between migration and language is becoming more and more urgent. This affects both the language requirements imposed on immigrants, their attitude towards the language of a host country and the possibility of preserving the language of immigrants in their new host country.

Language situations in the world are different, including the countries with intensive migration. In these countries, e.g., the USA, Australia, etc., where migrants sooner or later have assimilated, the question of language did not require serious attention. However, nowadays new phenomena have appeared which forced governments and societies to look for other solutions. These new features could be the growing number of nation-states, the growth of the number of immigrants, possibility of living in information space of one's own mother tongue (Internet, TV, radio), which used to be more limited. Ideological aspects are also important – in the past migrants were often happy to escape from persecution or great poverty in their countries of origin, and they were ready to accept any conditions of a new host country. Today, it is not always so. More and more often economic migrants want to preserve their language, religion and traditions.

Particularly complicated situations occur in the countries that are not overwhelmingly monolingual, and the monolingual countries constitute approximately 10 percent of all the countries, e.g., Norway, Poland, Portugal, Iceland, Greece, Japan, etc. In the countries with predominant social bilingualism, territorial bilingualism (separated communities) or multilingualism, immigrants, who strengthen one or other group, can often steer an already labile situation into one or the opposite direction.

The power of ethno-nationalism has been best represented by the collapse of the colonial system in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the collapse of many multinational countries in Europe due to national discord – Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the USSR. In addition, the more mononational a newly developed country was, the more quickly, more firmly and usually also more smoothly it overcame its transitional period (Slovenia, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, Slovakia). The more mono-ethnicity was impaired, the harder and more bloody (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Kosovo) and excruciating (Ukraine, Belarus) the transition was. Supposedly, these processes have not finished yet, as indicated by the problems of Russia in Caucasus and elsewhere, the inability of China to resolve the question of Tibet, etc. Usually, ethno-linguistic problems cause more nervous reactions in speakers of the suppressed and economically weaker languages, which are not always in the minority, for example, the Flemish people in Belgium form a majority, however in terms of economic power of the language they are in minority, similarly to the native people in Estonia and Latvia.

To avoid such difficulties, countries try to regulate the language situation by legislation. Language is mentioned in proximately 125 national constitutions, about a hundred constitutions grant privileges to one or more languages. The laws of the majority of developed countries contain references to state official languages. There are, however, other solutions even within one region, in Denmark there is no state language law; the question of language is not virtually resolved in a legal form (it is almost impossible to find a job without knowing Danish), but in nearby Norway the situation is quite unique as there are two versions of the official language (*Bokmål* or *Nynorsk*) and the use of the two languages is strictly codified in the law (in an alternate use 25% of information needs to be conveyed in one of them).

Language situations in many European countries are historically and synchronically different. So are migration processes. Although reactions of governments and societies are different, we can observe some correlations in the influence of the EU.

In the last decade, unlike in the 1990s with their repercussions of multiculturalism, the latest European trends are to strengthen state languages, demand the knowledge of them from immigrants before arrival or demand it after a short time, usually in order to obtain citizenship. Such a stand dominates in the countries with the largest inflows of immigrants – either from the new EU member states after the enlargement (e.g., Ireland, Great Britain) or from non-EU countries (Great Britain, Germany, Spain, France). Yet another situation can be observed in some new or potential EU member states, i.e., former Soviet republics, where another problem is arising, namely, the unwillingness of the migrants from the Soviet times to give up Russian as the main language of communication.

In the European countries the main emphasis is traditionally put on languages of minorities as practically in any place national languages dominate and they are not threatened. On the other hand, within the group of languages of minorities traditional minority languages are distinguished, which are usually small and threatened. Their condition is varied depending on the country; in some places they are actively supported, but in others they are left on their own. In addition, some consideration is also given to those minorities and languages of minorities that in the course of history have found themselves in border areas of neighbouring countries.

The EU does not actively and clearly regulate migration processes, but it encourages member states to integrate immigrants, and in the process of integration language is usually considered the first and the main type and means of integration. Thus, the 2005 Communication from the European Commission to the European Parliament and the Council<sup>73</sup> point out that “alienation from both the country of origin and the host country can make it more likely for a person to look for a sense of identity and belonging elsewhere such as in a powerful extremist ideology”.

“The common trends in the EU member states prove that the risks of radicalization in societies and challenges of immigration to a large extent have contributed to the situation that Western European countries more persistently want to impose integration on immigrants. Nowadays it is reality in Germany, the Netherlands, France, and it is a reason to believe that social integration exams and tests will become a standard procedure in Europe. The majority of the EU member states are establishing national institutions to deal with integration and integration problems. The role of such state institutions is to provide immigrants with possibilities for integration by offering integration courses, language and culture training”.<sup>74</sup>

### **The role of the state language in the implementation of migration and integration policy**

In today's world, where representatives of different nations, languages and nationalities live next to each other closer than ever before, successful communication and mutual understanding are prerequisites of united and peaceful coexistence. Even in today's civilized society language is a major means of communication. What is more, immigrants can acquire traditions, habits, customs and attitude towards a specific country and nation's values only through language. Active migration

flows have led to crucial alternations to the traditional life of the native people in different countries, also in terms of the language situation. Since the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, the internal integration in the European Union has emphasized the coordination of the development of cultures, educational and language situations of its member states.

Language plays a significant role in nation's identity and ethnic community. Language incorporates the concept of nation and network of notions as well as a specific perception of the world which is unique for each ethnicity and distinguishes one from another.<sup>75</sup> Differences in beliefs, traditions and historical experiences can also lead to various conflicts and problems in mutual relations. It is the language barrier that causes problems that the EU is trying to resolve. As pointed out in the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) study, **the main problem of integration is the language barrier, which is becoming increasingly important in today's service and knowledge based economy.**<sup>76</sup> In 2007, the Institute for the Study of Labour in Bonn conducted a survey among

<sup>73</sup> COM (2005) 313. *Terrorist recruitment: addressing the factors contributing to violent radicalisation*. 21.09.2005, p. 6.

<sup>74</sup> Indāns, I. „Dziesma par bailēm” *jeb kāpēc Eiropa baidās no imigrantiem* [online]. [Accessed on 07.01.2009]. Available at: <http://lv.lv/index.php?menu=doc&sub=&id=159330>.

<sup>75</sup> Kļaviņa, S. *Valodas daba*. Lielvārde: Lielvārds, 1997. P 19.

<sup>76</sup> OECD. *From Immigration to Integration* [online], 2006. [Accessed on 21.08.2008]. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/5/55/37726512.pdf>.

experts from the EU-27 in order to shed light on the integration barriers for immigrants. The survey shows that the insufficient knowledge of the official language, inadequate education, lack of information about employment opportunities and internal barriers (social, cultural, and religious norms originating within the respective ethnic minority), along with institutional barriers (citizenship or legal restrictions) are reported as very significant barriers for immigrants integration.<sup>77</sup>

Here one can observe a confrontation of two entities: representatives of two nations, one of which occupies a privileged position (as they reside in their own country, speak the national language, represent a specific national in their own country) and the other ones who possess a guest status, although they represent a specific nation, language and nationality. As the professor from the University of Edinburgh J. E. Josephs mentions<sup>78</sup>, in the developed countries there has been some hostility towards recent and prospective immigrants from poor countries and it seems that this hostility and negative attitude to immigrants tends to spread as a phenomenon. As the professor mentions, an important factor is also the negative attitude of those immigrants who have lived in a given country for many generations towards new immigrants. **It is the knowledge of the national language that is an indicator of a specific stage of integration, for instance, in France as in a European country, whatever the origins, it is important to speak the national language in order to be accepted as a person belonging to the nation.** It is necessary to highlight the conceptual relation between language and nation, therefore the choice of a language policy is significant, because the symbolic and emotional dimensions of national identity are crucial, and, as argued by J. E. Joseph, the language policies that ignore this will prove to be not capable of functioning in a long-term perspective.<sup>79</sup> A vivid example of this are explicitly nation-states and countries formed on the principles essential for the nation, including Latvia. A unique situation of the country with the oppression of the Latvian language in the long periods of occupation has encouraged the resentment and determination to 'preserve' the national language. As the professor observed, "the ethnic Latvians consider themselves hostages who were denied the right to use the language for fifty years of the Russian occupation, and these rights continue to be limited by the part of the ethnic group of Russians residing in Latvia, which has a powerful guardian to the East of Latvia".<sup>80</sup> Having analyzed the language rights the professor concludes that so-called 'threatened' nations, which have powerful minorities, seem to be morally entitled to restrain these minorities in order to save their own nation-state.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Attitudes towards Immigrants, Other Integration Barriers, and Their Veracity*. IZA DP No. 3650, 2008. P. 5.

<sup>78</sup> Joseph, J. E. *Language and Politics*. Edinburgh University Press, 2006. P. 24.

<sup>79</sup> Ditto, p. 24.

<sup>80</sup> Ditto, p. 11.

<sup>81</sup> Ditto, p. 58.





## 8. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE INTEGRATION PROCESS OF IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR CHILDREN: THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHER COUNTRIES FOR LATVIA

As mentioned before, the movement of people is getting more and more popular in the world. People travel, go abroad to study, work and ever more often choose to stay abroad for a longer period of time or for life – some of them because they have established families, others because they have found a good job and are satisfied with new life conditions; yet others, who have lived in a new country for some time, invite their families to live with them. There are many reasons, but what is important is the fact that these people have become a part of the population of a given country. There are countries where immigrants form quite isolated communities; a vivid example is a broad community of Turks in Germany; however each country's responsibility is to ensure that these inhabitants form a united society. Therefore, efforts are being made for immigrants to be able to successfully integrate into the local society with the emphasis put on the importance of the state or official language in this process. For instance, in Norway, Finland or other countries immigrants are provided with free language courses. In some countries there are widely available courses for fees and it is often highlighted that immigrants should also be interested in integration, therefore they should acquire the language of the state where they are planning to reside for a longer period of time, live or work.

The situation of immigrant children is different. It is education that predominantly stimulates integration of immigrant children both into the local society and later into the local labour market. The data on the education of immigrant children of the 2008 research conducted by the European Commission show that there is a growing number of children who at home speak a language other than the language of instruction (e.g., in Luxembourg 25% of pupils pointed out that at home they speak a language other than the language of instruction, moreover this language is different than any of the official languages in Luxembourg; similarly in Germany and Belgium where almost 20% of pupils gave a similar answer). As highlighted by the Commissioner responsible for Education, Training, Culture and Youth Jan Figel, there is a justified belief that this trend is going to grow, therefore countries must think how to best educate immigrant children and integrate them into the education system.<sup>82</sup>

Although until now this question has not been relevant for Latvia, the situation is changing and also Latvian schools accept more and more immigrant children (according to the data of the Ministry of Education, in 2009/2010 school year there were 405 children of third country nationals in Latvian schools), therefore it is worthwhile to examine the experience of other countries and evaluate it.

In order to ensure the successful education of immigrant children it is necessary to employ well-prepared and professional teachers, however the experience of other countries shows that a majority of better-trained teachers choose to work at schools with a smaller

<sup>82</sup> *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe. European Commission. Eurydice, 2008. P. 23.*

proportion of immigrant children, e.g., France, Denmark, which results in the lack of specialists.<sup>83</sup>

There are many possibilities of enhancing successful learning process at schools with large proportions of immigrant children:

1) to employ more teachers and provide individualization so that pupils can obtain as strong educational support as possible;

2) to raise salaries for teachers in order to attract well-trained and professional teachers and keep the present ones;

3) to raise the number of teachers who represent one of minorities or groups of immigrants, etc.

The first approach, i.e., to increase the number of teachers at school with a large proportion of immigrant (minority) children, is widely implemented in many countries (France, Germany, Denmark, etc.) because it allows to create smaller classes, which in turn gives teachers an opportunity to provide each pupil with an individualized approach; what is more, in such classes the problem of discipline is not relevant. It is an important advantage as the time devoted to learning is used more efficiently.

There have been many studies that prove that there is a strong correlation between a number of pupils in the classroom and pupils' progress.<sup>84</sup> Although not all researchers agree that learning process is always more effective in classrooms with a smaller number of pupils, the majority of them indicate, however, that this factor is particularly important for preschool and younger children.

Some countries (the USA, France, the Netherlands) implement the second approach and they allot additional financial resources for teachers who teach immigrant children (they offer bonuses to salaries and / or better working conditions, i.e., they cover expenses for transport or accommodation, etc.). Such a system is aimed at limiting the change of teaching staff and attracting highly-qualified specialists to schools with a large proportion of immigrant and / or minority children. For example, the French government allot additional salaries to such teachers; however, not always can a bigger salary help to keep teachers in a specific school as pupils' characteristics, ethnic origins, learning traditions, etc. are also a very significant aspect.

In many countries one can see a clear difference between a growing ethnic variety of pupils and quite homogeneous teaching staff, therefore a different approach is implemented, i.e., schools with a large percentage of migrant and / or minority children employ teachers who represent one of the minorities or immigrant groups. For instance, in England and Wales the Teacher Training Agency invites representatives of minorities to get teacher's qualifications. Networks of teachers, courses and scholarships for those who are studying and other measures are established in order to promote and popularize the profession of a teacher.<sup>85</sup> Such approaches are usually based on the assumption that a teacher of different ethnic origins (an immigrant or representative of a minority) positively affects migrant and / or minority children's willingness to learn, boosting their self-esteem and motivation, which in turn leads to better learning results. This model has been already implemented in Latvia in the education for Roma children.

Although such types of selecting teachers are quite common and known, one must point out that there have not been enough empirical data to prove the effectiveness of such approaches. The existing data relate predominantly to the US educational system and mostly analyze pupils of African-American and Spanish origins, whose families have lived in the USA for many generations. Thus, the results cannot be so easily related to other countries and situations that affect first or second generation migrants.

<sup>83</sup> Bloem, N. S., Diaz, R. *White Flight: Integration through Segregation in Danish Metropolitan Public Schools*. In: *Humanity in Action*. Team Denmark, 2007.

<sup>84</sup> Krueger, A. *Economic Considerations and Class Size*. In: *Economic Journal*, Vol. 113, No. 485. 2003. Pp. F34–F63.

<sup>85</sup> Carrington, B., Skelton, C. *Re-thinking 'Role Models': Equal Opportunities in Teacher Recruitment in England and Wales*. In: *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2003. Pp. 253–265.

**The knowledge of the language of instruction is a key factor of successful education.** Language acquisition is an important element in the learning process – reading, listening, writing and speaking, which is practically impossible with classmates and a teacher who do not know the language, therefore pupils who do not know the language of instruction come across great difficulties at school. As the research conducted in this sphere show, the immigrant children who at home speak in their mother tongue, which is not the language of instruction, are approximately one school year behind the local pupils, whereas those who speak at home in the language of instruction

are just half a year behind.<sup>86</sup> Thus, at schools with a large number of migrant and / or minority children the major objective of the language policy is to encourage immigrant pupils to acquire the language of instruction. There are different ways to promote and ensure it.

Promoting language acquisition and language proficiency for immigrant children is particularly important in early childhood. Many second generation immigrant children grow up in families that are linguistically quite isolated and although they spent all their childhood in a given country, when starting their school education the knowledge of the language of instruction is not sufficient.<sup>87</sup>

Promoting language acquisition in early childhood provides a possibility to become an equal classmate. Consistency is a significant condition of successful language acquisition in early childhood; however, there are not many countries that could ensure it as early as in preschool age. Regular observations and monitoring of the development of each pupil's language skills allow planning an adequate and systematic support. For example, in German preschool educational institutions regular controls are conducted which aim at recognizing and diagnosing the difficulties and obstacles that hinder language acquisition (evaluating whether any help is needed, etc.), and, if necessary, additional financial resources are allotted. It must be pointed out, though, that it is not enough. Even if a child has acquired the basics of grammar and communication (communicative language skills) the time is still needed for him / her to be able to become a competent language user. It means that an ongoing and systematic linguistic support is necessary at all educational levels.

Language acquisition is very significant in cases when an immigrant child is at school age and is a newcomer. In some countries such pupils are placed in a class corresponding to their age and additionally they are offered extra language lessons; in other countries such pupils are offered special language training lessons designed to help pupils acquire the language basics. In its nature the training lessons are so-called transitional lessons which should be limited in time (it is determined individually on the basis of pupils' results). However, studies show that in language training classes pupils stay longer than originally planned, for example, the data of the 2008 study conducted in Norway show that 20% of immigrant pupils do not leave special language training classes and join normal classes; in Switzerland the majority of immigrant children after attending special two-year-long language classes are not able to integrate into regular classes.<sup>88</sup>

There is a lot of disagreement about the role of a native language in the educational process of immigrant pupils. The research of language acquisition is traditionally dominated by the interdependence hypothesis: **in order to become a competent user of a foreign language it is necessary to know one's native language**. There are not sufficient arguments to accept or reject this hypothesis, yet to a large extent the support for a native language is seen as an important prerequisite of intercultural education.

The bilingual approach in education was particularly widespread in the USA in 1960s and 1970s when to a certain level pupils learned in their native language and then gradually shifted to learning in the language of instruction of the school; however since 1990s this approach has become less popular.<sup>89</sup> For example, in the Netherlands education in a native language was withdrawn in 2004, but in many other countries the use of the bilingual approach depends on the school or municipality. For example, pupils in Sweden are entitled to learn in their native language; schools must guarantee such a possibility if at least 5 pupils with the same native language ask for it in the municipality.

The bilingual approach in migrants' education is somewhat limited due to numerous practical and logical reasons: it is too expensive and too complicated to provide immigrant children with education in their native language, especially if there are many and various language groups in the country; what is more, sometimes the language pupils speak at home is a dialect. It is difficult to find enough qualified teachers to ensure high-quality education. Many researchers argue that the principles of a language policy should not be based on either monolingual or bilingual learning approach

<sup>86</sup> Christensen, G., Stanat, P. *Language Policies and Practices for Helping Immigrants and Second-Generation Students Succeed*. – The Transatlantic Taskforce on Immigration and Integration, Migration Policy Institute (MPI) and Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2007. P. 8.

<sup>87</sup> Knapp, W. *Language and Learning Disadvantages of Learners with a Migrant Background in Germany*. Intergovernmental Conference *Languages of Schooling: towards a Framework for Europe*. Strasbourg, 16–18 October 2006.

<sup>88</sup> *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe*. European Commission. Eurydice. 2008.

<sup>89</sup> Slavin, R. E., Cheung, A. *Synthesis of Research on Language of Reading Instruction for English Language Learners*. In: Söhn, J. (ed.). *The Effectiveness of Bilingual School Programs for Immigrant Children*. Programme on Intercultural Conflicts and Societal Integration (AKI), Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB). Berlin, 2005.

as it is possible to combine both of them by offering pupils to choose some subjects to be taught in their native language or to learn their native language as one of foreign languages, etc.

In the process of children education parents undoubtedly play a major role, therefore one of the important objectives of a language policy is to strengthen mutual relationship between school and parents. Although the participation of parents in pupils' life is essential for all children, unfortunately, due to different reasons, parents of immigrant children are not able to ensure the relation: parents–pupil–school. It can be explained with numerous reasons: firstly, parents learn (if they learn at all) the language of a host country much more slowly, which creates a sufficient barrier in communication (parents meeting, various social events, trips, etc.), secondly, parents often do not have time and / or money (particularly common nowadays since people move to another country to get a better job or due to other related reasons), thirdly, different emotional barriers (they feel foreign, unwanted, marginalized, etc.). However, efforts must be made to ensure that parents participate in child's school life.

Recognizing today's variety of cultures, which more often can be also observed at schools, many countries have started to plan and implement different measures oriented at the preservation and popularization of cultural diversity as well as intercultural cooperation.

In order to successfully realize and implement and enforce **intercultural education principles** it is necessary to alternate educational objectives in curricula, materials, teachers' behaviour and attitude. In order to successfully educate the children of different linguistic and cultural origins, teachers need to possess various skills which, possibly, have not been developed at schools. It must be pointed out that until 2009 in Latvia neither curricula nor teaching materials for a specific target group were developed.

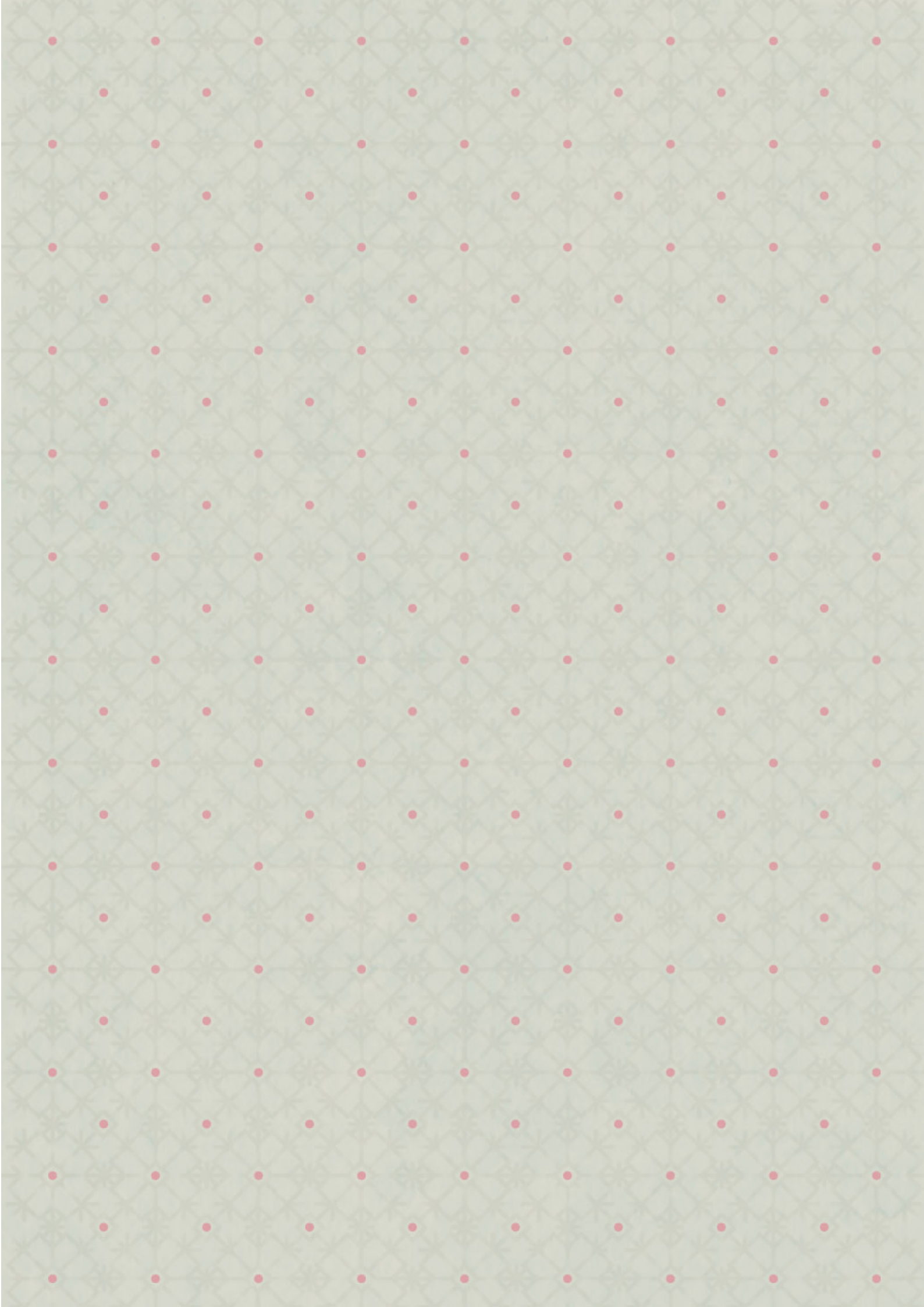
In 2009, the Latvian Language Agency conducted the project "Teacher in an Intercultural Space"<sup>90</sup>, which was supported by the European Fund for the Integration of third-country nationals, the aim of which was to provide a support for the professional competence of teachers working in an international space. The project "Teacher in an Intercultural Space" aimed at developing the curriculum and learning materials for a 36-hour course, during which 150 teachers from Latvian regions were trained in intercultural communication and questions of tolerance at work with representatives of different cultures. The methodological materials (workbooks) for teachers "Teacher in an intercultural space" were created. This initiative is one of the first steps in the domain of intercultural education.

In the vast majority of the EU member states the principle of including third country nationals is implemented through the immigrants' integration programmes. Language acquisition is an important element of the programme, which undoubtedly fosters successful communication and reduces psychological discomfort. Training teachers for work with immigrant children and teenagers is one of the means to ensure that such pupils will become host country's citizens who are capable of integrating into the society.

<sup>90</sup> More information about the project "Teacher in an International Space" available at: [http://valoda.lv/Starpkulturu\\_pasakumi/Projekts\\_-\\_Skolotajs\\_starpkulturu\\_telpa/690/mid\\_529](http://valoda.lv/Starpkulturu_pasakumi/Projekts_-_Skolotajs_starpkulturu_telpa/690/mid_529)







## CONCLUSION

Due to migration the societies of many countries have become ethnically diverse and the transnational relation between state and society has strengthened. Thus, the migration issues have become an important and inevitable component of each country's economic and social life and they are carefully addressed in the decision-making process.

Since 1950s, ever growing international migration and labour mobility have intensified the concern and anxiety about traditions, national identity and capability of preserving the language of each nation-state. Therefore the slow and full of debates development of migration policy in many member states of the European Union is justified. Notwithstanding the growth of migration trends and the factors that facilitate them, the resistance to immigration is also growing – a significant part of inhabitants in the countries where many immigrants have arrived is against further acceptance of immigrants. Reactions of some governments are varied – they develop and implement new strategies which are targeted at reducing and / or blocking the flow of migration (banning the influx of immigrants, etc.); in other cases mass deportations and repatriations are carried out.

The linguistic models of European countries are also very complex and they are based on the language environment and situation in each country. Some languages account for the richness of Europe, and EU multilingualism and multiculturalism is perceived as huge competitive advantage. Migration trends of the recent decades have called for special attention for the national languages of immigrants and their integration into local communities. In the context of increasing mobility and migration it is important that people acquire the host country language if they want to successfully integrate into the society. It is important to observe that the member states are the main decision-makers as to the language policy, including regional and minority languages.

When viewing the question of migration, particularly from the linguistic aspect, it is important to emphasize social integration as these questions are closely related. Social integration can take place and is necessary if one of the social groups is subject to social isolation and suppression. And with no doubt one of such groups are immigrants. The inclusion of immigrants to labour market and social life is a pillar of the integration of immigrants. Employment is a key component of integration in order for immigrants to be able to contribute to local social life and increasing welfare, however the knowledge of the local language, history, culture and traditions is crucial, and only this knowledge can ensure the essence of integration – finding a common ground, mutual understanding and unity.

It is clear, however, that it cannot be always expected and taken for granted that immigrants arrive to a specific country with the perfect knowledge of its language, culture and customs. It is possible to prepare immigrants for successful integration into the society of a host country only on the condition that immigrants are provided with a possibility to learn the language and national values of the host country. Beyond any doubt, what is important is the willingness of immigrants to become a member of the society, which is based on the respect to the culture, language and traditions of the host country.

It is obvious that language situations in the world are different, including the countries with intensive migration. In these countries, e.g., the USA, Australia, etc., where migrants sooner or later have assimilated, the question of language did not require serious attention. However, nowadays new features have appeared which forced governments and societies to look for other solutions. These new features could be the growing number of nation states, the growth of the number of immigrants, possibility of living in information space of one's own mother tongue (Internet, TV, radio), which used to be more limited. Ideological aspects are also important – in the past migrants were often happy to escape from persecution or great poverty in their countries of origin, and they

were ready to accept any conditions of a new host country. Today, it is not always so. More and more often economic migrants want to preserve their language, religion and traditions.

The risks of radicalization in societies and challenges of immigration have contributed to the situation that Western European countries more persistently want to impose integration conditions on immigrants. There are grounds to think that social integration exams and test will become a standard procedure in Europe. The majority of EU member states are establishing national institutions to deal with integration and integration problems.

Migration processes have considerably affected the composition of the population of Latvia and the process of creation of the Latvian nation throughout its written history. In case of Latvia, one must emphasize the conceptual relation between the language and the nation, which determines the choice of a language policy (the symbolic and emotional dimensions of the national identity are of great importance). In Latvia, when discussing immigrants who mostly come from the former Soviet republics, the Latvian language is conflicted with the common use of Russian. It is a possibility of communicating in Russian that is one of the reasons why the immigrants from former Soviet republics choose to work in Latvia.

The Latvian language plays the most important socio-linguistic role in Latvia, there is still a great role of the Russian language and the role of English is growing. The importance of these languages in the linguistic situation in Latvia is determined by numerous mutually related factors, i.e., the language proficiency among the population, the real socio-linguistic functions of the languages, linguistic attitudes and language status.<sup>91</sup> The languages competing with Latvian, i.e., Russian and English can be characterized by several features:

- common: both are ‘mega-languages’, widely used as international and regional means of communication, traditionally learned as L2 languages;
- different: (non)existence of a linguistically self-sufficient language group, a scale of individual bilingualism among Latvians, real socio-linguistic functions, the genesis of a contact situation, linguistic attitude.<sup>92</sup>

Day-to-day language use is one of the aspects of language competition, and the competitiveness of the Latvian language cannot be seen as positive. In this regard, the results of the language competition are mostly influenced by its users, rather than external conditions; considering the fact that when communicating with Russian-speaking people Latvians choose to use the Russian language, whilst not all the Russian-speaking people who know the state language are ready to use it, the competitiveness of the Latvian language may be threatened.

It must be acknowledged that at least for the time being the influence of the English language does not threaten the existence of the Latvian language as there is no English language environment in Latvia as well as the number of speakers of English is low. There are merely some specific sociolinguistic spheres in which English is starting to play a more important role and it can really be considered a threat to Latvian, i.e., science, some cultural spheres, possibly also new technologies. This trend is typical of the majority of European countries, yet to a certain extent it can be controlled by law and rules.<sup>93</sup> On the other hand, the Russian language is becoming more and more powerful competition for the Latvian language, and the present migration trends are strengthening this competition.

As an EU member state, in terms of the implementation of a common migration policy Latvia has to follow the common main principle, i.e., free movement of people, and a migration policy must be implemented according to the international legal standards and the interests of Latvia. The

ethnic composition in Latvia is still not favourable for the native nation, a number of non-citizens is considerable, the previous direction of migration prevails – mostly from the former Soviet republics whose inhabitants enlarge the Russian language environment in the country, which does not encourage the acquisition of the state language: all these elements of immigration form an obstacle for the stabilization of the language situation and social integration. That is why the implementation of the national approach in immigration, and also linguistic, issues can only strengthen the state language in Latvia and the Latvian statehood. It is one of the aspects of the language policy which justifies the requirements of the Latvian national

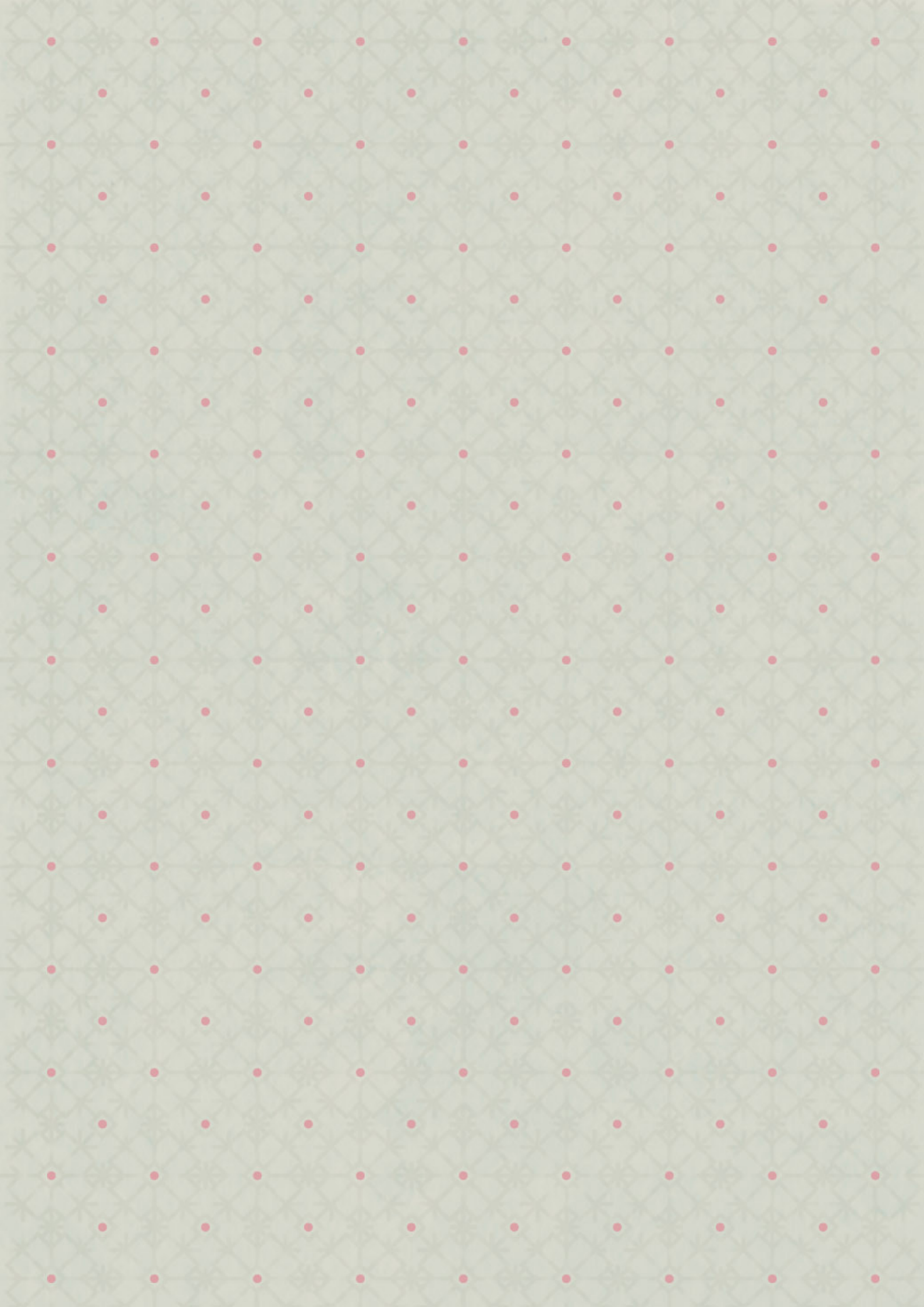
<sup>91</sup> Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā*. Rīga, 1998. P. 85.

<sup>92</sup> Druviete, I. *Valsts valodas integratīvā un ekonomiskā vērtība: sinerģija vai antagonisms?* [online] Ref. LVA conference “Language, environment, economy” organized on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2010 in Rīga. [Accessed on 15.01.2011]. Available at: [http://valoda.lv/Sadarbibas\\_projekti/Eiropas\\_valodu\\_diena\\_2010\\_Konference\\_Valoda\\_vide\\_ekonomika\\_/824/mid\\_550](http://valoda.lv/Sadarbibas_projekti/Eiropas_valodu_diena_2010_Konference_Valoda_vide_ekonomika_/824/mid_550).

<sup>93</sup> Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā*. Rīga, 1998. P. 98.



immigration policy for state language skills among new immigrants. And this solution fully complies with the EU immigration policy for third country nationals.



# BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. 20. gadsimta Latvijas vēsture. 1. sēj. Latvija no gadsimta sākuma līdz neatkarības pasludināšanai. 1900–1918. Rīga: Latvijas Vēstures institūta apgāds, 2000.
2. *Annual Policy Report 2006*, produced by European Migration Network. 2007.
3. *Attitudes towards Immigrants, Other Integration Barriers, and Their Veracity*. IZA DP No. 3650, 2008.
4. Bērziņš, J. Mēra postījumi Vidzemē 1710. gadā. In: *Valsts Arhīva Raksti*. Sērija B. Nr.1. Rīga, 1935. Pp. 167–233.
5. Bloem, N. S., Diaz, R. White Flight: Integration through Segregation in Danish Metropolitan Public Schools. In: *Humanity in Action*. Team Denmark, 2007.
6. Carrington, B., Skelton, C. Re-thinking 'Role Models': Equal Opportunities in Teacher Recruitment in England and Wales. In: *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2003. Pp. 253–265.
7. Castles, S., Miller, M. J. *The Age of Migration. International population movements in the modern world*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
8. Christensen, G., Stanat, P. *Language Policies and Practices for Helping Immigrants and Second-Generation Students Succeed*. The Transatlantic Taskforce on Immigration and Integration, Migration Policy Institute (MPI), Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2007.
9. COM (2005) 313. *Terrorist recruitment: addressing the factors contributing to violent radicalisation*. 21.09.2005.
10. Communication from the European Commission. *Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: Assessment of the Tampere Programme and Future Orientations*. [online]. 52004DC0401. [Accessed on 15.12.2008]. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52004DC0401:LV:HTML>
11. Das, A. K. Survival and Maintenance of Regional Languages in the New Europe: Consequences of Expansion and Changing Demography. In: *Reģionālās valodas mūsdienu Eiropā*. The materials from an international academic conference. Rēzekne, 2004.
12. Druviete, I. *Latvijas valodas politika Eiropas Savienības kontekstā*. Rīga, 1998.
13. Druviete, I. Valodas pārmaiņas kontaktvalodu (kontaktsistēmu) ietekmē. In: *Linguistica Lettica*, 2. Rīga, 1998.
14. Druviete, I. *Valsts valodas integratīvā un ekonomiskā vērtība: sinerģija vai antagonisms?* [Online]. Ref. LVA conference “Language, environment, economy” organized on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2010 in Rīga. [Accessed on 15.01.2011]. Available at: [http://valoda.lv/Sadarbibas\\_projekti/Eiropas\\_valodu\\_diena\\_2010\\_Konference\\_Valoda\\_vide\\_ekonomika\\_/824/mid\\_550](http://valoda.lv/Sadarbibas_projekti/Eiropas_valodu_diena_2010_Konference_Valoda_vide_ekonomika_/824/mid_550).
15. Eglīte, P. *Latviešu valodas izplatība cittautiešu vidū. Valodas politika Baltijas valstīs*. Conference materials. Rīga, 1992. gada 17.–18. decembrī. Pp. 70–80.
16. *Ethnic Groups. The World Factbook* [online]. Central Intelligent Agency. [Accessed on 15.03.2011]. Available at: <http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2075.html>
17. *Etnosituācija Latvijā. Fakti un komentāri*. Rīga, 1994.
18. Eurobarometer 69. 3. *European's State of Mind*. November 2008.
19. *Europe in Figures: Eurostat Yearbook 2006–2007*. Eurostat. Luxembourg, 2007.
20. *Facts & Figures. Global Estimates and Trends* [online]. [Accessed on 15.01.2011]. Available at: <http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/facts-and-figures/lang/en>.
21. Ģermanis, U. Latviešu darbība un likteņi Padomju Savienībā divdesmitajos un trīsdesmitajos gados. In: *Zināšanai. Raksti par mūsu un padomju lietām*. Stokholma: Ziemeļzvaigzne, 1986. Pp. 140–152.
22. *Imigranti Latvijā: iekļaušanās iespējas un nosacījumi*. Rīga: BISS, 2009.
23. Indāns, I. *Baltijas valstu migrācijas politika: pārmaiņu laiks tuvojas* [online]. [Accessed on 15.08.2008]. Available at: <http://www.portalslv.lv/index.php?menu=doc&id=156523>
24. Indāns I. *Migrācija Latvijā vēsturiskā perspektīvā* [online]. [Accessed on 05.01.2008]. Available at: <http://www.politika.lv/temas/cilvektiesibas/6316/>
25. Indāns, I. “*Dziesma par bailēm*” jeb kāpēc Eiropa baidās no imigrantiem [online]. [Accessed on 07.01.2009]. Available at: <http://lv.lv/index.php?menu=doc&sub=&id=159330>
26. Indāns, I. *Baltijas valstu migrācijas politika: pārmaiņu laiks tuvojas* [online]. [Accessed on 29.09.2007]. Available at: <http://www.lv.lv/index.php?menu=doc&sub=komentars&id=163855>.

27. Indāns, I., Krūma, K. Eiropas Savienības nākotne un imigrācijas politika. In: *Latvijas skatījums uz Eiropas Savienības nākotni*. Stratēģiskās analīzes komisija. Rīga: Zinātne, 2007.
28. Joseph, J. E. *Language and Politics*. Edinburg University Press, 2006.
29. Karnīte, R., Karnītis, K. *Iedzīvotāju starpvalstu ilgtermiņa migrācijas ietekme uz Latvijas tautsaimniecību* [online]. Rīga, 2009. [Accessed on 15.01.2011]. Available at: [http://www.politika.lv/temas/fwd\\_eiropa/18267/](http://www.politika.lv/temas/fwd_eiropa/18267/)
30. *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe*. Eurydice network, 2008.
31. Kļaviņa, S. *Valodas daba*. Lielvārde: Lielvārds, 1997.
32. Knapp, W. Language and Learning Disadvantages of Learners with a Migrant Background in Germany. Intergovernmental Conference *Languages of Schooling: towards a Framework for Europe*. Strasbourg, 16–18 October 2006.
33. Kondrāts, Ģ. Imigrācija – gan galvassāpes, gan cerības. *Latvijas Avīze*, 21 Jun 2008.
34. Krēķis, J. Vācieši vēlas sargāt savu valodu. *Latvijas Avīze*, 18 Dec 2008.
35. Krueger, A. Economic Considerations and Class Size. In: *Economic Journal*, Vol. 113, No. 485. 2003. Pp. F34–F63.
36. *Latviešu Izglītības biedrības gada grāmata, III*. Rīga, 1911.
37. *Latviešu valoda 15 neatkarības gados*. Rīga: Zinātne, 2007.
38. *Latvijas iedzīvotāju sadalījums pēc valstiskās piederības* [online]. [Accessed on 20.08.2011]. Available at: <http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/statistika/iedzivotaju.html>.
39. *Latvijas uzņēmēju aptauja*, 2006 [online]. (Accessed on 14.04.2009). Available at: <http://www.swedbank.lv/news/150606.php>.
40. LR CSB. *Main indicators of demographical statistics in 2008*: [online]. Informative overview. [Accessed on 12.02.2011]. Available at: <http://www.csb.gov.lv/dati/2009gada-informativie-apskati-28308.html>
41. LR CSB. *Nodarbinātība un bezdarbs* [tiešsaiste]. Galvenie rādītāji. [Accessed on 19.07.2011]. Available at: <http://www.csb.gov.lv/statistikas-temas/nodarbinatiba-un-bezdarbs-galvenie-raditaji-30263.html>
42. *Mācāmies uzņemt. Imigrantu integrācija Latvijā un Polijā*. 2008. Rīga: Sabiedriskās politikas centrs “Providus”, 2008.
43. Mežs, I. *Latvieši Latvijā*. Rīga: Zinātne, 1994.
44. Mežs, I. *Latviešu valoda statistikas spoguļi*. Rīga: Jāņa sēta, 2004.
45. *Migrācijas ietekme uz etniskajām attiecībām Latvijā*. Rīga: Sociālās alternatīvas institūts, 2008.
46. *Migranti Latvijā. 1944.–1989. Dokumenti*. Rīga: Latvijas Valsts arhīvs, 2004.
47. *Migration and Activism in Europe since 1945*. Ed. W. Pojmann. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
48. *Migrations et plurilinguisme en France*. Cahiers de l'Observatoire des pratiques linguistiques, N 2. Éditions Didier, septembre 2008.
49. OECD. *From Immigration to Integration* [online], 2006. [Accessed on 21.08.2008]. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/5/55/37726512.pdf>
50. *Politikas gadagrāmata. Latvija 2007*. Stratēģiskās analīzes komisija. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008.
51. *Population and social conditions* [online]. Eurostat. Statistic in focus. 81/2008. [Accessed on 14.03.2011]. Available at: [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY\\_OFFPUB/KS-SF-08-081/EN/KS-SF-08-081-EN.PDF](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-08-081/EN/KS-SF-08-081-EN.PDF)
52. Salt, J. *Current Trends in International Migration in Europe*. Consultant's Report to the Council of Europe. March 2006.
53. Skujenieks, M. *Latvieši svešumā un citas tautas Latvijā. Vēsturiski statistisks apcerējums par emigrāciju un imigrāciju Latvijā*. Rīga: Valters un Rapa, 1930.
54. Skujenieks, M. *Latvijas statistikas atlāss XX* [online]. Rīga: Valsts statistiskā pārvalde, 1937. [Accessed on 15.05.2010]. Available at: [http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/04\\_iedzivotaji.pdf](http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/04_iedzivotaji.pdf)
55. Söhn, J. (ed.). *The Effectiveness of Bilingual School Programs for Immigrant Children*, Programme on Intercultural Conflicts and Societal Integration (AKI), Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB). Berlin, 2005.
56. Šterns, I. *Latvijas vēsture (1180–1290): krustakari*. Rīga: Latvijas Vēstures institūta apgāds, 2002.
57. Švābe, A. *Latvijas vēsture 1800–1914*. Stokholma: Daugava, 1958.
58. *Svešvārdu vārdnīca*. 3. izd. Rīga: Jumava, 2007.
59. The database of the Central Statistic Bureau of the Republic of Latvia [online]. [Accessed on 15.12.2010]. Available at: <http://data.csb.gov.lv/DATABASE/Iedzsoc/Ikgad%C4%93jie%20statistikas%20dati/Iedz%C4%ABvot%C4%81ji/Iedz%C4%ABvot%C4%81ji.asp>.
60. *Valodas politikas īstenošana Latvijā: Valsts valodas centrs 1992–2002*. Rīga, 2002.
61. Valters, M. *Mūsu tautības jautājums. Domas par Latvijas tagadni un nākotni*. Rīga: Valters un Rapa, 1914.
62. *Vēstures atlants Latvija Eiropā* [tiešsaiste]. Rīga, 2008. *Vēstures atlants Latvija Eiropā* [online]. Rīga, 2008. [Accessed on 12.03.2011]. Available at: <http://www.omip.lv/kartes>.
63. Zagorskis V. Imigrantu integrācijas sociālie aspekti ES [online]. The paper presented on 08.12.2006. at the conference *Migrācijas ietekme uz Eiropas politisko domu un lēmumu pieņemšanas procesu*. [Accessed on 15.12.2008]. Available at: [http://www.va.lv/files/valdis\\_zagorskis\\_runa.pdf](http://www.va.lv/files/valdis_zagorskis_runa.pdf)
64. Мечковская, Н. Б. *Социальная лингвистика*. Москва, 1996.