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THE ROLE OF POLITICAL TRUST IN EXPLAINING NATURALISATION OF NON- CITIZENS IN LATVIA

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ABSTRACT

Jekaterina Stukane: The role of political trust in explaining naturalisation of non-citizens in Latvia

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This master's thesis studies the connection between political trust and the process of naturalisation of non-citizens in Latvia. First, the thesis details the historical background of the emergence of non-citizen status in Latvia. Second, it addresses the rights of citizens and non-citizens in Latvia, and third, examines the potential impact of political trust on non-citizens' motivation to naturalise.

Theoretical framework of this thesis encompasses analysis of the main concepts employed in this work – institutional trust in a bundle with political trust, citizenship, and naturalisation – and explains the reciprocal connection between naturalisation and political trust. According to Susanne Tönsmann (2017), such connection exists in the context of Latvia, and this assumption is the starting point of this work. The role of political trust in non-citizens' motivation to naturalise is examined through qualitative interviews. Through the application of thematic analysis, this thesis has identified a plausible connection between the studied notions.

While the empirical analysis did not establish grounds for strong claims, the argument about a connection between political trust and non-citizen naturalisation seems plausible. Findings of this research cannot be generalised due to the limited number of interviews. However, this research provides deeper qualitative insights on the role that non-citizens' attitudes towards public and political institutions play in their motivation to naturalise i.e. obtain full citizenship rights in their home countries.

Previous studies have not studied the connection between trust in public institutions and a wish of Latvian non-citizens to naturalise. Previous literature has concentrated on those matters separately but not in a bundle, as is done here. Thus, this research has not only contributed to a better understanding of Latvian non-citizen problem and raised awareness of it, but also contributed to a discussion of new unresearched matters.

Keywords: Political trust, Latvia, non-citizens, naturalisation.

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin Originality Check service.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EC - European Council

EU - European Union

ESS - European Social Survey

HCNM - High Commissioner on National Minorities

LNNK - Nacionālā apvienība "Visu Latvijai!"—"Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK" (The National Alliance "All for Latvia!" Party)

LSDSP - Latvijas Sociāldemokrātiskā Strādnieku partija (Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party)

LTF - Latvijas Tautas Fronte (Popular Front of Latvia)

OSCE - Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe

SSR - Soviet Socialist Republic

USSR - the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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1. INTRODUCTION

The first association with a term “non-citizen” that comes to mind is a person living outside of a given country, probably a “foreigner”. However, “non-citizen” is also a unique legal status that emerged in 1991 and is distinctive of only two Baltic states – Latvia and Estonia. In this dissertation, the focus is set to Latvian non-citizens. This research presents an in-depth understanding of the status from different perspectives, reviews the historical background of its emergence, and most importantly, studies connection between political trust and non-citizen naturalisation based on the experiences of Latvian non-citizens, acquired through the interviews.

The idea for this research has emerged from the assumption of Susanne Tönsmann (2017, p. 93), who wrote that the Popular Front of Latvia referendum vote that took place in 1991, or more precisely a “broken promise” of citizenship that concluded it “can - provide grounds for doubts about the trustworthiness of the state in citizenship matters.” Furthermore, Tönsmann (2017, p. 92) claims that “the disappointment over the broken promise has a strong influence on naturalization until today and is a strong factor in rejecting naturalization”. Also, the author writes that the broken promise can “have broader implications” and suggests that it may have a negative effect on political trust, as well as it can “raise concerns about the reliability of the state in general” (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 93). Furthermore, the author proposes that the case could raise questions like “will the state keep promises in the future, or how can I trust to stay a citizen after I become one?” (2017, p. 92).

Given the above, Susanne Tönsmann has provided further research territory and established a research gap that is studied in this work in greater detail. Based on that, this thesis tests a hypothesis that political trust affects Latvian non-citizen wish to naturalise. The hypothesis bases on the assumptions of Tönsmann regarding possible concerns about state’s trustworthiness in citizenship matters, as well as possible concerns about reliability of the state on a general level.

The basic relation of the tested hypothesis is that if non-citizens trust their government, it should positively affect their wish to naturalise. If non-citizens do not trust their government, it should negatively affect their wish to naturalise. In this work, the hypothesis includes the independent

variable of political trust (a composite of trust both in public and political institutions) and the dependent variable of naturalisation.

As theoretical thesis, this work suggests that there is a connection between naturalisation and political trust and studies if that connection exists through experiences of Latvian non-citizens. That is accomplished through the acquisition of unique primary data collected through interviews that help to study how non-citizen experiences were affected throughout the period of becoming non-citizens and up till the starting moment of this research (a period between the end of 1980s and 2019). The interviews seek for any traits of naturalisation rejection that Tönsmann (2017, p. 92) referred to, and search for signs of Tönsmann's assumptions regarding possible negative effects on the state's trustworthiness and reliability perception in citizenship matters. The author also suggested that the "broken promise" might affect political trust and this research takes that thought further (2017, p. 92–93). Thus, this research also partly tests the points of view presented by Susanne Tönsmann. Most importantly, the research analyses the experiences of non-citizens acquired through the interviews and identifies how non-citizen's attitudes towards political institutions affected their decisions regarding naturalisation throughout the chosen time frame. Interviews are structured so that primarily they draw a general picture of naturalisation and 'non-naturalisation' experiences without directly referring to the case of 1991, and only in the latter part of the interview the interviewee is asked about his/her experiences in relation to the earlier mentioned case.

Ultimately, the main research question of this work is **“does trust in public and political institutions affect Latvian non-citizens' wish to naturalise?”**. Two other secondary questions compliment the main research question and are stated as follows:

- What are the experiences of Latvian non-citizens as non-citizens?
- Are there any experiences of Latvian non-citizens that would be possible to associate with the ideas described by Tönsmann?

The research in this work is conducted using qualitative research methods particularly for interviewing certain groups of Latvian inhabitants. The interviews provide the main data used to find the answer to the research questions of this work.

The reasons behind the choice of such a master's thesis topic are several. First, there is an aspiration to contribute to the resolution of the non-citizen situation in Latvia. Even though Kuznicka-Zonyk (2017, p. 9) writes that there are other topics that replaced non-citizen discourse

in Latvia, and that non-citizen issue became secondary not only for the politicians but for the non-citizens themselves, that is exactly why the discourse about the matter must be revived, while the problem should be addressed from the new and fresh perspectives. The topics to some extent are discussed in academia too, even after Latvia joined the EU (e.g., Tönsmann, 2017, Kuznicka-Zonyk, 2017). The topic still appears in the media and in the discussions of simple Latvian inhabitants as the problem exists even now. Birka (2011, p. 398) writes that “numerous governments, policies, pressure from international organizations and outside influences have failed to bring about a solution to the sizable noncitizens, or residents lacking citizenship of any state, population within Latvia.” The main issue is that even after almost thirty years the number of non-citizens in Latvia is still relatively high (i.e., more than 10%), and that naturalisation rates have been quite low (see Tönsmann, 2017, p. 20; pp. 38–39; Klūga, 2016; Balode, 2017; Kuznicka-Zonyk, 2017, p. 9).

Second, the non-citizen status has emerged under difficult historical circumstances. On the one hand, it can be justified as a precaution and assurance of the independent Latvian state. On the other hand, the status can be questioned from other perspectives, such as human right perspective. Although several non-citizens were either born or have lived most of their life in Latvia, they have been excluded from the citizenry and deprived voting and other rights. The issue of non-citizens is controversial, and this work addresses it from several perspectives: Latvian state, non-citizen, and international organisations. Essentially, this work tries to bring the issue into the light because it is about people in a difficult and unique situation. It is about their feelings and experiences. About what has been done and what could have been done. About how policies can affect peoples’ lives.

Third, political trust is an essential element of a democratic political system, and, therefore, it is very alarming if some groups have significantly lower levels of trust than others (W. G. van der Meer and Zmerli, 2017; Newton, Stolle and Zmerli, 2018, Newton, 2015; Haček and Brezovšek, 2014). For instance, Tom W. G. van der Meer and Sonja Zmerli (2017, p. 1) write that for representative democracies “in order to maintain stability, viability, and legitimacy, one pivotal source – political trust – may not run dry.” The authors emphasise the importance of political trust in cases of economic, social and political crises, the importance of it in the preservation of democratic political system. They compare political trust to the glue that holds political system together and to the oil that lubricates the policy machine (W.G. van der Meer & Zmerli, 2017, p. 1; Newton, 2015, p. 20) Uslaner (2002) writes about the perks of more trusting countries, for

instance, “better functioning government, more redistributive policies, more open markets, and less corruption”. Furthermore, the author points out an important feature related to minorities, which is relevant for this study, as non-citizens in Latvia are mostly part of a Russian-speaking minority. Also, Haček and Brezovšek (2014, p. 2) write about the importance of trust. They point out that “trust in political institutions and the legitimacy of the democratic system are closely dependent on each other.” Thus, this provides additional grounds to justify the choice of trust as a focal point for Latvian non-citizen naturalisation in the context of Latvia as a young democracy.

Fourth, while there is literature on the importance of citizenship and political trust in a democratic political system, there are no studies which specifically examine whether political trust impacts the motivation to apply for citizenship. There is a possibility that this work can become a stepping stone for further topic research.

This paper suggests that Latvian naturalisation politics need to be studied more thoroughly. Although considerable research has been devoted to studies on non-citizens in Latvia (e.g., Tönsmann, 2017; Aasland, 2002; Brubaker, 2011; Kuczyńska-Zonik, 2017, Rozenvalds, 2010; Muižnieks, 2010) and non-citizen naturalisation (e.g., Birka, 2011, Muižnieks, 2010; Dorodnova, 2003; Zepa, 2010, Ivļevs & King, 2012) there is no sufficient literature on the connection between naturalisation and political trust, especially in the context of Latvian non-citizens. Current literature provides the statement of Susanne Tönsmann (2017) about the connection between the “broken promise” of 1991 and the non-citizen rejection of naturalisation. It may be assumed that the “broken promise” could have entailed possible doubts of the trustworthiness of the government amongst non-citizens. Other similar statements were not found in other academic literature; thus, this work can be described as pioneering and uncommon.

To summarise, this research studies whether Latvian non-citizen wish to naturalise is affected by their political trust. It is accomplished with a help of interviews which consist of questions aimed to identify political trust related stories and their connection to the end result - naturalisation/non-naturalisation. Additionally, this research fills the research gap regarding the chosen topic as current literature does not provide sufficient information on the matter. Furthermore, this study aspires to raise the awareness of the non-citizen legal status and to contribute to a better understanding of non-citizens. It hopes to develop a fuller naturalisation picture in Latvia that can be useful not only for Latvian and Estonian societies but also applicable for other cases which include naturalisation processes, for instance naturalisation of immigrants elsewhere.

This work consists of seven chapters, where each chapter represents separate study steps. The introduction chapter summarises the main ideas and motivations behind the choice of the studied topic. The historical background chapter provides historical context to the emergence of non-citizen status. The theoretical framework chapter consists of findings from the previous researches, explanation of key concepts and the theoretical framework itself. The methods and data chapter follows in order to explain what and how is studied within this work. After, there is a results chapter, which consists of interview research information and empirical data. The results chapter is followed by the discussion chapter which points out interesting observations and peculiarities. Lastly, the thesis is finalized by the conclusions chapter that provides an overall summary and conclusions for the conducted research.

2.HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This section illustrates Latvian experiences during the twentieth century and describes the historical roots of the emergence of the non-citizen status in the focus of this study. As Aasland (2002, p. 57) writes about the citizenship politics in Latvia and Estonia, “the issue has important ethnic connotations, since a majority of the ethnic Russians and the other ethnic minorities in these two countries are not citizens in the country where they live.”

The timeframe under study starts from the middle of the eighteenth century and finishes in the 1990s. In the period between 1850 and 1890, Latvians started a national movement for the first time, created an idea of common development direction, aspired for an idea of a united land, and wished for an independent Latvian culture. Latvians were fighting different historical circumstances on the way towards their complete independence that came with the Soviet Union’s collapse in the 90s.

Even though this chapter does not directly contribute to the research of the possible connection between political trust and naturalisation of non-citizens, it helps to clarify the reasons behind citizenship politics and sheds light to the experiences of both, ethnic Latvians and non-Latvians. Overall, this chapter contains information about demographic changes, reflects on the main events of partly the eighteenth and mostly the twentieth century with the idea of revealing experiences of Latvians and, contributing to the explanation of low political trust as a result of the communist regime, which will be discussed in greater detail in the chapter about political trust.

The historical background chapter consists of three sections: The turn of the twentieth century, WWI and the interwar period, and WWII and the period of Soviet Occupation.

2.1. The turn of the twentieth century

The journey of Latvia through the twentieth century has been indeed arduous. Latvia welcomed it as a province of the Russian Empire (Apals, 2019). Overall, the twentieth century had a great impact on Latvia and its demography (revolution of 1905, two World Wars, and Soviet Occupation); thus, to understand this part of Latvian history, it is necessary to look back into the period of pre-war Latvia and even earlier.

To begin with, it is important to mention a historic event called the “Atmoda” – Latvian National Awakening. It started in the middle of the nineteenth century and lasted until the 1890s (Apals, 2019). It was a result of the social reforms such as the abolition of serfdom, the emancipation, and promotion of equal rights between social classes, which led to Latvians gaining national identity and turning into a nation which gained an understanding of such important national elements as “history, territory, value of native language, common cultural and public life, as well as future goals”¹ (Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2019). According to Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs (2019), the “Atmoda” was initiated by educated Latvians and later facilitated emergence of the “Jaunlatvieši” (*Young Latvians*) movement² in the period of 1850. The movement did not agree with Baltic German nobility, which autonomously ruled the province, neither it agreed to the central administration of the Russian Empire (Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2019.).

The period after “the Awakening”, particularly, the end of the nineteenth century, can be described as the period of rapid political, social, and economic changes (Šiliņš, 2019a). Tsar Alexander III started the russification process to lessen Baltic German influence in the Western provinces by introducing new reforms of centralisation (Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2019; Šiliņš, 2019a). Furthermore, Russian language use was expanded and brought into the educational and administrative systems (Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2019).

It is also important to address the demographic situation in Latvia at the end of the nineteenth century. The situation in Latvia in 1897 can be described as mixed (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 4). For instance, Riga became the fourth largest industrial city of the Russian Empire due to the urbanisation process, and the population of the capital increased from 169,300 to 282,200 people (Šiliņš, 2019a). Even though 68 percent of the population living on the territory of Latvian Province were Latvians at that time, there were also considerable number of Russians (12 percent), Hebrews (7.4 percent), German (6.2 percent), and Polish (3.4 percent) ethnicities represented (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 4).

Later, at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, another movement called the “Jaunā Strāva” (*New current*) emerged in Latvia. The movement was a successor of the earlier “Young Latvian” movement. It promoted social democratic ideas and protection of the rights of large social groups. It was the first Latvian movement, which opposed

¹ “...valodu, sociālo piederību, arī izpratni par tautas vēsturi, teritoriju, kopēju kultūras un sabiedrisko dzīvi, nākotnes mērķiem” (Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2019)

² a cultural movement that took pride in the Latvian language and promoted Latvian culture (Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2019)

the political regime, and the first movement that was strongly repressed by the political regime. Even though the movement failed in the implementation of its ideas, it changed Latvian social thinking and facilitated the modernisation of Latvia. The movement played an important role as the milestone for a social democratic movement. After, the movement was crushed by the Tsar's regime and worker movement lost its legal development opportunities, which led to the radicalisation and facilitation of the events of 1905, which, in turn, later led to the establishment of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party. (Šiliņš, 2019a).

The revolution of 1905 was a turmoil caused by the upheaval. It resulted in the deportation and repression of thousands of Latvians. While penalty expeditions of the Tsar, many people were prosecuted and killed without any investigation. People protested against Russian and German oppression, harsh russification and monoethnic politics, and fought for their rights and a chance to participate in the state governance. (Lapa, 2019). As the result, the revolution helped in formulating interests and further political direction of Latvians. they wanted to take (Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2019). The result of the revolution was the emergence of the first legal political party i.e. Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, which was inspired by the ideas of *Young Latvians* (Lapa, 2019) and by the ideas of the *New Current* (Šiliņš, 2019a). Also, the State Council and numerous trade unions were established (Lapa, 2019). It was the time when Latvia managed to strengthen its political identity which later led to the establishment of a national state. It was the first attempt of Latvians to fight for the self-governance in order to establish an own democratic country, however, those attempts were repressed and prosecuted as political litigation period began and lasted until The February Revolution (1917). (Lapa, 2019).

2.2. WWI and the interwar period

Latvia was involved in the WWI by directly participating in the military process as the province of the Russian Empire. The war led to several remarkable changes in Latvia. The country suffered the consequences of heavy military action on its lands, including tremendous devastation of the national economy. (Jēkabsons, 2019a). According to Šiliņš (2019b), Latvia suffered serious demographical consequences, such as casualties and the refugee number growth. Rozenvalds (2010, p. 33) also tells about a serious change in Latvian demography due to the WWI events and due to the population flight to Russia. The number of Latvians considerably declined, whereas Baltic German population halved (Rozenvalds, 2010, p. 33). However, the main change for the state was the Declaration of Independence in 1918 when the Russian Empire fell and brought an end to the monarchy (Šiliņš, 2019b). The first ideas of Latvian independence came from the earlier

described movement of the New Current, particularly, they were introduced by some of the movement successors already in 1897, however, they came to life only in 1918 (Šiliņš, 2019a).

The declaration of independence was an important step for Latvians as a nation. It was a result of the second Awakening movement, which led to the proclamation of an independent country. Jēkabsons (2019b) writes that after the Russian and German Empire fell, many countries of Western and Central Europe received a chance for the self-determination including Latvia. However, the independence was not given for granted and has been achieved only after the Latvian War of Independence (Šiliņš, 2019b). Eventually, Latvians gained the status of the titular nation, whereas other ethnic groups became minorities (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 4-5).

Latvian national politics have developed under difficult circumstances as the population was socially divided and consisted of different nationalities. However, in order to rebuild the state after the WWI, it was necessary to involve all Latvian inhabitants and to establish a country with a united nation. The Latvian government secured minority rights and ensured their participation in the political processes of the country. (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 4-5).

In 1919, Latvian government accepted The Citizenship Law. The law stated: “By that, rights of the Latvian Republic citizen were granted to anyone who has lived, was born or was considered a national before the 1st August of 1914, and by the day of the law enforcement has not changed his nationality to any of another country.”³ Furthermore, citizenship law has been amended several times and additional requirements have been added. For instance, a requirement to be a resident of Latvia for 20 years in order to be recognised as a citizen. This change has been caused by lack of tolerance of the Latvian society towards the growth of the refugee numbers and migration of the ones oppressed by the communistic regime. Hebrews were especially against this amendment as at the times of Russian Empire they were forced to live without registration. (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 5-6).

The inter-war period is interesting for this chapter because at that period of time the government of Latvia changed politics towards the minorities. When Karlis Ulmanis became a totalitarian

³ Ar to Latvijas Republikas pilsoņa tiesības tika piešķirtas ikvienam, kurš Latvijā dzīvoja, bija dzimis vai skaitījās tai piederīgs pirms 1914. gada 1. augusta un likuma izsludināšanas dienā nebija pārgājis citā pavalstniecībā. (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs, 2014, p. 5)

ruler, one of the aims of his regime was “Latvian Latvia”.⁴ Many minority schools and press agencies were closed, as well as minority language use was restricted in some governmental organisations. Minority dissatisfaction grew, and this included Russians, Germans and especially Hebrews, which consisted of respectively 10.6 percent, 3.2 percent, and 4.8 percent of the Latvian population in 1935 while there were 75.5 percent of Latvians. The society was mostly divided as people lived in their own societal and cultural niches. (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 7-8).

2.3. WWII and the period of occupation

Latvian independence did not last long as the WWII events overwhelmed the world and brought difficult times for many states, including Latvia. In this chapter, the focus is set on the Latvian experiences and an ethnic aspect of the war.

According to the information provided by the Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs (2014, p. 9), WWII heavily impacted Latvian ethnic structure. The war itself and two totalitarian occupation regimes brought repressions upon all ethnic groups, however, the biggest blow was done to Germans and Hebrews, which substantially ceased to exist as part of Latvian ethnic minorities (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 9; Rozenvalds, 2010, p. 33). Germans mostly travelled out of the country in the period between 1939–1940 as a part of the Baltic German moving.

Another major demographic change took place in 1941, when occupied Latvia, first, under the pressure of the USSR, experienced mass deportation of Latvians, Hebrews, and other ethnicities and second, under the occupation of Nazi Germany, Latvia lost the Hebrew community and most of the Gipsies (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 9-13). Due to the Holocaust, almost the whole Jewish minority was annihilated (Rozenvalds, 2010, p. 33). Those events and particularly propaganda, which was spread as a part of the Holocaust, resulted in the split between the inhabitants, and the consequences of the campaign still have not been fully overcome. Furthermore, a large number of refugees fled from Latvia, especially during “Lielā bēgšana” (the Great Escape) in 1944 (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 9-13). The exact number of refugees is not known; however, it is assessed to be approximately 170,000–180,000 people (Plakans, 2019).

⁴ Latviska Latvija

In 1940, Latvia was repeatedly occupied by the Soviet Union (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 9). After the occupation, Latvian ethnic composition changed even more drastically (see Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 9; Eglīte, 2011, p. 86; Singh, 2001, p. 116). According to the information provided by the Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs (2014, p. 8-14), there were 75.5 percent of Latvians in 1935, whereas in 1989 the proportion of Latvians had dropped to 52 percent. Due to the flight and repressions, the number of Latvians severely reduced as in comparison to 1935 and 1959, the number was 180,000 less (Rozenvalds, 2010, p. 34). Eglīte (2011, p. 88) also writes about the change in Latvian population numbers and growth of Russians in Latvia. She provides the information that between 1935 and 1989, the total share of Latvians decreased by 25 percent, the share of ethnic Russians increased by 25.2 percent, while the share of other ethnic groups did not change significantly. Eglīte (2011, p. 86-88) explains, that during half a century after Latvia had been occupied by the USSR, a considerable amount of people died due to the repressions, hunger, and bad living conditions. Furthermore, the biggest part of those people were men, which led to the indigenous peoples' reproduction reduction, whereas the number of non-Latvian people disproportionately increased (Eglīte, 2011, p. 86-88). Also, Singh (2001, p. 116) writes about the decrease in the Latvian population and explains it as a result of the deportations and war. She adds, that lost Latvians "were replaced mostly by Russians, many of whom belonged to the Soviet military, intelligence and political establishments, and were regarded by the Balts as 'occupiers' and 'colonists'".

Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs (2014, p. 13) and Rozenvalds (2010, p. 34) state that the biggest reason for Russian population increase was forced migration from other USSR areas. In addition, the deployment of military contingents and deployment of demobilized military personnel increased the number (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 13). There was a need for industrial workforce and facilitation of migration was one of the ways to ensure the needed supply (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 13). Even nowadays, the consequences of the WWII demographic change are visible. According to the Population and Housing census in Latvia (2016, p. 94), in 2011 the percentage of ethnic Latvians and ethnic Russians in Latvia was presented as 62.1 percent versus 26.9 percent, respectively. Even though Latvians are unquestionably a majority in Latvia, there are cases when the ethnicity division in certain cities is the opposite. For instance, Aasland (2002, p. 59) writes that "today, ethnic Estonians and Latvians are minorities in many of their countries' largest cities", which is the case especially in the areas of the Eastern border (Results of the 2011 Population and Housing Census in Latvia, 2016, p. 100).

On this basis, the after-war period can be described as a period of russification and mass growth of the Russophone population (Eglīte, 2011, p. 87; Lulle, Kļave, Reire, Birka & Ungure, 2015, p. 57). Furthermore, according to the information by the Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs (2014, pp. 8-14), USSR politics resulted in russification of the Latvian traditional historical minorities. For example, in 1989, 43.8 percent of Belarusians, 27.1 percent of Polish, 27 percent of Hebrew, and 34 percent of Germans have admitted using their national language as mother tongue. The Russian language has been spreading actively in the areas of education, record keeping, and television. Russian was primarily taught in the schools too, and gradually Latvian society has transformed into a two-community society. (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, pp. 8-14).

The problem of the two-community gap exists also today. For instance, Birka (2013, p. 8) writes about the segregation of the Latvian society into two language groups: Latvian and Russian. According to the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, based on the last available Population and Housing Census from 2011 (2016, p. 108), there 33.75 percent of Latvian population spoke Russian at home against 52.88 percent speaking Latvian. In his research about the level of integration in Latvia, Mužnieks (2010, p. 8) writes that “overall picture and recent trends are very contradictory, with elements of separation, marginalization, and integration within each of the life realms”. In some areas, Latvia has become more integrated, in others not so much: “Patterns of separation and exclusion in the media and in public and political life are stable and deep-rooted” (Muižnieks, 2010, p. 282). According to Tabuns (2010, p. 278), the main issue of the integration programme of Latvia is a divergence between ethnic groups in the questions of history, geopolitical identities, and segregated party system.

2.3.1. The third awakening and the popular front of Latvia

In the period close to an end of the Soviet Union, Latvians experienced the Third Awakening (Trešā Atmoda), or in other words, The Singing Revolution, which changed what Latvia is. It proved that it is not just territory, but a country with an own nation, statehood, and history. It started in 1987 and lasted until Latvia restored its independence in 1991 (Diena & National History Museum of Latvia, 2008).

Apart from Latvians, various other ethnic groups attempted to create or restore own cultural communities. As a result, eighteen ethnic group communities were established and joined the first Latvian National cultural community congress (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 14).

Promptly, at the end of the 1980s, as a consequence of numerous ethnic awakenings, another important event took place. It was the Latvian Nation Forum, which was organized in cooperation with Popular Front of Latvia. Latvian Nation Forum adapted the ideas of the Popular front, whereas the latter helped in the Forum arrangement. Overall, the cooperation resulted in the decrease of intergroup anxieties. (Kalniete, 2000, p. 186).

The end of 1980s and the beginning of 1990s was a time when the ideas of united and democratic Latvia were developed. It was a time when the ideological platform of the Popular Front of Latvia was created, and it included consolidation of different ethnicities and a promise of the same civil rights for anyone who is loyal to the idea of independent Latvia, disregarding their ethnicity and social status. Latvian Nation Forum became a base for the loyalty of different ethnic groups to the ideas of the Popular Front of Latvia and independence. (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 14).

According to “Barikadopēdija, n.d.”, Jānis Dinevičš (one of the Latvian Popular Front founders) has given a commentary about the position of the Social Democratic Party in the interview for the newspaper “Padomju Jaunatne” (The Soviet Jouth). His words were as follows: “We take responsibility to guarantee that all Latvian citizens, in disregard to their ethnicity, should have the same rights and same obligations.”⁵ A comment like this can be understood in different ways and rhetoric like this may have become the reason for the future misunderstanding between the non-citizens and the government.

Tönsmann (2017, p. 92) writes that “the nature of the promise of citizenship is contested until today”. According to her, some politicians suggest that the promise was a “perceived promise” and that there are not enough documents for any actual claims. While some admit that the promise was made, other do not, or insist that the promise was needed in order to guarantee the establishment of Latvia in a less violent manner. (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 92). Aasland (2002, p. 59) writes about a similar matter. The author suggests that in “a fear of demographic extinction and a perceived need to protect the core nation from its unfavourable demographic situation has been a dominant theme in the nationalist discourse of Estonia and Latvia.” Agarín (2010, p. 90) shares a similar opinion and writes that Russophones were perceived as a “demographic threat”; thus, the non-Latvian population was perceived as an interruption of the ethnonational citizenship politics.

⁵ Arī mēs uzņemamies garantiju par to, ka visiem Latvijas pilsoņiem neatkarīgi no viņu tautības ir jābūt vienādām tiesībām un arī vienādiem pienākumiem. (Commented on 29.08.1989 before the Citizenship Law enforcement, at the time when everyone was a citizen of Latvian SSR.)



Figure 1: Demonstration against citizenship for Post-Soviet immigrants (Kasparāns, 2018)

To support previously described presence of nationalistic moods in Latvian society in the 1990s, the picture above can be addressed as visual example. The picture shows people standing with posters presenting such expressions as “No for ‘0’ option citizenship!”, or “Only Latvian citizens before year 1940 and their descendants can elect Parliament!”.

However, it is important to understand that the Popular Front of Latvia did not have one united idea of the political course at that time (Dorodnova, 2003, p. 18). Rather, it had three main ideas prevailing the discourse at that time:

- 1) Latvian Future is decided by Latvians, no consideration of non-Latvian opinion;
- 2) Democratic approach and inclusion of non-Latvians’ interests based on only Latvian decision;
- 3) United efforts, compromises and mutual understanding for Latvian revival.

Dorodnova (2003, p. 18) claims that only the third idea was acceptable for the Russian minority, however, it never came to be, as the first idea eventually prevailed.

Everyone had a right to vote in the Latvian SSR Supreme Council elections. Apart from Latvian SSR citizens, also deployed military personnel was entitled to vote, even though the majority of them stayed in Latvia only for the term of military service. 81.25 percent of people who had a right to vote, voted. (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 15.) The number differs from the information provided by Tönsmann (2017, p. 91) as the author writes that the turnout was 87.5 percent. Additionally, she writes that 73.8 percent of people voted in favour of independence and 35 percent of those votes appeared to be of non-Latvians (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 91).

Independence aspirations of the Popular Front of Latvia came true in the 1990s. Two parties, the LNNK and the Popular Front of Latvia united their power and gained approximately 2/3 of the seats in Latvian SSR Supreme Council. On the fourth of May 1990 the Popular Front of Latvia adopted the declaration on the Restoration of Independence of the Republic of Latvia (fully the independence has been restored in 1991). (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 15).

The last leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, enforced reforms in the political system that led to the end of the Communist Party's monopoly and legalised multi-party system (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 15). In 1991, Gorbachev resigned from his position and gave – as Plokhy (2014, p. xxvii) writes – a “Christmas present” for the United States when the red banner of the Soviet Union was laid down from the flagpole of Kremlin Senate. It was the end of the Cold War and the end of Eastern and Western major power standoff. The USSR dissolution led to the establishment of 15 independent republics including Latvia. (Plokhy, 2014, p. xxvii-xxx). Plokhy (2014, p. xvii) connects the collapse of the USSR as an imperial rule to its incompatibility with the principles of electoral democracy, which were brought in by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1989.

The declaration of independence caused certain confusion in the society due to the citizenship matter. The Latvian SSR citizenship had been annulled with the adoption of the declaration of 1990. In the transition period that lasted until 1991, all Latvian inhabitants were to be legally treated as USSR citizens, which caused certain problems in the relationships between Latvia and the USSR. (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 16.)

There were several integration related laws adopted by Latvian government in the 1990s, such as the Law on Citizenship, the State Language Law, the Repatriation Law, and the Law on the Change of Name, Surname and Ethnicity (Muižnieks 2010, p. 8; Dorodnova 2003, p. 133). Muižnieks

(2010, p. 8) tells that the Law on Citizenship and the State Language Law “were adopted or last amended under severe international pressure” and that the political elite was “proven very reluctant to revisit these laws, even when there was a compelling reason for amending them to reflect new circumstances.” Overall, Latvian integration policy can be described as a “lukewarm commitment (at best)” as Muižnieks (2010, p. 8) writes.

On fifteenth of October 1991, Latvian *Saeima* (Parliament) adopted the Citizenship Law (Rozenvalds, 2010, p. 41). The decision led to the creation of the gap between, as Rozenvalds writes, “‘us’ and ‘them’” as only those who were citizens of Latvia before 1940 and their descendants were entitled to the citizenship. Those non-Latvians who voted pro-independence were pushed aside. “Given the generous pre-referendum promises, such a step had a destructive impact – the action of Latvian politicians in the fall of 1991 provided a basis for the conviction that is still widespread among many non-Latvians that they had simply been deceived.” (2010, p. 41). Latvian minorities were highly unsatisfied with the situation, especially those who gathered on The Barricades⁶ (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs & Barikāžu muzejs, 2014, p. 16).

The issue of the Soviet immigrants was seen as a part of the “deoccupation” (Dorodnova 2003, p. 135; Tönsmann, 2017, p. 88). Tönsmann (2017, p. 88) explains that the “deoccupation” was an attempt to erase the Soviet occupation consequences. Furthermore, as unlawful immigrants, they were expected to leave the country, which, however, was not possible due to several reasons (Muzergues, 2004, p. 20). In the existing situation, Latvian politicians saw a solution in the return of non-Latvians to their places of origin and that is how The Law of Repatriation came to be (Rozenvalds, p. 42). The law promoted the return of Latvians and Livs to their ethnic homeland and other way around, voluntary return of non-Latvians to theirs, however, the idea did not work, and the minorities required integration (Rozenvalds, p. 42).

Dorodnova (2003, p. 13) connects the strong wish of Latvia for independence to the historical aspects such as loss of sovereignty and occupation by the totalitarian regime of the USSR: “The sense of having lost their independent state to the totalitarian Soviet regime under tragic circumstances may help to explain the zeal with which they have embarked on the restoration of their independence.” It caused strong anti-Russian sentiment, which influenced the politics of independent Latvia and put Russians and Russophones at a disadvantage. Furthermore, the

⁶ An event that took place in 1991 in Riga. After Latvia declared its independence, people gathered at the barricades in order to protect the city against the USSR authority actions. The event entailed some casualties.

situation has been affected even more negatively because of the Russian-Speaking people nationalist attitudes. (Dorodnova, 2003, p. 13.)

Mezhevich (2016, p. 125) describes the situation in Latvia in a similar manner. He writes that after the Soviet Union collapse, majority of post-Soviet countries “set course for the West”. He also notes that for those countries, it was a decision of “‘coming home’ rather than making transition”. It was also a time of the Baltic State foreign policy development, and can be described in terms of “strong anti-Russian sentiment”, which has developed a long before the actual independence (Mezhevich, 2016, p. 126)

2.3.2. Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be summarised that Latvian history has been hard, at times bloody and cruel. Latvians became what they are as a result of such history, as a result of wars, hunger, and repressions. Latvian nation, throughout most of the years of its existence, was ruled or controlled by someone else. Thus, when it was time to become independent, the reaction was very precautious and at times fearful. Latvian attitudes towards the minorities, especially Russian, have been shaped under the circumstances of the USSR times, which are associated with repressions, russification politics, and demographical threat. The occupation has left lots of scars in the memories of Latvians, especially because of totalitarian politics, which have led to a decrease in the number of titular nation representatives, whereas, the population of Soviet immigrants grew throughout the years the USSR existence. Even after the collapse of the Soviets, memories stayed and led to the fact that Latvians wanted to disassociate themselves from the Soviet times and that also included people. All these factors led to the nationalist discourse prevalence in the Latvian society of the 1990s and resulted in the emergence of the societal division between those who were historically entitled to live and enjoy citizenship of Latvia and those who came to Latvia during the USSR times. The latter were now regarded as “uninvited” and were eventually deprived of the citizenship benefits because of the fear.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter of the thesis encompasses analysis of the main concepts employed in this work – political trust, citizenship and naturalisation – and explains the reciprocal connection between naturalisation and political trust. Susanne Tönsmann (2017) suggests the idea that in the context of Latvia, such connection exists, and this assumption is the starting point of this work. This paper adapts the idea of Tönsmann as a hypothesis of the theory that non-citizen naturalisation can be influenced by political trust and examines the suggested link through the interviews.

3.1. Citizenship

Given that naturalisation is a process of citizenship acquisition, citizenship is an important concept to analyse before establishing a connection between political trust and naturalisation of non-citizens in Latvia. To understand why Latvian non-citizens make a decision to naturalise or not, it is important to understand what does that step grant or deprive them of. Mainly, the conception of citizenship can be considered integral in understanding the nature of non-citizen status in contrast to citizen status: to grasp legal differences between citizens and non-citizens in Latvia, which are extremely important for this research.

3.1.1. *What is Citizenship?*

Historically, citizenship has been connected to the times of ancient Greece when members of different city-states (Polis) had a special citizen status, which distinguished them from the slaves and granted a possibility to vote by throwing a pebble into an urn. For instance, Richard Bellamy (2008 p. 19) writes about a historical connection between citizenship and association with certain membership privileges. Nowadays, although slavery has mostly come to an end and women can also vote, we still have citizens, membership privileges, and stateless people.

Citizenship goes hand in hand with public rights and duties with respect to a given political community such as political participation and voting rights (Bellamy, 2008 p. 19). The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (2019) also provide a definition of citizenship, which includes the point about rights and duties, and expand the definition by writing about duties, responsibilities and particular rights, some of which are granted to citizens alone and not to other residents. For

instance, such rights as the right to vote and the right to be officary are bound to citizenship (ibid.). Bellamy (2008, p. 19) adds that citizens have an important task to “perform to shape and sustain the collective life of the community.” In order to do that, involvement in the political process is the most important factor. What matters is the possibility to be politically involved disregarding whether a citizen does or does not use the possibility (ibid.).

Bellamy (2008) connects citizenship to the concept of democracy and emphasises the importance of the voting right. The author mentions such a necessary condition for the law and policy establishment within a political community as an electoral democracy and citizens as a part of creating it (Bellamy, 2008, p. 25). The author concentrates his research on democratic citizenship and suggests three main components of it:

- 1) Membership of a democratic political community;
- 2) The collective benefits and rights associated with membership;
- 3) Participation in the community’s political, economic, and social processes.

To continue with the topic of citizenship, it also is important to mention ways of citizenship acquisition. This information is provided by The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (2019). The source summarises information on the main grounds for citizenship acquisition:

- Birth within a certain territory (i.e., *jus soli*);
- descent from a citizen parent (i.e., *jus sanguinis*);
- marriage to a citizen;
- naturalisation. The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (2019).

Latvia has employed democratic citizenship as a democratic country since 1991. The issues of citizenship are determined by the Latvian Citizenship Law (1994), and the main principle of eligibility for citizenship includes principles of descent from a citizen parent (i.e., *jus sanguinis*), whereas others who are not eligible for citizenship can apply for citizenship if they meet conditions determined by the law. The adoption of Citizenship Law and further introduction of the Law “On the Status of those Former U.S.S.R. Citizens who do not have the Citizenship of Latvia or that of any Other State” resulted in the fact that almost one-third of people were to be considered non-citizens (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 33).

3.1.2. Towards a definition

In order to fully understand the citizenship concept, a definition is necessary. This paper uses a definition provided by Richard Bellamy as one comprising the main factors important for a complete citizenship perception:

Citizenship is a condition of civic equality. It consists of a membership of a political community where all citizens can determine the terms of social cooperation on an equal basis. This status not only secures equal rights to the enjoyment of the collective goods provided by the political association but also involves equal duties to promote and sustain them – including good democratic citizenship itself (Bellamy, 2008, p. 28).

Additionally, “citizens not only derive benefits from the state but also can influence its future shape through the decisions they make” (Bellamy, 2008, p. 59).

Phelan (2012, p. 105) adds that citizenship is a concept that defines relationships between an individual and a state. Also, the Editors of Encyclopaedia (2019) write about the same connection in the definition they provide: “Citizenship, the relationship between an individual and a state to which the individual owes allegiance and in turn is entitled to its protection.”

Considering everything above, it can be summarised that citizenship is key to the establishment of the connection between a person and a state. It provides grounds for changing and shaping own state and community. Furthermore, citizenship is tightly associated with rights and duties and is connected to involvement in the political process, or in other words, political participation, which, in turn, is connected to social and political trust. This work looks into a case of non-citizens and a state, and seeks to understand how citizenship, as an opposite to non-citizenship, is an important part of the process.

3.1.3. Citizenship in the contemporary world

A lot of time has passed since times when citizenship emerged in Ancient Greece. The original system of direct democracy has lost its actuality as it became too difficult to sustain and has been mostly replaced with the system of representative democracy. Bellamy (2008, p. 18) mentions another change since Ancient Greece times, the change in the understating of citizenship in comparison to nowadays. He suggests that such notions as globalisation and multiculturalism influence contemporary citizenship understanding and transform a political community. They

challenge nation states in the definition and coordination of the citizen lives and change the character of citizenship (ibid.).

In a similar vein, Tönsmann (2017, p. 20) writes about discourses on migration and globalisation impacting citizenship in a negative way. While agreeing about an overall positive role of citizenship, Tönsmann (2017, p. 45) provides another perspective of citizenship as an instrument of inclusion and exclusion, the idea first introduced by Rogers Brubaker in 1992. Inclusion and exclusion of those entitled to citizenship are relevant to compare to Bellamy's (2008, p. 25) description of citizenship as "membership of an exclusive club" as a part of the "membership of a democratic political community" component. In addition, Tönsmann (2017, p. 45) suggests that a state not only excludes and includes people by drawing a geographical line but also by drawing lines within own residents, like in the case of Latvia.

Citizens have a power to "to promote their collective interests and encourage their political rulers to pursue the public's good rather than their own" (Bellamy, 2008, p. 16). While citizens can control themselves and the ones elected and cooperate with other citizens on the basis of equality and respect, the same is not necessarily guaranteed to those who do not possess the citizen status (Bellamy, 2008, p. 24).

3.2. Non-citizenship

In general, non-citizen is a term that refers to someone who is not a citizen of that particular state in which the person resides but is still a citizen of another country. The term can also refer to a person without any citizenship (i.e., stateless person). In this paper, non-citizen is a legal status introduced in 1994 in the Latvian Citizenship Law (1994), which has a different meaning compared to the general definitions. The following section provides information about the non-citizen status in general and in the context of Latvia in terms of what legal differences the status has in comparison to the citizen status.

3.2.1. Non-citizens in general terms

It is important to first address information regarding non-citizens in general terms. For instance, Richard Bellamy (2008, p. 24-25) writes about two important factors of citizenship in the political sense to those who do not possess a citizen status which in this work can be applied to the context of Latvian non-citizens. First, a person without citizenship does not have "unqualified right to enter or remain" in a country of residence, which, however, may not be an issue in the democratic countries, especially if international recognition of the rights of long-term residents have been

secured. However, in case of a person enjoying long-term residence, it is important to understand that such opportunity is promoted and granted only by democratic states, which require their citizens to participate and sustain the democracy; thus, sustain the residence possibility. (Bellamy, 2008, p. 23-24). It is not perfectly relevant for the case of Latvian non-citizens who, according to the Section 2 of the Law On the Status of those Former U.S.S.R Citizens, do not have the Citizenship of Latvia or that of any other state (1995, p. 2) but have a right to “to not be expelled from Latvia”. However, Latvian non-citizens have certain residence restrictions. There are cases when non-citizen status can be revoked, for instance, when a non-citizen receives a permanent residence permit in a foreign state. Additionally, non-citizens have no right to preserve their non-citizen status once a citizen status has been acquired (ibid., p. 3).

The second reason that Bellamy (2008, p. 23-24) provides is connected to democratic principles. The perks that a non-citizen might enjoy, such as residence possibilities, are “the product of international agreements that are promoted and reliably kept only by democratic states”, whereas that state democratic condition depends on the citizens themselves and their participation in the democratic processes of the state (Bellamy, 2008, p. 23-24). An important point is that Latvia has been associated with certain problems in regard to democracy. For instance, OSCE (the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) in the press statement about Parliamentary Elections (2006) noted that “the fact that a significant percentage of the adult population does not enjoy voting rights represents a continuing democratic deficit”.

3.2.2. Non-citizen, what does it mean?

This work employs a definition of a non-citizen provided by the Latvian government and for the first time introduced in the Citizenship Law (1994) and later defined in the Latvian law On the Status of those Former U.S.S.R. Citizens who are not Citizens of Latvia or any other State (1995). Latvian law On the Status of those Former U.S.S.R. Citizens who are not Citizens of Latvia or any other State (1995, p. 1) defines subjects of the law as follows:

1) Subjects of this Law – non-citizens are such citizens of the former USSR who reside in the Republic of Latvia as well as who are in the temporary absence and their children who simultaneously comply with the following conditions:

1) on 1 July 1992 they were registered in the territory of Latvia regardless of the status of the living space indicated in the registration of residence, or up to 1 July 1992 their last registered place of residence was in the Republic of Latvia, or it has

been determined by a court judgment that they have resided in the territory of Latvia for 10 consecutive years until the referred to date;

2) they are not citizens of Latvia; and

3) they are not and have not been citizens of another state.

Non-citizens can be referred to by multiple names, for instance, Bellamy (2008, p. 24) mentions such expressions as “denizens” or refers to the non-citizen status by the quasi-citizenship status. However, Bellamy seems to write about non-citizens in the meaning of persons not being citizens of a particular state and for this work a clarification of the definition is necessary. To do that, this work addresses several authors who write about the non-citizen status issue. For instance, Tönsmann (2017, p. 43) provides a clear explanation of the case of Latvian non-citizens. According to her, the state can provide various membership statuses, for example, a status of citizen or any other legal membership status, however, non-citizens occupy “a peculiar position in the spectrum of membership categories, since non-citizens, unlike denizens or quasi-citizens, hold no citizenship of any state, but are technically not stateless” (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 43).

Similarly, Krūma (2007, p. 72) writes that non-citizen status categorises non-citizens in a special way, for instance, in some areas legislation ensures non-citizens rights and guarantees wider than ones’ residents may have, however, non-citizens are not recognised as nationals. Kuczyńska-Zonik (2017, p. 2) also writes about non-citizen issue in Latvia and starts her explanation by drawing a line between stateless persons and Latvian non-citizens. Similarly, Brands Kehris (2010, p. 98) notes that the position of the non-citizens in Latvia is closer to the citizen position than the stateless person or foreign national position.

The case of a foreign country national is clear, however, there is still a need to clarify the difference of non-citizens between stateless persons. According to Castree, Kitchin, & Rogers (2013), stateless persons are “people who are not considered by any state as nationals and who therefore lack citizenship rights of any sort”. This status may be acquired in case a state ceases to exist or if a state rejects to acknowledge people as citizens (Castree, Kitchin, & Rogers, 2013). Tönsmann (2017, p. 49) points out in regard to stateless persons that “there is no state that considers them their subjects”. However, in case of Latvian non-citizens, they are given a set of rights which avoids statelessness. Non-citizens are related to a particular state, are subjects of that state, have a right to return to that state, reside in that state and are under protection of that state (Tönsmann, 2017, pp. 34–49). Brands Kehris (2010, p. 98) also writes about legal differences between the

statuses and points out that non-citizens have consular protection, a right to return to Latvia, and a right to naturalise.

Based on the previously written information, it can be concluded that non-citizens in Latvia are former U.S.S.R. citizens, who are entitled to a special set of rights that allow them to reside in Latvia and expect consular protection abroad. However, they are not Latvian nationals even though they are subjects of the Latvian state, nor are they stateless persons.

3.3. Citizenship policy of post-Soviet Latvia

Citizenship politics of Latvia can be viewed from different perspectives. For instance, the perspective of the re-established Latvian state, the perspective of non-citizens, the perspective of international organisations, and the perspective of Russia. Every perspective opens the topic from a different point of view, and all of the mentioned perspectives to some extent are addressed within this work. This chapter concentrates on those perspectives and on the Latvian citizenship politics establishment.

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, an independent state of Latvia emerged and so did several issues. For some people, these issues meant considerable uncertainty. When Latvia restored independence, the issue of own citizenship and migration policy foundation arose (Varpahovskis, 2011, p. 2). The challenge of citizenship was one of the most disputed in public discussion of two Baltic states – Latvia and Estonia (Aasland, 2002, p. 57). Latvian government has actively worked on this situation and developed citizenship policy laws based on ethnic belonging principles (Varpahovskis, 2011, p. 2; Aasland, 2002, p. 57).

As mentioned earlier, there are several grounds for citizenship acquisition: Birth within a certain territory (i.e., *jus soli*); descent from a citizen parent (i.e., *jus sanguinis*); marriage to a citizen; and naturalisation (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1998). Agnew, Mamadouh, Secor and Sharp (2015, p. 157) look into the birthright type of citizenship acquisition and emphasise two types: *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*. *Jus soli* is a principle of “birth in a territory”, whereas *jus sanguinis* is based on the ethnic definition or in other words “to whom one is born” (Agnew et al., 2015, p. 157). Latvian citizenship policy is based on the *jus sanguinis* or ethnic belonging principles (Aasland, 2002, p. 57; (Varpahovskis, 2011, p. 2).

In 1991, Latvian government introduced the Law of Reconstruction of Rights of Citizens of the Republic of Latvia and Main Conditions of Citizenship (see Plokhy, 2014, p. xxvii; Varpahovskis, 2011, p. 3; Laganovskis, 2012). The law defined that citizenship was to be granted to people who

had a Latvian citizenship before the year 1940 and to their descendants (Laganovskis, 2012; Klūga 2016; Krūma, 2007, p. 64; Aasland, 2002, p. 57). As Krūma (2007, p. 63) writes, “upon restoration of independence Latvia strictly followed the principle of state continuity”. In order to tackle the problem of Soviet colonisers, Latvia needed to follow the framework of international law, as a result, “a specific category of persons in international law” was created and that category was non-citizens (Krūma, 2007, p. 63). According to Laganovskis (2012), Latvia decided to take a responsibility for the people who had lost the Soviet citizenship and who never had Latvian citizenship. Thus, the special non-citizen status was introduced by Latvian government. In other words, the USSR citizens who emigrated and decided to stay in Latvia became residents and targets of this law. This decision was a result of the restrictive citizenship strategy that only Latvia and Estonia have applied after dissolution of the USSR (Kuczynska-Zonik, 2017, p. 2). According to Tönsmann (2017, p. 34), from the perspective of the Latvian state, non-citizen status introduction can be viewed as a compromise between expulsion and zero option; a concession between an exclusionary way and a generous way of handling the situation. Both Baltic countries decided to restore the citizenship of the pre-war citizens and their direct descendants (Aasland, 2002, p. 57) by returning de facto rights of citizenship to the native peoples (Krūma, 2007, p. 64). In contrast, immigrants from the rest of the USSR were put under the procedure of naturalisation (Krūma, 2007, p. 64). They had a choice to acquire citizenship of another state or to follow Latvian naturalisation process (Lulle et al., 2015, p. 58).

Latvian government wanted to disassociate Latvia from the Soviet period. Singh (2001, p. 115) writes that Baltic states were the most determined out of the former USSR states to disassociate themselves from the Soviet period and emphasize democratic background of the interwar period. Dorodnova (2003, p. 13) also writes about Latvian society being opposed to everything Soviet, “many Latvians, consciously or not, have chosen to make no distinction between ‘Soviet’ and ‘Russian’” (see also Singh, 2001, p. 117). The author explains that the citizenship policy is the reaction to the consequence of people coming to Latvia during the Soviet times, as well as a solution for safer and easier democratic transition for the country.

Also, Rozenvalds (2010, p. 35) mentions the denial of the Soviet period and idealisation of the pre-war independence period, and explains it from a historical perspective:

Violent incorporation into the Soviet empire, merciless repressions, the abasement of ethnic sentiments, as well as Soviet unification and levelling in the post-war period created

a whole range of stable orientations in the consciousness of the Latvian part of society, and this had a major impact on social processes (p. 34)

Several scholars write about nationalist side of the citizenship politics course accepted in Latvia during the third Awakening (see Steen, 2006, p. 187; Tönsmann, 2017, p. 88, Brubaker, 2011, p. 1785, 1792; Rozenvalds, 2010, p. 42; Kuznicka-Zonyk, 2017, p. 3). For instance, Kuznicka Zonyk (2017, p. 3) writes that in Latvia and Estonia, non-citizenship was perceived as something temporary, however, restrictive citizenship laws led to such consequences as distrust amongst non-citizens and their non-naturalisation. Steen (2006, p. 187) refers to the period of Latvian transition towards democracy from a peculiar perspective. He writes that in the Baltic States it happened as follows:

Democracy and free elections were embraced as the main symbols of their regained independence and as an expression of shared basic human rights with Western democracies. However, in Estonia and Latvia, the nationalists' fear of the large Russian-speaking minority groups who had settled there mainly during the Soviet period soon challenged the idea of inclusive democracy (Steen, 2006, p. 187).

Steen points out the historical aspect (i.e., harsh Soviet times) of the decision to exclude permanent resident groups from the political process (ibid.). Also, Muzergues (2004, p. 20) explains the attitudes towards Russians in Latvia from the historical perspective. He suggests that the Russians' move to Latvia during the Soviet occupation was considered as an unlawful act, making Russian immigrants a part of it and considered occupants (see Muzergues 2004, p. 20; Zepa, 2010, p. 31; Steen, 2006, p. 187, Brubaker, 2011, p. 1790) and colonists (see Brubaker, 2011, p. 1790). Furthermore, Muzergues (2004, p. 20) points out that "the Russians who had arrived in Latvia as a result of this occupation were not to be considered as citizens – under the international laws of occupation no migration to the occupied territories was legal". Agarin (2010, p. 89) writes about the unlawfulness of the migration too by referring to the violation of the conditions of the Geneva Convention, which include both, "deportations of local populations and forced population transfers to other countries". That was a reason for the later exclusion of non-Latvians from political life and citizenship (Muzergues, 2004, p. 20).

Considerable share of the Latvian population gained non-citizens status. In 1991, one third of the total population of the country became non-citizens (Klūga, 2016). According to Muižnieks (as cited in Lulle et al., 2015, p. 58), Latvian citizenship policy resulted in the emergence of 740,000

non-citizens in Latvia. According to Bowring, (as cited in Varpahovskis, 2011, p. 3) in the year 1993, there were approximately 714,000 non-citizens in Latvia, which was equal to 30 percent of the population. In 1995, according to Laganovskis (2012), there were around 730,000 non-citizens. In accordance with the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia (2016), the non-citizen number in 1996 was around 670,000. These numbers can be roughly rounded to 700,000 people being non-citizens in Latvia at the beginning of the 1990s. Compared to 2017, the number of non-citizens is approximately three times smaller and amounts to 214,206 people (Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, 2016).

Latvian citizenship strategy can be explained differently. For instance, Tönsmann (2017, p. 45) writes that citizenship allows to draw boundaries between citizens and the state, however, also non-citizens got a chance to get connected, just not with the help of citizenship (Tönsmann, p. 45). Kuczyńska-Zonik (2017, p. 2) calls Latvian citizenship strategy extraordinary and points out that it was directed towards national identity rebuilding. That is an interesting statement as thirteen out of fifteen newly established states have decided to grant a possibility to apply for citizenship to all people legally staying on their territories (Kuczyńska-Zonik, 2017, p. 2). However, two out of fifteen countries, namely Latvia and Estonia, employed restrictive citizenship strategy (Kuczyńska-Zonik 2017, p. 3). Brubaker also calls Latvian and Estonian citizenship legislation restrictive and points out that it was a key part of the societal nationalisation process (Brubaker, 2011, p.1802). In another work, Brubaker (1992, p. 188) points out that in cases like Latvia, when there is proportionally high minority rate, there are bigger risks in comparison to Western Europe where the share of ethnic minorities is lower. For countries like Latvia and Estonia citizenship definition matters a lot because those countries do not have an imposing majority of the titular nation. The definition of citizenship matters a lot also to minorities comprising the rest of the society. (Brubaker, 1992, p. 188.)

3.4. Differences between Latvian citizens and non-citizens and naturalisation

Before understanding the behaviour of non-citizens and addressing their experiences later through the interviews, it is important to establish an understanding of how different they are in comparison to citizens and what constitute reasons for naturalisation.

The law "On the Status of Former USSR Citizens Who are not Citizens of Latvia or Any Other State" and Citizenship Law establish a base for legal differences between Latvian citizens and non-citizens (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 105). Apart from the differences in passport colour, there are multiple points that can be distinguished between the statuses of Latvian citizens and non-citizens.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia (2018b), the main difference between Latvian non-citizens and citizens is the absence of voting right and restrictions regarding the work in the civil service or work in any position related to national security. Regarding the voting right, Tönsmann (2017, p. 105) provides information acquired from the Naturalisation Board and writes that non-citizens are not eligible for participation in any elections, a referendum or to be elected as Latvian President. While non-citizens have enjoyed the right to join political parties since 1998 (Schulze, 2017, p. 261; Tönsmann, 2017, p. 105), they have no right to found a political party (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 105) nor a right to hold public office (Krūma, 2007, p. 69).

Regarding the work position restrictions, non-citizens have no right to hold office of “judge, court bailiff, notary, prosecutor, policeman, state security officer, land surveyor, fireman, national guard, captain of a crew, private detective, attorney, or employee in diplomatic and consular service” (Krūma, 2007, p. 69). Schulze (2017, p. 260) summarises that non-citizens are restricted from holding most civil service positions as well as some private sector jobs. Tönsmann (2017, p. 106) provides such a private job example and that is, for instance, a job connected to a company which is “being engaged in the sale of firearms/guns, munitions or special means”. Additionally, non-citizens meet some restrictions in the EU labour market (Ivļevs & King, 2012).

However, there are more restrictions; for instance, there are restrictions on owning “a land in frontier areas of the country” or “a land made use of in agriculture or forestry in accordance with the development plan of civil parish or a town/city”. Additionally, Tönsmann distinguishes a set of differences in a category about right to entrance and family reunification. For example, there are some restrictions on travelling without a visa due to the fact that Latvian alien passport is not accepted in as many countries compared to Latvian citizen passport (i.e., thirty-one against eighty-two) (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 106–111). However, non-citizens have an advantage compared citizens as they can travel to Russia without a visa for the period up to 90 days within 180 days period (since 01.01.2014) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, 2019). Also, non-refoulement to the other country is not guaranteed for non-citizens, nor is legal assistance abroad or repatriation. Furthermore, non-citizens have no right to reunification with a non-citizen child as only citizens are eligible for that (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 106–111).

3.5. Naturalisation

Now that differences between citizens and non-citizens are more or less clear, it is important to understand what has already been researched in regard to the factors influencing naturalisation. Before addressing naturalisation, it is important to understand several things. Ivļevs and King (2012, p. 2) write that Latvia hosts one of the highest shares of foreign-born (17 percent in 2005) and ethnic minorities (41 percent in 2011) in the EU. They also point out that the pace of naturalisation in Latvia has been slow (see also Tönsmann, 2017, p. 20; p. 38-39; Klūga, 2016; Balode, 2017; Kuznicka-Zonyk. 2017, p. 9). Ivļevs and King (2012, p. 17) question reasons behind such naturalisation rejection tendency and conclude that motivations of non-citizens can be divided in two groups: instrumental and emotional. In regard to instrumental motivations, the authors demonstrate that younger people are more likely to acquire citizenship due to practical reasons, such as travelling and work, whereas former Soviet immigrants are more reluctant in that decision. Similar results have been found by Tönsmann (2017, p. 168) who shows that the factors that influence naturalisation the most are also connected to such practical issues as work and travelling. In regard to emotional motives, Ivļevs and King (2012, p. 18) have found the presence of a correlation between naturalisation and gender as they have found out that men are more likely to keep non-citizen status.

Krūma (2007, p. 66) provides a list of reasons that influenced naturalisation of non-citizens in the Law on Citizenship was adopted:

1. “Lack of knowledge of the Latvian language;
2. unwillingness to enter into obligatory military service;
3. the easier requirements for obtaining a Russian visa for non-citizens;
4. the number of rights already granted;
5. political mistrust and disappointment at not having been granted nationality automatically
and
6. an identity crisis after the collapse of the USSR.”

Nowadays, the obligatory military service has been abolished (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 173) and non-citizens can travel to Russia without a visa. However, there are still many people who have decided to not naturalise. In fact, visas to Russia strengthened non-citizen wish to not naturalise even more.

For example, according to the research by the Naturalisation Board of The Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs ⁷ (2017, p. 19), 12 percent of non-citizens mentioned factor of easier travelling to Russia as one defining their wish to not acquire Latvian citizenship. Additionally, the research provides information on other factors that influence naturalisation rejection, such as an inability to pass exams (21 percent), an opinion that citizenship must be given automatically (19 percent), or a wish for naturalisation procedure reliefs (18 percent). People also mentioned such a factor as no-time (12 percent), and same percentage of people expressed satisfaction with their current status (12 percent).

Tönsmann (2017, p. 174) mentions such factors of non-naturalisation as perception of it as a hurdle, as humiliating and offensive matter, in some way even naturalisation can be perceived as the acceptance of what has happened, even while not agreeing with it. Ivļevs and King (2012, p. 18) mention an interesting correlation between the wish to naturalise and characteristics of non-citizens. For instance, people with a lower level of education are less likely to naturalise, people living in the rural areas are less likely to naturalise, as well as people of older age are less likely to go through the process of naturalisation (Ivļevs & King, 2012, p. 18).

According to the poll by SKDS (2014, p. 25), the main reasons behind the non-citizen wish to naturalise are as follows:

- 36 percent of people perceive Latvia as their motherland, they have lived and worked there for a long time;
- 25 percent of people mention easier travelling and living abroad possibilities;
- 19 percent of people would like to participate in the elections;
- 12 percent of people want to naturalise because of their family members being citizens.

Whereas the main reasons behind non-citizen wish to not naturalise are:

- 31 percent of people said that there is no need for citizenship and that can live without it;
- 25 percent of people mentioned old age;
- 11 percent of people mentioned problems in Latvian knowledge;
- 9 percent of people think that citizenship should be given automatically.

⁷ see in references Pilsonības un migrācijas lietu pārvaldes Naturalizācijas pārvalde, 2017

When respondents were asked a question regarding plans to naturalise in the period of nearest twelve months, only 11 percent of people expressed a desire to do that, 81 percent of people did not plan to naturalise, and 8 percent could not give a determinative answer (SKDS, 2014, p. 25).

The naturalisation procedure includes various requirements, which can possibly influence wish to naturalise (see Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs, n.d.). However, in this work, only certain points will be discussed. For instance, naturalisation procedure costs and exam requirements prove to be barriers for some. Tönsmann (2017, p. 182) writes that generally naturalisation procedure in Latvia has been assessed as accessible. Relative costs of the procedure comprise of 28,46 EUR for a document regarding payment of the State fee for naturalisation and miscellaneous bureaucratic costs, for instance, ones connected to the paperwork (Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs, n.d.). Regarding the exam, those who apply for the procedure are expected to be “fluent in the Latvian language, know the basic principles of the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia, the text of the National Anthem, and the basics of the history and culture of Latvia” (Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs, n.d.).

Tönsmann (2017, p. 168) has made two conclusions in regard to naturalisation of non-citizens in Latvia. First, the decision behind naturalisation/non-naturalisation depends on benefits in such practical issues as work and travelling. Second, it is not the citizenship or non-citizenship statuses by themselves that are of value but what they can provide with. She concludes that, “people are seen as acting in order to receive benefits, they are interested in the practical, instrumental benefits of (non-) citizenship” (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 168.).

To conclude this chapter, it is relevant to refer to another conclusion of Tönsmann (2017, p. 173), who argues that “naturalization stands in the way of naturalization: it is because people feel entitled to citizenship that they do not naturalise and because many believe that naturalization means to buy back something that was stolen from them in the first place”. That is a great assessment of the puzzling situation of Latvia. This thesis also addresses the reasons behind naturalisation/non-naturalisation mentioned by non-citizens in the interviews.

3.6. Non-citizen status and the international community

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Latvia and the non-citizen status introduction have gained a lot of international attention, which cannot always be described as positive. For instance, Schulze (2017, p. 261) writes that “Estonia and Latvia faced considerable international pressure to speed up naturalization processes and to amend policies toward stateless children”. Also, Kuznicka-

Zonyk (2017, p. 8) notes that the problem of non-citizens has been criticised by international political and human right organisations and liberalisation of the legislation happened only under the pressure of those organisations. This chapter tells about those particular aspects of Latvian citizenship politics, provides other examples, informs about Russian perspective on the matters, and provides insight from the non-citizen perspective.

First, it is necessary to follow the very beginning of how Latvian citizenship politics were forged. That in detail was discussed in the previous chapter and the conclusion is that Latvian citizenship politics were forged under difficult circumstances: under the demographic threat and under the threat of democratic principle undermining. Overall, Latvian citizenship politics can be characterised as restrictive and nationalistic yet concessive and to some extent lenient towards Post-Soviet immigrants. Singh (2001, p. 1-3) writes that at the end of the twentieth century, many organisations such as UN, OSCE, and CE “advocated the management of ethnic variety through democratic governance, rule of law and human rights”, in hope that minorities would be safe from assimilation and ethnic conflicts would not take place. That decision has been influenced by the events that took place in the Post-Soviet space, however, prevention of conflicts in the circumstances of existing minority problems and their right protection “came up against the concept of nation-state” (Singh, 2001, p. 4). Singh (2001, p. 4) points out that democracy and nation-state are incompatible notions by providing examples of former Yugoslavia countries and Georgia, where such attempt to distinguish the main nation led to conflicts and even wars. Agarín (2010, p. 4) notes that all Post-Soviet societies were “prone to express nationalist feelings in order to establish law and order in a particular style at the levels of everyday and official discourse”. It was a part of the nation-state re-establishment process and the decisions were made in order to suit the majority (Agarín, 2010, p. 4).

There have been various cases when international organisations have expressed their concerns about the democratic situation in Latvia. As mentioned earlier, OSCE (2006) noted the existence of “democratic deficit” in Latvia, and that is not the only case. Also, Singh (2001, p. 115) points out that “the problem of citizenship for Russians who had settled especially in Estonia and Latvia after the Soviet conquest put a question mark over their democratic intentions, for it focused attention on what proportion of their populations would participate in the democratic process” (Singh, 2001, p. 115-116).

There have been serious issues of restrictive character present in the citizenship politics of Latvia in the 90s. For instance, a problem of “naturalisation windows”. It was a system used in Latvia

which suggested that people naturalise in stages according to an accepted quota (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 38) According to Dorodnova (2003, p. 43), the issue gained attention of the OSCE HCNM as it was discovered that the system actually represented an obstacle for naturalisation; thus, under the pressure of the High Commissioner the system was abolished in spite of more restrictive citizenship thinking present in the government at the time (Dorodnova, 2003, p. 43)

Another seriously challenged issue in regard to Latvian citizenship politics was “The establishment of naturalization procedures for stateless children”. The issue has gained that much attention due to the fact that it affects opportunities of the Russophone “subsequent generations of Russian-speakers to participate in political life.” Such organisations as CE, OSCE, EU have taken part in the reshaping of these restrictive Latvian citizenship politics aspects. (Schulze, 2017, p. 257-258)

Galbreath (2006, p. 385) points out that “Minority policy in Latvia has revolved around three issues: citizenship, language laws, and education reform”. The same topics have gained attention from international organisations too and here are some of the examples. Before going straight to the instances an important remark is necessary - the majority of the non-citizens are Russian-speakers (Dorodnova, p. 11), thus it is relevant to address discourse in the international community in regard to non-citizens from a broader minority perspective. There have been several recommendations given to Latvia in regard to Russian-speaker situation by various organisations such as European Parliament, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, OSCE Office of the Institution and Human Support (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2003) The recommendations concerned different issues, for instance, facilitation of naturalisation amongst non-citizens, introduction of additional courses that aid naturalisation and Latvian language studies, a need of attention to the legislation concerning possibilities of education for the minorities in bilingually, redevelop the integration programme, ratify The Framework Convention for the protection of national minorities (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2003) “The OSCE/ODIHR, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, the Council of Europe and the Council of Baltic Sea States have all recommended that consideration be given to permitting noncitizens to vote in municipal elections” too. Furthermore, the situation in Latvia also gained the attention of the High Commissioner, as it escalated and could bring possible conflict, especially after Russia criticism about Latvian decisions in the citizenship politics questions (Dorodnova, 2003 p. 9)

Some of the recommendations have been adopted, for instance, ratification of The Framework Convention for the protection of national minorities was adopted in 2005, however, it happened

under the pressure of international institutions with exclusion of two statutes of the Convention: first, “addressing the government in mother tongue”, second, “use of the mother tongue in topographic naming” (Dolzenkova, 2018, p. 10-11). Conversely, some recommendations have not been adopted, for instance, granting of the voting right at municipal elections, unlike the case of Estonia. Also, the case of education-related recommendations as Latvian Parliament adopted amendments to the educational laws that intend to start gradual transition in minority school to education in Latvian at secondary school stage was dismissed (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, 2018a) Even though the decision has been made in order to facilitate Latvian learning without a discrimination of any minorities (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, 2018a), massive protests took place as a reaction to those amendment adoptions and that is not the first time that governmental decisions regarding questions of education have been challenged. For instance, around 4000 of Russian minority representatives have protested against educational reform in 2003 (Boguševiča, 2009, p. 91)

In regard to the integration policy, it would be relevant to quote Muižnieks (2010) as he produced thorough research about that topic. He writes that integration policy in Latvia “was a messy compromise formed largely as the result of international pressure in a context of crisis. (Muižnieks, 2010, p. 280) He assesses the integration in Latvia in a contradictory way as partly the country became more integrated into some aspects, and partly not. He mentions that in the areas of language and education there has been an improvement, whereas in the areas of political life and media patterns of separation and exclusion can be observed (Muižnieks, 2010, p. 282)

Apart from numerous international organisations, Russia also has paid attention to the issues of Latvian non-citizens and Russian-speaking minority (Schulze, 2017, p. 261) Schulze (2017, p. 261) writes that citizenship politics of Latvia have restricted opportunities of Russophone people for political participation and mobilisation in order to protect their interests as a minority. However, the perspective on Russian participation in the problem solution can be viewed differently. It was only natural for Russia to pay attention, especially under circumstances of a power decline and a need to re-establish foreign politics (Schulze, 2017, p. 261). Schulze (2017, p. 261) describes Russian approach as kin-state nationalism and compatriot policy and writes that the approach included both hard and soft power approaches.

For instance, regarding the soft power approach, Russia is actively discussing the issues of Latvian minorities in the international arena. Russia is actively participating in OSCE meetings and raises awareness of the issues that are regarded as discriminative by the Russian side, for instance,

according to the Statement by Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the OSCE Alexander Lukashovich, there are issues of discriminative nature present in the education sphere of the country (Lukashevich, 2018).

However, Schulze also provides negative examples of Russian intervention. For example, in 1990s Russia “imposed economic sanctions, and halted the supply of natural gas” as a reaction to citizenship and alien policies applied in Estonia and Latvia, however, Russian interest resulted in the rise of awareness of the situation in Latvia amongst international organisations. Apart from that, the Russian position in regard to the occupation of Baltic states caused uncertainty and disputes within Latvian society, particularly between titular nation and Russophones. Furthermore, Russia has been accused “of stoking ethnic tensions”, particularly in cases of education reform protests in Latvia in the period between 200-2005 and in case of the Bronze Soldier Crisis in Estonia which happened in 2007 (Schulze, 2017, p. 261-262). It is important to notice that Schulze (2017, p. 261) describes Russian politics in regard to the minority problems in Latvia as interfering with Baltic states “on the basis of alleged discrimination against Russian-speakers”. This thesis allows a thought that some of the Russian political pressure motives may be not particularly connected to the problem of minorities, for instance, case of Latvia willing to join the NATO (see Schulze, 2017, p. 261), however, this thesis to some extent supports the perspective of discrimination of Russian-minorities in particular cases, for instance, the educational reform case. Dolzenkova (2018, p. 11) summarises that in the research concerning discrimination of Russophones in Latvia, several problems have been identified, for instance, the fact that Russian minorities have no right to address governmental institutions and receive any official information from them in their mother tongue. Additionally, the author mentions educational reform as an example (Dolzenkova, 2018, p. 11) As mentioned earlier, the case of educational reforms in the thesis is indeed viewed as discriminatory, however, the case of receiving official information from the governmental institutions in the mother tongue may not be completely precise, as some of the governmental institutions display information and post news and updates in Russian on their websites (e.g. Chancery of the President of Latvia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia and the State Audit Office).

Dolzenkova (2018) explains “problems associated with the Russian-speaking population and the institution of non-citizens” by referring to both internal and external factors. She distinguishes two aspects of the problem, first is connected to the international organisations (2018, p. 313). The author writes that Latvia did not succeed in the implementation of the reforms that would meet

requirements of OSCE, for instance, such as simplification of naturalisation regulations for vulnerable groups (Dolzenkova, 2018, p. 488). However, some procedure simplifications have been accepted, as written earlier, Krūma (2007, p. 67) described such simplification as abolition of history exam for people in the age older than sixty-five.

Second aspect of the problem connected to Russophones and non-citizens in Latvia is connected to the “belonging of the Russian-speaking population to the Russian Federation” or in other words, the Russophones are “in the interests of Russia” (Dolzenkova, 2018, p. 313). Dolzenkova emphasises historical aspect of the relations between Russia and Latvia and tells that the aspect of history has been politicised and led to the clash of interests of countries (2018, p. 446)

After gaining a comprehension of what are the perspectives of different sides concerned about Latvian minorities and non-citizens, it is important to find out what do actually minority representatives think. From the non-citizen perspective, Latvian citizenship laws “disenfranchised most Russians” (Singh, 2001, p. 117). The author calls those people “post-1940 Russians” and writes that legitimate governments of those people have been dislodged (Singh, 2001, p. 116) In times of the Soviet Union those people lived on the equal basis of Soviet citizens together with inhabitants of the Baltic states, however, after the introduction citizenship laws, “post-1940 Russians” were given non-citizen status and a chance to naturalise (Singh, 2011, p. 116-117).

Tönsmann (2017) also studied problems of non-citizens and addressed the issue from different perspectives, in a similar manner that this thesis employs too. Tönsmann (2017, p. 100-101) conducted interviews with different representatives of the issue sides, for instance, with a member of the Citizenship Implementation Committee in the Saeima (Parliament), who considered that all future non-citizens should have been expelled from the country, and the decision about non-citizen status introduction was too generous and wrong. Also, she conducted an interview with a human rights activist who assumed that the introduction of the non-citizen status was a necessary measure to ensure the independence of Latvia. However, what Latvian non-citizens think is different. For instance, some people share their feelings that the status of citizenship was unexpectedly taken away from them and that they feel humiliated about a need to go through the process of naturalisation. (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 100-101).

Overall, citizenship politics of Latvia is an arduous topic which includes various perspectives and from each of them, the matter can be understood differently. No matter this ambiguity, there is a

sure fact - non-citizens in Latvia still exist. There still are people who do not possess voting rights and whose voices in Latvian political space are not heard. The reasons behind the fact that after almost thirty years of independence, there are still more than 10 percent of non-citizens in Latvia and naturalisation process can be evaluated as quite slow (see Susanne Tönsmann, 2017, p. 20; p. 38-39; Klūga, 2016; Balode, 2017; Kuznicka-Zonyk. 2017, p. 9). On one hand, Birka (2011, p. 398) writes describes the situation from more negative point of view - “numerous governments, policies, pressure from international organizations and outside influences have failed to bring about a solution to the sizable noncitizens, or residents lacking citizenship of any state, population within Latvia.” On the other hand, Krūma (2007 p. 66-67) writes more positively that with help of various international organisations, Latvia has adopted multiple amendments in the legislation regarding nationality, which were confirmed in the referendum such as “window-system” abolishment, amendment regarding children born after 1991 and general simplification of naturalisation procedures, such as exemption of those naturalisation procedure participants that are older than over sixty-five from the history exam.

Finally, it is important to address future perspectives of Latvian non-citizen problem. Rozenvalds (2015, p. 160) predicts that the political role of Russian-speaking minorities in Latvia and Estonia will grow in the future, as he thinks that it is a consistent pattern connected to the process of democratisation. The author points out that it will happen with growth of social trust between different ethnical groups and later will facilitate democratisation of social and political aspects of life, however, this requires a compromise between communities and a change in the “vector of perception of the world”. Russophones need to become more politically active, “get rid of the image of representing ‘hand of Moscow’” and rely on themselves. (Rozenvalds, 2015, p. 160-161).

3.7. Trust in general terms

Trust is something we all experience on a daily basis. We express trust towards our family members, our friends, and colleagues. One may address the matter of trust from the interpersonal point of view, namely, how trust manifests between people, however, trust can be addressed in a broader way. For example, we express trust towards a bus driver that takes us to work when we step inside a bus and accept the services of the driver, towards a shop assistant who sells us some fresh bread, towards professionalism of doctors that treat our wounds. When one goes to see a medical worker for the first time it means that a person puts his/her trust into the medical specialist that he/she has never had any experience with. The reason of one’s trust may be based on advice

of someone else the person trusts or on the previous experience of oneself with the medical institution where the same doctor works, or even on a general feeling of confidence and trust into a medical system of a country. Those are minor examples of how trust can be expressed in a broader way than interpersonal, and this chapter is dedicated to exploring those broader ways, ways beyond the interpersonal understanding of the trust. Furthermore, this chapter contains information about trust as a concept, trust features in general terms and trust types, especially institutional and political trust, as those are of main interest for this study.

Due to such features of nowadays societies as interdependence, representativeness, and globalisation, the need of cooperation, in which trust holds an important role, is constantly growing (Sztompka, 1999, p. 12). Trust plays an important role in the political culture and in the civil society, as “solidaristic community of citizens, committed and loyal toward political authority, could not exist without horizontal trust toward each other, as well as vertical trust toward public institutions” (ibid. p. 15).

To understand what trust is, this thesis addresses an explanation provided by Sztompka (1999, p. 25) who describes trust as a “strategy for dealing with an uncertain and uncontrollable future”. Trust involves risk, gambling, and betting. Sztompka (1999, p. 25) provides a definition for trust based on those matters: “trust is a bet about the future contingent actions of others”. Hardin (2004, p. 8) sees trust as “a cognitive assessment of the other’s trustworthiness”. He also explains it as a moral, cognitive, and expectational notion (1999, p. 24-25).

Trust is a difficult notion that can be addressed from different perspectives. Mäkelä and Townley (2013) write that trust is an extremely important notion which constitutes a large number of human practices, however, despite its iniquitousness, trust is challenging to understand (see also Hardin, 2002, p. 31). The authors add, that generally, philosophical literature has been focused on interpersonal perspective of trust (see also Hardin, 2004, p. 5). Most of the psychological works on trust are focused on interpersonal relations, much of sociological works on trust are focused on trusting professionals, most of political science has focused on trusting government and political leaders. (Mäkelä&Townley, 2013, p. 5).

3.8. Trust in public institutions

Trust in public institutions is the matter of primary focus in this work with respect to the trust. Before proceeding towards the matter of trust within this concept, the thesis will address the definition of public institutions as that is an important step for understanding the nature of trust

connected to those. Public institutions, according to Texas Health and Human Services Commission (n.d.), is “A facility that is either an organizational part of a governmental entity or over which a governmental unit exercises final administrative control”. This definition reveals the nature of the term as it is connected to the government and; thus, trust in public institutions is treated in this thesis in a bundle with political trust, public trust, and institutional trust.

3.8.1. Trust in public institutions or no trust?

It is important to understand what is trust in public institutions or in other words, institutional trust. Institutional trust is an object of political trust that refers to, for example, trust in government, governmental administration, the legal system, parliament, parties and other elements of government (Hakhverdian & Mayne, 2012, p. 740). The basis of the institutional trust is normative and balance between knowledge of institutional norms, understanding of institutional motivation, as well as existence of sanctions to hold institutional officers accountable are also part of that basis (Warren, 2017, p. 46).

However, as there are different views on trust between the scholars, the explanation will begin with an idea of Russell Hardin who does not support the existence of trust between a person and a government. Hardin (2004, p. 3) assumes that trust manifests itself on the basis of specific grounds, and in case when the information about those grounds is not enough, like he assumes is in the case of citizens and government, to make a decision to trust or distrust, trustee does neither until more information is available. Most importantly, Hardin (1999, p. 38-40) thinks of trust according to his theory of trust as encapsulated interest, thus, when the formula “A trusts B to do x” is applied to the relationship of the citizen and a political institution, it does not perfectly make sense. Hardin explains encapsulated interest as partial alignment of the A and B formula participants, while B is interested to act according to the expectation of A because B values their relationship. Hardin does not support the idea of manifestation of actual trust between citizens and government, as, according to his theory of trust as encapsulated interest, there must be relationship base and appreciation of further relationship continuation as a result of trust, however, he suggests that vertical relationship between government and citizen can be explained in terms of trustworthiness (Hardin, 1999, pp. 28-29).

In this thesis, the theory that political trust exists between citizens and the government is accepted. There are many authors who write about that theoretical assumption (e.g., see Seimuskane & Vorslava, 2013; van der Meer, 2017; Rose&Mishler, 2010; Lühiste, 2006; Nakajo, 2015; Catterberg&Moreno, 2005; van der Meer&Zmerli, 2017)

Based on the information written above, it can be summarised that institutional trust is trust directed towards public institutions. Its basis is normative while the relationship between trusting sides can be described as vertical. As public institutions ensure functioning of any country, they greatly affect lives of people living in a country, both, citizens and non-citizens. In this thesis, trust in public institutions and political trust are in the centre of focus because of the main theoretical assumption of this work: political trust or lack of it can affect wish of Latvian non-citizens to naturalise. Maybe, if non-citizens show distrust and are not trusting in their government or, for instance, in such public institution as The Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs, they are less likely to try to naturalise, or it creates an obstacle for their naturalisation. These scenarios are possibilities of what non-citizens may have encountered and that is why trust is so important.

To proceed with the explanation of the term, political trust description must be addressed from the academic discourse point of view. There are two main opinions existing in the academic society in regard to political trust - that political trust declines, and that political trust fluctuates.

Authors like Dalton (2004, p. 1), Hetherington (1999) and Bellamy, 2008, p. 83) write about a decline in political trust. In addition, the authors not only point out a decline in trust but also emphasise the crisis of democracy in the context of declining trust. For instance, Dalton (2004, p. 1) writes that the challenge to contemporary democracies “comes from democracy’s own citizens, who have grown distrustful of politicians, sceptical about democratic institutions, and disillusioned about how the democratic process functions”. He adds, that citizens are the foundation of the democratic system (Dalton, 2004, p. 2) Furthermore, the author points out that the trend of decreasing political support is spreading not only in the United States, which he mostly uses as an example in his work but also in “almost all advanced industrial democracies”.

In contrast, Zmerli and Newton (2017, p. 106) write that trust in such governmental heads as presidents and prime ministers fluctuate quickly and parliamentary trust is more stable. They do not share the same opinion as Hetherington or Dalton and claim that trust in governmental democratic system fluctuates and that in long-term a swing is not bigger than few percent (Zmerli & Newton, 2017, p. 106). Van der Meer (2017, p. 1) writes “Despite evidence that political trust declines in many longstanding democracies in the 1960s and 1970s, the last few decades are characterized by trendless fluctuations in most countries.”

However, even though previously mentioned authors represent two “opposing camps”, there are things they agree on too. For instance, van der Meer and Zmerli (2017, p. 1-2) share the opinion

with Dalton (2004), Hetherington (1999) and Bellamy that there is a crisis of democratic institutions and connect it to several reasons, for instance, corruption, scandals, and party system development.

In the context of this work, it does not matter whether trust declines or fluctuates because long-term trust research is not part of the focus in this paper. Trust is an independent variable and either affects non-citizen wish to naturalise or does not.

3.8.2. Support for the political system and political trust

In order to understand public or political trust, it is important to address some of the terms connected to, particularly, political support. For instance, there are authors (see Pippa Norris, 2017, p. 19; Dalton, 1999, p. 1) who emphasise existing unclarity in the literature in regard to a term “support for the political system” or simply “political support”. Dalton (1999, p. 1; see also Norris, 2017, p. 19), for instance, points out that levels of political support, which will be described later in this chapter, are often blurred or left out from the discussions about public trust. Fortunately, Norris (2017, p. 19) clarifies differences between terms “political support (i.e., system support)”, “political trust”, “institutional confidence”, “trust”, “scepticism” and “cynicism”. According to Norris (2017, p. 19), institutional confidence represents “a belief in the capacity of an agency to perform effectively, trust (reflecting a rational or effective belief in the benevolent motivation and performance capacity of another party), scepticism (or suspended judgment), and cynicism (meaning jaded negativity).” The author also provides a demonstrative example of differences between political trust and political support. For instance, there can be trust in a political representative without his/her support and vice versa (Norris, 2017, p. 20). Additionally, the difference can be traced in the final nature of peoples’ expectations, while trust is more about putting faith into someone’s actions without knowing an outcome for sure, political support might be based on more certain knowledge of the outcome (van der Meer & Zmerli, 2017, pp. 4-5)

Norris also explains political support as a dichotomy as “citizens either do or do not reject the authority of the nation state”. That statement has similarities with Hardin’s (2002) and Kohn’s (2008) description of trust as an involuntary matter which either exists or it does not. Norris (2017, p. 20) additionally writes that political support can be often regarded as a continuum consisting of different levels and degrees. Furthermore, it can be described as effective, for instance, in the case of citizen loyalty and patriotism, and evaluative aspects, for instance, when citizens rationally evaluate the performance of a state. (Norris, 2017, p. 20).

There are five main elements that constitute political support:

1. “Belonging to the nation-state;
2. Agreement with core principles and normative values upon which the regime is based;
3. Evaluations of the overall performance of the regime;
4. Confidence in the regime institutions;
5. Approval of incumbent office-holders.” (Norris, 2017, p. 20)

The political support continuum, which was mentioned earlier, consists of these five elements which range from the general to specific level. Furthermore, this division provides clarification to a better understanding of political trust which is of interest in this research. According to Norris (2017, p. 24), two most specific points number four (i.e., Confidence in the regime institutions) and five (i.e., Approval of incumbent office-holders) constitute political trust.

As written above, according to Norris (2017, p. 24) confidence in the regime institutions and approval of incumbent office-holders are two components of political trust; thus, it is important to have a more profound insight into those two levels. First, point number four is explained as “trust and confidence in the core institutions of state, including the legislature, executive, and judicial branches of government, as well as other public sector agencies, such as the police, military, and civil service” (Norris, 2017, p. 28). Furthermore, Norris (2017, p. 28) suggests, that confidence in the institutions is a better indicator of public dissatisfaction hence they are vast and impersonal, hence public opinion is less immediately affected by certain events, unlike in cases of particular governmental actors. Norris (2017, p. 28) compares confidence in institutions with “pillars of society” and emphasises the importance of it in the modern world. Second, point number five is the most specific level of political support “represents attitudes towards particular leaders in positions of authority” (Norris, 2017, p. 28). This level includes aspects of satisfaction, confidence, and support connected to different leaders such as presidents, prime ministers, leaders of different public sectors agencies and to political parties. Norris (2017, p. 28-29) points out that usually, unlike confidence in institutions, loss of support in incumbent-officers does not entail serious consequences such as the threat to the nation-state stability, however, it is possible in cases of more fragile states.

Previously written paragraphs emphasise the difference between political trust and political support and define that political trust is a part more general concept of political support. This thesis employs previously described theory by Norris as a part of the research carried out within this work.

Now that the distinction between political trust and political support is identified, it is necessary to provide a definition of political trust. This thesis employs one provided in the book “Handbook on Political Trust”. According to Norris, the book “Handbook on political trust” adopts the following description: it is “the general belief in the performance capacity of political institutions and/or belief in the benevolent motivation and performance capacity of office-holders” (Norris, 2017, p. 24). Norris (2017, p. 30) suggests that political trust is the most specific expression of political support and points out that in order to understand and be able to assess it from different perspectives, it is necessary to see its interconnections between diffuse levels of political support and treat it as a part of it. Additionally, the definition provided by van der Meer (2017, p. 1) is also accepted in this thesis as explanatory for political trust. According to the author, political trust can be “...Fundamentally understood as citizens’ support for political institutions such as government and parliament in the face of uncertainty about or vulnerability to the actions of these institutions” (Van der Meer, 2017, p. 1). In addition, explanation of political trust by Zmerli and van der Meer (2017) can also be mentioned as relevant. The authors describe trust as a relational and situational notion defined by a particular set of objects and add that it helps policy implementation and preserves base democratic accomplishments even in times of crises in different spheres (Zmerli&van der Meer, 2017, p.1-4)

3.8.3. Trust in public institutions and social trust

As this research is sociological, the emphasis in this work is placed on the sociological aspects, including trust. There are two types of trust existing in the context of society - political and social trust (Seimuskane & Vorslava, 2013, p. 282). The authors explain political trust from the perspectives of macro and micro levels of trust towards governmental institutions and individual leaders, whereas social trust is explained as trust amongst members of society. This chapter addresses both notions in greater detail lower in order to explain distinctions and focus on the political aspect of trust.

First, it is important to understand in greater detail what political and social trust represent. Seimuskane&Vorslava (2013, p. 282) write that political trust is expressed “when citizens evaluate the work of government and its institutions, government’s implemented policy (it is called macro-

level trust or organization trust) and /or the work of individual leaders, honesty and abiding by ones' promises, which is called individual political trust or micro-level trust", whereas social trust is a trust between members of a society. What is important about these types two types of trust, is that they are interconnected (e.g., see Newton, Stolle and Zmerli, 2018, p. 37) The authors emphasise that political trust exists within a society (see also Seimuskane&Vor斯拉va, 2013, p. 282), and that social trust plays an important role in political trust existence (Newton et al., 2018, p. 37). The authors provide examples of links between social and political trust, for instance, in the psychological propensity model and some top-down theories. However, they also take into account other theories according to which social and political trust can be decoupled when individual's sense of trust changes, for instance, when political or social circumstances change (Newton et al., 2018, p. 39-40)

Newton et al. (2018, p. 41) also point out that there are several types of social and political trust. They distinguish two general types of social trust such as thick (personalised, based on interpersonal relations) and thin (generalised, based on the trust to most of the people. Zmerli and Newton (2017, p. 105) call it particular and general social trust. In regard to political trust, the authors write that "trust in public institutions tends to form a single, underlying dimension of political trust with two overlapping clusters in it". In regard to political trust, Zmerli and Newton (2017, p. 105) distinguish trust in political and impartial institutions. They also provide examples of the institutions according to the type. On the one hand, trust in presidents or prime ministers fluctuates quickly, whereas trust in parliaments or in a democratic system is more stable, however, those examples belong to the trust in political institutions (Zmerli&Newton, 2017, p. 106). In addition, Zmerli and van der Meer (2017, p. 4) mention that political trust comprises main liberal democratic institutions, the military and police, and incumbent political officers. On the other hand, there is impartial trust which includes such institutions as "police, courts and civil service" (Zmerli&Newton, 2017, p. 106). Newton et al. (2018, p. 41) write that such distinction complicates research of political trust.

Zmerli and Newton (2017, p. 105) write that "subsequent research found robust evidence that social and political trust are indeed associated at the individual level". However, the connection between political and social trust is "complex and asymmetrical" which does not provide clear evidence for the theory that there is a bilateral connection between declines in social and political trust (Zmerli&Newton, 2017, p. 107).

3.8.4. *Trust in Latvia*

There is a general tendency of distrust in post-communist countries. There are several authors who write about the problem in the Eastern Europe region (e.g., Uslaner, 2018, p. 4; van der Meer, 2017, p. 7; Závecz, 2017, p. 440; Haček & Brezovšek, 2014, p. 3; Rose&Mishler, 2010; Ceka, 2013, p. 6) Low political trust in the former USSR and communist regime states is an interesting phenomenon that compliments the prism of this research - political trust. The Historical Background chapter provides detailed explanation of circumstances of how did Latvian non-citizens become non-citizens as well as provides historical insight on why post-Soviet countries such as Latvia have trust issues.

Van der Meer (2017, p. 1) writes that political trust rates in “the former communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe” is the lowest. However, researchers Haček and Brezovšek (2014, p. 3) provide an explanation for this. The authors write about underlying causes of such trend as follows: “In the CEE (Central and Eastern Europe) post-communist countries, excessive trust was never a real concern.” The researchers connect general distrust tendency to the historical background of more or less strict authoritarian regimes for a prolonged period of time in that geographic area (Haček & Brezovšek, 2014, p. 3). Závecz (2017, p. 441) also attempts to explain distrust in post-communist societies and suggests that instead of addressing the issue from two different perspectives first, that low level of political trust is “a legacy of the communist system” and second, that low political trust is a result of a low institutional performance caused by the fact that those institutions were newly established and caused bad experiences for citizens, it may be so that both perspectives are a part of a single transition process where experiences with the old institutions and new institutions affect political trust together.

Statistics also show the same tendency of distrust that previously cited authors write about. According to Semuskane and Voroslava (2013, p. 284) in the period between 2003-2013 “... the split between the society and public authority institutions in Latvia has increased considerably”, numerically the decrease equals 26 percent drop in trust in government and a 24 percent drop in trust in Saeima (Parliament). The authors add, that historically, trust in political parties in Latvia, has always been low. In the same ten-year comparison trust level has dropped from 12 percent to 9 percent (Semuskane&Voroslava, 2013, p. 284-285) Moreover, in 2004, when the country joined the European Union, approximately 70 percent of respondents distrusted government and Parliament (Eurobarometer 62) In 2010 those numbers were even lower, as 76 percent of people expressed distrust towards government and 81 percent expressed distrust towards National

Parliament (Eurobarometer 74) According to the Eurobarometer data from 2018, numbers improved, however, stayed on the low side as 66 percent of respondents voiced distrust in government and 73 percent of respondents distrusted Parliament (Eurobarometer 89) In addition, 85 percent of respondents distrusted political parties (Eurobarometer 89) This information allows to make a statement that a tendency of distrust in political institutions indeed is present. However, this information provides numbers acquired by questioning only Latvian citizens as Eurobarometer does not include non-citizens in the participant list. However, they still show general picture of trust levels within the country and the results support the previous theoretical assumption.

While Eurobarometer does not include non-citizen responses, European Social Survey does. Even though according to the last available data set from 2008, differences in political trust (i.e., general overview of the data according to such topics as trust in country's parliament, trust in politicians, trust in political parties) between Latvian non-citizens and citizens are minor (European Social Survey, 2008).

It is important to address several authors who wrote about non-citizens and distrust. For example, Kuznicka Zonyk (2017, p. 3) writes that “restrictive legislation resulted in continuing distrust of ethnic Latvians and Estonians to Russian-speaking immigrants”. Besides, Steen (2006, p. 194) writes that “According to the ‘ethnic democracy’ thesis, the national elites deeply distrust the Russian minority and want to exclude them from the political process and State positions”. Tönsmann (2017, p. 100) provides information received through an interview with a member of the Citizenship Implementation Committee in the Saeima (Parliament), who alone does not represent the whole state, however, is part of it. That person described the situation with non-citizens as a mistake of Latvian state and believed that non-citizens should have been expelled from the country and the non-citizen status solution was too generous to give (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 100) Also Krūma (2007, p. 66) wrote about a matter of distrust, however, this time from the perspective of non-citizens. As mentioned earlier in this work, one of the reasons behind a decision of non-citizens to not naturalise was “political mistrust and disappointment at not having been granted nationality automatically” Krūma (2007, p. 66). Also, Tönsmann (2017, p. 93) wrote about such possible consequence of the “broken promise” of citizenship as negative effects on the political trust of non-citizens and rise of possible concerns in regard to the trustworthiness of the state. Also, the author mentions distrust when writing about restrictions that a non-citizen status imposes. For instance, non-citizens have no right to carry guns or be employed in security-related

professions and the author writes that it is a matter of trust or in other words “non-citizens are not trusted with issues of security” Tönsmann (2017, p. 114).

3.9. Conclusion

In conclusion, based on the previously written information, two concepts - citizenship and trust are base of the theoretical framework. Both citizenship and trust matters are matters of debate in the academic world and this chapter provided different point of view in order to acknowledge their disputable nature.

For instance, citizenship can be seen as a privilege, it is a status that grants right and benefits while demanding some duties in return. Citizenship is strongly connected to the democratic system and allows to participate and control it. However, citizenship is also an instrument, like Brubaker pointed it out, an instrument of inclusion and exclusion. It is also a way to establish a connection, however, non-citizenship is a way of establishing a connection too.

Citizenship politics in Latvia received a lot of criticism from various international organisations and citizenship laws eventually was amended towards a more liberal direction. However, there are still many non-citizens in Latvia who refuse to naturalise. It is connected to mostly the benefit perspective as both statuses of citizen and non-citizen bring some of their own advantages. Even though citizens and non-citizens in Latvia have gaps in their rights, based on the perspective, non-citizenship in Latvia can be viewed differently. Like Tönsmann (2017, p. 118) writes, “Depending on the perspective we adopt, non-citizenship can be seen as rights-granting or rights-limiting”. Some see it as a compromise, some see it as a too generous measure, some see it as a humiliation, however, in case of Latvia primarily, it is a choice, a choice which perspective to view it from.

In regard to trust, it can be stated that it is a very wide and debated matter. It can be divided into many levels such as interpersonal, political, and social, however, trust is an important matter not only in our daily routines but also in the context of a democratic system. This section concentrated on trust in public institutions and it can be stated that institutional or political trust is a multifaceted matter. First, that type of trust must be viewed as an element of political support. Furthermore, it can be divided into several types such as trust in political and impartial institutions. In a nutshell, political trust manifests itself as a result of the evaluation of the governmental performance by the members of a society and it can change according to the circumstances.

In regard to the evaluation of trust in Latvia, it can be said that the level of political trust has been low throughout many years. Some connect it to the specific context of Latvia as a Post-Communist

country and other historical issues; however, distrust is present in the perceptions towards government but also in the perceptions of government towards Latvian non-citizens.

These factors are of the main interest in this work, as causal connection between naturalisation and political trust is the main research matter of this work.

4.METHODS AND DATA

As Thompson (2016) suggests, social research is conducted “to find out what people think and feel about social issues and how these thoughts and feelings vary across social groups and regions.” Researchers select a topic and do the research to achieve a research aim or to answer a specific question. This section provides information about the selected research aim, research problem, research approach, research method, method of reasoning, research instrument and data analysis. The section clarifies, which research questions are answered within this work, and what interview questions were asked from the interviewees.

4.1. Research instrument

The research instrument and a method of data collection in this work is interview. The one-to-one interview is a widely used method in the social science area and qualitative research (Coughlan, 2009, p. 309). Bhattacharjee (2012, p. 103) points out that qualitative research mostly uses non-numeric data, which in the case of this thesis is interview talk based data.

In this work, the article of Tim Rapley has been chosen as a “signpost” for employing the interview instrument. This section in detail discusses the choice of this researcher’s guidelines.

To begin with, it is important to address an interview as a qualitative research instrument. Rapley (2011, p. 3) describes interview as a part of social encounter between speakers. It allows to produce perspectives of different events and experiences Rapley (2011, p. 3). Furthermore, the author suggests that the interview “draws on the everyday practices” and that is what is important for this work. In order to answer the research question, this work must be able to address experiences, emotions, and thoughts of Latvian non-citizens who may or may not have made a decision to naturalise due to those factors.

In order to make interviews, this work employs Rapley’s suggested principles regarding interview questions:

- you should ask some questions;
- selectively follow up on specific themes or topics;

- allow interviewees the space to talk at length (Rapley, 2011, p. 13)

In this research, as a part of the pre-research and recruiting, potential interviewees were informed about the interview topic and approximate demands in regard to a conversation. They have also been asked to think beforehand about their experiences in regard to naturalisation, or when relevant, asked to try to remember the 90s and the period of Latvian independence restoration.

The topic of naturalisation can be considered sensitive. While the pre-research, it raised highly emotional responses at times, sometimes people needed “space” to talk and needed the freedom to share their experience; thus, Rapley’s (2011) suggested approach towards questions and conversation handling was chosen as the most suitable. This thesis aspired to gain insight into the experiences, feelings, and memories of Latvian non-citizens. The main aim was to see whether any political trust connections can be traced in the answers, however, it also was important to “make a conversation flow” and concentrate on the interaction in order to acquire open answers.

There is a certain critique existent in the academic world towards an interview method, for instance, David Silverman (2017, p. 145) provides an interesting point of view that contemporary researchers who seek for an experience-research by asking “ ‘open-ended’ questions administered to small, non-random samples” lead to the establishment of shaky foundations and do not employ actual strong sides of a qualitative research. Furthermore, Silverman (2017, p. 145) writes that researchers are in competition with the non-scientific or as he calls them “psy” professionals when asking questions “how was it for you?”, and remarks that he has asked some of the students doing this kind of interviewing if they can do better than Oprah Winfrey? Now, this research did not aim to be better than Ms. Winfrey, however, it still sought to research exactly peoples’ experiences and opinions.

Even though the interview as a research method has been criticised in the academic world, there is no other method that would help this thesis to achieve set aims. For instance, a survey as an alternative would be too scarce data collection resource for the topic of this thesis as it would pre-define the questions and limit the answers without a chance to elaborate on the topics of interest. This dissertation aspires to create an open conversation, “a pool of information” from which all the relevant pieces of the information can be “fished out”.

4.1.1. Interview in detail

Tim Rapley (2011) suggests taking into account several themes when conducting an interview. To begin with, the explanation will start with recruiting of participants. Roulston (2010b, p. 3), for

instance, mentions the use of personal networks as a part of the participant search process. In this case, researchers rely on family members, friends, acquaintances, and other known people to recommend potential respondents. For this research, a recruitment process happened with help of particularly, personal network and later, when connections with non-citizens were established, potential interviewees were asked about a wish to participate and tell about their experiences in regard to naturalisation matters. Some people refused, for instance, there was a person for whom the topic turned out to be too sensitive due to the matters connected to KGB being part of a person's experiences; thus, people have been briefly told about the interview topic and the research itself. If potential interviewees showed interest to participate, we would agree on an interview schedule details.

Researchers often aim at conducting one-to-one interviews face-to-face, however, telephone or e-mail interviews lately gained popularity amongst researchers (Coughlan, 2009, p. 310). The telephone interview approach used in this research is more cost-effective, however, it does not allow to track non-verbal signs such as gestures and facial expressions. It can be considered a hindrance to interview analysis, however, in the research of interviewees people were more willing to participate in the interviews using means of distance communication. Furthermore, conducting video calls via programs such as Skype can provide missing visual aspects of the interview data. In this research, most of the respondents are elderly and, thereby, not always excel in technology use. Thus, for their convenience and for the integrity of the research instrument, telephone interviews have been selected as a single interview type.

Each participant has been informed about the conversation being recorded and that the data will be treated anonymously and confidentially. The participants have given verbal consent on the use of the data.

For this work, a format of the semi-structured (or semi-standardised) interview was chosen as the most relevant because, for example, a structured interview does not take into account differences between respondent backgrounds and experiences and does not provide a possibility to continue the exploration of a discussion topic if it shows potential to uncover deeper details. Furthermore, the nature of this research was such that it attempted to look into experiences of different people representing different age groups and ethnical backgrounds; thus, their responses were of great value as they were - unstructured diverse. However, an unstructured interview was not preferable for this research either, as there were certain questions this research attempted to answer and

certain topics that needed to be covered within a conversation. It was not only experiences that were looked into but also experiences that emerged within particular contexts.

There are several types of questions that can be used in the interview - closed and open (Roulston, 2010a, p. 2) In this interview, both types of questions were used, the open-ended questions are used in order to ensure that the interviewee is encouraged to tell a story so that it "...can generate detailed descriptions about topics of interest to the interviewer", whereas closed questions were used for possible clarifications (Roulston, 2010a, p. 5-6).

The scheme for the base interview questions can be found in Annexes (Annex 1). The scheme provided a guideline for the semi-structured interviews. There were cases when more questions were asked and another way around; some questions were not asked due to the fact that they were not relevant for a particular case.

The choice of these questions can be described as follows:

It was important to acquire general data about people's experiences, thus open-ended questions such as "How would you evaluate your experiences as Latvian SSR/USSR citizen?". Furthermore, another question "How would you evaluate your experiences as a non-citizen in regard to Latvian government, governmental institutions, officials and politicians" can be compared to a "mirror" question which allowed to pinpoint differences in the descriptions of experiences in two different statuses. Also, the latter question directly represented part of the main research question of this work and established grounds for understanding respondent feelings towards public institutions and political representatives. To cover the main research question fully, the next question, about factors that influenced naturalisation/non-naturalisation of respondents, was asked. It allowed to see the nature of non-citizen experiences with government and notice if they mentioned those issues as a factor of naturalisation.

The research also had secondary questions, such as testing of assumptions and statements introduced by Tönsmann; thus, a question regarding LTF (Popular Front of Latvia) was asked to those participants that were able to be politically engaged at the time. Additionally, questions regarding respondent position towards Latvian independence were asked in order to see the general tendency. There were many sources that claimed that Russian-speaking people did not support the independence of Latvia and could have possibly undermined Latvian independence (see e.g., Kasparāns, 2018) so it was important to see if that tendency was seen in the answers of the respondents interviewed within this work.

The questions were structured so that some additional criteria could have been gained based on the age and ethnicity, then the questions were designed so that the interviewing path could have been defined according to the factor of where the person was born and followed either one the paths fitting the age group. Later, the question regarding the experiences as a citizen was of importance as it allowed to compare experiences of people when they became non-citizens and helped to draw similarities and differences. Later, the questions regarding the end of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s followed in order to test Tönsmann's theory and assumptions and get the understanding of a person's attitude towards Latvian independence. That was important as a part of understanding of how relevant concerns about Latvian government were regarding the safety of the country and non-citizen ability to undermine Latvian independence. Next, the questions regarding the non-citizen status followed as they were important to understand how non-citizen feelings changed when they acquired the non-citizen status. The questions can be divided into a simplified scheme:

- what happened?
- what did the person decide to do about it?
- what did the person actually do?

After gaining information about what happened, the questions about the underlying reasons behind non-citizen decisions followed as a part of the main research question. They partly suggested participants to think about answering from the "political perspective", and partly suggested to answer overall, which provided an opportunity to see whether a connection between political trust could have been identified or not, and studied main reasons that have influenced non-citizen decisions in regard to naturalisation/non-naturalisation/change of citizenship.

Interviews lasted between five and thirty-five minutes. Even though there were shorter interviews, for instance, with younger participants who could not answer questions related to the USSR times, the biggest gap between five and thirty-five minutes appeared between the middle-aged adults and older adults.

4.2. Aim of the research

The primary aim was to find a connection between political trust and Latvian non-citizen wish to naturalise and grasp it through the experiences of Latvian non-citizens. The secondary aim of this research was to see if Susanne Tönsmann's suggested causal relationships between the referendum of 1991 and non-citizen wish to naturalise is present in relevant interview cases.

4.3. The research problem

This work aspired to study the wish to naturalise and its relation to political trust in the context of Latvian non-citizens as a part of our social world. The idea, as mentioned in the introduction, derived from the work of Susanne Tönsmann “What is Citizenship for?” about naturalisation in Latvia and citizenship concept in general. In the work, she claimed that the “broken promise” of citizenship has had a negative effect on the naturalisation of Latvian non-citizens and that the consequences are present even today (Tönsmann, 2017, p. 92-93). Furthermore, the author suggested that the promise may have caused negative effects on political trust and raised concerns about “trustworthiness of the state in citizenship matters” (ibid).

Based on the information provided by Tönsmann, this research suggested that the problem behind the “broken promise” of 1991 and non-citizen naturalisation must be studied further and broader. First, it was relevant to see whether there were “broader implications” that Tönsmann (2017, p. 93) refers to as a consequence of the “broken promise” and whether the “broken promise” still has any influence on a wish to naturalise amongst non-citizens of Latvia. However, this was possible to be checked only in case of the interviewee being politically active and old enough to participate in the referendum voting. In cases when possible, it is explored whether non-citizens talk about the “broken promise” related experiences and if they do, what exactly have they experienced. This research also investigated whether there are any other cases when non-citizen wish to naturalise has been influenced by the government and political trust connected issues.

The main objective of this work was to identify a connection between political trust and non-citizen wish to naturalise also out of the “broken promise” context. Through the experiences of Latvian non-citizens, this research suggests that there might be more to the connection between political trust and non-citizen naturalisation than the “broken promise”. Presumably, there might be more cases which correspond to the manifestation of political trust and its influence on naturalisation; thus, the main respective research question of this work is:

❖ **Does trust in public and political institutions affect Latvian non-citizens’ wish to naturalise?**

The four other research questions are as follows:

- What are the experiences of Latvian non-citizens as non-citizens?
- Are there any experiences of Latvian non-citizens that would be possible to associate with the ideas described by Tönsmann?

4.4. Research method

In order to answer the research questions listed above, there was a need to acquire qualitative data. The research conducted in this thesis concerned the influence of political trust on naturalisation process of Latvian non-citizens; thus, due to the nature of research, the data was not possible to quantify and use for accurate statistical data construction and analysis; thus, qualitative methods were most rational and applicable for the completion of this task as they allowed to look deeper into the nature of the phenomena in processes that shape it.

4.5. Method of reasoning

The approach of this study inductive and deductive. Bhattacharjee (2012, p. 103) describes methods as follows: inductive research methods focus on educating theoretical concepts from the data, whereas deductive approach focuses on testing of “concepts and patterns known from theory using new empirical data”. In other words, the inductive approach is “theory-building” and deductive approach is “theory-testing”.

In this thesis, the claims and assumptions of Susanne Tönsmann are a part of the observations which have created a base for the emergence of a new theory. As it is seen from the author’s work, there is a connection between betrayed political trust and a wish to naturalise amongst non-citizens in the context of the “broken promise” of citizenship, furthermore, the author suggested that there can be more to that; thus, based on this information this thesis suggested that political trust might be able to influence non-citizen wish to naturalise not only as a consequence of the “broken promise” of citizenship. This suggestion is a part of the “theory building” as interviews provided data which can be used for the pattern identification and further general conclusion and theoretical assumption suggestion, however, they are at the same time a part of the “theory-testing” too as the interview questions revolve around more certain aspects of the non-citizen experiences to detect any traits connected to political trust and naturalisation connections. Also, this thesis tested the theory of Tönsmann too, as in cases where it was relevant, interviewees were asked about a broken promise too. Even though this part of the research is secondary, it is still a part of the deductive approach as it tests an actual theory. In conclusion, it can be said that this research employed traits of both approaches as it had a certain scope within which the data was tested, however, it did not restrict the data to the scope only and was partly data-driven. For instance, Schwandt (2001, p. 125) writes that “Typically, however, qualitative analyses employ some combination of inductive and deductive analyses”; and that is what this research has been about.

4.6. Selection

This research employed the method of criterion-based sampling or in other words, purposeful sampling because it was the most suited selection method for this work. This thesis addressed certain group of people - non-citizens and their certain experiences in regard to naturalisations matter. as.

Purposeful or criterion-based sampling method is the most commonly used strategy in the qualitative research. It is based on the selection of participants according to pre-determined criteria deriving from the research question (see Grand Canyon University Center for Innovation in Research and Teaching, n.d.; Roulston, 2010b, p. 7). In criterion-based selection, researchers specify characteristics and attributes of the population to be studied (Roulston, 2010b, p. 7). The aim is to ensure a representative sample selection in order to gain deeper understanding of trust and naturalisation. In this thesis, the main research question was “**does trust in public and political institutions affect Latvian non-citizens’ wish to naturalise?**”. According to the research question, the main criteria of the sampling is participant affiliation with the status of non-citizen (current or former). The selection of this main criterion led to the sampling according to the key criteria which Ritchie, Lewis & Elam (2013, p. 81) write about:

- To include all relevant to the subject sides which in this case are non-citizens;
- To maintain some diversity within samples which in this case is gender, age and current non-citizen status (naturalised/not naturalised)

During interviews, also such variables as a place of birth and ethnicity were determined too for broader data arrangement opportunities. However, as the number of willing participants in this research was limited to 9 people, this research did not aspire to make strong generalisations but rather sought to study non-citizen experiences and based on those identify possible connection between political trust and naturalisation.

Overall, there were nine interviews conducted in this research. The list of interviewees is presented as follows:

1. Male, 52 years old, of Russian ethnicity (Anonymous 1);
2. Female, 72 years old, of Russian ethnicity (Anonymous 2);
3. Male, 26 years old, of Russian ethnicity (Anonymous 3);
4. Female, 80 years old, of Russian ethnicity (Anonymous 4);
5. Male, 73 years old, of Russian ethnicity (partly Latvian) (Anonymous 5);

6. Female, 48 years old, of Ukrainian ethnicity (Anonymous 6);
7. Male, 26 years old, of Russian ethnicity (Anonymous 7);
8. Male, 28 years old, of Russian ethnicity (Anonymous 8);
9. Female, 37 years old, of Belarusian ethnicity (Anonymous 9).

There are five selection criteria employed in this thesis. First, people selected for interviews were divided into three age groups so that they would represent three main age groups such as young adults, middle-aged adults, and older adults. The first group, however, also was chosen to represent those participants who were born in independent Latvia; thus, only young adults no older than 28 were included in that group. Thus, the age group representation by participant age can be presented as follows:

1. Young adults in the age of 26, 26 and 28;
2. Middle-aged adults in the age of 37, 48 and 52;
3. Older adults in the age of 72, 73 and 80.

Second, the research aimed to provide gender diversity, thus, included both men and women who are represented as follows:

1. Males (five people);
2. Females (four people).

Third, respondents were also selected according to their ethnicity. For instance, Laganovskis (2012) provided information according to which it can be seen that majority of non-citizens are of Russian ethnicity (71 percent), the next highest percentage is represented by Belarusians (14 percent) and third largest percentage belongs to Ukrainians (10 percent). In the selection of participants for this interview according to the ethnicity, those numbers were taken into account; thus, the ethnical representativeness of interviewed non-citizens is presented as follows:

1. Russian ethnicity (eight people);
2. Belarusian ethnicity (one person);
3. Ukrainian ethnicity (one person).

Fourth, participants were selected according to their current status and the division is presented as follows:

1. Non-citizens (four people)
2. Naturalised non-citizens (four people)
3. Non-citizen who acquired citizenship of another state (one person)

Fifth, participants were selected based on the nature of citizenship status application, and is presented as follows:

1. Non-citizen status has been conferred (six people)
2. Non-citizen status has been conferred at time of birth (three people)

4.7. Ethical considerations

As Coughlan (2006, p. 312) writes, “Protection of participant’s rights is a fundamental aspect of conducting an interview, and the issues of informed consent and anonymity and confidentiality are of paramount importance”.

First, the participants of the interview were treated with respect to their confidentiality and anonymity. Second, every participant has been asked permission to use the acquired data in the research on the basis of anonymity and confidentiality. As the interviews were conducted through the telephone, there is no written, however, there is oral consent. Third, every participant has been warned that the interview will be recorded, and the audio record will be used for further research. Fourth, every interviewee participated in the interview on a voluntary basis. Fifth, particular research is treated with care and respect and means no harm to the participants.

4.8. Theoretical base for data analysis

Regarding the data analysis approach, this thesis employed thematic analysis. According to Roulston (2010c, p. 3) thematic data analysis is the most commonly used approach for cases dealing with qualitative data. It “is the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data” (Magure & Delahunt, 2017, p. 3352) Riessman (1993, p. 3) suggests that thematic analysis is valuable tool in “theorising across a number of cases - finding common thematic elements across research participants and the events they report.” Like in case of this research, when interviews have been conducted amongst different people each telling their own experience-based story.

The thematic analysis concentrates on the contents of a text (Riessman, 1993, p. 2). It focuses on, as Riessman (1993, p. 2-3) writes, “what” is said instead of “how”, and on “told” rather than “telling” as the language is considered a route to the meaning and a resource. The main idea behind it is to recognise themes, organise the information, reduce irrelevant information and “define conceptual categories” (Roulston, 2010c, p. 3).

The thematic analysis was found to be the most suitable for this research as it seeks for pattern and similarity recognition within a “story”. The data collected within this research was never intended

to be quantified as the only objective of this research was to explore separate cases of different people in order to find traits of connection between political trust and naturalisation. The number of interviewees was limited and never was intended to be used for quantification and further generalisation, but rather was intended to be used in theory building; thus, thematic analysis was found to be the most fitting approach to conduct such research.

4.8.1. Thematic analysis in detail

Thematic analysis is divided in multiple ways. For instance, it is different in the primary ways, in the questions asked and in epistemology (Braun & Clarke, 2006) For instance, Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 11) distinguish an inductive and a deductive way of analysis. This research employs deductive approach as the questions of the interview are constructed in the way that they indirectly revolve around political trust related matters; however, they are constructed in a very broad way allowing inductive analysis and consideration of some broader aspects of the data which are not necessarily linked to the research question.

Another division that there is to thematic analysis is a theme identification level which is either semantic or latent (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 13) Regarding questions, this research has both semantic and latent questions. Semantic questions, such as “what is your nationality?” or “how did you vote?” do not require any deeper interpretive actions than simply defining some facts, whereas latent questions such as “How would you evaluate your experiences as Latvian SSR citizen?” are asked in order to evaluate future non-citizen experiences as citizens and compare them to their experiences as “non-citizens”.

Regarding epistemology, Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 14) distinguish the realist/essentialist paradigm and constructionist paradigm. This research used a constructionist paradigm as it focuses on socio-cultural contexts and the way they shape the experiences of the individuals. Furthermore, as this research mostly employs latent questions, it is relevant to refer to the point of view of Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 14) who write that “‘latent’ themes tend to be more constructionist”.

4.8.2. Six phases of thematic analysis

Braun & Clarke (2006, p. 15) provide a step-by-step guide for thematic analysis and point out that it starts with researcher noticing patterns amongst the data during the collection process and ends with “reporting of the content and meaning of patterns (themes) in the data”. The authors also point out that switching between data and writing starting with phase one is integral to the analysis.

According to Braun & Clarke (2006), there are six phases of thematic analysis:

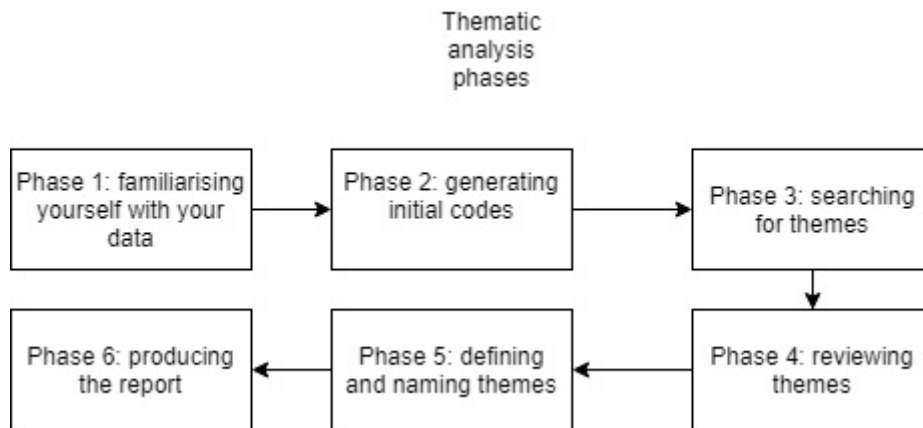


Figure 2: Scheme of thematic analysis

- Phase 1 involves repeated reading of the acquired data in search of patterns and transcription of verbal data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 16-18);
- Phase 2 involves code application to the data, in other words, organisation of “data into meaningful groups” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 18-19);
- Phase 3 involves working with already coded data and reorganisation of the data into broader themes and sub-themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 19-20);
- Phase 4 involves a process of theme refinement by creating meaningful and distinctive themes which provide a general picture of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 20-21);
- Phase 5 involves working with “satisfactory thematic map” of data in order to identify and analyse themes and data within those themes. Additionally, it is important to find what is interesting about the findings and why, and in order to do that, each of the themes requires individual and detailed analysis, particularly, identification of each story within each theme and the general story in relation to the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 20-23);
- Phase 6 involves producing a report based on “a set of fully worked out themes” and producing an analytic narrative which “makes an argument in relation to your research question” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 23).

4.8.3. Coding

Data reduction is an important part of qualitative research, and one of the approaches to do that is coding (Roulston, 2010c, p. 5). According to Schwandt (2001, p. 26), “Coding is a procedure that disaggregates the data, breaks them down into manageable segments, and identifies or names those segments.” The code application to the data can be defined by topics of conversation and by the type of conversation, for instance, stories or complaints (Roulston, 2010c, p. 5). The author adds

that generally it is advised to stay close to the data when selecting codes for labelling (ibid.). After the coding process is finished, the information needs to be reduced further by dividing it into conceptual elements which later can be sorted into 'categories' (ibid.).

Schwandt (2001, p. 26) identifies three ways of coding:

- Content-specific schemes (based on the research topic and theoretical interests);
- Non-content specific schemes (based on the typology);
- Content-sensitive schemes (based on the typology with regard to the language of participants and with regard to the refinement of the category meaning by analysing data).

There are two approaches to coding data - concept-driven coding and data-driven coding (CESSDA Training Working Group, 2017). This research used both methods, as it sought to identify themes that emerged from the data and themes that were theorised to be present in the data, for instance, "broken promise", "feelings as a non-citizen", "naturalisation".

Additionally, coding can be divided into techniques: open, axial and selective (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 12). This research used the open-coding technique as it compares "events/actions/interactions" in search of similar and different points. Also, this research used selective coding at the end of the analysis as it unifies all categories "around a 'core' category" which is a central subject of the study. The axial coding is mostly used in grounded theory studies (see Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 13); thus, it has not been used in this research.

In this research different codes or labels were used such as, for example, "positive experiences about the USSR citizenship times" to describe respondents experiences that were characterised from a positive perspective. The examples of phrases noted within the context were "we had good education", "I had a great life", "I had positive experiences".

Or another example, for a theme labelled as "feeling of betrayal" there were phrases such as "after 1991 I started to feel discrimination", "we should be treated like people. We are same citizens as 'they' are". By identifying different topics, coding proceeded with grouping them and regrouping, renaming and finally identifying the main topics, the main narratives, and the main patterns.

5.RESULTS

This chapter provides the results of the analysis carried out for this master's thesis. It also partly demonstrates the process of analysing and provides some general information about interview conduction.

5.1. Identified patterns

Each interview has been conducted while this research contains personal information and personal life experiences and memories. Every story that the interview tells is unique, however, with the application of thematic analysis, it was possible to find certain patterns and similarities across unique and personal stories. This chapter tells about the biggest patterns that were identified in this research, provides general theme descriptions and displays unique combinations of patterns in the table provided at the end of the chapter.

In this section, an example of Pattern 1 is explained in detail for the possibility of a reader to understand the underpinning actions behind the processes of analysis and pattern identification. For the convenience of a reader, the themes (patterns) are written *in Italic font*, whereas, codes are “enclosed in quotes”. See the example lower:

Pattern 1 - *Positive experiences as a USSR citizen*. This theme has been evident in all the interviews with participants who have experienced life in the Soviet Union. Six out of six people, who lived in the USSR have evaluated their experiences as citizens of the USSR in a positive or even very positive manner. This theme consists of several clusters. First, one has been created on the basis of interpreted codes that referred to the theme of the *social goods provided by the USSR*, which in turn based on two other themes of *good employment experiences* and *social benefits*. The *good employment experiences* theme consists of several interpreted codes such as “wonderful job” and “good attitude towards workers” (Anonymous 2); “possibilities of employment” (Anonymous 6). Whereas *social benefits* theme consists of such codes as “good education”, “full medical service provision” (Anonymous 6); “qualified medical help everywhere”, “use of privileges/exemptions”, “stability in prices of goods” (Anonymous 1).

Another theme that became part of Pattern 1 was connected to the actual description of experiences and was given the name *positive experiences*. The theme consists of two subthemes supported by the codes. The first subtheme is *positive and very positive experiences with the USSR* and *moderate yet positive experiences with the USSR*. The first subtheme was created based on the codes “positive attitude” (Anonymous 1); “very positive attitude” (Anonymous 2); “it was a great life” (Anonymous 5); “all was good” (Anonymous 9). Whereas the second subtheme consists of the codes like “two only minuses” (Anonymous 6); “fine attitude” (Anonymous 4).

The next theme that became part of the Pattern 1 was called *miscellaneous* and consisted of several subthemes such as *political benefits* deriving from the code “voting right” and “participation in the social life” (Anonymous 5). *Overall fine situation* theme from the code “nobody was hungry” (Anonymous 6); *Transition to worse* theme exists in the context of the transition from the USSR towards independent Latvia, which presumably is more positive than experiences developed in independent Latvia, especially that these two questions were intended to be compared. That subtheme consists of such codes as “deterioration of the social situation”, “deterioration of the political situation” (Anonymous 5).

Pattern 1 consists of several themes, in which respondents show a *positive attitude towards the Soviet Union* based on their experiences as USSR citizens. Some people point out *social benefits* such as medical help and its availability in any Soviet Union Republic. There were people who addressed their *working experience* and connected it to the question of their experiences as the USSR citizen. People pointed out that they were happy with their work and were treated well at their work while the Soviet Union times. For some, positive attitude was more moderate, as people described their experiences as “fine” or overall satisfying with minor minuses, yet both of the descriptions fit the theme of a positive attitude. For some the Soviet Union times are associated with very positive attitudes, for example, an expression of “great life” was used to address those times (Anonymous 5).

Pattern 2 is connected to younger participants of the research and the name of the identified theme is a *neutral or positive attitude towards non-citizen status*. When analysing the answers of four youngest participants, it was found out that three out of the four people expressed an opinion that non-citizen status is not such a big problem. All younger people born in independent Latvia pointed out that the status did not matter to them in the childhood, for example, Anonymous 7 told that “there was no distinction between people based on citizenship, the only difference was a passport”. Anonymous 3 pointed out that the non-citizen status did not cause him any discomfort, whereas,

Anonymous 9 stated that she “felt fine, spoke Latvian well and did not feel any suppression of her rights”.

All four youngest participants express a neutral or positive attitude towards the status, still, Anonymous 8 pointed out that “At the age of sixteen I started to think about my future and about the future of the country in general and needed to decide which status to accept”. Eventually, Anonymous 8 decided not to naturalise and took citizenship of Russia. The person pointed out the following: “I was not happy with the non-citizen status as I was born in this country, I lived my whole life here, studied here, I Latvian, Latvian history and everything seems well, yet, because of some reason I need to prove to my own state that I am a full-fledged, rightful inhabitant of this country”. That is how a change in the attitudes towards the non-citizen status happened in the life of Anonymous 8, still, other three participants seem to perceive the status either in a neutral or even positive manner.

Pattern 3 is connected to the attitudes of older interview participants who not only show a generally positive attitude towards the USSR but also express a negative attitude towards the non-citizen status. The theme has been identified under a name *negative attitude towards non-citizenship*. The attitude varies from very negative to rather negative, yet the attitude can be traced in all data collected from the representatives of older interviewees, two out three middle-aged interviewees and one younger interviewee. Some people very openly expressed how they feel, for instance, Anonymous 6 told that “we were people of second grade for this country” and similarly to Anonymous 5 compared the application of the non-citizen status to “an insult” (Anonymous 6; Anonymous 5), or as Anonymous 1 writes “it was a humiliation”. Anonymous 4 compares non-citizen status application to “unpleasant residue of being dumped”, whereas Anonymous 2 compares becoming a non-citizen to being “garbage of society”, “no one”, “unneeded” and calls the action “amoral”. A peculiar expression in regard to the question of experiences on becoming non-citizen was provided by Anonymous 1 who wrote that he feels like a “child born on a visit which became unbeloved” or that he feels “left behind”. The person also told that many people who do not speak Latvian, do not know Latvian history, and even were in prison got citizenship “just because their grandmother lived in Latvia before 1940, I feel oppressed by such social injustice”.

The only younger adult representative (Anonymous 8) discussed non-citizen status implications in a broader perspective. He told that the situation in Latvia is politicised and that people with Russian ethnic background are seen as a threat to Latvia, he also added, that this opinion makes

him feel “handicapped inhabitant of Latvia” (Anonymous 8). He also expressed disappointment over the fact that he could not elect people who rule his country (Anonymous 8).

Another point of view, which has been clustered with the main theme can be traced in two of the interviews (Anonymous 2 and Anonymous 4). Both respondents expressed concern about older generation people and them being victims of non-citizenship politics, such as a demand to speak Latvian. Many of the respondents pointed out a change in language politics and as a part of independent Latvia (Anonymous 1, Anonymous 4, Anonymous 2), stricter Latvian language requirements have been implemented. Thereby, Anonymous 2 and Anonymous 4 provided examples of some old people not being able to speak Latvian and regarded to that with concern and empathy. Respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with such language demands. For instance, Anonymous 2 suggests that not only Latvian but also Russian should be spoken (in the context of Latvian society).

Pattern 4 found in the data is connected to the *dissatisfaction with the government*. Traces of that have been collected from different sub-themes. For example, a sub-theme *dissatisfaction with pensions* is part of the bigger pattern. It was Anonymous 2, who addressed an issue of low pensions. She complained on rare indexation of pensions and on a small amount of money she receives due to the fact that the company where she worked evaded taxes and adds “It is not our fault, we worked”.

Another sub-theme that emerged is *no support for government actions*. For example, Anonymous 3 points out that in his opinion there are “unpopular decisions made in the government by, in my opinion, incompetent people, in my opinion, not correct decisions which harm me and my vision of the society”. Anonymous 5 also expresses his disagreement with “many governmental decisions”.

Another subtheme that can be distinguished as a part of the Pattern 4 is *dissatisfaction with production and infrastructure*. Anonymous 1 does not approve of active deforestation, he is very concerned about that topic and mentions it twice. Also, Anonymous 1 shows his disapproval of the fact that many of the big factories that Latvia had nowadays are dysfunctional and abandoned. He expressed his pride in the fact that in the Soviet times those factories were an important part of the country, that they were known and exported worldwide. He writes he “feels pain for the country that could have produced anything but eventually ruined it all”.

Anonymous 4 also partly expresses disappointment over some governmental aspects, even though in general does not mention a lot of examples that can be interpreted as dissatisfaction. She told that “they believed that we would all live together in one country, whereas they try us to” and quoted Vaira Vīķe Freiberga’s famous phrase “Suitcase, train station, Russia”. Also, she discreetly stated that the government does not treat non-citizens too well. Anonymous 8 also expressed dissatisfaction with governmental decisions.

Pattern 5 has been identified in the interviews in regard to feelings of non-citizens and is called *feelings of being part of Latvia*. Some of the interviews were very emotional. True regret and grievance could be heard in their voices when they talked about their experiences. This is how the Pattern 5 came to be. It is based on the emotional responses and phrases respondents told in regard to their feelings towards Latvia and as it has been found out, they are solely positive. Respondents have expressed dissatisfaction with government, yet, in regard to the country itself, they have not mentioned any negative attitudes. Anonymous 1, for example, told that he loves this country. He also believed that Latvia could have been a great and rich country if the government would not give up on production. Most importantly, Anonymous 1 provided an example of his thoughts when he quoted Nursultan Nazarbayev, ex-president of Kazakhstan as follows: “It is not a patriot who blindly accepts authority but one who notices disadvantages in authority and fights against them. I see those disadvantages and despite the fact that I am non-citizen, I wish Latvia would flourish”. Anonymous 4, when talking about her motivations to naturalise, also mentioned her wish to feel more confident, equal to others, “I wanted to feel dear to this land and this government”. Also, when talking about the 1990s and path of Latvia towards independence, her and other supporters of the idea believed in a united country, a country they loved.

Pattern 5 consists of several subthemes and one of them seems to be present in many interviews. People write, for instance, that they have lived in Latvia all their life, or that they worked for Latvia all their life, or were born here and studied here. It does not matter what exactly they say, what matters is that they connect themselves to Latvia and see this country as part of their life. This tendency can be seen in Anonymous 1, Anonymous 6, Anonymous 5, Anonymous 2, and Anonymous 8. Anonymous 4 provided a peculiar piece of information in regard to her feelings as ethnic Russian. She said that “they told us to go home, but we are not used to our home anymore. We are aliens in Russia too. Even if we wanted to go somewhere, there is nowhere to go”.

This table concisely summarises the main connections between interviewees and biggest patterns that were identified within this research:

Table 1: The main patterns

	Pattern 1 Positive experiences as the USSR citizen	Pattern 2 neutral or positive attitude towards non-citizen status	Pattern 3 negative attitude towards non-citizenship	Pattern 4 dissatisfaction with the government	Pattern 5 feelings of being part of Latvia
Anonymous 1	✓		✓	✓	✓
Anonymous 2	✓		✓	✓	✓
Anonymous 3		✓		✓	
Anonymous 4	✓		✓	✓	✓
Anonymous 5	✓		✓	✓	✓
Anonymous 6	✓		✓		
Anonymous 7		✓			
Anonymous 8			✓		✓
Anonymous 9	✓	✓			

Table 1 shows that some of the most evidently seen patterns are Pattern 1 and Pattern 3, which emerged in six interviews. These are followed by Patterns 4 and 5, identified in five interviews each. Lastly, the least identifiable Pattern found in this research is Pattern 2, which unites three interviews.

5.2. Other patterns

Apart from the main patterns or themes, also other, less inclusive, or less strong patterns were identified. Design of the interview questions used in this research was established so that it not only would provide answers for the research questions but also would allow researching matters in a broader way. For example, based on Pattern 1, additional notions can be addressed and are presented in the following table:

Table 2: Nature of experiences of non-citizens in regard to their decision about naturalisation process

	motivated to naturalise	demotivated to naturalise	end result
Anonymous 1	positive	mostly negative but also positive	did not naturalise
Anonymous 2	positive	negative	did not naturalise
Anonymous 3	not applicable	neutral	did not naturalise
Anonymous 4	positive	neutral, sometimes negative	naturalised
Anonymous 5	positive	negative	did not naturalise
Anonymous 6	positive	negative	naturalised
Anonymous 7	not applicable	neutral	naturalised
Anonymous 8	not applicable	negative	did not naturalise
Anonymous 9	positive	positive	naturalised

Based on this table, Pattern 1 can be easily noticed in applicable cases, and it is seen that experiences of those who were citizens of the Soviet Union tend to be positive. Whereas, experiences of people who became non-citizens can be evaluated as rather negative than positive. Lastly, in applicable cases, experiences of those who naturalised seem to be neutral.

5.3. Patterns in regard to research questions

Primarily, the main idea behind this research was to identify the connection between trust in public institutions (or political trust) and wish to naturalise amongst Latvian non-citizens. First, an example of Anonymous 3 is taken to be studied in greater detail. According to the previously explained theoretical framework, trust in public institutions, political trust, and institutional trust are treated in a bundle. Political trust is part of political support, consisting of confidence in the regime institutions and approval of incumbent office-holders, whereas political support is the support of political system divided into five levels including those two that form the political trust. While there is definitely a connection between political support and political trust as a part of, there is no single way to explain it as it can sometimes exclude one another.

What this thesis has been looking for is “the general belief in the performance capacity of political institutions and/or belief in the benevolent motivation and performance capacity of office-holders” (Norris, 2017, p. 24). From this point, the research can proceed towards interviews. Pattern 4 is central for trying to identify the reciprocal connection between trust and naturalisation. Based on some of the examples that create Pattern 4, for instance, experiences of Anonymous 3, the prism

of political trust can be addressed. Anonymous 3 shows clear dissatisfaction with the government. For example, Anonymous 3 told that he does not agree with many decisions performed by the government, considers some of those decisions incompetent and even harmful, however, he told following: “What I think about power institutions is not connected to the fact that I am non-citizen”. Thus, based on the example of Anonymous 3, the connection between political trust and naturalisation was not possible to establish, based on the words of the respondent, even though the given context does not look undoubtedly excluding.

Anonymous 1 expressed his dissatisfaction over governmental decisions in regard to forest handling and reduction of production in Latvia, however, the case behind non-naturalisation reasons of the respondent was connected to the fact that Anonymous 1 regarded to the naturalisation exams as “humiliating” and did not express any wish to pass them, thus, the reason behind his motivation is different from political trust, at least primarily it is not political trust.

Another example that forms Pattern 4 is an interview conducted with Anonymous 5. He tells about his experiences in the 1990s and refers also to LTF rhetoric in regard to citizenship. He accuses LTF in lies as provides an example of different discourses presented to USSR citizens via information fields based on the spoken language (i.e., Russian-speaking people heard one, whereas Latvian-speaking people heard another, which can be described as very nationalist discourse). He told that he “I had a chance to compare information told to by radio and TV and I very much did not like it. There was even rejection”. He also points out that there was a promise of citizenship for everyone, however, when leaders changed the promise was forgotten. In the end, he concluded that he does not agree with many governmental decisions: “...I saw the attitude towards Russian-speakers (they were putting up with us), that is how my opinion about naturalisation has been shaped”.

On the basis of this case, it can be seen that experiences of this person have been formed under the circumstances of deception and even lies. He saw how future governing party acted and what slogans promoted, for instance, “Send out Russians! Remove occupants!” (Anonymous 5). It can be hardly believed that such background could promote the emergence of confidence in the institutions or approval of incumbent office-holders, especially that this situation has influenced the decision to not naturalise in the case of Anonymous 5. Newton et al. (2018, p. 37) distinguish two levels of political trust, where macro level represents an evaluation of the governmental institution work and policies, and micro level includes “work of individual leaders, honesty and abiding by ones’ promises, which is called individual political trust or micro-level trust.

Anonymous 5 does not support decisions of government and did not support the rhetoric of LTF, who was to become a ruling party in the 90s. Furthermore, when providing an example of citizenship promise, Anonymous 5 mentioned an actual politician named Dainis Īvāns as one giving that promise. Considering the fact that discourse in LTF indeed changed towards a more nationalistic direction, it can be concluded that Anonymous 5 not only experienced problems in individual leader abiding by one's promises, but generally experienced negative attitudes towards him as a Russian-speaker. Thus, the case of Anonymous 5 to some extent can be considered a case for identification of connection between political trust and wish to naturalise.

On the other hand, there is the case of Anonymous 4, who was a proponent of Latvian independence and LTF member, who believed in the idea of a common country for everyone on an equal basis. Anonymous 4 shared the following opinion "I myself was part of the LTF, we had postulates that everyone is equal, even more of socialistic slogans, not capitalistic, but it turned out differently. Nationalists prevailed, and it led to the emergence of the societal gap, which happens even now. Even loyal people felt bitterness". The dream of one equal family did not come true, yet Anonymous 4 naturalised and addressed non-citizenship in a relatively positive manner. For instance, she said: "we had a choice if you wanted to be a citizen – learn Latvian and pass the exam!" Her attitudes became even more positive after she acquired citizenship as she told: "I started to feel surer and more equal to others". Even though, Anonymous 4 did tell about other people she knew in LTF, Russian speakers who felt offended and lost because of the citizenship law decision (Anonymous 4).

Other participants have also provided information about LTF and what they knew about the programme of the movement. The question was applicable to be answered by Anonymous 1, Anonymous 4, Anonymous 5, and Anonymous 6. The opinions of Anonymous 4 and Anonymous 5 were explained in detail. Thus, opinions of next respondents are addressed. Anonymous 1 in regard to the question about LTF answered that "their ideas based on national politics. Latvia for Latvians!" The respondent told that there were no citizenship discussions because we all were citizens of a single country at that time. Whereas Anonymous 6 replied that "LTF only talked about independence, no one promised citizenship for everyone". Thus, any general conclusion cannot be done based on this information. It varies from case to case and is inconsistent.

5.4. What factors influence wish to naturalise?

Based on the interview questions, a table consisting of the main naturalisation/non-naturalisation factors, particularly motivated and "demotivated", has been created.

Table 3: Motivations of naturalisation

Factor that influenced naturalisation	Motivated	Anonymous	Demotivated	Anonymous
Travelling	✓	4, 6, 7	✓	1, 8
Should have been granted automatically			✓	1, 5
Wish to influence elections	✓	6		
Wish to belong	✓	4		
Disappointment over the citizenship politics	✓	4, 6	✓	1, 2, 5, 8
Miscellaneous practical issues	✓	4, 9	✓	3, 4, 8
Age			✓	2

Based on this data, it can be concluded that there are truly peculiar factors that influenced naturalisation, for instance, for Anonymous 9 the only factor of influence on naturalisation was connected to an opportunity to not attend Latvian classes in the university. Overall, the factors are similar to those identified in previously cited literature.

The most commonly mentioned factors of naturalisation are connected to practical issues, such as work and travelling Tönsmann (2017, p. 168). According to Table 3, people also mention travelling in as a decisive factor in the majority of cases, oddly, in regard to both, motivation and demotivation to naturalise.

Another literature that has been addressed earlier is of Ivļevs and King (2012). As written previously, the authors distinguished two types of motivations behind a decision to naturalise - instrumental and emotional (Ivļevs & King, 2012, p. 17). Table 3 provides information on the naturalisation factors, which allow to see that the distinction that Ivļevs and King (2012) suggested makes sense and captures nature of practically all naturalisation factors. This thesis suggests following view of naturalisation factors identified in this thesis based on the distinction provided by Ivļevs and King (2012):

- ❖ Instrumental – Travelling, wish to influence elections, miscellaneous practical issues and age;
- ❖ Emotional – Should have been granted automatically, wish to belong, disappointment over the citizenship politics.

Here some of the factors that have been grouped into larger groups will be mentioned separately and compared to the previously mentioned literature. For example, Anonymous 3 told about such non-naturalisation factor as lack of time, which has been included in the table under practical issues section. However, the statement itself corresponds to one suggest by the Naturalisation Board of The Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs ⁸ (2017, p. 19) as a factor of citizen non-naturalisation which was mentioned by 12 percent of respondents in their research. Also, such factor as convenience to travel to Russia has been included into the section of travelling of Table 3, whereas it can be mentioned that particularly Anonymous 1 and 8 suggested this influence factor in their conversation. Travelling to Russia has been indicated as one of the factors for non-naturalisations also by the Naturalisation Board of The Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs ⁹ (2017, p. 19), according to which 12 percent of people did not want to naturalise because of that aspect.

For convenient and concise opportunity to review data, this research provides another table created on the basis of studied empirical data.

Table 4: General findings based on the sampling criteria

Interviewee	Gender	Age	Adult age group	Ethnicity	Current status in regard to naturalisation	Might naturalise in the future	Position towards Latvian independence
Anonymous 1	male	52	middle-aged	Russian	did not naturalise	No	Anti
Anonymous 2	female	72	older	Russian	did not naturalise	No	Pro
Anonymous 3	male	26	young	Russian	did not naturalise	Yes	-
Anonymous 4	female	80	older	Russian	naturalised		Pro
Anonymous 5	male	73	older	Russian	did not naturalise	No	Anti
Anonymous 6	female	48	middle-aged	Ukrainian	naturalised		Pro
Anonymous 7	male	26	younger	Russian	naturalised		-
Anonymous 8	male	28	younger	Russian	did not naturalise/ acquired Russian citizenship		-
Anonymous 9	female	37	middle-aged	Belarussian	naturalised		-

⁸ see in references Pilsonības un migrācijas lietu pārvaldes Naturalizācijas pārvalde, 2017

⁹ see in references Pilsonības un migrācijas lietu pārvaldes Naturalizācijas pārvalde, 2017

Based on the Table 4, several additional patterns can be observed. However, due to the limited nature of this research, there is no attempt to widely generalise, yet, findings can be compared to the previous research.

For example, previously this thesis referred to Ivļevs and King (2012, p. 18) who suggested that people of older age are less likely to naturalise, whereas people of younger age are more likely to do that. Based on the information provided in Table 4, it can be seen that two out of three representatives of the older adult age group decided to not naturalise, whereas in regard to the middle-aged adult group, two out of three participants decided to naturalise. Finally, in case of younger adult age group two out of three participants naturalised similarly to the middle-aged group. Based on this observation it can be concluded that in the studied data a tendency of naturalisation amongst middle-aged and younger adults is stronger than tendency of older adult group. The findings coincide with the suggestion of Ivļevs and King (2012) and support their theory.

Ivļevs and King (2012, p. 18) also found a correlation between wish to naturalise and gender and suggested that females are more likely to naturalise. Based on the Table 4, it can be summarised that three out of four female respondents preferred to naturalise, whereas only one male out of five decided to naturalise. This data also coincides with correlation found out by Ivļevs and King (2012).

Additionally, none of those who supported Latvia to remain the Soviet Union naturalised, whereas between those who supported independence the end result varies. The same pattern existed in regard to the possibility of naturalisation in the future. Those of “anti-independence” views did not see themselves naturalised in any nearest time, whereas people who expressed “pro-independent” Latvia views showed inconsistent results.

5.5. Peculiar cases

Peculiar case 1. The case of Anonymous 1 has been very interesting. First, the interviewee was very open and wished to talk about matters in a very descriptive manner, which provided a chance to gather even more interesting information. The main peculiarity about his case is that for twenty years he was working as an official in the Ministry of Home Affairs of Latvia. He told that the reason why such an allowance was possible was caused by the staff shortage (Anonymous 1). This goes against official rules that non-citizens cannot hold office of “judge, court bailiff, notary, prosecutor, policeman, state security officer, land surveyor, fireman, national guard, captain of a

crew, private detective, attorney, or employee in diplomatic and consular service” (Krūma, 2007, p. 69). Off records, Anonymous 1 told that he held the office of one of the previously listed jobs. Still, the fact that such case took place is truly peculiar and goes against the law.

Besides, there is another interesting observation about the respondent’s story. Anonymous 1 expressed rejection of the idea to prove someone acceptance of motherland: “I have no wish to pass the humiliating exam at my own cost”. Furthermore, an interesting point is mentioned when talking about participant’s job: “I have many acknowledgements and awards issued by authorities of the country in gratitude for my services. For twenty years, I worked as a non-citizen and as a Russian... They can see my biography and make a decision about citizenship themselves” (Anonymous 1).

Peculiar case 2. Two of the interviewees were husband and wife. They got married when the polemic about Latvian independence only started. Anonymous 4 tells: “We had a family quarrel”. This fact allowed to produce deeper interviewing because some of the important information which was relevant to be asked about was known beforehand from the interview with the spouse. Despite the interviewing process, there is another interesting moment. According to the Law on Citizenship (1994), Latvian citizen is:

A person who was a Latvian citizen on 17 June 1940, as well as a descendant of such person, if such person or his or her descendant, by 1 October 2013, has registered as a Latvian citizen in accordance with the procedures set out in law or who had the right to register as a Latvian citizen in compliance with Section 2, Clause 1 of this Law in the version that was in force until 1 October 2013 (Citizenship Law, 1994)

However, according to the information provided by both participants (Anonymous 4 and Anonymous 5), Anonymous 5 is a person with Latvian ethnic background. The story is such that the grandfather of the interviewee, like many others at that time, moved to Russia before the WWI, where he started a family. Later, in 1946, his son and grandson (the interviewee as a child) came to Latvia for life. The reason for the participant to not be given citizenship is not known. However, it can be assumed that possibly, it is due to the fact that respondent’s grandfather lost his Latvian citizenship and was not a Latvian citizen on 17 June 1940. Most importantly, there have been experiences of Anonymous 5 to be accused of being an occupant, while in fact, he was a descendant of ethnic Latvians and even has a Latvian surname.

5.6. Answers to the research questions

Within this research, there were nine interviews that have been conducted with Latvian non-citizens, ex-non-citizens (i.e. Anonymous 7), and naturalised non-citizens. Furthermore, this research attempted to answer a set of questions.

5.6.1. *Does trust in public and political institutions affect Latvian non-citizens' wish to naturalise?*

In regard to the main research question, it must be said that the idea of open-ended questions which did not lead the respondents towards particularly a word “trust” has resulted in the acquisition of maximally objective data, as the questions were designed with the idea to provide grounds for respondent experience and idea manifestation which were browsed identification of traits connected to trust in public institutions in this general undirected data. Indeed, there was a question number fourteen which particularly addressed experiences of the interviewees in regard to the governmental institutions, however, it is not particularly of leading nature leading but rather it established a territory for possible connection emergence research. Based on the interview data, the following conclusion can be reached. One case out of nine showed that there is a plausible connection between non-citizen wish to naturalise and trust in public institutions/political trust. The respondent particularly mentioned that LTF (The Popular Front of Latvia) lied and expressed nationalistic ideas, furthermore, there was controversial information presented in different language information channels, for instance in Russian there was one information, in Latvian another. Anonymous 5 explicitly said that “I spoke both, Latvian and Russian so I had a chance to compare, and what I heard on the Latvian radio I did not like at all, I was rejecting that”. He also mentioned that there were promises of citizenship for everyone but as the government changed, their words changed also. He felt humiliated and betrayed by the situation. He said that he has Latvian roots and that he ethnically is Latvian. His grandfather was invited to work in Russia at some point and his family moved there, however, after returning during the Soviet Union times he was not given citizenship in the 90s, even though he was lawfully entitled to it as a Latvian descendant according to the Law on Citizenship (1994). He felt a lot of resentment about it.

Similarly, Anonymous 1 felt after working more than 20 years for Latvian government, he felt his efforts could have been recognised and that he has earned the citizen status. Also, Anonymous 3 who said that “it was amoral to be in this (non-citizen) status”, “I started to feel discrimination after 1991”, and “nobody needs us”.

There surely are feeling of betrayal, disappointment, dissatisfaction, and resentment present in some of the respondent answers. People were shaken to lose their citizenship and find themselves in the new status. While some felt indifferent towards it, some expressed a variety of strong emotions and bad feelings about it.

Also, many expressed feelings that can be described as opposite to “political support”, and as political trust is part of political support based on the theoretical framework of this work, experiences of the non-citizens related to the absence of political support were also of interest in order to answer the main research question. For instance, Anonymous 1 told that “I did not vote for them, my conscience is clear” when expressing his feelings about the government. He also said “It is not a patriot who blindly accepts authority but one who notices disadvantages in authority and fights against them. I see those disadvantages and despite the fact that I am non-citizen, I wish Latvia would flourish”. Anonymous 1 also told that he is worried about minority schools closing (also Anonymous 2), he several times mentioned that he has been paying taxes his whole life (also Anonymous 2), and also mentions that “the government executes overwhelming national politics”.

Similarly, Anonymous 2 mentioned such worries as the closing of minority schools, that her kids and daughter in law are working too hard, that one of them is invalids, that her pension is only 150 euros and it is not enough for a normal life. She several times mentions that she has been paying taxes her whole life and this is what she gets. She concluded her interview with the phrase “We are not guilty about anything, we simply worked”.

Anonymous 3 expressed an opinion about the government as follows: “They are forcing us to become citizens, they are imposing political rhetoric that does not correspond to my views”.

Anonymous 4 expressed feelings about nationalism in Latvia. She told that Latvian-ex president Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga said “Suitcase, Railway station, Russia”. The phrase usually can be described as nationalistic and can be used in the context of Russian speakers and the fact that they should go back to Russia. It must be noted that there are no proofs that the president said that phrase. Anonymous 4 also said that currently the society in Latvia is being divided and that many feel resentment about it, even though she herself did not feel bad.

Anonymous 6 also expressed an opinion about how she lived her whole life in Latvia, paid taxes and what the government did was an insult to her and to all the people who lived in Latvia and did not know other life elsewhere. She also told that the government raised the national question and expressed an opinion such as “Russians are not needed here! It felt as if someone spit in my soul”.

Or she also said that we became “2nd sort people” which means from Russian people worse than others. Anonymous 6 naturalised, however, she said that she feels like she is treated by the government as a citizen only formally. “They consider you not particularly a citizen of Latvia”, said the respondent and mentioned that sometimes people assess situations inadequately.

Anonymous 8 told that “I have lived in Latvia my whole life, I studied here, I know the language, the history, and all seems wonderful, but due to some reason I must prove to my own government that I am full-fledged inhabitant of this country”. He told that his thinks that the non-citizen situation in Latvia is politicised, and that is of interest for Latvian government to continue spreading the theory of about ex USSR citizens being a threat to Latvia. “I felt like a defective inhabitant of Latvia, I could choose those who would rule my country, I could not officially work in Europe, study in a university. I feel negative emotions not towards the society, but government”. It must be added that Anonymous 8 preferred to acquire Russian citizenship because it was cheaper, easier and provided better study opportunities to the respondent.

It can be concluded that there surely are traits of resentment, dissatisfaction and disappointment in the government amongst the interviewees. Many are either unhappy about the politics of the 90s, about the current politics or both.

The case of Anonymous 5 was the closest to establishing the connection between naturalization and political trust. The respondent mentioned how the government lied and was controversial in its promises, at the same time respondent never received his lawful citizenship and felt a lot of resentment about it. There are other cases, as seen above, where people expressed negative emotions about the government actions.

To answer the main research question it can be concluded that it is very plausible that political trust can affect non-citizen wish to naturalise, however, the matter must be studied in greater detail in order to answer the question with certainty.

5.6.2. Secondary research questions

The two other research questions this thesis were as follows:

- What are the experiences of Latvian non-citizens as non-citizens?
- Are there any experiences of Latvian non-citizens that would be possible to associate with the ideas described by Tönsmann?

Feelings of humiliation, feelings of alienation, feelings of being “left out” and “not needed” prevailed opinions of those non-citizens, to whom the status was applied. People felt resentment, they felt that the situation was unfair, that they have worked hard their whole life and were not appreciated. Some were concerned about how they were called “occupants” and felt pained about it. Whereas, in the case of a younger generation, the opinions in regard to non-citizen status could be described as rather neutral than negative (exceptions is the Anonymous 8 who felt similarly to older respondents). Some of the respondents expressed indifference towards the status, while some pointed out that “it is just a different passport”. There can be only one conclusion, each and every person’s experience of being a non-citizen is different. Based on the acquired information no generalisations can be made, as well as no explicitly strong patterns can be identified.

Finally, the last question of the research which was aimed towards testing the theoretical assumptions suggested by Tönsmann can be answered as follows. The question about LTF and promises of the LTF was asked from every participant who was in the age to know about political discourse and was interested knowing about it. Based on the interview data, it can be concluded that partly, Tönsmann’s assumptions were present in the data provided by respondents. However, there were cases where people declined that there were any discussions about citizenship for everyone. These inconsistencies in data do not allow to answer the question completely.

6.DISCUSSION

After the interview conduction, several observations can be pointed out. The interviews were different by nature, in some, people were very open and talked also about matters not mentioned in the questions, in other, people only tended to answer what is being asked. The interview length also varied, for instance, the longest interview lasted forty minutes, whereas the shortest interview lasted around five minutes. It was a truly interesting process, which led to the possibility to not only identify the main five patterns but also smaller patterns.

According to the five main elements that constitute political support and based on the previous information it can be concluded that there is a lot of negativity, dissatisfaction and resentment amongst most of the respondents in regard to the government. While most of them have the feeling of belonging to the nation-state many do not agree with normative values of the regime, for instance, the decisions made in the 90s when Latvia became independent. Many are not happy with current matters, low pensions, they do not feel secure about their future. There is not much that can be said about confidence in the regime institutions, yet there are a couple of cases where respondents disapproved of incumbent office-holders. As the latter two notions are part of the political trust, there is no explicit way of evaluating it based on the acquired information. However, political and institutional trust in this work are treated in a bundle, thus trust in, for example, government, political parties, and parliament are part of that too. Based on the respondent answers there is a lot of negativity towards the government and some politicians. If trust is “a bet about the future contingent actions of others” as Sztompka (1999, p. 25) says, then it can not be said with certainty that having all these negative experiences and emotions people would trust their government.

Also, it must be added that there are other factors that affect non-citizen wish to naturalise and while trust or distrust may have possibly affected their wish to naturalise, other factors could outweigh that factor.

In regard to the secondary research question group, particularly the first question that addressed experiences of non-citizens, it can be concluded that experiences of Latvian non-citizens are

different and vary from case to case. The majority of non-citizen experiences, especially of those to whom the non-citizen status was applied (not those born with it) seems to be of negative nature.

In regard to the interview conduction, it is also important to return to the peculiar cases described above. For example, peculiar case 1 showed some rule exceptions, which led to the emergence of a peculiar story. The fact that a non-citizen was employed as a government official in a security field was unbelievable. It would be interesting to study whether there are other cases like that and if other non-citizens at some point received some citizen privileges.

In regard to peculiar case 2, it can be told that at some point, while conducting an interview, the wife started to tell about the experiences of her husband, which allowed further referencing to the wife's words in the later interview with the husband. It was an interesting experience; however, this case was more difficult to handle particularly because of this cross information. At times it felt weird to refer to another person while talking to another, however, it provided a chance to do more thorough questioning.

It is important to mention that interviews were limited by several factors. First, many people would not express a wish to participate in any kind of interview. Some people would get afraid of the fact that the interview would be recorded and expressed discomfort hearing about that. The matter is sensitive, and people are not always comfortable to discuss it. Second, it was difficult to find actual non-citizens, however, networking eventually helped to collect the respondents who eventually participated in this research. There also were two cases of people agreeing for the interview and changing their mind. There also was a case of one person agreeing for the interview, however, once some details were told, the person would express unsureness and eventually would not agree as the topic for the person was too sensitive.

In regard to the respondents, several things can be said. Some difficulties can be mentioned as a part of the acquisition of more or less similar data. Due to the age gap between some participants, those who could not relate to the Soviet Union times were not asked all interview questions. Furthermore, due to the fact that some people were not politically active or politically interested (like Anonymous 9). Also, some of the interview questions were excluded due to unexpected circumstances, for instance, Anonymous 2 did not participate in the referendum of 1991 due to the fact that she was in the hospital.

In regard to results, it can be said that this work supported the relevance of the connection between political trust and non-citizen naturalisation. Furthermore, it provided grounds for addressing this topic in later research as findings did not show results that would exclude the connection, at the same time nor did they establish grounds for strong claims. Findings of this research cannot be generalised due to the limited nature of interviews; however, this research provides a good base for the matter to be addressed in the future.

Finally, it must be said that this research can be considered pioneering as there are no other works that would particularly study a connection between trust in public institutions and a wish of Latvian non-citizens to naturalise. The literature has concentrated on those matters separately but not in a bundle; thus, this research has not only contributed to a better understanding of Latvian non-citizen problem and raised awareness of it, but also contributed to a discussion of new unresearched matters.

7.CONCLUSION

The main objective of this paper was to find whether trust in public institutions/political trust can affect Latvian non-citizen wish to naturalise. The idea emerged from the assumptions of Tönsmann (2017) who claimed that there is a connection between naturalisation and political trust in the context of “the broken promise”. This thesis suggested to study the matter in a broader way and apart from testing whether there is a connection in the context of the “broken promise” aspired to identify the connection in other contexts. For that, this work addressed the historical background of Latvian non-citizen emergence as an important part of shaping future citizenship politics. Researched Latvian citizenship politics and information related to the topic, such as assessment of the governmental performance in regard to citizenship matter by international organisations. Also, the paper addressed the nature of the non-citizenship problem from different perspectives, such as the perspective of ethnic Latvians, Latvian government, international organisations and the perspective of non-citizens themselves.

Also, this research provided a theoretical framework for the studied connection based on the analysis of the main concepts constituting the studied connection. Such concepts as citizenship and trust with an emphasis on non-citizenship in Latvia and trust in public institutions. Such a notion as political support has also been included as political trust is part of political support. The empirical data was acquired through the instrument of interviewing and later analysed by employing thematic analysis. This paper performed qualitative research and the nature of the acquired data is of qualitative nature too, besides that was a factor of choice as this research desired to focus on particularly such type of data as it addressed “experiences of people” as the main data source.

Based on the empirical data, it can be stated that this research has identified a very plausible connection between non-citizen wish to naturalise and trust related matters. It was concluded based on one interview with Anonymous 5, and based on the general negativity, resentment and dissatisfaction feelings expressed by the majority of respondents. However, the matter should be studied further in order to claim that the connection exists with certainty. This paper suggests that

the connection between wish to naturalise and political trust is plausible and has grounds to be addressed further in the future and provides a base for the future research.

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ANNEX 1: AN INTERVIEW QUESTION SCHEME

