

**Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities:  
Nations between States along the New Eastern Borders of the European Union**

Series of project research reports

Reports on qualitative sub-studies

Research Report # 18-4

Belarus  
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**Ethnic Minorities of Central  
and Eastern Europe  
in Internet Space:  
Content Analysis (ENRI-WEB)**

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Project primarily funded under FP7-SSH programme



Project host and coordinator



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### About the ENRI-East research project ([www.enri-east.net](http://www.enri-east.net))

#### The Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities: Nations between states along the new eastern borders of the European Union (ENRI-East)

ENRI-East is a research project implemented in 2008-2011 and primarily funded by the European Commission under the Seventh Framework Program. This international and inter-disciplinary study is aimed at a deeper understanding of the ways in which the modern European identities and regional cultures are formed and inter-communicated in the Eastern part of the European continent.

ENRI-East is a response to the shortcomings of previous research: it is the first large-scale comparative project which uses a sophisticated toolkit of various empirical methods and is based on a process-oriented theoretical approach which places empirical research into a broader historical framework.

The distinct ethno-national diversity in this region, along with the problems resulting from it was generated by dramatic shifts of borders, populations and political affiliation which have continued until today. The prevailing pattern of political geography of this part of Europe was the emergence and the dismemberment of empires, a process which created ethno-national enclaves within the boundaries of new nation states. These minorities were frequently drawn into inter-state conflicts and subjected to repression, ethnic cleansing and expulsion. The subjects of interests were ethnic minorities in the supra-region "Wider Eastern Europe", i.e. the region between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, along the current geo-political "East-West" division line. Estimated 8 to 10 millions of people are affected by "ethnic splits" or minority groups, whose ethnic compatriots would constitute a titular majority in another country, some of them even on each side of this contemporary geopolitical east-west diving border line.

The complex ENRI-East study was designed as a comprehensive set of theoretical, methodological, empirical and comparative work streams exploring the interplay of identities among the twelve ethnic minorities in the supra-region of Central and Eastern Europe. These ethnic groups are: Russians in Latvia and Lithuania, Belarusians and Ukrainians in Poland, Slovaks in Hungary, Hungarians in Slovakia and in Ukraine, Poles in Ukraine, in Belarus and in Lithuania, Belarusians in Lithuania as well as Lithuanians in Russia (Kaliningrad oblast). The project includes also a case study of Germany, where our target groups were the ethnic Germans returning to their historical homeland after the centuries of living in other European countries as well as Jewish immigrants (so called "quota refugees" who had moved to the country since 1989).

ENRI-East addresses four general research themes. The first one deals with the interplay of identities and cultures by comparing 'mother nations' and their 'residual groups abroad'. The second theme is a cross-cutting approach which addresses the nations and the states: more exactly, the attitudes and policies of 'mother nations' and 'host nations' toward the 'residual groups' and vice versa. The third research theme comprise the reality of self organization and representation of "residual groups abroad" (ethnic minorities) along the East European borderland. Finally, the last research theme of the project deals with path dependencies, historical memories, present status and expected dynamics of divided nations in Eastern Europe.

The empirical data base for ENRI-East was generated through 5 sub-studies implemented in all or several project countries:

- ENRI-VIS (Values and Identities Survey): face-to-face formalized interviews with members of 12 ethnic minority groups in eight countries, 6,800 respondents;
- ENRI-BIO: qualitative, biographical in-depth interviews with members of 12 ethnic minority groups in eight countries (144 interviews);
- ENRI-EXI: semi-structured expert interviews with governmental and non-governmental representatives of ethnic minority groups in eight countries (48 interviews);
- ENRI-WEB: online content analysis of weblogs and Internet periodicals run or maintained by ethnic minority group members;
- ENRI-MUSIC: special study on cultural identities and music; an innovative, multi-disciplinary pilot effort in Hungary and Lithuania.

**The series of ENRI-East research reports ([www.enri-east.net/project-results](http://www.enri-east.net/project-results))**

Main outcomes of the ENRI-East research program are summarized in the series of research papers and project reports as outlined below. The whole collection of papers will be publicly available on the project web-site by December 2011, while some papers can be accessed since September 2011.

Individual papers are written by ENRI-East experts from all project teams and the whole series is edited by the Coordinating Team at the CEASS-Center at the Institute for Advanced Studies under the guidance of the Principal Investigator Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich and Project Coordinator Dr. Alexander Chvorostov.

**Summarizing and generalizing reports**

1. Theoretical and methodological backgrounds for the studies of European, national and regional identities of ethnic minorities in European borderlands (Edited by Prof. Claire Wallace and Dr. Natalia Patsiurko)
2. Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities among the ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe (main results of ENRI-East empirical program) (Edited by Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich and Dr. Alexander Chvorostov)
3. ENRI-East Thematic Comparative papers and synopsizes of authored articles of ENRI-East experts (9 tender papers and further bibliography of project-related publications)

**Contextual and empirical reports on ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe:**

(edited by respective team leaders)

4. The Polish Minority in Belarus
5. The Slovak Minority in Hungary
6. The Russian Minority in Latvia
7. The Belarusian Minority in Lithuania
8. The Polish Minority in Lithuania
9. The Russian Minority in Lithuania
10. The Belarusian Minority in Poland
11. The Ukrainian Minority in Poland
12. The Lithuanian Minority in Russia (Kaliningrad oblast)
13. The Hungarian Minority in Slovakia
14. The Hungarian Minority in Ukraine
15. The Polish Minority in Ukraine
16. Special Case Study Germany

**Series of empirical survey reports:**

17. ENRI-VIS: Values and Identities Survey
  - 17-1 Methodology and implementation of ENRI-VIS (Technical report)
  - 17-2 ENRI-VIS Reference book (major cross-tabulations and coding details)
18. Qualitative sub-studies of ENRI-East project (methodological and technical reports)
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  - 18-2 Methodological report on Expert Interviews and data base description (ENRI-EXI)
  - 18-3 Methodological report on the pilot study on Musical cultures and identities (ENRI-MUSIC)
  - 18-4 Methodological report and main findings of the Pilot study of web-spaces (ENRI-WEB)

**Disclaimer:**

The treatment of historical, statistical and sociological data and facts, their scientific accuracy and the interpretations as well as the writing style are the sole responsibility of the authors of individual contributions and chapters published in the ENRI Research Papers. The positions and opinions of the project coordinator and of the editors of ENRI-East series of research papers as well as of the ENRI-East consortium as a whole may not necessarily be the same. By no means may the contents of the research papers be considered as the position of the European Commission.

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

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### 1.1 Research subject

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The project *Ethnic Minorities of Central and Eastern Europe in Internet Space: Content Analysis (ENRI-WEB)* is an integral part of ENRI-East, an investigation of identity formation and evolution of ethnic minorities along the new Eastern EU borders. ENRI-WEB studies the identity of 12 ethnic minorities in 7 countries. These minorities include Russians in Latvia and Lithuania, Ukrainians in Poland and Hungary, Belarusians in Poland and Lithuania, Poles in Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus, Hungarians in Slovakia and Ukraine, and Slovaks in Hungary. The study's data base consists of internet resources attributable to ethnic minorities, such as periodicals, news and organisations portals, blogs, forums, articles with postings, and personal websites. Units of analysis are text fragments, which are interpreted using simstat/wordstat6.1.2 for qualitative and quantitative research.

The project studies the construction of ethnic identity in the public discourse. Formal (periodicals) or informal (blogs) internet resources provide information about the social activity of ethnic minorities. The point of departure of the study is the question why and how ethnic groups present themselves in the internet. The focus is on a comparative analysis of self-representation of ethnic groups in the internet.

### 1.2 The internet space as a source of information for social research

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The world wide web is a unique data landscape to explore ethnic identity. As symbol of deconstruction of social boundaries and multiculturalism, the internet makes the “fluid” nature of identity and its changing character under the influence of globalization visible. The internet is a means of communication through which cultural and political values are mediated. It has the capacity to be a forum of non-discriminative information exchange. Among flows of information in the internet, such modes of communication like forums and blogs are present that help to reconstruct the authentic public discourse.<sup>1</sup> Newhagen and Rafaeli (1997) emphasize “empiricism inherent in Net behaviour” – the internet information “is easily observable, recorded and copied” (cit. after Jones 6). The internet can serve different purposes. Among other things, it supports the formation and representation of civil society.

To be sure, the internet as data base for studying identity has some limitations. Internet use is one of the components of the modernisation index determined by income, social stratification, urbanisation rate, etc.<sup>2</sup> Manaev (2000) observes positive effects of internet usage for the development of civil society in post-Communist transition countries like Belarus. In practice, however, the internet users concentrate in cities, while in rural areas, internet use is limited (but so is civil society). Accordingly, those representatives of ethnic minorities, who do not have internet access,

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<sup>1</sup> Internet as unrestricted “private” sphere that influences contemporary “public” discourses is analyzed by Jones in *ibid* (1999), pp. 6, 9, 11, and 15.

<sup>2</sup> The theory of modernization in the framework of the transition theory develops economic factors which can enhance the development of democracy. Among the factors like economic development, high mobility of the social class structure and the presence of the middle class etc., the modern information and communication means like internet are regarded as sources of social modernization (see Lipset 1981 cit. after Merkel 1999: 84).

could not be covered by the study. Many resources, however, which have been identified and analysed during the study, are registered and operated in the regional cities like Białystok (Poland) with population of 294.399 citizens or Jēkabpils (Lettland) with 26.010 citizens.<sup>3</sup>

The study excludes also the population which traditionally prefers the printed media like newspapers to digital sources because of the quality of information. The latter is true more for elderly generations than for the young people who are used to “download” their studying material and books from the internet.

Intensive usage of the internet for information exchange is often influenced by the socio-political situation. Internet can serve as communication tool for politically underrepresented or oppressed groups. The variety of internet resources in countries like Belarus shows that regime-critical social activists, among them students, opposition members, and intellectuals, organize themselves at safe distance from official politics. When alternative views are expelled from the public sphere, the internet turns out to be a readily available tool to escape the limits of political participation.

This conclusion is compatible with the observation that there is a tendency of the internet to transform into an apolitical sphere per se. Internet information represents and reproduces the logic of the liberal life style in the sense of so-called post-modernity. Sociological surveys demonstrate that political engagement has become unpopular in the countries like Russia or Belarus, where the citizens turned from political participants into passive “audiences” of the official politics (Dubin 2006 cit. after Titarenko 2008: 25). According to the opinion of the citizens in these countries, not only the names of popular autocratic leaders appear fully “outdated” in the internet, together with established concepts like liberalism or democracy (Antonov, Interview 2009), but also notions like politics, political participation, and critical thinking. Instead of participating in practical politics, the population “escapes” to the elusive a-political virtual space. Communication through blogs and forums is a case of channelled political activity. In its political dimension, the internet has replaced and complemented classical print and audiovisual media as well as traditional forms of political articulation such as demonstrations or meetings.

The internet has similarities with an unrestricted market sphere where participants share materialistic values and exchange commercial goods. While the internet society does not respect any authority, new or “vanguard” personalities, modes of communication and structures are appearing that may unveil autocratic and totalitarian patterns of the future. The free internet community has many features and principles that require a differentiated and critical look into their democratic “reliability”.

How internet usage influences the development of behavior-relevant collective identities and the attitude formation of citizens, is an open question. The study of internet resources used by ethnic minorities covers “elite discourses” or public discourses shaped by convictions and judgments of journalists, intellectuals, commentators, and socially active citizens. The concept of “discourse” relates to the construction of reality images through language in speech and writing (see Titscher 1998: 178-203; Jäger 1999: 127-130). The study of internet resources explores linguistic and stylistic tools used by opinion leaders of ethnic minorities to construct the meanings of identity.

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<sup>3</sup> See Internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bia%C5%82ystok>; <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J%C4%93kabsils> (accessed on 16 November 2010).



### 1.3 Research concept

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Qualitative and quantitative content analysis of internet resources refers to the concepts of ethnicity, national state and nationalism as well as to the theories of democracy and political participation. The term “construction of identity” implies the conventional nature of identity which depends on particular ideologies and social practices. Anthony Smith (1986: 22) underpins the voluntary character of the phenomenon of the ethnic identity: “As men and women interpret and express their collective experiences (including their conflicts) within any grouping or population thrown together by circumstances, these interpretations and expressions are crystallized over time and handed onto the next generations who modify them, according to their own experiences and interactions”.

Dealing with the concept of ethnic identity, we address cultural and political issues. Ethnic identity is a political concept as it requires political legitimization in a society. Anthony Smith relates (ibid. 154, 156) “a sense of (...) distinctiveness and solidarity” among an ethnic group to its desire to secure own autonomy. The transformation from “passive objects of history into citizens” requires “a new attitude to power” (ibid.). However, different societies have a different national state tradition (Loughlin in idem. 2001: 1-33), cultural identity provided a major value system for the foundation of the national state. Where a national myth was absent – as could be exemplified on France – this myth had to be created. England, a country with multiple cultural facets, resolved the problem of political conflicts by introducing individual rights (ibid.). In the modern national state, a secular civil society is based on equal political rights of citizens.

Since the beginning of their modern foundation, human rights have been perceived through values and principles of cultural identity and they have been often granted to representatives of particular ethnical and cultural groups. Pluralistic ethnic societies which had been held under the umbrella of a titular nation face increasing transformation due to migration and moving cultural patterns in the era of globalization. Global migration is triggered by economic factors, cultural and political liberalisation on the one hand and the violent conflicts, uncontrolled liberalisation and authoritarian politics on the other.

Ethnic identity is a concept in formation. In the Eastern Border Lands of the European Union, societies and borders have moved because of political decisions. Now, new member states of the European Union are challenged to integrate ethnic minorities introducing new collective agreements and political identities<sup>4</sup>. While the citizenship is given by the state, the ethnicity which signifies a cultural identification shall be freely chosen and belong to the fundamental right of a collective – the principle of individual rights can be applied here to the collective entities (Brunner 1996: 124f.).

In spite of the growing popularity of the supranational political concepts, the notion of ethnicity prevails and ethnic-cultural values provide ideological ground to complete the formation of the national state in the countries where the “project of modernity” has not been yet completed. Merging borders, integration processes and unions between national states promote an opposite trend towards regionalization and the attempts to develop distinct political, economic and cultural profiles, especially in the post-Communist countries, with the so-called emerging nations (see Zaiko et al 2004; Narr in Heller et al 2007: 191).

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<sup>4</sup> While the people in the new Eastern European EU member states seek to boost their national identity, their “European” identity is only in formation. European identity is emerging in parallel to national identity (Wiesner in Kangaspuro 2007: 44-45)..

## 2 METHODOLOGY

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The research design of the study applies the method of qualitative and quantitative content analysis, as it is based on categories according to which the data sample is collected and analyzed (see Titscher et al 73-92; Früh 1989: 126ff.). As work progresses, the initially conceived categories are constantly developed and revised in the light of the empirical material. They are “grounded” in the text corpus: the oscillation and the mutual feedback between theoretical concepts and empirical text materials have been condensed in what has been dubbed Grounded Theory (see Titscher et al 92-107; Strauss/Corbin 1990: 418ff.).

The three phases of research consisting of data collection, data analysis and theory generation form a process which we regard as closed and open at the same time. The inductive approach does not mean an uncontrolled procedure because it is guided and restricted by the research question and the predefined research categories. But at the same time, the research process is open because the selection/combination of keywords for search engines is freely chosen and the study of the internet data allows constant building of new and verification of old categories. The categories emerging in the process are the “bricks” in the theoretical corpus that can be extended and deepened by creating new categories.

### 2.1 Internet data collection

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#### 2.1.1 Search strategies

##### By keyword

The data sample has been generated in two steps: by collection of the internet resources and by selection of the text fragments<sup>5</sup> within the identified internet resources. Internet resources were found either through keyword search or through available online catalogues of resources like periodicals, organisations, news portals, etc. The keyword search enabled a random selection of resources. The study applied following search engines in the English, Russian, Belarusian, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Slovak and Polish languages:

[www.google.com](http://www.google.com)

[www.google.hu](http://www.google.hu)

[www.yahoo.com](http://www.yahoo.com)

[www.google.ru](http://www.google.ru)

[www.google.ua](http://www.google.ua)

[www.yahoo.ru](http://www.yahoo.ru)

[www.google.pl](http://www.google.pl)

[www.google.at](http://www.google.at)

[www.yahoo.pl](http://www.yahoo.pl)

[www.google.by](http://www.google.by)

[www.google.sk](http://www.google.sk)

The keyword combinations used various templates in the Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, Slovak, and English languages:

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<sup>5</sup> The notion “text fragment” in this study indicates a unit of analysis (case) in the simstat/wordstat program. These can be single texts like articles or any text units from websites of periodicals, blogs or organisations without postings of readers or with readers’ postings. Apart from that, a “text fragment” can be called a number of single short texts under particular title as represented by dialogues on internet forums.

## 1. Minority + (minority name+ country)

Example: minority + (Russians + Latvia)

**Search results: number of hits** <sup>6</sup>

Search engine	Key word 1	Key word 1+2	Key word 1+2+3
	«меньшинство» (Minority)	«русские» (Russians)	«Латвия» (Latvia)
<a href="http://www.google.ru">www.google.ru</a>	1 100 000	712 000	94 000
<a href="http://www.yahoo.ru">www.yahoo.ru</a>	1 070 000	345 000	42 400

Example (keywords are merged into a syllable): Belarusian minority in Poland, Polish minority in Ukraine

**Search results: number of hits**

Search engine	Key word 1+2	Key word 1+2
	«беларуская меншасць ў Польшчы» (Belarusian minority in Poland)	«польские меньшинства на Украине» (Polish minority in Ukraine)
<a href="http://www.google.ru">www.google.ru</a>	50 100	78 500

## 2. Periodicals/organization/blog/forum + (minority name + country)

Example: forum + (Ukrainian minority + Poland), periodicals + (Belarusian minority + Lithuania), (Magyardom + Slovakia) + blog

**Search results: number of hits**

Search engine	Key word 1	Key word 1+2	Key word 1+2+3
	<a href="http://www.google.pl">www.google.pl</a>	"forum" (Forum)	"mniejszość ukraińska" (Ukrainian minority)
2 550 000 000		58 900	58 800
<a href="http://www.google.by">www.google.by</a>	«перыядычныя выданні» (Periodicals)	«беларуская меншасць» (Belarusian minority)	«Літва» (Lithuania)
	1 140 000	11 300	4 990
<a href="http://www.google.at">www.google.at</a>	"magyarság" (Magyardom)	Szlovákia (Slovakia)	"blog" (Blog)
	2 000 000	1 100 000	217 000

## 3. Identity/ethnicity + (minority name + country)

Example: identity + (Polish minority + Ukraine), ethnicity + (Russians + Lithuania)

**Search results: number of hits**

Search engine	Key word 1	Key word 1+2	Key word 1+2+3
	<a href="http://www.google.pl">www.google.pl</a>	"tożsamość" (Identity)	"mniejszość polska" (Polish minority)
492 000		18 100	12 200
<a href="http://www.google.ru">www.google.ru</a>	«ЭТНИЧНОСТЬ» (Ethnicity)	«русские» (Russians)	«Литва» (Lithuania)
	162 000	2 220 000	222 000

<sup>6</sup> The keyword data search and the collection of the internet resources were conducted in July 2010.

#### 4. Citizenship/nationalism/cultural rights + (minority name + country)

Example: citizenship + (Russian minority + Latvia), nationalism + (Polish minority + Ukraine)

##### Search results: number of hits

Search engine	Key word 1	Key word 1+2	Key word 1+2+3
<a href="http://www.google.ru">www.google.ru</a>	«гражданство» (Citizenship)	«русские меньшинства» (Russian minority)	«Латвия» (Latvia)
	25 000 000	54 400	19 800
<a href="http://www.google.pl">www.google.pl</a>	“nacjonalizm” (Nationalism)	“mniejszość polska” (Polish minority)	“Ukraina” (Ukraine)
	741 000	34 200	34 300

These different combinations of keywords have been used to identify different kinds of resources, from periodicals to forums. Some keywords like “identity”, “ethnicity”, “citizenship” or “nationalism” linked directly to the *text fragments* according to which the internet resources could be identified. Other keywords like “periodicals”, “organization”, “forum”, or “blog” linked directly to the *internet resources*.

##### By data bank

Apart from the search engine technique, resources could be obtained from the websites containing the data banks of periodicals, organizations, news portals, forums, and blogs. Table 1 provides an overview of the websites with the minority-relevant internet addresses.

**Table 1: Websites' data bank**

Minority	Website
Russians in Latvia:	<a href="http://www.evrokatalog.eu/node/2513">http://www.evrokatalog.eu/node/2513</a> ;
Russians in Lithuania:	<a href="http://vsr.land.ru/litva.htm">http://vsr.land.ru/litva.htm</a> ; <a href="http://www.evrokatalog.eu/node/2846">http://www.evrokatalog.eu/node/2846</a> ; <a href="http://www.ruskiymir.ru/ruskiymir/ru/publications/selection/article0068.html">http://www.ruskiymir.ru/ruskiymir/ru/publications/selection/article0068.html</a>
Ukraine in Poland:	<a href="http://www.harazd.net/index.php?glowna=katalog">http://www.harazd.net/index.php?glowna=katalog</a>
Belarusians in Poland:	<a href="http://catalog.akavita.by/Society_and_Politics/Belarusians_abroad/">http://catalog.akavita.by/Society_and_Politics/Belarusians_abroad/</a> ; <a href="http://www.zbsb.org/index.php?option=com_content&amp;view=article&amp;id=468&amp;Itemid=105">http://www.zbsb.org/index.php?option=com_content&amp;view=article&amp;id=468&amp;Itemid=105</a> ; <a href="http://arce.by/">http://arce.by/</a> ; <a href="http://kamunikat.org/">http://kamunikat.org/</a> ; <a href="http://prastora.by/knihi/latysonak-alieh-bielastok-polacak">http://prastora.by/knihi/latysonak-alieh-bielastok-polacak</a> ; <a href="http://centrkult.iatp.by/?m=3&amp;country=257">http://centrkult.iatp.by/?m=3&amp;country=257</a> ; <a href="http://www.bielarus.eu/">http://www.bielarus.eu/</a> ;
Belarusians in Lithuania:	<a href="http://kamunikat.org/">http://kamunikat.org/</a> ; <a href="http://www.zbsb.org/index.php?option=com_content&amp;view=article&amp;id=468&amp;Itemid=105">http://www.zbsb.org/index.php?option=com_content&amp;view=article&amp;id=468&amp;Itemid=105</a> ; <a href="http://catalog.akavita.by/Society_and_Politics/Belarusians_abroad/">http://catalog.akavita.by/Society_and_Politics/Belarusians_abroad/</a> ;
Poles in Ukraine:	<a href="http://www.polonia.org/UKRAINA.HTM">http://www.polonia.org/UKRAINA.HTM</a> ; <a href="http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polacy_na_Ukrainie">http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polacy_na_Ukrainie</a> ;
Poles in Belarus:	<a href="http://www.polacy.by/content/view/22/37/">http://www.polacy.by/content/view/22/37/</a> ;

Minority	Website
Poles in Lithuania:	<a href="http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polacy_na_Litwie">http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polacy_na_Litwie</a> ; <a href="http://www.zpl.lt/polacy_na_litwie">http://www.zpl.lt/polacy_na_litwie</a> ; <a href="http://www.p Polonia.org/litwa.htm">http://www.p Polonia.org/litwa.htm</a> (for organizations); <a href="http://polskiekresy.info/index.php?option=com_phocagallery&amp;view=category&amp;id=2:grodn&amp;Itemid=539">http://polskiekresy.info/index.php?option=com_phocagallery&amp;view=category&amp;id=2:grodn&amp;Itemid=539</a> ;
Hungarians in Slovakia:	<a href="http://www.holnap.sk">http://www.holnap.sk</a> <a href="http://www.basti2006.sk/cirill-metod-ujra-tema_3465-n.html">http://www.basti2006.sk/cirill-metod-ujra-tema_3465-n.html</a> <a href="http://www.csemadok.sk/">http://www.csemadok.sk/</a> <a href="http://www.foruminst.sk/index.php?P=index,en">http://www.foruminst.sk/index.php?P=index,en</a> .

### 2.1.2 Selection of the websites

The collected online data includes the following resources:

- Online periodicals. For example, the weekly “Niva” of the ethnic Belarusians in Poland: <http://niva.iig.pl/>.
- News and broadcasting portals (radio, TV). For example, the Belarusian service on the Polish Radio: <http://www.polskieradio.pl/zagranica/by/>.

News and broadcasting portals are regarded as from periodicals stylistically different items of analysis in the sense that some of periodicals concentrate only on minority-relevant cultural issues. Political and economic news concerning minorities are in such periodicals usually underrepresented. A typical example of such a culturally orientated periodical is the Belarusian periodical in Poland “Czasopis” (<http://czasopis.pl/>).

News and broadcasting portals publish information about social life of an ethnic minority together with international news and the political and economic news from the host country which are of direct relevance for the ethnic minorities. News and broadcasting portals discuss what is going on in the host country of a minority, for example the news portal “Novo News” (<http://www.novonews.lv>) in Latvia in the case of the Russian minority, the news portal “Westki” (<http://www.westki.info/vilnia>) which reports about the life of the Belarusian minority in Lithuania together with the news from Vilnius, or the web portal for Hungarians in Slovakia ([www.Magyar.sk](http://www.Magyar.sk)).

- Websites of political, cultural, religious, and youth organizations. For example, the Union of Poles of Belarus (<http://www.zpb.org.pl/>), which is regarded as a unofficial Union.
- Blogs, forums and personal websites as well as articles<sup>7</sup> with postings/commentaries, where the majority of contributions is made by the representatives of ethnic minorities. For example, the blogs of the Russian minority in Lithuania published on the website: [www.patamushta.lt](http://www.patamushta.lt).

There are two main kinds of public “communication platforms” in the internet – blogs and forums – which are analyzed in this project. *Blog* shall be described as a personal internet profile or account of an internet user which consists of longer or shorter text contributions (comments) of

<sup>7</sup> “Article” means in this case not only single text units from websites of periodicals, organizations, or personal websites, but also single text contributions of the blogs authors.

this internet user on particular topics. A blog can contain comments on professional or everyday issues and it can be written either by a specialist (for example by a journalist on the website of a periodical) or by any citizen, for example registering on the website: <http://www.lifejournal.com/>. Internet users increasingly prefer to create internet blogs, which can be more easily updated, than to use personal websites.

*Forums* can be defined as discussion platforms on the internet with two or more contributors who write their comments (postings) in order to keep up a dialogue with other forum participants. Forums are usually organized according to a particular order of topics ranging from “serious” political problems to conversations on some “trivial” issues. For a forum discussion to be started, one forum participant has to write a statement which could stimulate other participants to write their answers.

Blogs, periodical articles, or any other articles can initiate and become a part of a forum, if the readers feel encouraged to write their comments. For example, the periodical of the Polish minority in Lithuania “Kurier Wilenski” (<http://kurierwilenski.lt>) features up to 300 readers’ comments. However, the forums are the media with a free and uncensored communication, the administrators of the forums check the contents of the postings for their ethical correctness.

The selection criteria of internet resources were, on the one hand, *qualitative* criteria like ethnicity-relevant political, cultural, and socio-economic issues and *quantitative* criteria like the number of text fragments in an internet resource on the other. The strategy of data collection was to identify the websites which provide a representative picture of the minority-relevant resources available in the internet, like periodicals, news portals, organizations, forums and blogs.

#### Selection according to qualitative criteria

The qualitative criteria of website selection are *editorship*, *audience*, and *issues* which relate to the ethnic minorities. A qualitative criterion of selection is also *language*, but in some cases the minorities publish in their native language and in the language of the host country.

For example, the Belarusian periodical in Poland “Niva” (<http://niva.iig.pl/>) and the Ukrainian periodical in Poland “Nad Buhom I Narvoju” (<http://nadbuhom.free.ngo.pl/index.php>) are edited by the representatives of ethnic minorities and contain news about the cultural, political, and socio-economic life of these minorities. The audience of those periodicals consists of the representatives of ethnic minorities. The periodical “Niva” is published in the non-official style of the Belarusian language (narkomaŭski pravapis) and the periodical “Nad Buhom I Narvoju” is published in the Polish and Ukrainian languages.

Other periodicals, issued by minorities, like the Russian periodical in Lithuania “Obzor” (<http://obzor.lt/>), publish political, economic and other news in the language of the minority and have, apart from the minority, the general public as audience. Parallel to general information, periodicals like the Russian “Obzor” discuss the minorities’ problems. In contrast to the Russian “Obzor”, the Belarusian periodical “Niva” is devoted only to the ethnic issues and publishes lots of material about the cultural, historical, religious, and political life of the Belarusian ethnic community in Poland. Many topics in “Niva” are devoted to the discussion of issues concerning national and ethnic consciousness.

The same principle of resource selection holds for news and broadcasting portals, e.g. for the Russian “NewsLitwa” (<http://www.newslitwa.lt/>), which contains local and international news and publishes on ethnic issues. The Belarusian service on the Polish Radio Białystok reports,

apart from the news from Belarus, about the life of the Belarusian ethnic minority in Poland in the Belarusian language.

The ethnic organizations focus on cultural, linguistic or historical issues – like “Polski House in Mogilev” (<http://dom-polski.org/>) in Belarus, or to political issues like “Wolna Bialorus” (<http://www.wolnabialorus.org/>), the organization of the Polish Belarusians. The majority of the organizations have the statutory aim to promote and popularize the political and cultural life of the minority.

Selected forums focus also on minority-relevant issues. The participants of the forums often use nicknames and do not indicate their cultural background – the issue under discussion on such forums is usually only one indication to which nationality the respected posting is attributable. There are forums which are specifically designed as “discussion platforms” of minority-relevant issues (for example <http://rupor.lt/>). The participants of such forums are encouraged or even “forced” to write in the national language, as the example of the Ukrainian forum in Poland “ForumHarzad.net” demonstrates.

Forums of the minority groups have different thematic foci in different countries. The Russians, for example, discuss general political and economic issues in Lithuania and the Baltic States from the point of view of their national and ethnic perspective in the forum “<http://rupor.lt/>”. The Belarusians – the majority among them are young people –, share the views on the political situation in their mother country Belarus (see forum: <http://www.wolnabialorus.org/forum/index.php>).

The blogs which have been analyzed in this study originated from the websites of the online periodicals like for example “Nasha Gazeta” (Наша газета) (<http://www.nasha.lv/rus/blog/>) in case of the Russians in Latvia. The selection of blogs applies the same principle like the selection of text fragments (see Chapter 2.1.3.).

### Selection according to quantitative criteria

Apart from the thematic focus of the websites, the resources were selected according to the number of available websites and of the text fragments which they included. The more text fragments a resource contained the more probability it had to be chosen. Especially, the availability of an archive was important. Archives of periodicals provided the material for a representative sample of text fragments. The archive of the Belarusian periodical “Niva” in Poland, founded in 1956, goes back to the 1990<sup>s</sup>. The periodicals with archives allow tracing the development and structure of social discourse for many years – an advantage in comparison to websites of organizations or news and broadcasting companies which often feature the ongoing situation only.

The resources which contained smaller amounts of text fragments were selected only if no other resources of this minority could be traced, like in the case of the Poles in Ukraine. If the resources like periodicals, blogs or forums could not be identified, the available internet resources like organization websites were explored instead. For each minority, the target figure was at least one periodical and a forum or blog with the highest frequency of postings.

One hundred and fifty five resources were subjected to analysis of which periodicals (34 resources), news and broadcasting portals (19 resources), websites of organisations (41 resources), blogs, forums, personal websites, and articles with postings (61 resources). For the exact number of the selected internet resources, see Table 2.

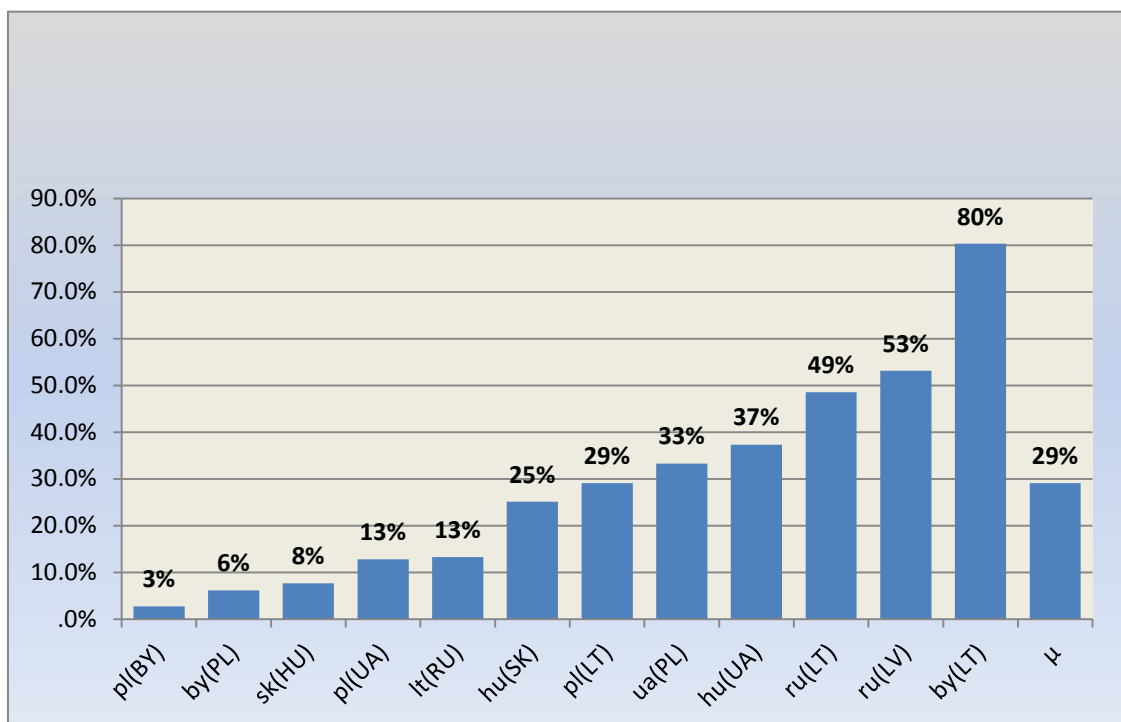
**Table 2: Number of selected internet resources in descending order**

Ethnic minority	Total number of resources (155)	Periodicals	News/ broadcasting portals	Organizations	Blogs, forums, articles with postings, personal websites
		Total number (34)	Total number (19)	Total number (41)	Total number (61)
Russians in Latvia	25	7	1	5	7 blogs, 2 forums, 2 articles with postings, 1 personal website
Russians in Lithuania	24	3	5	6	3 blogs, 5 forums, 2 articles with postings
Hungarians in Slovakia	17	2	1	0	7 blogs, 2 forums, 5 articles with postings
Belarusians in Lithuania	15	1	3	6	2 blogs, 3 articles with postings
Belarusians in Poland	15	2	4	4	2 blogs, 2 forums, 1 article with postings
Ukrainians in Poland	14	3	2	4	4 forums, 1 article with postings
Poles in Ukraine	11	4	1	4	1 article with postings, 1 personal website
Hungarians in Ukraine	11	3	0	3	4 blogs, 1 article with postings
Poles in Lithuania	10	4	1	3	1 forum, 1 article with postings
Poles in Belarus	9	3	1	4	1 article with postings
Slovaks in Hungary	3	1	0	2	0
Ukrainians in Hungary	1	1	0	0	0

When it comes to internet use, cross-minority comparison shows a high amount of variance. The data from Table 2 containing the numbers of the internet resources which were identified for each minority during the analysis of the internet resources can be compared with Figure 1 showing usage frequency of the internet by each minority in the host country according to the results of the ENRI-VIS study conducted in the framework of the ENRI-EAST project.



Figure 1: Regular or infrequent use of host country websites by minorities (websites´ use=WU)



The difference and similarities in the data of two studies can be illustrated by computing a comparative statistic for internet use of individual minorities. We used the number of identified web sites and weighted this number by the size of the minorities (see Figure 1a) multiplied by a factor of  $10^5$  to allow for meaningful graphical representation. Then the arithmetic difference between the two indicators (WU-NW) was calculated. The results are shown in Figure 1b below:

Figure 1a: Number of websites weighted by the size of the minorities (number of websites=NW)

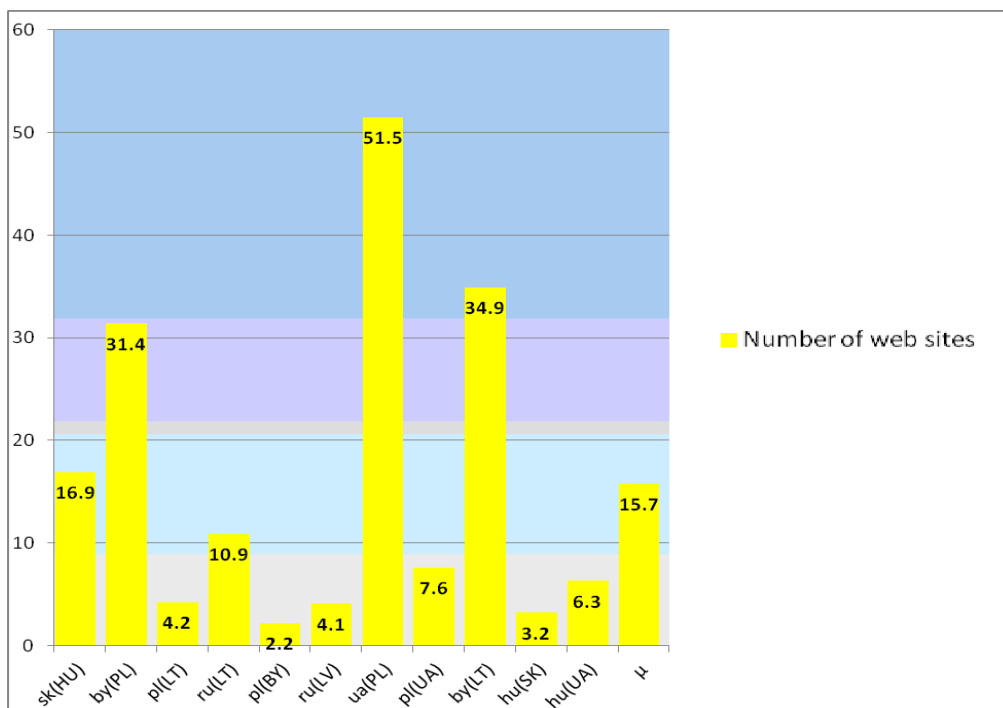
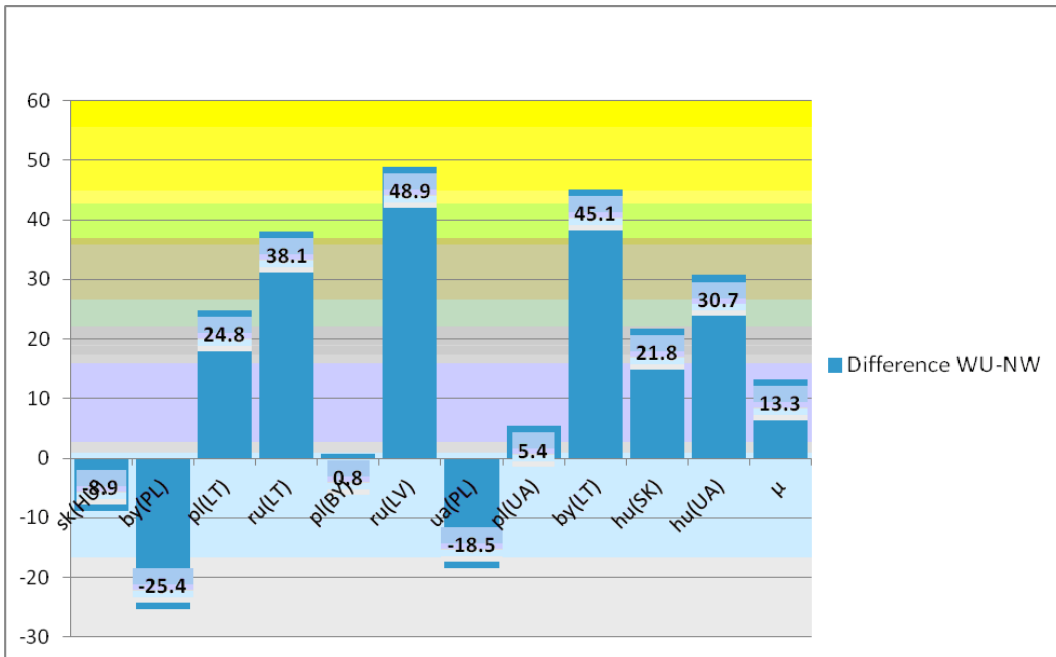


Figure 1b: Difference (WU-NW)



This statistic shows that the sheer number of relevant websites is only remotely related to population size and to usage frequency. Large minorities such as the Russians in Latvia may have a limited number of websites in relation to their size. The ENRI-VIS data on internet use are confirmed in a limited number of cases only – Slovaks in Hungary (-8.9 points), Poles in Belarus (0.8 points) and Ukraine (5.4 points). Nevertheless, the attitudes and opinions identified by both studies coincide to a significant extent.

### 2.1.3 Selection of the text fragments – two steps

#### First step

After the creation of the first sample of the internet resources, text fragments (documents) were collected within this sample. The project deals with a variety of resources, from periodicals to blogs which contain different sorts of text fragments – from articles to postings. All units of analysis are summarized under the name “text fragment”. Text fragments include articles from periodicals, news and broadcasting portals. In case of organizations, the text fragments are statutes and activity reports as well as analytical publications and news reports. Regarding blogs, forums, and articles with postings, the text fragments are single postings or groups of postings.

The relevant text fragments within a website have been identified by:

- Search engines provided by websites themselves. Search words combinations in the Russian, Belarusian, Polish, Ukrainian, Hungarian, and Slovak languages are:

## 1) Minority + (minority name)

Example: minority + (Russians)

**Search results: Number of hits**

Resource/website	Key word 1	Key word 1+2
"Obzor" <a href="http://obzor.lt/">http://obzor.lt/</a>	«МЕНЬШИНСТВА» (Minority)	«русские» (Russians)
	100	100

## 2) Identity/ethnicity + (minority)

Example: identity + (Polish minority)

**Search results: Number of hits**

Resource/website	Key word 1	Key word 1+2
"Dziennik Kijowski" <a href="http://www.dk.com.ua/main.php?act=main">http://www.dk.com.ua/main.php?act=main</a>	"tożsamość" (Identity)	"mniejszość polska" (Polish minority)
	5	24

## 3) Nationalism/cultural rights/citizenship + (minority)

Example: nationalism + (Ukrainians)

**Search results: Number of hits**

Resource/website	Key word 1	Key word 1+2
"Nad Buhom i Narvoju" <a href="http://nadbuhom.free.ngo.pl/index.php">http://nadbuhom.free.ngo.pl/index.php</a>	«націоналізм» (Nationalism)	«Українці» (Ukrainians)
	1	>100

- b) In default of an internal search engine, text fragments were randomly selected from the archives. If a randomly selected document was found to be non-relevant, another random choice run was made within the same site (this procedure corresponds to random route sampling).
- c) In many cases, the websites contain rubrics according to which the text fragments can be selected. For example, the rubrics like "politics", "society", or "culture" in the Russian periodical in Latvia "Obzor" could be searched for relevant text fragments. The tag "national minorities" in the text clouds "popular topics today" is one of the most popular under the readers of "Obzor". The Ukrainian periodical in Poland "Nashe Slovo" (<http://nslowo.pl>) contains the rubrics like "Ukraine", "migration", "Ukraine-Poland", "society", "Podlasie", "publicistics", etc., where the text fragments could be selected.

Text fragments within the internet resources were selected according to the criteria "author", "audience", "relevance of the topic", and "language". The authors and addressees of the text fragments belonged to the ethnic minorities; the language of the text fragments was either that of the ethnic minority or of the host country of the ethnic minority. The content of the text fragments was decisive which internet resource could be taken into consideration and which website was left out. Some internet resources contain dozens of text fragments, especially in the data archives. The more text fragments could be obtained from an internet resource, the better was the

“analytic density” of the respected website (see “Second step” of the current chapter). The predefined system of categories, which in turn has been deepened and extended during the analysis of the text fragments,<sup>8</sup> helped to select most relevant text fragments and to find out the underrepresented topics and issues. The inductive method or pre-reading of a text fragment was important to identify the topics which on the one hand constituted leading social discourses of minorities and on the other hand covered the research question of the analysis.

The largest number of text fragments could be identified in the internet resources of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia (total number is 161 text fragments), followed by the internet resources of the Hungarian minority in Ukraine from which 141 text fragments could be obtained. The third largest amount of the text fragments was collected from the internet resources of the Polish minority in Belarus, namely 81 text fragments. The Russians in Lithuania follow with 67 text fragments collected from the relevant internet resources. The smallest number of text fragments (the total number is 48) was collected from resources of the Belarusians in Lithuania and the Ukrainian minority in Hungary (30 text fragments). The total number of text fragments collected in the first step of the selection of the text fragments is 905.

### Second step

Not all text fragments which were collected from an internet resource were analyzed. After the first approximation, a second sampling of the text fragments had been made. Ideally, text fragments up to 5 years counting backwards from the beginning of the actual research, from the year 2010 till 2005, had to be traced. In case of a sufficient number of eligible text fragments a time-layered random sample was drawn. The earliest date of the text fragments which were analyzed was the year 1999.

In the second step, 340 text fragments were selected for the analysis, i.e. 30 key text fragments for each minority, excluding the Ukrainians in Hungary where only 10 text fragments were analytically relevant. The subsample size of 30 documents per minority was determined as a compromise between the rigid rules of random or quasi-random sampling and the available temporal and financial resources. In conventional random sampling, a number of about 30 is considered the minimal sample size. This is a consequence of the fact that the binomial distribution closely approximates the normal distribution beginning from this threshold. When it comes to the Ukrainians in Hungary, a sample of  $n=10$  was considered sufficient, as this was an additional cross-check exercise not provided for by the Terms of Reference and the text fragments in the only website found turned out to be of uniformly cultural-historical content.

The selection criteria of the second data sample were the same as for the first data sample. Theoretically however, those text fragments were selected for the analysis which could cover the topic of ethnic identity more profoundly in comparison to other text fragments. The head lines of such text fragments are for example: “How to win the battle for the rights of ethnic minorities”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> For definitions of categories which structured the analysis of the text fragments and which at the same time represented the results of the content analysis of the internet resources, see Chapter 2.2 “Internet data analysis”.

<sup>9</sup> Translation from the Russian language, Russian title: «Как победить в борьбе за права национальных меньшинств», the internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.telegraf.lv/news/kak-pobedit-v-borybe-za-prava-nacionalnyh-menyshinstv> (accessed on 22 July 2010).

in the periodical of the Russians in Latvia “Telegraf” or “The language as factor of spirituality of nation”<sup>10</sup> in the periodical of the Ukrainians in Poland “Ridna Mowa”.

The term “analytic density” is defined as the percentage of the analyzed text fragments in the number of all obtained text fragments for each type of the internet resources for each minority. This number has a bigger analytical capacity than the mere comparison of the numbers of text fragments selected for the analysis from each type of the internet resources for each minority.

Thus, the highest number of articles in periodicals was identified for the Hungarians in Ukraine, namely 75 articles. However, we found the highest “analytic density” in case of periodicals of the Russians in Latvia. With the Russians in Latvia from 15 text fragments 9 were analyzed, i.e. 60 % of the total number of the obtained text fragments. In comparison to that, from 75 text fragments from the Hungarian periodicals in Ukraine only 15 were considered for analysis, i.e. 20% of the total number of the obtained text fragments. All in all, the highest “analytic density” of periodicals was found with the Russians in Latvia (60%), of news and broadcasting portals with Ukrainians in Poland (100%), of organizations with Belarusians in Lithuania (70%), of the blogs, forums, articles with postings, and personal websites with Russians in Lithuania and Poles in Ukraine (85.7%) (see Table 3). For the text fragments which were selected from the available internet resources/websites in the first and second step, see Annex one.

**Table 3: “Analytic density” of the text fragments**

Minority	Number of the internet resources, first sample	Number of the internet resources, second sample	“Analytic density”	Resources
Hungarians in Ukraine	75 <sup>11</sup>	15	20%	Periodicals
Russians in Latvia	15	9	60% <sup>12</sup>	Periodicals
Russians in Lithuania	14	7	50%	News and broadcasting portals
Ukrainians in Poland	2	2	100% <sup>13</sup>	News and broadcasting portals
Poles in Belarus	39	18	46.2%	Organizations
Belarusians in Lithuania	30	21	70%	Organizations
Hungarians in Slovakia	116	26	22.4%	Blogs, forums, articles with postings, and personal websites
Russians in Lithuania, Poles in Ukraine	7	6	85.7%	Blogs, forums, articles with postings, and personal websites

<sup>10</sup> Translation from the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian title: «Мова як фактор духовності нації», the internet WWW-Site at URL: [http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/dokumenty/ridna\\_mowa\\_uk/index.php?page=rm20\\_11](http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/dokumenty/ridna_mowa_uk/index.php?page=rm20_11) (accessed on 22 July 2010).

<sup>11</sup> The highest number of the obtained text fragments in the first step of the data selection.

<sup>12</sup> The highest “analytic density” of text fragments selected in the second step.

<sup>13</sup> The number of text fragments selected for analysis does not fully capture the “analytic quality” of a resource. While the letter can be identified during particular qualitative analysis of a text fragment, the quantity of text fragments obtained from resources depended directly on the number of resources available on internet. In case of the Ukrainians in Poland as well as of the Belarusians in Lithuania, it was limited, so that the authors tried to collect as many text fragments as possible to reach the sample of 30, also if sometimes text fragments were not analytic enough. Text fragments of the Belarusians in Poland have in comparison to Lithuania a much bigger informative and analytic quality.

## 2.2 Internet data analysis

### 2.2.1 Simstat categories

Data generation and data analysis used computer-supported content analysis (simstat/wordstat 6.1.2). The aim of data analysis was the deduction of the category system, using the hermeneutic and theory-related interpretation of the data material.

Initial data describing various properties of the individual documents were entered into a simstat matrix. This spreadsheet describes *internet resources* according to formal criteria, such as the official name of the resource, country where the resource is registered, etc. (see Table 4). Further on, the program enables a formal description of the *text fragments* according to the categories like the issue of the text fragments, intention of the author etc. (see Table 5). Categories describing properties of internet resources and text fragments are subjected to conventional statistical analysis. Each simstat category is a variable which contains a *system of definitions* with the numerical code beginning from 0. This code is being applied to the internet resources and text fragments during the analysis.

**Table 4: Simstat categories for the definition of the internet resources**

Category	Definitions
Minority	Ethnic minority to which an internet resource is attributable. The study analyses 12 ethnic minorities in 7 countries: Russian minority in Latvia and Lithuania, Ukrainian minority in Poland and Hungary, Belarusian minority in Poland and Lithuania, Polish minority in Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus, Hungarian minority in Slovakia and Ukraine, and Slovak minority in Hungary.
Publication	Title of the internet resource, for example, the periodical "Nad Buhom I Narvoju" (of the Ukrainian minority in Poland). (For the titles of the internet resources, see Annex one).
Resource	Internet resources are "periodicals", "organization websites", "news portals", "radio service", "blogs", "forums", "articles with postings", "personal websites", and one "web lexicon".
Affiliation	Private or governmental bodies which own and finance an internet resource. For example, the Polish periodical in Lithuania "Tygodnik Wilenszczyzny" receives sponsoring from the Senate of the Polish Republic and from the Foundation "Pomoc Polacom na Wschodzie".
Country	Cities and countries where an internet resource is registered and operated (without regard of the location of the internet provider). The geographical diversity of the internet resources ranges from the capital cities like Kiev (Ukraine) and Riga (Latvia) to regional cities like Grodno (Belarus) and Olsztyn (Poland).
Language	Language of the analyzed text fragment in the internet resource. Text fragments are written in the following languages: "Russian", "Belarusian", "Belarusian, <i>narkomaŭski</i> style", "Ukrainian", "Polish", "Hungarian", "Slovak", and "English".
Lifetime	Temporal existence of the internet resource – a month, year, five years, ten years etc. Among the oldest resources is the Belarusian periodical in Poland "Niva" (1956) and the Polish periodical in Lithuania "Kurier Wilenski" (1953).
Type	Issuing frequency of the periodical – "daily", "weekly", "monthly", "quarterly", "annually", "two months", "three times per week", "two times per week", "one to three times per month".
Activity	Circulation of the periodical, the number of members and branches of an organization. The Russian periodical in Lithuania "Obzor" has the largest circulation of 36 000 exemplars, the forum Wolna Bialorus of the Belarusian minority in Poland has the highest number of the registered users – 44 071, and the Federation of the Polish Organizations in Ukraine has the largest number of members – 18 000 in 134 regions of Ukraine and 22 branches.
Topic	Main issue to which the internet resource is devoted. Four topics classify the internet resources: "politics", "culture", "religion", and "household/entertainment".

Category	Definitions
Audience	Audience which the internet resource addresses, such as "minority", "host nation", "historical home country", "minority youth", "citizens in general", "minority and mother country", "human rights activists and society", "mother country and host country, minority", "minority and host country".

**Table 5: Simstat categories for the definition of the text fragments**

Category	Definitions
Gender of the author	Male/female gender of the author of the text fragment.
Status of the author	Profession of the author of the text fragment: "journalist/publicist", "historian", "politician/social activist", "writer", "teacher", "blogger", "citizen", "editor", "scientist", "priest", "editorial office/management".
Date	Date when the text fragment was written. The latest date, 1999, has one of the articles of the Ukrainian periodical in Poland "Nad Buhom I Narvoju", the earliest text fragments were published in September 2010.
Issue	Main topic of the text fragment: "history", "language", "society", "minority", "culture", "education", "politics/civil life", "human rights", "religion", "culture and civil life".
Intention	Aim why a text fragment was written: "protection of the ethnic language", "protection of ethnic/national rights", "social criticism", "information", "historical memory", "national/ethnic consciousness", "cultural and political dialogue", "impact of ideas", "cultural and religious heritage".
Actors	Persons or communities about whom the text fragment is written and to whom it is devoted: "nations", "representatives of the education/school students", "ethnic minorities and host country", "state and politicians", "ethnic minorities and mother country", "representatives of the ethnic culture", "ethnic minority", "ethnic minority and civil society", "ethnic groups along borders", "political representatives of the ethnic minorities", "ethnic minorities and the occupation regime", "representatives of the church", "ethnic minorities and Europe".
Genre	Text fragments represent the following genres: "interview", "report", "narrative", "recollection", "analysis", "comment", "project", "official document", "discussion", "campaign", "feuilleton", and "prayer".
Ideology	Political ideology typical for the text fragments: "national", "patriotic", "liberal", and "socio-democratic" ideology.
Criticism	The text fragments are differentiated between "critical" and "uncritical".
Style	The information of the text fragments varies from "neutral/balanced" to "biased" and "partially biased".
Emotion	Emotions which underlie the content structure of the text fragments: "nostalgia", "optimism", "justification", "social appeal", "argumentation", "moralization", "concern", "irony", "conflict", and "pessimism".

### 2.2.2 Wordstat categories

The qualitative and quantitative content analysis conducted through wordstat structures text fragments according to a hierarchically arranged category system. The wordstat categories constitute the results of the hermeneutic interpretation of data and at the same time provide a theoretical framework of the qualitative and quantitative content analysis of the internet resources. The high diversity of categories generated reflects the thematically rich data material concerning the ethnic minorities.

During the analysis of the text fragments, 69 keyword categories were deduced, among them 8 basic categories. Each basic category includes sub-categories and some of them further categories. The main categories of qualitative and quantitative content analysis are "cultural heritage", "images of Europe", "history", "cultural encounter", "minority rights", "style", "politics", and "socio-economic situation":

## Cultural heritage

The category *cultural heritage* refers to concepts like art, architecture and folklore of an ethnicity and its ethic-moral and educational values, democratic and political contents of ethnic art, experiment art, esthetic reception and perception of the authentic ethnic culture. The category “cultural heritage” summarizes the cultural tradition of a minority as part of history and recent experience and relates to narratives about national poets, writers, musicians and scientists. In comparison to the natural identity which concerns the individual experience of a person, the category culture carries a clear political connotation because the biographies of artists and intellectuals help to restore and implement a national myth. The category “cultural heritage” consists of sub-categories “language”, “religion”, “education and science”, and “mass society” (see Table 6):

**Table 6: Wordstat category “cultural heritage”**

1. Cultural heritage:	Language:	Bilingualism
		Language survival
		Natural language
	Religion:	Church critical
		Religious conflict
		National church
		Religious ideas
	Education and science	
	Mass society	

*Language* constitutes a central part of the culture and national mentality. Without language no national development is possible. Ethnic minorities pay high attention to the development of schools in the national language which constitutes the central discourse between the minority and the host nation. The sub-category “language” is detailed by categories like “bilingualism”, “language survival”, and “natural language”.

In the context of the ethnic politics, *bilingualism* means the introduction of the minority language as the second language in the country, where minorities constitute a sufficient part of the population. The politics of bilingualism is a much debated issue in the countries with “unsettled” ethnic problems.

The term *language survival* describes discriminative laws and practices of the government of a host country towards the minority language.

*Natural language* is the every day and unquestioned language spoken by the members of an ethnic group. This language does not belong to the standard language of the respected nationality. The representatives of ethnic minorities have difficulties giving a clear definition of the language which they use in the every day life. They describe it rather as a local dialect which contains linguistic elements from neighboring languages. An example of the natural language is the Belarusian spoken by the ethnic Belarusians in Poland.

*Religion* represents, in addition to the language, an important attribute of the cultural identity of an ethnic group. Religion stimulates the development of identity and consolidates the life of the community. This category makes explicit how the religious rights of the community are preserved, whether any conflicts on religious grounds exist, and what the relationship between the official religion and the religion of the minority is. Reports on religious events, often with a historical background, reveal important aspects of the cultural life of the community. The subcate-



gory “religion” includes such entries as “church critical”, “religious conflict”, “national church”, and “religious ideas”.

The category *church critical* indicates criticism (of the church members and population) directed towards the church representatives against their allegedly corrupted practices (for example the cooperation of the Catholic Church in Poland with the Communist regime), the decline of the influence of church and the reduction of the religious population.

*Religious conflict* means the position of the ideological conflict between the main church of the host country and the church of the ethnic minority, especially caused by the privileged position of the main religion of the host country. Criticism directed against religious dominance over minor confessions executed by the leading church as well as the criticism against actions which cause the deterioration of the religious community life.

*National church* is a religious institution, typical for a particular nationality, with distinct national features. The category “national church” describes, apart from the institution of the church, like the Catholic, Orthodox or the Union Church (in Belarus and Ukraine), phenomena such as “national consciousness” of clergymen, church services held in the national language, and religious literature sources translated into the national language. The national church symbolizes together with the national language an influential cultural attribute of identity.

*Religious ideas* constitute the religious moral-ethical fundamentals of a national church. For some minorities, the religious ideas make up one of the central topics of the ethnic-national discourse, as in the case of the Polish minority in Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania.

The category *education and science* denotes the rights of education in the national language, of teaching of the history and culture of the native country, the existence of the national schools in the host country. Ethnic minorities see education in the national language as a central factor to preserve their identity. The discrimination of education in the national language is therefore regarded as threat to the ethnic community.

The category *mass society* refers to the criticism of the dominance of the consumerist culture which impedes the development of the national consciousness. The memory of the tragic historical past and the genocide victims is neglected because of the consumerist culture. In the conditions of the mass society, the notion of politics is discredited because of the growing incompetence of politicians and the free access to politics for “everybody”, the commercialization of politics. “Mass society” stands also for negative effects of modernization on culture and national identity during the Communist times.

### Images of Europe

The category “Images of Europe” reflects the attitudes of the ethnic minorities in Eastern European countries – positive and negative – towards the idea and politics of the European Union. The skepticism towards the policy of the European integration goes hand in hand with the stressing of advantages after accession to the European Union. The category “Images of Europe” consists of sub-categories “Europe positive” and “Europe negative” as well as “Eastern and Central Europe” (see Table 7). The category “Eastern and Central Europe” reflects the amount of references towards the Eastern and Central European countries among the ethnic minorities:

**Table 7: Wordstat category “images of Europe”**

2. Images of Europe:	Europe positive
	Europe negative
	Eastern and Central Europe

## History

The category *history* shows how the members of an ethnic minority discuss the salient historical events which had an impact on the “historic memory” of this minority, like for example hotly debated issues of political deportations on the territory of Russia, Poland or Ukraine in the inter-war period or after the Second World War. The notion of identity acquires significance in a historical context when it is structured by singular social experiences. Historical background influences the self-awareness of the ethnic group, especially in a sense of feeling exceptional as cultural group. Being a part of political ideology, history can provoke national feelings and forge the awareness of belonging to a community which shares particular common assets and value systems. The category “history” consists of 8 sub-categories, such as “historical memory positive/historical memory negative”, “positive Soviet past/negative Soviet past”, “tradition”, “national renaissance”, “historical traumas”, and “historical origins” (see Table 8):

**Table 8: Wordstat categories “history”**

3. History:	Historical memory positive/historical memory negative		
	Positive Soviet past/negative Soviet past		
	Tradition:	Conservatism	
	National renaissance:	Personalities	
		Resistance	
	Historical traumas:	Imperial politics:	Totalitarian regime
		Deportation	
		National destiny	
		War genocide	
Historical origins			

The context of *historical memory positive* are politics and actions to preserve the historical heritage, in particular, the names of personalities, memorials, memorable dates, literature, and works of art which constitute the cultural achievements of the nation. “Historical memory positive” implies the criticism toward the phenomena like destruction of cultural tradition and historical heritage as result of the lack of national consciousness during the Communist regime and in the neoliberal epoch. Addressing historical memory is not ideologically neutral: it refers to the restoration of “historical justice”, persecution of the “guilty” and rehabilitation of the “victims”. “*Historical memory negative*” symbolizes the attempts of some ethnic minorities of belittling the heritage of the past, forgetting history, and the denial of politically controversial events.

The categories *negative Soviet past* and *positive Soviet past* capture attitudes of the ethnic minorities to the Soviet (Communist) history. The opinions towards the Soviet past are divided between those who praise the achievements of the Soviet epoch and the glorious Soviet history and those who point at human victims and disastrous material consequences of the Communist rule. The positive opinions are typical for the Russians in the Baltic States, the negative attitudes – for the Poles, Hungarians, Ukrainians and Belarusians.

*Tradition* is one of the central categories in the discourse on ethnic minorities. Tradition, which means the passing and the inculcation of the cultural, historical, religious or family heritage to the next generations, constitutes the “spiritual basement” of ethnic identity. Tradition can include the negative experience of ethnic minorities in the host country related to the “negative integration” which is passed from parents to children. *Conservatism* is an aspect of the traditionally

oriented culture. Conservative views on the nature of family and community together with the provincially shaped culture are typical for the intellectual discourse of ethnic minorities.

The category *national renaissance* describes in general terms the historical process of the constitution of the national state and the formation of national identity. In practice, this refers to the opening of the national schools and education in the national language during the process of the nation building. In the transition period from the Communist regime, it can also mean the development of the national cultural and political life in the legal or quasi-legal conditions of the ancien régime.

The activity of intellectuals, politicians and artists in the historical context devoted to the national idea is a core component of the concept of “national renaissance”. The category *personalities* refers to remarkable personalities from culture, politics, and civil life, who are closely connected with the idea of national renaissance and who have shaped the profile of the national identity. Personalities, who marked the history of the national idea formation, belong to “national heroes” and their biographies constitute a part of the national narrative.

*Resistance* is a part of national renaissance. Resistance means national civil or military action against an oppressive regime as undertaken by the political opposition, through cultural dissent as well as by means of demonstrations, strikes and revolutions. It can be military resistance during the wartime occupation, or a military or civil national opposition movement against imperialist politics.

*Historical traumas* is one of the central categories of ethnic/national identity. Historical traumas experienced by the representatives of ethnic minorities in the host countries are, on the one hand, the subject of the consolidation of ethnicity – around the mutual collective victim discourse – and the subject of the conflict between the minority and the host country on the other. The subcategory “historical traumas” is further defined by categories like “imperial politics”, “totalitarian regime”, “deportation”, “national destiny”, and “war genocide”.

*Imperial politics* denotes the occupation of ethnic territory by an imperial regime, acts of violence and discrimination towards the local population, acts of vandalism against culture, destruction of memorial buildings, art and architecture. *Totalitarian regime* addresses the violent acts of the Soviet/Stalinist and fascist regimes. *Deportation* and *national destiny* describe the tragically shaped history of the ethnic population during the imperialistic and totalitarian regimes. Phenomena like *war* and *genocide* define the traumatic experience of the minorities and constitute one of the main political and intellectual issues of ethnic minorities.

*Historical origins* stands for similarities in the historical and cultural experience of ethnic groups, their cultural neighborhood historically determined. This category describes the situation when an ethnic group – while turning to its historical origins and cultural roots – discovers in the latter the elements which apparently suggest of the relationship to another ethnic group, especially to the host nation. “Historical origins” stands close to the category “historical territory” (territorial influences/ownership over territory) which means the claims of authority concerning cultural heritage.

### Cultural encounter

The category *cultural encounter* symbolizes cultural contacts between ethnic groups or nations and particular relationships originating from these contacts. “Cultural encounter” can also mean a communication between nations which have historical roots as well as the contacts between the representatives of the nations who have family, historical and cultural connections. “Cultural

encounter” includes further categories, like “national idea” and “community” (see Table 9). The idea behind the latter categories is that the existence of the national idea is important to develop national identity; a developed national identity is in turn a precondition for living in a political community shaped by cultural and ethnic pluralism:

**Table 9: Wordstat category “cultural encounter”**

4. Cultural encounter:	National idea:	National state:	National symbols
		Nationalism	
		National consciousness positive:	National consciousness negative
		Historical exceptionalism	
		Patriotism	
	Community:	Multiculturalism	
		Ethnic and national conflict	
		Assimilation	
		Tolerance	
		Communication:	Criticism representatives
		Moral responsibility	

The sub-category *national idea* signifies a “mission” or “missionary role” which a community or organization aim to fulfill. The national idea has a positive connotation. In contrast to nationalism, it does not imply an aggressive or violent stance. Instead, it is a spectrum of ideas which constitute the national thought and ideology in the period of national state formation. The national idea is forming in connection with the idea of the *national state* and *national symbols*.

The term *nationalism* in this study means a forceful proclamation and protection of national rights on the one hand and declaration of the superiority of a nation on the other. It becomes explicit if the national rights are enforced with legal, linguistic or physical means. “Nationalism” is a highly controversial category as it is based on values and ideological positions and depends on the personal point of view of observers of particular events. Apart from that, “nationalism” can have a positive and negative connotation. To judge whether a particular utterance is an expression of nationalism is not an easy task. For example, to suggest, that the Latvian government acts nationalistically when it disregards the national memory of the Russian minority and prohibits to wear Soviet war medals in public or to organize demonstrations “in Socialist style”, is a highly controversial matter. The category “ethnic and national conflict” (further down this list) provides a tentative solution to this problem as it points only at existing conflict without blaming any side of the conflict.

*National consciousness positive* means the ability of individuals to share feelings of belonging to a particular cultural tradition, historical and cultural heritage, to a group for which particular value system is typical. A political debate goes on between those who apparently share the values of belonging to a collective and those whose collective identity is not sufficiently developed. *National consciousness negative* means low consciousness of national rights, or the inability to protect own national rights.

*Historical exceptionalism* is closely connected with national or even chauvinist attitudes. It reflects the stance of a “mature” nation that asserts priority over other ethnic groups and nations. “Historical exceptionalism” can be claimed if one minority demands and tries to enforce its exceptional rights in the host country. The ethnic minority tries to compete with the representatives

of the host nation concerning the national rights in the host country. Examples for “historical exceptionalism” can be found with the Russians in Latvia or Hungarians in Slovakia.

The term *patriotism* runs like a red thread through all national discourses. Patriotism has an idealistic nature: with patriotism, particular emotions are associated which symbolize a spiritual belonging to a territory, country, nation, and cultural tradition. Patriotism can have positive and negative connotations depending on the “taste” of the observer. Patriotic feelings are often forged by the dramatic historical past and the glorious present – they are a comfortable vehicle for national propaganda.

The sub-category *community* means in a general sense the communication between different ethnic groups and nations as the cross-border activity between neighboring countries or the activities of cooperation in the framework of a national state. In detail, the category “community” can have the following meaning:

- Attempts to achieve understanding between two nations (mother and host nation), diplomatic ties, mutual cultural, economic and political initiatives; creating a kind of community between two nations, acts of conciliation between two countries after a period of conflicts, like between Poland and Ukraine.
- Cooperation between national states, ethnic communities in the framework of the European Union, cooperation of the opposition/civil society of different nations to promote human rights, as well as cooperation between the churches of different denominations.
- Integration of different ethnic minorities within one civil society, finding of collective decisions for the solution of mutual social problems, election participation of the representatives of different ethnic minorities (for example, Russians, Belarusians, and Poles in Lithuania) in the framework of one party.
- Promotion of the rights of ethnic minorities by civil organizations of the host country, voting for laws and legislation favorable for the development of ethnic minorities, aspirations of national political parties to uphold the constitutional rights and to implement the rights of minorities in the legislation, financial support of the ethnic communities by the ministries of the host country.

The category *multiculturalism* means respect of ethnic rights, implementation of ethnic rights at the state level, and the representation of the ethnic minorities in the legislative body. Multiculturalism indicates the coexistence of different ethnic and national groups in one society which can be historically shaped or influenced by the politics in the host country. The attitude of the ethnic minorities to multiculturalism can be different, from negative to positive. One of the forms of multiculturalism on the level of the individual behavior is tolerance.

*Ethnic and national conflict* indicates ideological and political tensions between the mother country and the host country of an ethnic minority, conflicts between the host nation and the minority, especially as a result of nationalism. Conflict between neighboring nations, for example between Lithuania and Russia, can arise because of different views on history or for example between Poland and Belarus, when the Polish government supports the Belarusian opposition. This category can also refer to ethnic minorities who lack the knowledge of the language of the host country, and to the refusal of ethnic minorities to learn such language. An example of the ethnic and national conflict can be the rejection of the representatives of the host country to support an eth-

nic minority by financing national schools, like in the case of the Belarusian minority in Poland, or the rejection of the Russian minority to go through the process of naturalization in Latvia.

The category *assimilation* means enforced or natural adaptation of the ethnic minority to the culture, language and life style of the host nation. It captures a spectrum of problems which raise considerable concern among the representatives of ethnic minorities. Assimilation is associated with the loss of culture and destruction of the national identity. While the host countries try to implement the politics of integration of ethnic communities, the minorities try to resist the progress of assimilation.

The category *tolerance* indicates the feeling of respect towards ethnic/national differences, the readiness to respect ethnic rights of other groups and to coexist with them in the frame of one community. Tolerance can be shown by the host country towards its ethnic groups and by the ethnic groups towards the host country and other nations. Tolerance can also mean forgivingness and reconciliation between nations.

The term *communication* denotes the relationship between the members of the same ethnic minority. It can be a relation of partnership as well as a relation of conflict and criticism, especially based on different political interests (*criticism representatives*).

The category *moral responsibility* is connected with the political culture of the members of the ethnic community. It may appear as a component of the religious thought of the minorities' clergymen (especially among Polish and Ukrainian minorities), or may have a non-religious format, when it is based on some rational arguments how to constitute a community of people and how to preserve a peaceful coexistence especially appealing to reason and rational morality.

### Minority rights

The category *minority rights* refers to the political aspects of identity, to the protection of the rights of an ethnic group. This category indicates how well the minorities feel protected in the host country and which minority rights are factually implemented. This category describes positive legal innovations to support the development of the ethnic community and to preserve its independence. The category "minority rights" covers the issues about the normative understanding what the ethnic rights should be. "Minority rights" include further categories like "democratization", "integration", "discrimination", "migration", and "citizenship" (see Table 10):

**Table 10: Wordstat category "minority rights"**

5. Minority rights:	Democratization	
	Integration	
	Discrimination:	Social fear
	Migration:	Border
		Historical territory
Citizenship		

The sub-category *democratization* refers to the status of development of social and political rights and freedoms in the host country of the minority, the democratic transformation of the society of the host country as a whole. Democratization means the improvement of the situation of the ethnic minorities and a higher responsiveness to the minorities' rights.

The sub-category *integration* describes the politics of social consolidation of the host country with regard to the political and cultural differences in the country and of the rights of the ethnic

minorities. It describes also the forced integration of ethnic minorities with the society, culture and language of the host country and the process of assimilation, as well as the problems of integration and adaptation of the ethnic minorities in the conditions of the host country. “Integration” can have progressive aims but also can be used to “forge the nation” and to provoke nationalistic and xenophobe feelings toward non-members.

**Discrimination** concerns the violation of political rights of minorities in the host country. Discrimination becomes explicit in the violation of the freedom of speech and association, unequal distribution of the prime time on TV, and in the lack of translations of the official names into the minority language. One of the cases of discrimination is a complicated process to receive citizenship for the members of minorities who have been living in the host country since birth, like in the case of the Russians in Latvia. A result of discrimination can be the retarded development of national identity and of ethnic culture.

**Social fear** means the fear of the representatives of ethnic minorities to profess openly their ethnicity or nationality because of possible negative social consequences in the host country. The loyalty to their own ethnic language or tradition may not bring the desirable social privileges, like getting a job or receiving university education. Sometimes this fear is a result of the wish not to be different from the rest of society.

The sub-category **migration** summarizes the topics about the migration of the members of ethnic groups or nationalities to other countries as consequence of political or economic problems. Some minorities, for example, leave their host countries and return to their home countries, like the Polish minority in Belarus.

The category **border** refers to the problems, especially in human communication, triggered by the borders of the national states. “Border” means the prevention of freedom of movement, the imposition of visa regimes and border controls under the pretext of the protection of the national interest and their citizens. In a wider sense, “border” also means differences in the culture and mentality which prevent unrestricted communication between nationalities as well as between the host country and the minority groups.

**Historical territory** is a part of the host country which allegedly “belongs” to an ethnic group because there are “natural settlements” of the relevant ethnic group on the territory of the host country or if this territory is claimed by this minority to have been “imperialistically” occupied by the host country. This category means the right to possess particular territory in the host country which is apparently historically justified. “Historical territory” can be used as a term in political statements when advancing claims for a particular territory.

The term **citizenship** means the distribution of citizenship rights in the host country among the representatives of ethnic communities. It covers problems like repatriation politics as well as the problems of the so-called “card of Poles” in Lithuania and Belarus which on the opinion of the authorities of these countries questions the loyalty of the members of the ethnic groups as citizens of the host countries. The citizenship rights are violated if, for example, the Russian minorities in the Baltic States pay tax, but the freedom of the Russian media is not guaranteed, like in the case of the broadcasting of the Russian channels.

### Style

The category **style** describes the emotional content of the text fragments, varying from “chauvinism” to “moralizing”. Style captures the sense which is hidden “behind” the logical structure of the text. The style becomes often apparent through the figurative or metaphorical means of ex-

pression. “Style” includes further categories like “chauvinism”, “myth”, “enemy images”, “stereotypes”, “void formula”, “moralizing”, and “criticism and irony” (see Table 11):

**Table 11: Wordstat category “style”**

6. Style:	Chauvinism		
	Myth		
	Enemy images		
	Stereotypes:	Auto-stereotypes:	Natural identity
		Hetero-stereotypes	
	Void formula		
	Moralizing		
Criticism and irony			

**Chauvinism** appears to be an unfriendly and aggressive stance toward the representatives of other cultures and ethnic groups. In comparison to the nationalism, which denotes an expression of a particular consolidated thought or philosophy, chauvinism is an expression of every day emotional attitudes, behavioral patterns, and speech acts of individuals.

**Myth** – fictional images and fantasies related to the idea of the nation. The myth captures the imagined reality and can carry utopian as well as negative and destructive connotations. The negative myths are based on enemy images, prejudices; and they promote the development of discriminative social stereotypes. The myth of the nation operates with irrational perception structures which use imagined inclinations of individuals like “love to their country”, “fatherhood”, “natural belonging” in order to establish the supremacy of a nation.

The sub-category **enemy images** is semantically close to the categories like “nationalism” or “chauvinism”. Enemy images suggest of the ethnic and national conflict existing between the members of ethnic groups and the host country, represented especially by the national stream of politicians. Enemy images often provoked by the nationalist rhetoric of the host country as well as of the representatives of ethnic groups destroy the feeling of community.

**Stereotypes** signify the established images of reality which has been proved as unchanged and always valid – at least in the perception of those who use them. Stereotypic images appear to be always true without regard how they reflect the reality, if it is a true image of reality or a distorted one. Stereotypes tend to disguise what is going on in reality and establish only one truth. Stereotypical thinking is the opposite of criticism. There are two kinds of stereotypes – *auto-stereotypes*, developed by the community members in regard to themselves, and *hetero-stereotypes* which concern the representatives of other groups.

The category *natural identity* can be understood as unquestioned “everyday” identity, often juxtaposed to spoof identities created by politicians. Political concepts and ideologies apply towards an individual particular behaviour or perception mode. Natural identity is on the contrary generated by individuals in their life experiences to position themselves independently towards the official politics, cultural norms and traditions.

**Void formula** captures all expressions which have an “empty” content, especially a purely emotional one. Such expressions are culturally determined and they can be a part of propagandistic rhetoric to suggest particular positive or negative reality. Argumentation appears to be suggestive and not logically structured. “Void formula” presumes particular feelings, upbeat or sad ones,



optimistic and idealistic to destructively aggressive. In other words, the “void formula” can be described as exaggerated emotions far beyond the sense of rationality.

**Moralizing** describes a psychological phenomenon like the feelings of a person of being disrespected, especially by the members of the nation of the host country, because of belonging to an ethnic group. In order to “rescue” personal dignity, this feeling can be suppressed by the pathos of moralizing, of “teaching what is right and what is wrong”, by a kind of imagined intellectual superiority. Moralization is typical for some representatives of the Belarusian intellectuals in Poland who try to suggest to the “nationally unconscious” members of the Belarusian community what it means to be a “real Belarusian”.

**Criticism and irony** reflects the critical and ironic standpoints of the representatives of ethnic minorities on the socio-political and economic situation in the host and mother country and on other problematic issues concerning ethnic minorities. This category has an analytical value because it reflects particular civil and political attitudes and the social activity of ethnic groups. “Criticism and irony” shapes the style which makes the socio-political situation in which the minority is living appear under new point of view which could not be reached by other means of expressions.

### Politics

The category **politics** covers the range of topics concerning how well the cultural and social rights of an ethnic community are protected by the authorities of the host country and if some discrimination of these rights exists on the local or federal level of government. This category examines how the issues of ethnic minorities are negotiated during the legislation process, especially by political representatives of the ethnic community. The political development of an ethnic community is influenced by the relationship between the ethnic group and the mother country. “Politics” consists of sub-categories like “representation/representation negative”, “civil activity/civil activity negative”, “native country critical/native country supportive”, and “host country critical/host country supportive” (see Table 12):

**Table 12: Wordstat category “politics”**

7. Politics:	Representation/representation negative
	Civil activity/civil activity negative
	Native country critical/native country supportive
	Host country critical/ host country supportive

**Representation/representation negative** shows how well ethnic minorities are represented at the local and federal level of government of the host country and if the ethnic politicians adhere to their duties to represent the interests of their electorate effectively. The resources of ethnic minorities contain however much criticism towards ethnic representatives in parliament as well as towards the lacking political representation of ethnic minorities in the governmental structures, and discrimination of political rights of the ethnic minority as a result of such situation. Insufficient political representation is explained by the weak integration and organization of the ethnic communities in the framework of the civil society, and the inability to create strong organizations and civil society.

The sub-category **civil activity** refers to political engagement and involvement of the representatives of ethnic minorities in non-governmental organizations and unions regarding different socio-political matters and human rights issues. This category examines the development of delib-

erative democracy and the ability of the members of ethnic minorities to influence the political process concerning the matters of their own community and to take part in the negotiation process at the local and regional level of governance. The example of the Belarusians in Poland demonstrates that civil activity can also mean initiatives of the representatives of a nation (also as a part of an international human rights network) to promote rights and freedoms in the host and mother countries. Resources on minorities contain normative concepts of civil society, what the civil society should be. Critical views among ethnic minorities point, however, to the lack of development of civil society (*civil activity negative*). Conservative attitudes concerning the principles of democratic freedoms, constitutional rights and law state prevail. Ethnic minorities are not able to act politically, in particular as far as the protection of cultural rights is concerned, protection of the historical architecture from destruction.

The category *native country critical/native country supportive* studies the views of an ethnic minority towards the situation in its mother country, mutual activities and projects between the mother country and the ethnic community. It is important to see how the self-identification of the members of an ethnic group is formed and supported by the communication with the native country and how much they identify themselves as part of the community of their mother nation. The relation to the mother country can have different aspects. On the one hand, the minority can be closely connected to the mother country and receive a positive support from it. On the other hand, this relation can be an alienated one when the minority criticizes the native country for its politics. The representatives of minorities, who understand themselves as part of the national opposition in their mother country like the Belarusians in Poland, demonstrate critical attitudes if human rights in the mother country are violated.

The category *host country critical/host country supportive* represents the views of an ethnic minority on the socio-political situation in the host country. The majority of ethnic groups share a critical position towards the host country concerning discrimination and violation of their rights. However, the politics of dialogue are prevailing, especially when the host country supports the cultural programs of the minority. Some resources of the Russian minority in Latvia report “patriotism” of Russians towards the host country, their readiness to go through the naturalization process.

### Socio-economic situation

The category *socio-economic situation* is rather underrepresented among the topics with a cultural focus, but at the same time there are discussions on socio-economic problems which appear to be a main concern for the population of the host country and the members of ethnic groups as part of this population. Among issues which represent major socio-economic discourses are transition economies, unemployment and privatization of state industry, development of private enterprise, reduction of social benefits and problems of agriculture, especially after the joining the European Union. The category describes the economic situation, budget and infrastructure of the organizations of the ethnic minorities and the governmental support of such organizations. “Socio-economic situation” consists of sub-categories like “private property”, “socio-economic situation positive”, and “socio-economic situation negative” (see Table 13):

**Table 13: Wordstat category “socio-economic situation”**

8. Socio-economic situation:	Private property
	Socio-economic situation positive
	Socio-economic situation negative

***Private property*** – representatives of ethnic minorities share the opinion that the ownership of private property boosts ethnic and cultural traditions and is responsible for the constitution of national consciousness. In order to secure the identity as member of an ethnic group, one has to develop the culture of private ownership. Private property enhances the integration of community and the feeling of belonging to the society of the host country.

***Socio-economic situation positive/socio-economic situation negative*** – after joining the European Union some economic advantages could be achieved by new members. Especially the transition economies show, however, crisis tendencies like the reduction of social benefits or rising unemployment rates. The nationalist rhetoric of national politicians changes to pragmatism due to the economic situation. The political discourse of ethnic minorities is developing around the discussion of socioeconomic problems with which ethnic minorities are confronted. Ethnic organizations receive little financing through governmental structures and are forced to look for funding from private sponsors. Especially in the internet forums participants voice criticism towards neo-liberalism.

### 3 RESEARCH RESULTS

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The practical part covers the results of the simstat and wordstat analysis. The aim of the following presentation is not to involve all categories which have been generated during the data analysis (as represented in Chapter 2.2, “Internet data analysis”). Instead, due to the limited space, only selected categories are proposed for review in order to achieve a representative picture and to show most typical tendencies.

The low number of cases per minority makes a comparative analysis difficult. Nevertheless, tendencies can be identified despite the low percentages obtained from the analysis. These tendencies are confirmed by the results of other studies conducted in the framework of the entire ENRI-EAST project (particularly ENRI-VIS, and ENRI BIO).

#### 3.1 Properties of the net landscape: results of simstat analysis

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Representation of ethnic minorities in the internet does not yield a homogenous picture. While they share many similarities, ethnic groups have different patterns of social activity. We regard an ethnic minority as socially active if it has up to 5 regularly updated internet resources like periodicals, socio-political organisations, or news portals. Although the aim of the study was also to identify blogs, forums, and articles with postings, the latter were not present in each case, and they were regarded as an additional criterion of the ethnic activity. The internet yields a portrayal of the most active ethnic groups like the Russians in Latvia with all in all 25 resources and of the less or non-active ethnic groups like the Ukrainians in Hungary, with one resource (see Table 2). The number of resources of an ethnic minority is different for each country. For example, the Polish community in Ukraine has 11 resources and in Belarus 9 resources (ibid.).

The Russians in the Baltic States and Ukrainians in Poland have a developed territorial representation in the host country<sup>14</sup>. The majority of the Belarusian internet addresses in Poland concentrate in Białystok with the biggest Belarusian community in Poland. Periodical “Czasopis” (<http://czasopis.pl/>) and the website “Sonca.org” operated by the Belarusian Youth Association in Poland (<http://slonko.com.pl/>) provide examples of the authentic life of the Belarusian community.

The online resources are diverse in terms of authors, genres and ideologies or critical stance, and not least in terms of economic situation. The majority of authors of periodicals, organisation websites, and other resources comprise either journalists/publicists or civil activists, but also historians and social scientists. The main genres of the text fragments are report, comment, analysis and interview.

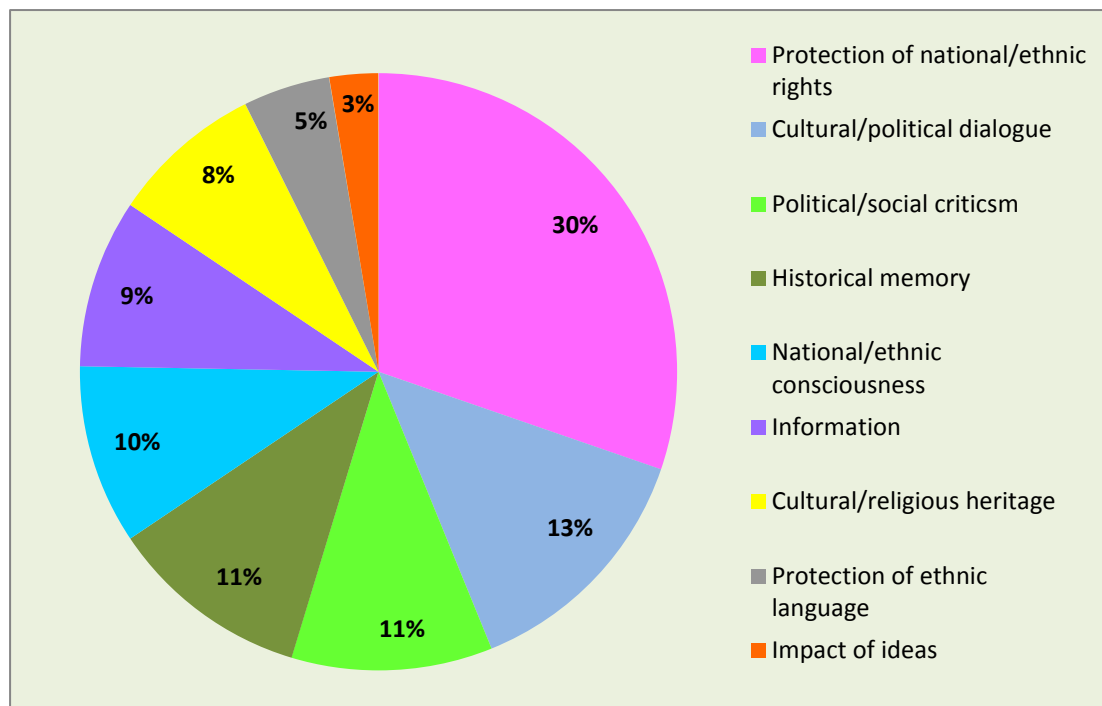
The category “intention” in Figure 2 shows that 30% of text fragments deal with the protection of national and ethnic rights, while 5% is particularly devoted to the protection of ethnic language. “Cultural and political dialogue” between ethnic communities and nationalities is an intention occurring in 13% of text fragments. Political and social criticism is typical for 11% of text fragments, while 9% have pragmatic and “informative” character (see category “information”). Fur-

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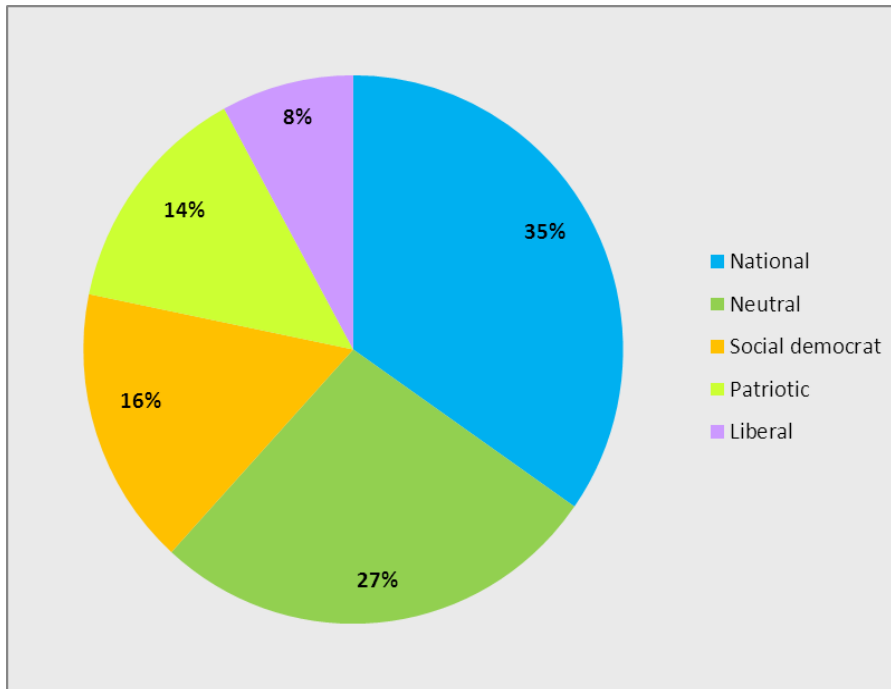
<sup>14</sup> See the organisations: Klaipeda Association of the Russian Citizens (Klaipeda, Lithuania) (<http://www.klaipeda1945.org/?mnu=29>) and the Russian Society in Jēkabpils *Rodnik* (Latvia) ([http://rodnik-jekabpils.blogspot.com/2008/04/blog-post\\_04.html](http://rodnik-jekabpils.blogspot.com/2008/04/blog-post_04.html)). For the Ukrainians in Poland, see the organization “Union of Ukrainians in Poland”, Szczecin (<http://www.ukraincy.org/>).

ther definitions marking the intention of ethnic authors are “historical memory” (11%), “national/ethnic consciousness” (10%), and “cultural and religious heritage” (8%). Intention of 3% of text fragments is linked toward establishing of a particular ideological system (see category “impact of ideas”) (ibid.).

**Figure 2: Pie chart of intention**



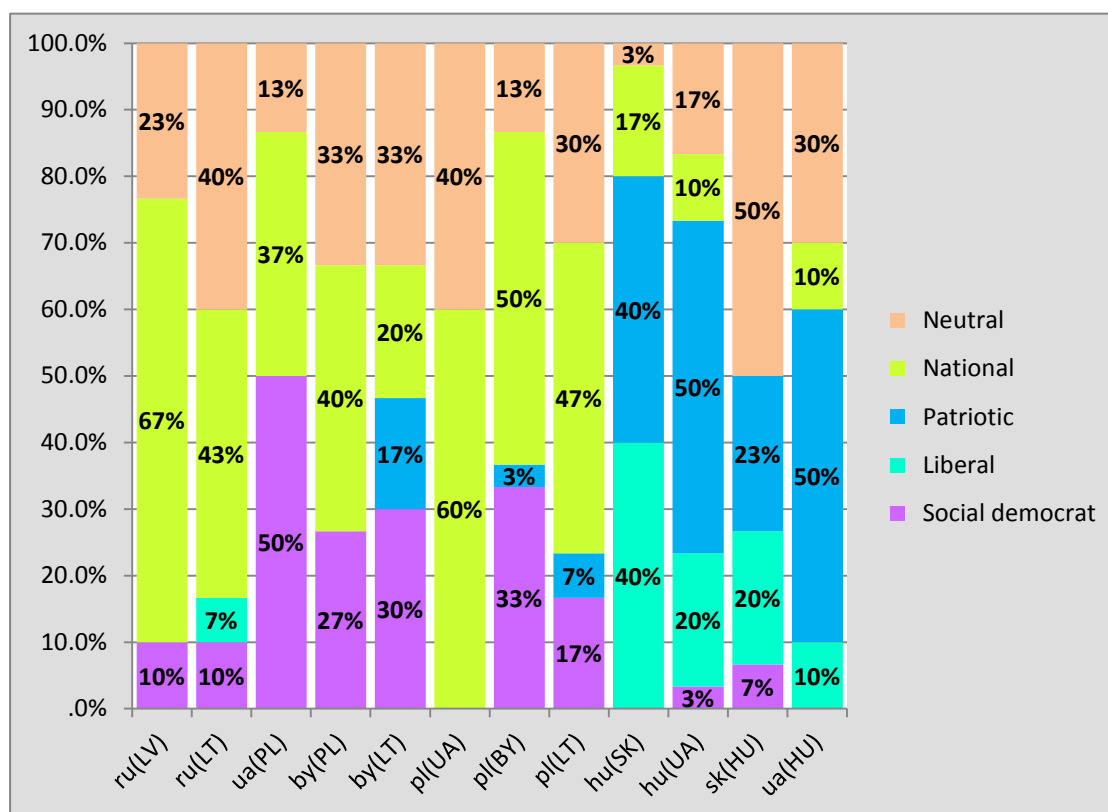
As far as the ideological character is concerned, text fragments present the following picture. National ideology is typical for 35% of cases and patriotic views for 14% of cases (see Figure 3). Patriotic views are different from the national ideology in that they express particular feelings and inclinations of citizens who feel spiritually close to their home country without sharing particular national thought or joining political organisations with the nationally orientated ideology. The socio-democrat ideology represents 16% of cases and liberal ideology 8% of cases. In sum, 27% of cases indicate a neutral character (ibid.).

**Figure 3: Pie chart of ideology**

The majority of the analysed cases carry national-patriotic semantics. The highest percentage of the nationally orientated cases was observed in the sources of the Russians in Latvia (67%)<sup>15</sup> and of the Poles in Ukraine (60%) (see Figure 4). Also Poles in Belarus are nationally orientated (50%). The sources of the Poles in Lithuania (47%), of the Russians in Lithuania (43%) as well as of the Belarusians in Poland (40%) express national ideological ideas – explicit devotion to their nation and people and the representation of their rights. Patriotic feelings were expressed by the Ukrainians in Hungary (50%), Hungarians in Ukraine (50%), and the Hungarians in Slovakia (40%) (ibid.).

<sup>15</sup> Needless to say, the data reported here refer to the community of *internet users* of the minorities under study.

Figure 4: Bar chart of minority by ideology

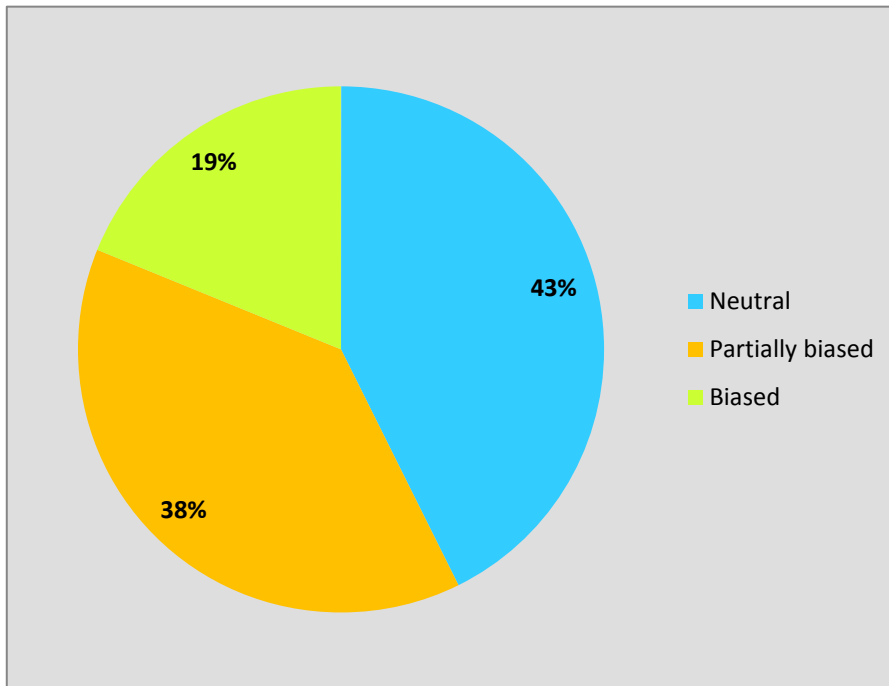


Neutral views are typical for the Slovaks in Hungary (50%), for the Russians in Lithuania (40%), and for the Poles in Ukraine (40%) (ibid.). Ethnic Russians in the Baltic States base their arguments concerning violation of linguistic and social rights on a critical review of facts rather than on ideas. 40.0% of cases of the Russians in Lithuania and 23% of cases of the Russians in Latvia carry a “neutral” character (ibid.; compare also with Figure 6 for the Russian minority). In comparison to this, the majority of the Russian sources can, however, be described as “national”. Some of the Russian sources can be described as “chauvinist”, which is reflected in the language style and semantics.<sup>16</sup>

Most of the socio-democratic views are shared by the Ukrainians in Poland (50%), Poles in Belarus (33%), and by the Belarusians in Lithuania (30%) (ibid.). The liberal ideology is represented, in the majority of cases, by the Hungarians in Slovakia (40%), Hungarians in Ukraine (20%), and Slovaks in Hungary (20%) (ibid.).

The majority of resources convey biased or partially biased views. There are, however, more than double as many neutral as biased views. Neutral views make up 43% of cases, biased views 19% of cases, and partially biased – 38% of cases (see Figure 5).

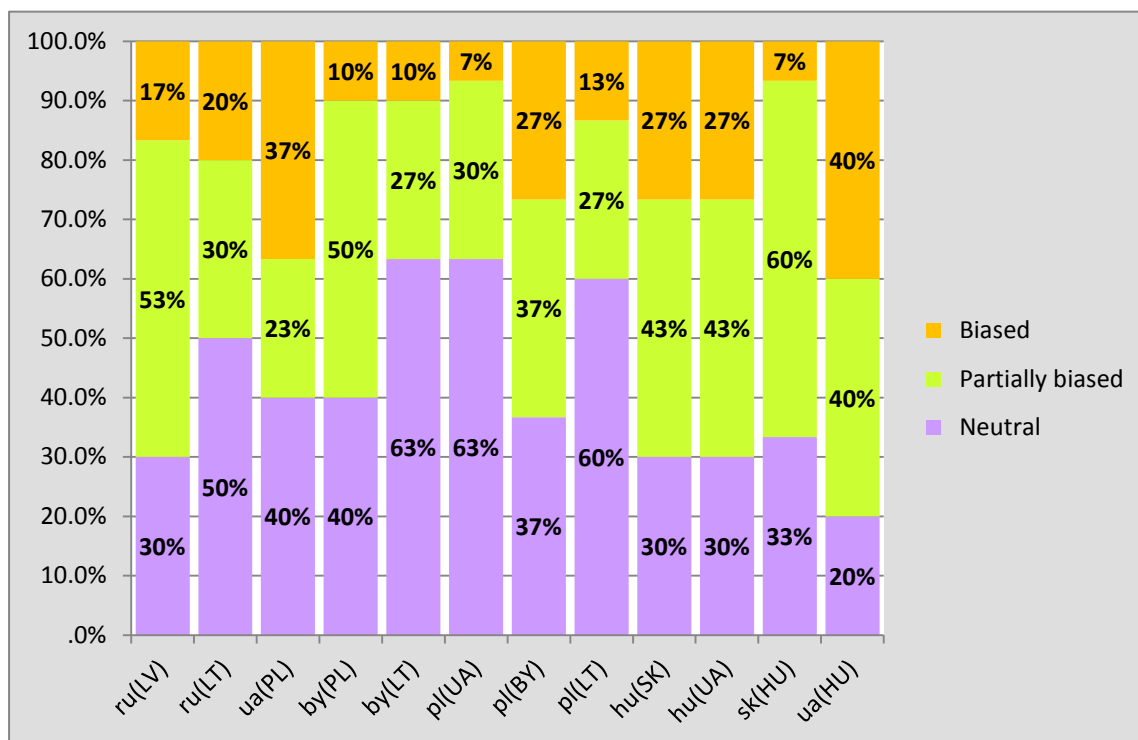
<sup>16</sup> The information website of the Latvian Russian Society *Rodina.lv* (<http://www.russkijmir.lv/>) implicates unabashed chauvinistic rhetoric, like the article: Igor Meyden (2009) “Latvia – the country of the Slavs” (Латвия – земля славян!), *Vesti Segodnya*, 22 October, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.rodina.lv/Latvija-zemlja-slavjan> (accessed on 20 July 2010).

**Figure 5: Pie chart of style**

The highest percentage of neutral views is found in texts authored by Belarusians in Lithuania (63%), by the Poles in Ukraine (63%) and in Lithuania (60%), and by the Russians in Lithuania (50%) (see Figure 6). The most biased views are found with the Ukrainians in Hungary (40%) as well as the Ukrainians in Poland (37%), the Hungarians in Ukraine and Slovakia, and Poles in Belarus (in each of three latter cases – 27%). The exclusive and lopsided presentation of national traumas in the relevant sources (e.g. the “holodomor” or “Akcja Wisła”) account for this assessment. The largest number of partially biased views is typical for the Slovaks in Hungary (60%), for the Russians in Latvia (53%), for the Belarusians in Poland (50%), the Hungarians in Slovakia and Ukraine (in each case – 43%) (ibid.).

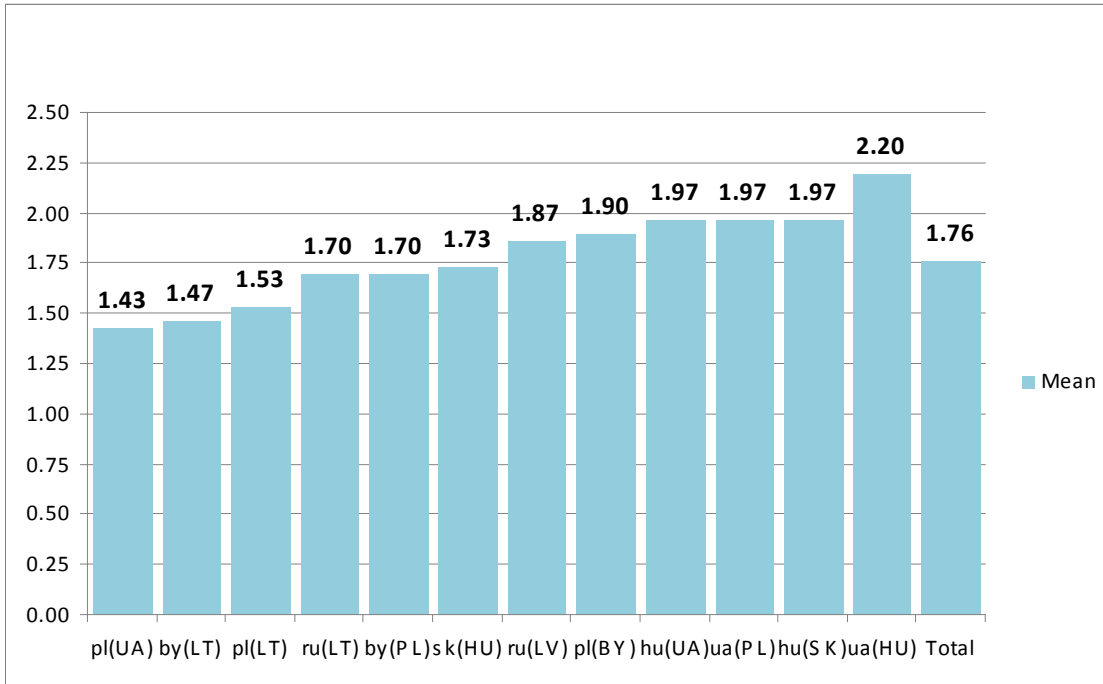


Figure 6: Bar chart of minority by style

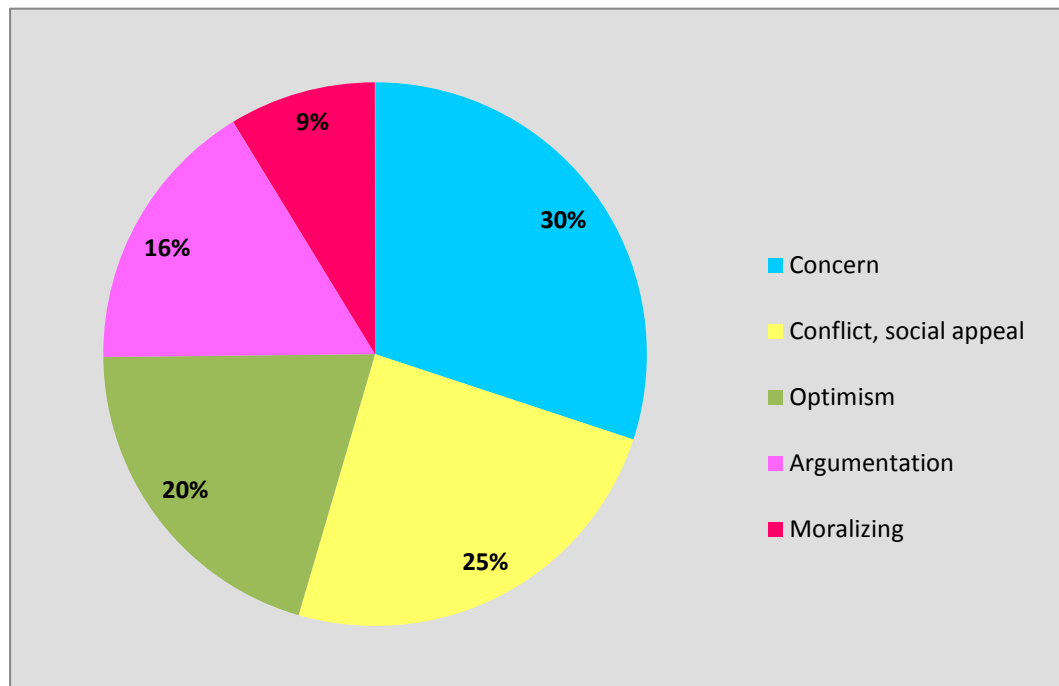


Complementing the above argumentation, the mean [ $\mu = (EX)$ ] of „style“ was calculated for each minority by multiplying value 1 (neutral), 2 (partially biased), and 3 (biased) for each minority (see Figure 7). A mean value of “2” means a strong tendency toward some kind of bias, as can be demonstrated especially by the Ukrainians in Hungary (mean value 2.20), Hungarians in Slovakia, Ukrainians in Poland, and Hungarians in Ukraine (for each of these minorities mean – 1.97), Poles in Belarus (mean 1.90), and Russia in Latvia (mean 1.87). Minorities like Poles in Ukraine (mean value 1.43), Belarusians in Lithuania (mean 1.47) as well as Poles in Lithuania (mean 1.53) show the least tendencies toward bias. The mean value for all minorities is 1.76 which is close to the position to be partially biased (ibid.).

Figure 7: Mean of “style”



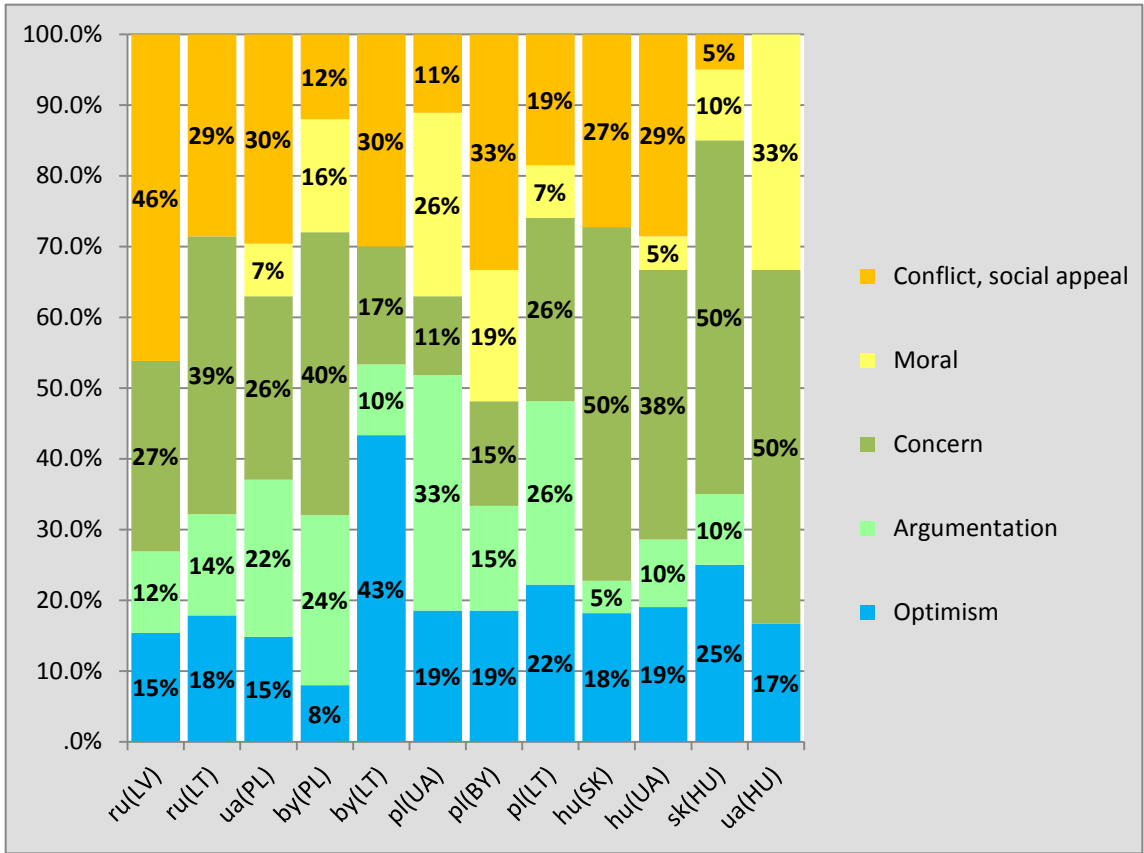
Regarding the category “emotionality”, attitudes expressing “concern” relating to the situation of the ethnic rights prevail (30% of cases, see Figure 8). Categories like “conflict” or “social appeal” take the second place (25%) among other categories expressing emotions. “Conflict” implies the situation of sharp criticism and “unresolved” problems concerning minority rights between ethnic minorities and the government of the host country; by means of “social appeal”, the minorities prod governments of the host countries to fulfil obligations towards ethnic rights. In contrast to the mentioned categories, an emotion like “optimism” expressing the positive attitude of an ethnic minority in relation to their rights situation in the host country is represented in 20% of cases. The “power” of argument instead of emotion is preferred in 16% of cases (category “argumentation”), while “moralizing” can be found in 9% of cases (ibid.).

**Figure 8: Pie chart of emotion**

The highest level of concern is expressed in the sources of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, Slovaks in Hungary, and Ukrainians in Hungary, namely 50% in each of the mentioned cases (see Figure 9). The category “concern” is shared by 40% of the Belarusian sources in Poland, 39% of the Russian sources in Lithuania, and 38% of the Hungarian sources in Ukraine. Among minorities expressing “social appeal” (and “conflict”) are the Russians in Latvia (46%), Poles in Belarus (33%), Belarusians in Lithuania (30%), and Ukrainians in Poland (30%) (ibid.).

The highest occurrence of “optimism” is typical for the sources of the Belarusians in Lithuania (43%), attributable to the pathos and official ideology of the Belarusian minority organisations, which are politically loyal to the Belarusian government (ibid.). Optimistic views are also shared by sources of the Slovaks in Hungary (25%) and Poles in Lithuania (22%). Many ethnic authors use rational “argumentation” instead of emotional suggestions, especially the Poles in Ukraine (33%) and the Poles in Lithuania (26%). “Moralizing” is typical for the sources of the Ukrainians in Hungary (33%) and Poles in Ukraine (26%) (ibid.).

Figure 9: Bar chart minority by emotion



## 3.2 Definition of identity: results of wordstat analysis

### 3.2.1 National consciousness and mother nation

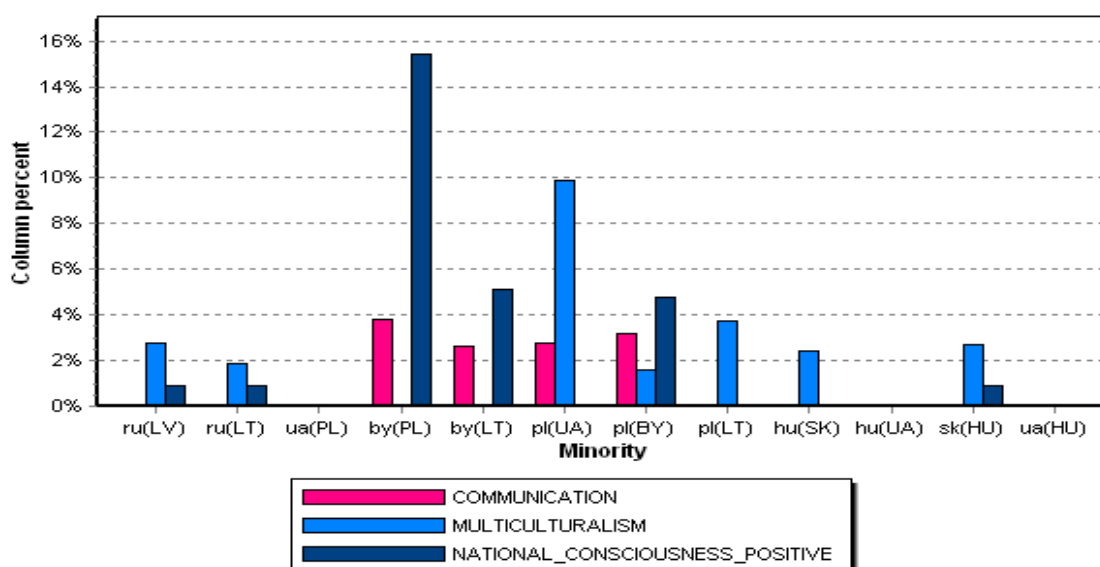
Ethnic identity is a dominant concept in permanent development. National/ethnic authors try to legitimize the existence of ethnic group. Apart from the individual identity, collective identity remains important – this secures independence and possibility to develop autonomously, it guarantees political rights and a chance to create a political community.

Figure 10 demonstrates the frequency distribution of the categories “communication”, “multiculturalism” and “national consciousness positive” among ethnic minorities. The data in the figure show that national consciousness (15.4%)<sup>17</sup> and communication with the community members (3.8%) is more relevant than multiculturalism (0%) for the Belarusians in Poland. The Belarusians in Lithuania demonstrate a similar tendency: 5.1% fall into the category “national consciousness positive”, 2.6% to “communication”, and 0% to “multiculturalism” (ibid.). The importance to be Belarusian is illustrated by the following lead quotation from the resource of the Belarusians in Poland:

*...быць беларусам на Беластоцчыне, для людзей маладзейшых, робіцца нармальным станам. Ім ужо ня трэба, ані тлумачыць гэтакі выбар, ані даказваць сваё права на такі выбар.*

*(...to be Belarusian in the region of Białystok, for the younger people, becomes a normal situation. They have neither to explain their choice nor to prove their right for such choice).<sup>18</sup>*

**Figure 10: Frequency distribution of categories “communication”, “multiculturalism”, and “national consciousness positive” by minority, column %**



<sup>17</sup> Percentages refer to keyword frequencies if not mentioned otherwise.

<sup>18</sup> Anempadystaj, M. (without date) «Мая Беластоцчына» (My region Białystok), *Sonca.org* (organization), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://sonca.org/maja-bielastoccyzna.html> (accessed on 1 November 2011).

Figure 12 demonstrates also a relatively high level of conflict among the Belarusian community in Poland in comparison to other ethnic groups – 23.1% (category “criticism representatives”). The conflicts appear if the members of the Belarusian community accuse each other of disregarding national consciousness. A focused attention to the development of national consciousness is also paid by the Poles in Belarus (4.8%) (see Figure 10). Communication with the community members is important for the Poles in Belarus (3.2%) and for the Poles in Ukraine (2.8%) (ibid.).

“Communicative power” and self-consciousness of an ethnic minority in the host country is closely related to its relationship with the native country. Internet representation of ethnic minorities, as well as their active participation for example on forums, stands in a close connection with the development of the nation, national state, national culture and national language. Collective identity of the ethnic Belarusians in Poland and Lithuania is influenced by the political opposition in Belarus which is nationally orientated.<sup>19</sup> The active part of the Belarusian minorities in Poland and Lithuania constitute therefore the national civil society with the consequence that all those, who represent the Belarusian culture abroad, try to preserve – although with patriotic enthusiasm – the surviving Belarusian traditions.

In contrast to the Belarusians, the Russian minorities in Lithuania and Latvia as well as the Poles in Ukraine and Lithuania prefer multicultural society and engage in little attempts to defend their national self-consciousness. Figure 10 shows that 2.8% of cases of the Russians in Latvia share the principles of multiculturalism – this is against 0.9% of cases of the Russian sources in Latvia which deal with the matter of the national consciousness. The situation of the Russians in Lithuania is similar: 0.9% of cases are devoted to national consciousness and 1.9% share the principles of multiculturalism (ibid.).

The text fragments attributable to the Polish minority in Ukraine show the highest percentage of adherence to “multiculturalism” – 9.9% (ibid.). In comparison, altogether 2.8% of the cases exhibit a positive attitude to “communication” within the community, with no cases for the category “national consciousness positive”. The resources of the Poles in Lithuania support multiculturalism (3.7%) with no indication for the “national consciousness” and “communication” (ibid.).

The reason for this difference is to be seen in the fact that for example the Russians in the Baltic States do not have to “fight” for their existence as nation. The Russians in Latvia and Lithuania as well as the Poles in Ukraine and Lithuania (or partially in Belarus) echo, compared to the Belarusian minority, the official discourse and the patriotic rhetoric of the main nation in their mother countries.<sup>20</sup>

The Polish minority in Belarus have better contacts to their mother country than the Belarusians in Poland. In their national self-esteem, similar to the Russians, the Polish communities find support in their mother nations. The Polish minority in Belarus regard the Polish authorities as their direct supporters, a fact expressed by the representatives of the Polish state as well as proven by the meetings of the leaders of the Polish organisations in Belarus with the members of the Polish government and with the Polish head of state.

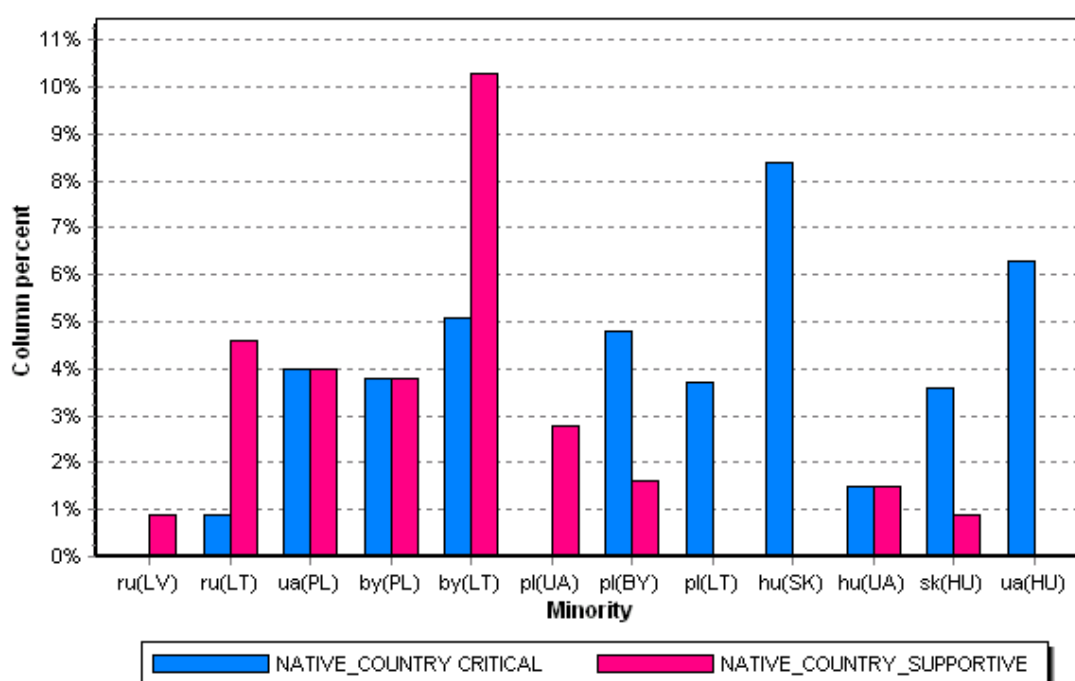
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<sup>19</sup> The Association of the Belarusian Culture in Lithuania (<http://www.westki.info/vilnia>) has close connections with the Belarusian national intellectuals and politicians. According to the official statement of the organisation, the contacts to official authorities in Belarus had been interrupted after the change of the political regime in Belarus in 1994. In comparison to the Belarusian opposition, the official regime in Belarus has adopted a national myth which roots in the Soviet past with the Great Fatherland War 1941-1945 and finds its supporters in the older generation and war veterans.

<sup>20</sup> See the Russian political organization “Union of Russians of Lithuania” (Союз Русских Литвы) (<http://www.sojuzru.lt/>) and the Polish Cultural and Educational Association in Biedonia *Odrodzenie* (<http://polonia.org.ua/2003-6/pl/1/about.htm>).

As to the Belarusian, Russian and Polish minorities, we make the following conclusion: the idea of multicultural society is most popular with the Russians in Latvia and Lithuania and with the Poles in Ukraine and Lithuania. Accordingly, national consciousness does not represent big concern for the Russians in Latvia and in Lithuania – in each case 0.9% (see Figure 10). In comparison to other minorities, the Russians are not very critical towards the government of their native country (0.9% of the critical, 4.6% supportive attitudes with Russians in Lithuania, see Figure 11). In case of the Russians in Latvia, critical attitudes are absent, and only a few cases of support for the government could be identified (0.9%, *ibid.*).

**Figure 11: Frequency distribution of categories “native country critical” and “native country supportive” by minority, column %**



National consciousness and ethnic ties are quite developed among the Poles in Belarus – categories like “national consciousness positive” and “communication” prevail over the category “multiculturalism” which makes up 1.6% of cases (see Figure 10). Criticism of the government of the native country is high with Poles in Belarus – 4.8% of the cases against 1.6% supportive attitudes (see Figure 11).<sup>21</sup> The support of the home country is the highest among the Poles in Ukraine – 2.8%, and in Lithuania – no supportive cases are observable (*ibid.*).

Belarusians in Poland and Lithuania care a lot about their national consciousness and support the communication within the community. At the same time, they demonstrate a high level of criticism towards their home country – 3.8% in Poland and 5.1% in Lithuania (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, they also demonstrate support for the home country. In Poland, support is balanced by criticism,

<sup>21</sup> This criticism arises from the split within the Union of Poles of Belarus into the so called official and nonofficial unions, with the subsequent conflicts between these two unions on the one hand and the Polish and Belarusian government on the other. The “official” Union of Poles of Belarus claims as being discriminated by the Polish government which allegedly refuses to issue visa for the Belarusian Poles to enter their home country.

and in Lithuania – due to the representation of some pro-governmental organisations and split ideological interests among the Belarusian community in Lithuania – support is more than twice as high as criticism and amounts to 10.3% (ibid.).

Russians and Poles position themselves as a part of their mother nations and receive funding for the cultural and educational programs from the governments of the mother countries. These contacts do not mean the absence of criticism towards native countries regarding the lack of support for ethnic communities abroad, like in the case of Russia, or criticism against provocative nationalism, like in the case of the introduction of the “Polish card” by the Polish government in the states with Polish communities:

*Przed wielu laty, kiedy przekroczenie granicy wymagało niekiedy kilkudniowego oczekiwania, my również mówiliśmy o potrzebie poszukiwania rozwiązań w celu ułatwienia kontaktów z sąsiednim krajem. Dziś, kiedy cała Europa stoi otworem, a granice przekracza się nawet bez potrzeby zatrzymania się - Polska nieoczekiwanie uchwala tzw. Kartę Polaka.*

*(Many years ago, when sometimes the passing of the border required several days of waiting, we also spoke about the necessity of looking for problem solutions to improve the contacts with the neighbor country. Nowadays, however, when all of Europe is open and the borders can be passed even without the need to stop – Poland unexpectedly introduces the so called Polish card).*

*Sklada się na to widocznie kilka powodów, a przede wszystkim niska kultura polityczna współczesnych elit rządzących, w wyniku czego Polska faktycznie nie ma dobrych stosunków z żadnym krajem sąsiednim.*

*(There are apparently several reasons for this, first of all, low political culture of the contemporary governmental elites, which resulted in the factual absence of good relations between Poland and the neighborhood countries).<sup>22</sup>*

For ethnic groups like Ukrainians, Hungarians, and Slovaks, a high rate of the criticism towards their mother countries was found, and the tendency to support of the native countries is weak. At the same time, this finding is not linked to such variables as “multiculturalism”, “communication”, and “national consciousness positive” (see Figure 10). “Multiculturalism” is perceptible only in the case of the Hungarians in Slovakia (2.4%) and the Slovak minority in Hungary (2.7%) (ibid.). The latter minority show also a high percentage of criticism towards their home countries: Hungarians in Slovakia 8.4% and Slovaks in Hungary 3.6% (see Figure 11). Slovaks in Hungary show little inclination towards national consciousness (0.9%) and of support for their mother country (0.9%) (see Figure 10 and 11).

Hungarians in Slovakia demonstrate the highest level of criticism towards their mother country, and Hungarians in Ukraine show the same percentage of support and criticism concerning their home country – 1.5% of cases (see Figure 11). While Ukrainians in Hungary criticize their mother country in 6.3% of cases, the Ukrainians in Poland share criticism and support equally, namely 4% (ibid.).

Criticism is directed not only against the mother nation, conflicting relations exist also among the members of the same ethnic community. In Belarus, the political interests of the ethnic Poles are divided: a part of the Polish minority positions itself as critical towards the non-official union of

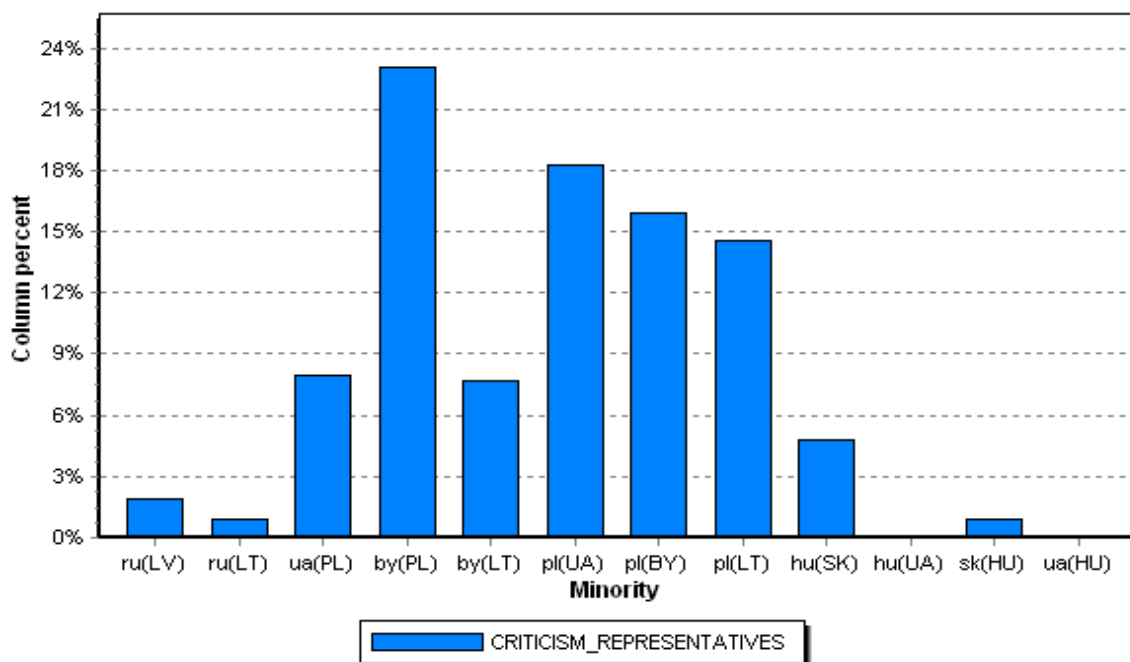
<sup>22</sup> Maciejkianiec, R. (2008) “The Polish Card again in Play” (Znowu w grze polska karta), 1 November, *Zbiory Wileńskie* (organization), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://zbiorywilenskie.wordpress.com/2008/11/01/znowu-w-grze-polska-karta/> (accessed on 1 November 2011).



Poles including their relationship to the mother country Poland, while the officially recognised union of the ethnic Poles in Belarus remains excluded from this contact<sup>23</sup>.

Polish internet users in Belarus have a high conflict potential among their own community, namely 15.9% (see Figure 12). The Belarusians in Lithuania are quite critical against each other (7.7%) (ibid.). At the same time, the Belarusians in Lithuania are very critical of the government in their home country Belarus (5.1%, see Figure 11). This does not come as a surprise, since the majority of Belarusian organisations in Lithuania are a part of the international human rights network. A low incidence of conflicts among community representatives exists among the Russians in Latvia (1.9%) and Russians in Lithuania (0.9%) (see Figure 12). A relative high conflict potential among own members was found with the Hungarians in Slovakia (4.8%), while the text fragments of the Slovaks in Hungary demonstrate only 0.9% of cases which could be attributed to the category “criticism representatives”. Other minorities like the Hungarians in Ukraine or Ukrainians in Hungary demonstrated no cases of conflicts among the community members (ibid.).

**Figure 12: Frequency distribution of the category “criticism representatives” by minority, column %**



<sup>23</sup> Kruczkowski, T. (2009) “Some aspects of the activity of the non-official Union of Poles in Belarus 2005-2008” (Niekóre aspekty działalności nieoficjalnego ZS ZPB w latach 2005-2008), *Polacy.by* (news portal), 22 June, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.polacy.by/content/view/208/27/> (accessed on 20 July 2010).

### 3.2.2 Cultural attributes of identity

Identities are forged by notions like culture, language, religion and history. The national language and the operation of national schools remain the matter of major concern.<sup>24</sup> On top of that, religion is an important attribute of identity with national churches as centres of community life.<sup>25</sup> A large amount of topics is devoted to the art and music folklore reporting about the exhibitions of artists or about national music and dance festivals.<sup>26</sup>

History and the biographies of national heroes foster national identity and represent one of the major topics for most minorities.<sup>27</sup> Historical memory (category “historical memory positive”) is a factor among the Hungarians in Ukraine (4.5%, see Figure 13), as well as among the Ukrainians in Poland (4%), the Poles in Belarus (3.2%), and the Poles in Lithuania (2.4%). The sources of minorities like Slovaks in Hungary (1.8%), Poles in Ukraine (1.4%), Russians in Lithuania (0.9%), and Russians in Latvia (0.9%) have rather low number of cases in the category “historical memory positive” (ibid.).

Organisations like “The Belarusian National Memory” (<http://b-n-p.org>) and – to some degree – “The Association of the Belarusian Culture in Lithuania” appeal to the national mythical pathos, when names from political history like Kastus’ Kalinoŭski or the intellectuals from the recent cultural history like Vasil’ Bykaŭ provide members for the national pantheon. “Personalities” are an important part of the ethnic/national discourse conducted with the Ukrainians in Hungary (12.5% of cases), with the Hungarians in Slovakia (6% of cases), Belarusians in Lithuania (5.1% of cases), Poles in Lithuania (4.9% of cases), and Hungarians in Ukraine (4.5%) (ibid.). The reference to famous personalities who shaped the national history can be observed also with the Poles in Ukraine (2.8%) and Russians in Lithuania (0.9%) (ibid.).

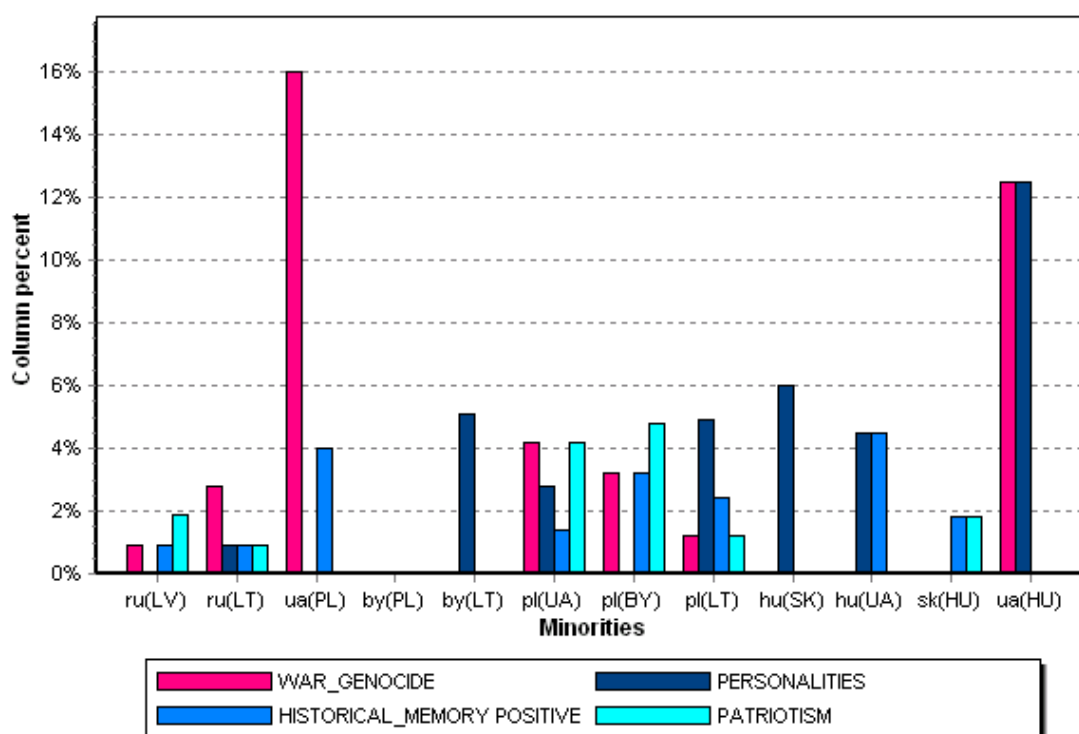
<sup>24</sup> See Polish Foundation for Education in Grodno/Belarus (*Polska Macierz Szkolna na Białorusi*) (<http://www.pmsgrodno.org/content/view/9/6/>). Activities of this society are devoted to the education in the Polish language, to the teaching of the history of the Polish state and to other cultural and educational issues. The Ukrainian journal in Wałcz (Poland) *Ridna mova* (Рідна мова) discusses the philological issues of the Ukrainian language and the problems of preserving of the Ukrainian culture and traditions in Poland ([http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/dokumenty/r\\_mowa/](http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/dokumenty/r_mowa/)).

<sup>25</sup> See the Russian website “The Orthodox Brotherhood of Lithuania” (Православное Братство Литвы) (<http://www.pbl.lt/>) or the interview with pastor Varsanofi in the Belarusians’ weekly in Poland “Niva” (<http://niva.iig.pl/>): Kandracyuk, H. (2005) «Блізка царквы і людзей» (In the Neighbourhood of the People and the Church), *Niva* (18), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://niva.iig.pl/> (accessed on 20 July 2010).

<sup>26</sup> See the interview with Marharyta Dmitruk, a well-known Polish artist and lecturer at the Warsaw Art Academy, who graduated from the Belarusian lyceum in Belsk (Poland), in the Belarusian periodical “Czasopis” (<http://czasopis.pl/>): Maksimyuk, A. (2009) «Шчырасць ды ўсьведамленьне каранёў» (Sincerity and the Awareness of Belonging), *Czasopis* (11), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://czasopis.pl/czasopis/2009-11/art-23> (accessed on 20 July 2010).

<sup>27</sup> See the Polish Foundation *Zbiory Wileńskie* (<http://www.nasz-czas.lt/>) dedicated to collection and publication of historic material about the Polish population in Vilnius, and the article entitled “Pro Memoria” on the website of the Polish Diaspora in Mogilev (Belarus) (Дом Польский в Могилёве) on 21 October 2009, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://dom-polski.org/pro-memoria> (accessed on 1 November 2011).

**Figure 13: Frequency distribution of the categories “war genocide”, “historical memory positive”, “personalities”, and “patriotism” by minority, column %**



Discussions about traumatic historical experiences are typical for the Ukrainians in Poland (16% for the category “war genocide”) and Hungary (12.5%), to a lesser degree for the Poles in Ukraine (4.2%), the Poles in Belarus (3.2%), the Russians in Lithuania (2.8%), the Poles in Lithuania (1.2%), and the Russians in Latvia (0.9%) (ibid.). The politics of reconciliation between two neighbouring countries Poland and Ukraine in regard of the mutual tragic historical experience shape the discourse of the Ukrainians in Poland:

*Теперішнє покоління поляків і українців повинно зробити суворий і справедливий розрахунок зі складним історичним минулим. Пізнання навіть найбільш болісної правди потрібне передовсім для чесних повчальних висновків, необхідних для налагодження взаємних стосунків, спертих на довіру та пошану.*

*(The present generation of Poles and Ukrainians has to account for their difficult common historical past in a just and strict way. The revelation of even the most painful truths is a requirement to draw first and sincere conclusions which are, in their turn, necessary to settle the mutual relations supported by trust and respect).<sup>28</sup>*

National traumas like the massacre of the Polish officers in Katyn’ by NKVD spill over into wide spread discourses which strengthen the national memory, national identification and the crea-

<sup>28</sup> Koval, P. (2008) «УКРАЇНСЬКА національна меншина чи українці Польщі» (UKRAINIAN national minority or the Ukrainians of Poland), *Nashe Slovo* (34), internet WWW-Site at URL <http://nslowo.pl/content/view/137/94/> (accessed 01 November 2011)

tion/reconstruction of the national history.<sup>29</sup> Poles demonstrate, among other minorities, the highest level of patriotism: 4.8% of cases in Belarus, 4.2% - in Ukraine; Poles in Lithuania demonstrate less patriotic attitudes – 1.2% of cases (see Figure 13).

The web-thesaurus “Russians of Latvia” (<http://www.russkije.lv/>) contains a calendar that informs about historical and cultural events which unite the history of both peoples, Russians and Latvians. According to this source, history has been influenced by Russian emperors and aristocrats, artists and business people who had lived and worked in Latvia, and who had built the history of Latvia together with the Latvian people. The Russians express their patriotic views in 1.9% of cases in Latvia and in 0.9% of cases in Lithuania (ibid.). Besides the Polish and Russian minorities, the Slovaks in Hungary demonstrate some patriotic attitudes – 1.8% of cases (ibid.).

To construct the national myth, the Poles and Belarusians try to harness names like that of the leader of the revolution 1794 general Tadevush Kascyushka (Polish – Tadeusz Kościuszko). Russians and Ukrainians have no clarity about which nation the poet Taras Ševčenko represents. Ethnic minorities in Lithuania admit that it is difficult to defend national interests in a multicultural city like Vilnius with centuries of the Jewish, Polish, Belarusian, Russian, and Lithuanian history. The Lithuanian population grew especially after the Second World War as result of the national politics of the Lithuanian government.

For many minorities the adherence to tradition and patriotism is typical together with the cherishing of national myths. Figure 14 provides a comparison between “civil activity” and “multiculturalism” on the one hand (the values associated with a democratic society) and “patriotism”, “tradition” and “void formula” on the other (the categories associated with authoritarian values). The assumption here is: patriotic and traditional views are not favourable for the development of the political participation and multicultural attitudes.

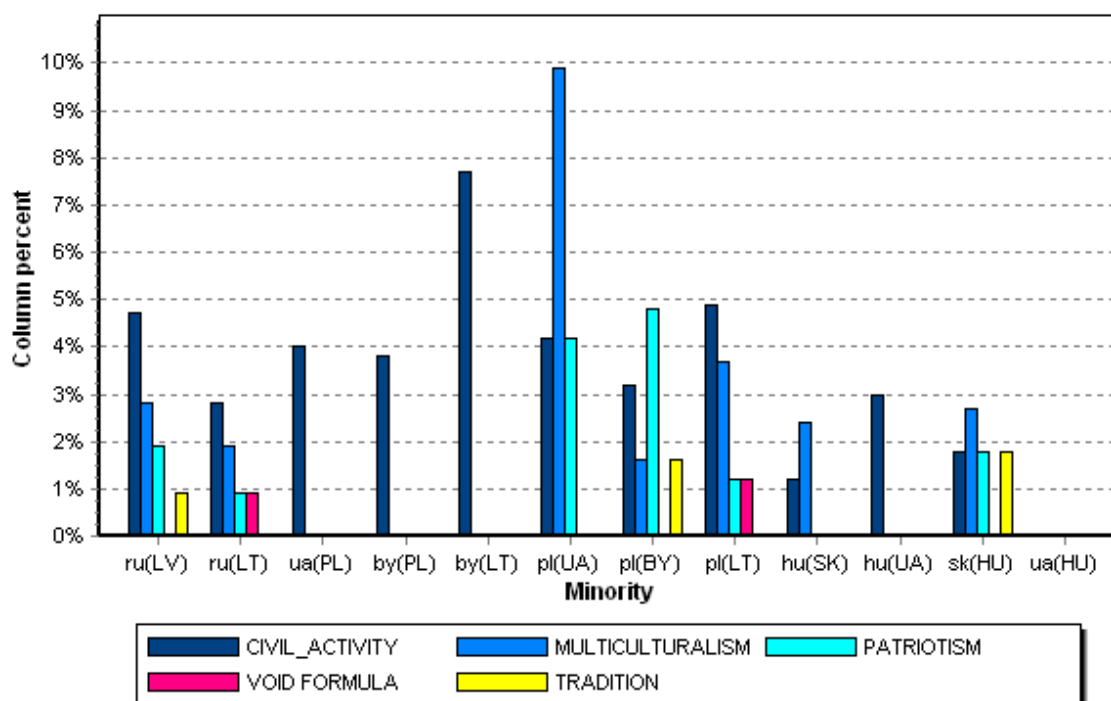
The category “patriotism” is important for the Poles in Belarus, 4.8%, and for the Poles in Ukraine, 4.2% (ibid.). The former minority scores also on the category “tradition” (1.6% of cases). At the same time, the sources of these minorities contain many references to civil activity (4.2% for Poles in Ukraine and 3.2% in Belarus) and multiculturalism (9.9% for Poles in Ukraine and 1.6% in Belarus) (ibid.). Apparently, the adherence to patriotism and traditional values do not prevent the Polish minority in Ukraine and Belarus to develop independent civil activity and to share the principles of multiculturalism.

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<sup>29</sup> A. Smith discusses different modes of dealing with different historical experiences which constitute cultural/national narrative. In most cases of creating of the national idea, real events were reconstructed with intention to preserve the past. Only in a few cases the “fabrication” of historical events took place. See Smith, p. 178.

This thesis can be referred to the current debate in Belarus about how to make the idea of the Belarusian national state and the Belarusian nation more popular. The image makers recommend compensating the “legitimacy gap” of the Belarusian national state and of the Belarusian nation by looking into the history and biographies of the national heroes. In case of the deficit of such historical events and personalities, the latter shall be invented.

**Figure 14: Frequency distribution of the categories “civil activity”, “void formula”, “multiculturalism”, “tradition”, and “patriotism” by minority, column %**



Also Poles in Lithuania are politically organized, as so far as representation and civil society are concerned (4.9% the category “civil activity”) (ibid.). Adherence to multiculturalism has a relatively high value (3.7%) with this minority. The mentioned attributes of a democratic society like civil activity or multiculturalism coexist in case of the Poles in Lithuania with some tendencies towards “patriotism” (1.2%) as well as “void formula” (1.2%) (ibid.).

The Belarusians in Lithuania, together with the Russians in Latvia, show a high level of civil activity, namely 7.7% and 4.7% (ibid.). In parallel, these minorities show little incidence of patriotism – 1.9% (Russians in Latvia) and 0% (Belarusians in Lithuania). Their appeal to tradition is hardly perceptible – 0.9% (Russians in Latvia) and 0% (Belarusians in Lithuania) (ibid.).

However, at the same time, the resources of the Russians in Latvia show, that in comparison to other minorities, there is a high level of the nationalistic attitudes (7.5%) and of the ethnic and national conflict (6.5%) with some expression of chauvinism (1.9%) (see Figure 16). This assessment also holds for the Russians in Lithuania – 2.8% of “civil society” and 1.9% of “multiculturalism” against 5.6% of ethnic and national conflict, 4.6% “nationalism”, and 1.9% “chauvinism” (see Figure 14 and 16). A similarly high developmental level of civil society is clearly observable with Ukrainians and Belarusians in Poland – 4% and 3.8% (see Figure 14). Figure 16 shows, however, also high levels of nationalism and ethnic and national conflict for these minorities. The category “nationalism” reaches 8% with Ukrainians and 7.7% with the Belarusians in Poland; many cases of the Ukrainians in Poland were assigned to the category “ethnic and national conflict” – 4%. Also Belarusians in Lithuania who have a quite developed civil society are not free from the ethnic and national conflict and nationalism (each category 2.6%) (ibid.).

In comparison to Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians in Poland, the Polish minority in Ukraine share fewer nationalistic views (2.8%), show no tendencies of chauvinism, and do not seem to have much inclination for ethnic and national conflicts (2.8%) (ibid.). The bottom line is that the adherence to tradition and patriotism does not imply an authoritarian political culture.

Apart from that, the above data suggest that civil society is a contradictory concept, which implies both the sense of emancipation and discrimination. Civil society as well as democracy are concepts and work in progress. Political participation on the level of organisations and unions and on the electoral level can mobilize undemocratic “spirits” of masses and bring authoritarian elites to power. Real democracy remains therefore a form of a political regime, but it can not always mean that the policy of a political regime would remain truly “democratic”.

### 3.2.3 Ethnic rights and relation to the host country

Activity and self-awareness as ethnic group is influenced by the political culture and the political situation in the host country. Identity is forming and developing around the discourse on ethnic/human rights. Core discourses of ethnic minorities are laced by human rights discourses. Different minorities defend their linguistic, cultural, religious rights, – the rights which constitute identity. In the discussion on ethnic rights, the relationship to the host country becomes apparent.

Political tensions in the relationship between the host country and minority existed in many cases under study. In one or another degree, discrimination represents the main concern of ethnic minorities in the host country. Tensions around the rights of the Russian minorities are observable in Latvia and Lithuania or in Belarus in the relationship of the Belarusian government and the Polish minority. The Russians in the Baltic States criticize the government in the host countries for disrespect of minority rights such as discrimination on the basis of language and insufficient funding of institutions of ethnic minorities – main factors for difficult integration of the Russian minority in the Latvian society:

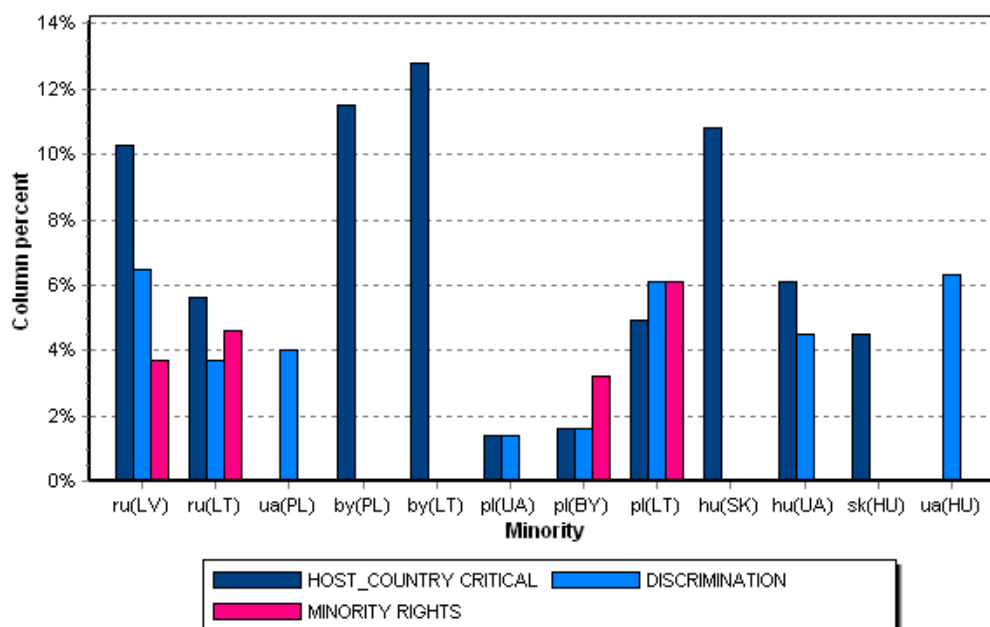
*При принятии политических решений по вопросам гражданства, языка или судьбы меньшинственных школ правящие партии обычно отказываются принимать в расчет мнение русских граждан Латвии. Демократия в Латвии имеет ограниченный, этнический характер.*

*(As a rule, the ruling parties do not heed the opinion of Russian citizens when it comes to political decisions concerning citizenship, language or the fate of minority schools. Latvian democracy has a limited and ethnic character).<sup>30</sup>*

Fewer conflicts are observable in Ukraine in relation to the Polish minority (“host country critical” – 1.4%); the Polish minority in Ukraine accuse their host country of discrimination in the same number of cases, namely 1.4% (category “discrimination”) (see Figure 15). Ukrainians in Poland, who constitute an ethnically heterogeneous group, try to justify their “right of existence” not only towards their mother country, Ukraine, but also towards the Polish nation and state. In the resources of the Ukrainian minority in Poland, 4% of discrimination cases are observed, with no references to the explicit criticism towards the host country. In the sources of the Ukrainians in Hungary a high number of discrimination cases could be identified, 6.3% (ibid.).

<sup>30</sup> (Without author and date) «Проблемы и надежды русских Латвии» (Problems and Hopes of the Russians in Latvia), *Ruskiye Latvii* (organization), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.ruskiye.lv/ru/lib/read/political-challenges-russian-minority.html> (accessed on 1 November 2011).

**Figure 15: Frequency distribution of the categories “host country critical”, “minority rights”, and “discrimination” by minority, column %**



Poles in Lithuania feel discriminated and invoke their dramatic historical experience in Lithuania as well as their uneasy relationship with the Lithuanian authorities. Poles who demonstrate patriotic feelings openly criticize the violation of the ethnic rights in the countries like Lithuania, Ukraine, Belarus, etc. (see the rubrics “Dyskryminacja” and “Antypolonizm” on the website “Polskie Kresy.Info”, <http://www.polskiekresy.info/>).

The combination of categories like “host country critical”, “discrimination”, and “minority rights” is supposed to provide an objective picture on the nature of the relationship between the minority and the host country. In the resources of the Poles in Lithuania, 6.1% of cases were found which suggest of the discrimination of the Lithuanian authorities against this minority (ibid.). Poles in Lithuania appear also to be very critical towards their host country (4.9%). However, the same sources indicate that Lithuania is a country with the highest human rights standards towards the ethnic minorities (6.1%) (ibid.). These polar views should not be regarded as a contradiction, but suggest a “constructive criticism” which, all in all, indicates a high developmental level of critical civil society among the Polish minority in Lithuania.

The same conclusion is also true for the Russian minority. On the one hand, they are highly critical toward their host countries: the results for the Russian minority in Latvia (10.3%) and in Lithuania (5.6%) show this clearly (ibid.). General criticism coincides with the level of criticism toward discrimination: 6.5% in case of the Russians in Latvia and 3.7% in case of the Russians in Lithuania. On the other hand, after the Poles in Lithuania, the Russian minority in the Baltic States assess the observance of their rights by the government of the host country positively, in Lithuania 4.6% and in Latvia 3.7% (category “minority rights”) (ibid.).

For Poles in Belarus, the categories “host country critical” and “discrimination” show the same quantity of cases, namely 1.6% (ibid.). In twice as many cases (3.2%), the Poles in Belarus are, however, satisfied with the situation of their rights in Belarus. To be sure, these opinions can only be attributed to the official union of Poles in Belarus (ibid.).

A rather high level of criticism towards their host countries is demonstrated by the Belarusians in Lithuania (12.8%) and Poland (11.5%), the Hungarians in Slovakia (10.8%) and Ukraine (6.1%) as well as Slovaks in Hungary (4.5%) (ibid.). Hungarians in Ukraine express dissatisfaction in concern of the observation of the minorities' rights in their host country in 4.5% of cases (ibid.).

### 3.2.4 Nationalism and ethnic conflicts

Defence of national and ethnic rights can result in a conflict of ethnic interests and nationalism. However, not a single case of Belarusian radical nationalism could be discovered in the texts under study, nationalism itself is differently interpreted by the ethnic Belarusians. The contrast with the Western European discourse exists in the sense that Belarusian nationalism generally carries a positive connotation. Russian religious and cultural organisations in the Baltic States exhibit patriotic and national rhetoric.

In the resources of the Polish community in Ukraine, criticism against Ukrainian national radicalism is observable. This criticism is directed, in particular, against the attempts to rehabilitate the name of Stepan Bandera, the Ukrainian nationalist leader apparently responsible for the genocide against the Polish population (1941-1945). Ukrainian nationalism has a religious connotation with its appeal to cultural, ethnical and religious roots. The Russians, on the contrary, seem to be "religious" in their secular and occasionally radical notion of nationalism.

Figure 16 shows links between categories "nationalism", "chauvinism", and "ethnic and national conflict" on the one hand and "community" and "tolerance" on the other. The highest nationalism score is found with the Russians in the Baltic States – in Latvia 7.5% and Lithuania 4.6% (ibid.). At the same time, in comparison to other minorities, a modicum of "chauvinism" is found in Latvia and Lithuania (1.9%). Apart from that, the Russian resources contain lots of information indicating ethnic and national conflict (6.5% in Latvia and 5.6% in Lithuania) (ibid.).

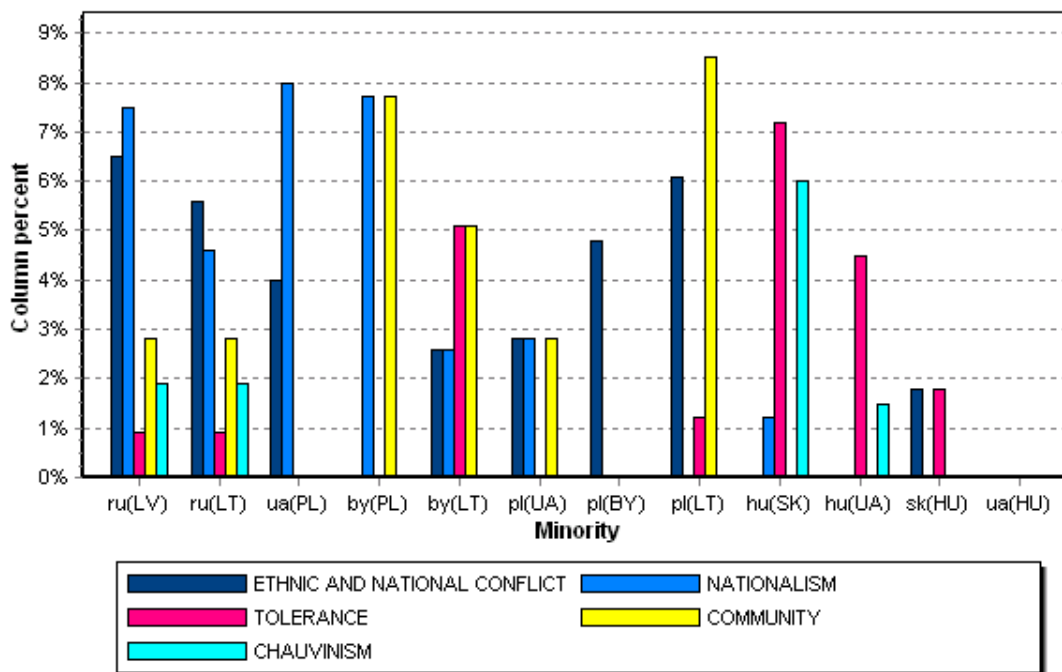
In contrast to the above-mentioned categories, notions like community or tolerance do not have a distinctive character (ibid.). Tolerance can be attributed to 0.9% of cases for each country Latvia and Lithuania; the sense of community is explicit in 2.8% of cases for each country Latvia and Lithuania (ibid.).

Poles in Lithuania and in Belarus have, apparently, a high potential of ethnic and national conflict (6.1% and 4.8%), however with no indication of "nationalism" and "chauvinism" (ibid.). A lower rate in terms of the categories "ethnic and national conflict" and "nationalism" is found with Poles in Ukraine – for each category 2.8% –, with no indication of "chauvinism" (ibid.). This ethnic and national conflict in case of the Poles in Lithuania can be put in relation to the high level of criticism of the Poles in Lithuania towards their host country – with 4.9% (see Figure 15).

Ethnic and national conflict and criticism towards host country which can be distinctively observed with Poles' sources in Lithuania are counterbalanced by the sense of community (8.5%) and tolerance (1.2%) among this minority (see Figure 16). A high percentage is scored by the category "community" also in the case of the Poles in Ukraine (2.8%). The Belarusian minority shows a differentiated picture on the scale nationalism-tolerance. "Nationalism" and "community" take an equal rank with the Belarusians in Poland, 7.7% in each case. The Belarusians in Lithuania show a preference rather for "community" and "tolerance" (in each case – 5.1%) than for "nationalism" and "ethnic and national conflict", namely 2.6% in each case (ibid.).



**Figure 16: Frequency distribution of the categories “ethnic and national conflict”, “tolerance”, “chauvinism”, “nationalism”, and “community” by minority, column %**



A rather contradictory picture appears, when there is a “peaceful coexistence” between notions like tolerance and community, on the one hand, and nationalism, chauvinism as well as ethnic and national conflict, on the other. This is especially observable in the case of the Hungarians in Slovakia and Ukraine and of the Slovaks in Hungary (ibid.). The rates for tolerance rise in case of the Hungarians in Slovakia and in Ukraine to 7.2% and 4.5%, in case of the Slovaks in Hungary – to 1.8%. The rate of chauvinism is very high with Hungarians in Slovakia (6%) and rather low with Hungarians in Ukraine (1.5%). Hungarians in Slovakia show tendencies towards nationalism in 1.2% of cases, and Slovaks in Hungary toward ethnic and national conflict in 1.8% of cases (ibid.).

The conclusion from the above analysis is that notions like nationalism, chauvinism, or ethnic and national conflict can not be taken as absolute parameters observable within minorities. Instead, the ideological pattern can be rather diverse including tolerance, sense of community and multiculturalism. For the social picture to be complete, none of these tendencies shall be excluded or underestimated.

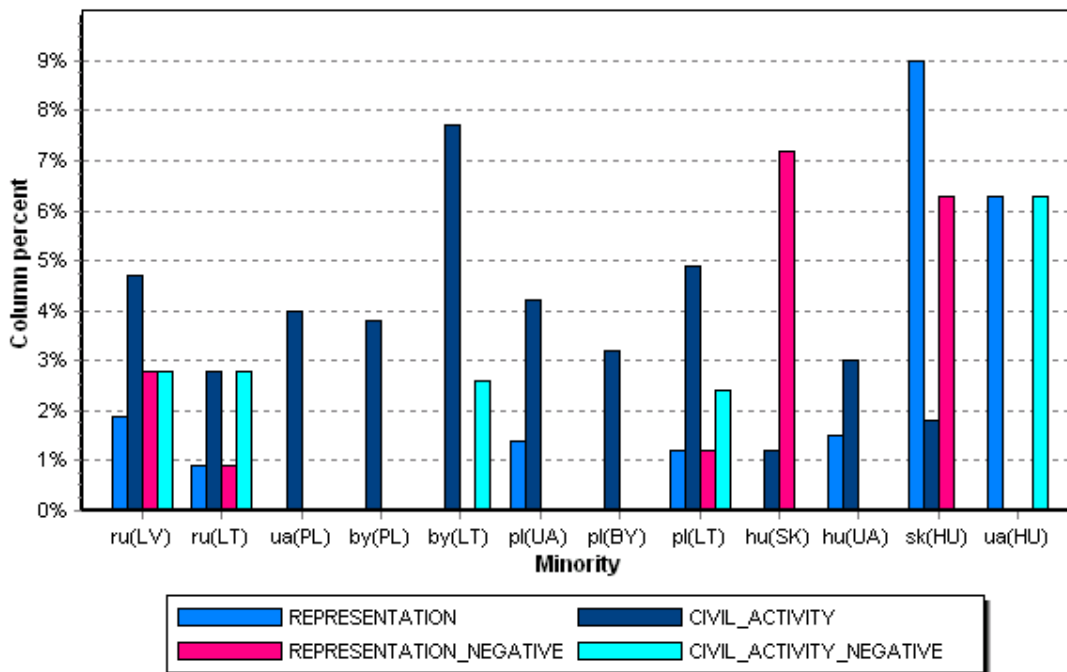
### 3.2.5 Civil Society

The concept of identity is closely related to legitimacy or how a minority is able to represent its rights. In the majority of cases, ethnic groups under study defend their political autonomy by mobilizing civil society. Irrespective of the number of community members or available financial resources, almost all minorities discuss the legal situation in the host country, the relationship with the native country and mother nation, and contacts with other ethnic groups. In these “communicative dimensions”, the ethnic civil society demonstrates how well it is organised and if it is able to defend minority rights.

Engagement in political parties and organisations concerns only some representatives of ethnic minorities, while the majority of the ethnic population remains inactive. Political activity of a minority has much in common with political culture at large and it has little to do with the mentality of the population in the host country.

Ethnic minorities can project the image of a developed civil society, although different patterns of civil activity are observable. The highest level of political organisation appears to be reached by the Belarusians as well as Poles in Lithuania (7.7% and 4.9%), and the Russians in Latvia (4.7%) (see Figure 17). Correspondingly, these minorities point at failures of their political organisation (“civil activity negative”). In 2.8% of cases, the Russians in Latvia disapprove of their civil society, in 2.6% of cases the Belarusians in Lithuania, and in 2.4% – Poles in Lithuania. Positive tendencies in the development of the civil activity can be observed with Russians in Lithuania (2.8% of cases); in the same number of cases, these minorities are however critical of their civil activities (ibid.).

**Figure 17: Frequency distribution of the categories “representation”, “representation negative”, “civil activity”, and “civil activity negative” by minority, column %**



It has to be noted that the cases relating to civil activities are widely present in comparison to “political representation”, which appears to be in low demand among minorities. The issues of political representation enjoy moderate attention with the Russian minority in Latvia. Next to the issues of the civil society, the matters of the political representation in the host country are positively evaluated in 1.9% of cases and negatively in 2.8% of cases (ibid.). Poles in Lithuania, who are the leaders in civil activity among ethnic groups, discuss also success (in 1.2% of cases) as well as failures of the political representation (in 1.2% of cases). Similar numbers, concerning the approval as well as the criticism of the political representation, can be demonstrated in case of the Russians in Lithuania: the category “representation” and “representation negative” reach only 0.9% in each case (ibid.).

The matters of the political representation as well as of the civil society are distinctively represented by Slovak internet users in Hungary (“representation”, 9%, “civil activity”, 1.8%), by Hungarians in Ukraine (1.5% and 3%), as well as by Poles in Ukraine (1.4% and 4.2%) (ibid.). The former minority together with Hungarians in Slovakia are, however, highly critical towards their political representation in the host country. This criticism rises with the Slovaks in Hungary to 6.3% and with the Hungarians in Slovakia to 7.2%. Nevertheless, the percentage for “civil activity” is rather low with the Hungarians in Slovakia (1.2%). The political representation of Ukrainians in Hungary appears to be quite impressive (6.3% of cases), also the high level of criticism towards the civil society (6.3% of cases). A high attention in regard of the civil activity is indicated by Ukrainians in Poland (4%), Belarusians in Poland (3.8%), and Poles in Belarus (3.2%); with these minorities, no cases of the criticism of the civil society could be identified (ibid.).

Establishment of an ethnic minority as social and political group has different patterns, in so far as the minorities often pursue contrasting aims and are being driven by different motives. This is true for example for such minorities like Ukrainians in Poland or Russians in Latvia. Even the same minorities can have different political and social culture: the political activity of the ethnic Poles in Belarus is different from what we can observe in Ukraine.<sup>31</sup>

The Belarusian Poles have a various number of internet resources with online-periodicals and organizations providing a vast amount of analytically and critically orientated information, deeply integrated into the existing intellectual and oppositional discourse in Belarus (see for example the periodical “Echa Polesia”: <http://echapolesia.pl/>). The latter phenomenon can be explained as being triggered by the political conflict between the official and non-official union of Poles in Belarus on the one hand and between the non-official Union of Poles with the Belarusian authorities on the other. Civil activity of the Poles in Belarus goes hand in hand with the criticism towards the representatives of the own political community (15.9%, see Figure 12). With a rather distinct level of the civil activity, the Poles in Belarus feel discriminated in 1.6% of cases (see Figure 15).

Also Ukrainians in Poland express their attitudes toward the politics in the mother country. While welcoming the Orange Revolution, the Ukrainians were critical towards the incoming government under president Yanukovich. Against the backdrop of their dramatic history, the Ukrainians in Poland describe themselves as politically unconsolidated ethnic group who are not able to represent their rights effectively. Ukrainians in Poland are critical towards the representatives of the own community in 8% of cases (see Figure 12). It is interesting to note, that the level of the civil activity of the Ukrainians in Poland coincides with the level of the discrimination in the host country, where the discrimination level equals the level of civil activity in 4% of cases (compare Figure 15 and 17).

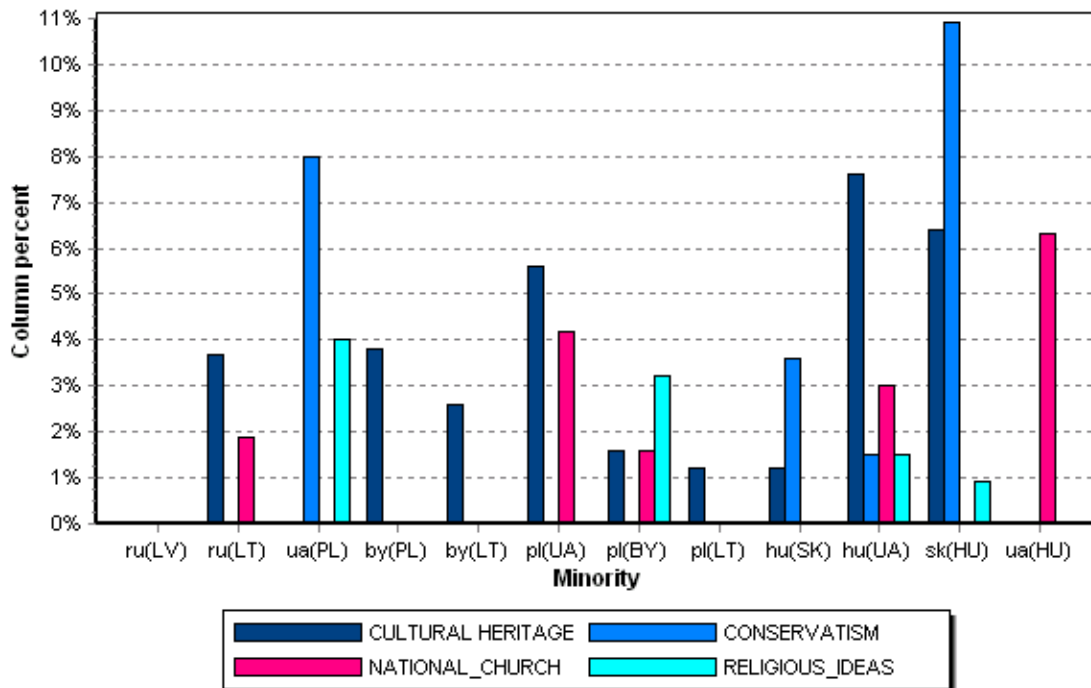
The analysis of internet resources shows that the main motive of the political activities of the Poles in Ukraine is not the defense of their political rights but debating over cultural, historical and religious matters, which periodicals like “Kurier Galicyjski” ([http://www.duszki.pl/kurier\\_galicyjski/](http://www.duszki.pl/kurier_galicyjski/)) express quite clearly. Figure 18 shows that 5.6% of cases in the resources of the Poles in Ukraine are devoted to the “cultural heritage”, 4.2% of cas-

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<sup>31</sup> Compare the periodical “Glos znad Niemna” in Belarus ([http://kresy24.pl/glos\\_znad\\_niemna/](http://kresy24.pl/glos_znad_niemna/)) which has political content with the periodical “Gazeta Polska Bukowiny” in Ukraine ([http://bukpolonia.cv.ua/pol/view\\_cat.php?cat=11](http://bukpolonia.cv.ua/pol/view_cat.php?cat=11)) containing mainly cultural and historical issues.

es concern the issues of the “national church”. In comparison, the culturally orientated issues for the Poles in Belarus are less important: the category “cultural heritage” in case of the Poles in Belarus is mentioned in 1.6%, “national church” in 1.6%, and religious ideas in 3.2% of the relevant documents (ibid.).

**Figure 18: Frequency distribution of the categories “cultural heritage”, “national church”, “conservatism”, and “religious ideas” by minority, column %**



The analysis of the resources has shown that the Ukrainians in Poland<sup>32</sup> – similar to the Poles in Ukraine – exist generally as cultural minorities, with emphasis on the religious and folkloric life of the community. Figure 18 shows that the web users belonging to the Ukrainian minority in Poland voice conservative values (category “conservatism”, 8%); they adhere to “religious ideas” in 4% of cases. A political discourse which in particular is raised in the periodical “Nad Buhom i Narvoju” (<http://nadbuhom.free.ngo.pl>) is linked to the historical memory, religious and cultural issues. Other issues like culture, music, folklore or even the publication of results of historical and ethnographic, cultural and anthropological research are widely present (see for example the periodical “Ridna Mova”<sup>33</sup>).

Next to the Poles in Ukraine and Ukrainians in Poland, Slovaks in Hungary try to preserve traditional life, historical culture, historically shaped life style, religious patterns, and ideological values. Slovaks in Hungary, by a high level of the political representation and relatively developed civil activity, display the highest level of “conservatism” (10.9%) (ibid.). They draw much attention to their “cultural heritage” (6.4%) as well as to the “religious ideas” (0.9%). Hungarians in

<sup>32</sup> See the Union of Ukrainians in Poland (Об’єднання українців у Польщі) in Przemyśl (<http://oupper.harazd.net/pages18.html>).

<sup>33</sup> See internet WWW-Site at URL: [http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/dokumenty/r\\_mowa/](http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/dokumenty/r_mowa/).

Ukraine are concerned about their cultural heritage in 7.6% of cases. They debate about the role of the national church (3%) and represent religious ideas (1.5%). This minority appears to be conservatively oriented in 1.5% of cases (ibid.).

A different format of civil activity can be found with the Belarusian minority. Belarusian organisations in Poland and Lithuania constitute a part of the international civil society network criticizing the Belarusian government for violating the obligations of Belarus in observing human rights standards. Typical examples are provided by NGOs (Belarus Watch, Vilnius: <http://www.belaruswatch.org/>) and broadcasting media (Belarusian Radio Racyya: <http://new.racyja.com/>) which are the part of the Belarusian and international human rights movement. Some Belarusian organisations have found exile on the territory of Lithuania like the Belarusian Humanitarian University or the Belarusian Human Rights House in Vilnius. Media outlets like the news portal “Weski” or “Radio Racyya” devote themselves to trans-boundary communication between the border regions of Poland, Belarus and Lithuania. Belarusian national discourse develops in a close connection with the human rights and political discourse in Belarus.

Belarusians in Poland as well as Lithuania pay attention to their cultural heritage in 3.8% and 2.6% of cases (ibid.). By doing this, Belarusian media in Poland like “Czasopis” try to overcome the conservatism of provincial life of the Belarusian community and establish the principles of tolerance and open-mindedness:

*Choć, co ciekawe, częściej udaje mi się słyszeć białoruski w Warszawie, niż w Hajnówce. W Warszawie mówią tym językiem lubując się w nim Polacy.*

*(Nevertheless, it is interesting that I keep hearing more Belarusian in Warsaw than in Hajnowec. In Warsaw it is used by Poles who get a kick out of it).*

*To pewnie bierze się z zakorzenionych gdzieś w nas kompleksów. Można z nich albo wychodzić i rozwijać się, albo się w nich zamykać.*

*(This certainly a result of our complex which has hardened into carapace. One can either break out of it or lock oneself into it).*

*Ale kultury nie powinno się pielęgnować w zamknięciu i opozycji do innych. Żadna kultura nie była nigdy hermetyczna. Pamiętajmy, że z kultury tego regionu można zaczerpnąć mnóstwo.*

*(But culture should not be orientated to lock-ins and opposition against others. No culture was hermetically closed at all times. Let us remember that one can greatly profit from the culture of this region).*

*Żeby proponować kulturę na wyższym poziomie, a nie tylko schlebiać populistycznym gustom, potrzebni są liderzy. Kiedy w małych, zamkniętych, zasklepionych w sobie środowiskach pojawiają się ambitni liderzy, osoby ponadprzeciętne, często spotykają się z niechęcią otoczenia.*

*(In order to present culture on the highest level, and not just relish in populism, one needs leaders. As soon as in small, closed and dug-in milieus ambitious leaders, above-average personalities appear, they often are confronted with a recalcitrant environment).<sup>34</sup>*

<sup>34</sup> Korbel, J. (2009) “Coraz mniej tu młodych” (Increasingly fewer young people), interview with the journalist Joanna Chaniło, *Czasopis* (7-8), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://czasopis.pl/czasopis/2009-7-8/art-12> (accessed on 1 November 2011).

The public participation of the Russian organisations in Latvia is more distinct than in Lithuania (4.7% against 2.8% for the category “civil activity”, see Figure 17). However, in both countries the Russian minorities are very much active, they are very well organised and have a widespread network of newspapers, organisations and political parties. Not a single Russian organisation in the Baltic States could, however, be identified which would take an independent and critical stance towards politics of Russia other than national questions, for example the protection of human rights or the issues of democracy. The protection of human rights concerns the Russian minority as well, but they do not go beyond their national interests to appeal to the right of individual, to the universal human rights, so that the rhetoric of the human rights protection remains conservative. Especially with the Russians in Lithuania some significant cases were identified of paying attention to issues like “cultural heritage” (3.7%) or “national church” (1.9%) (see Figure 18).

The amount<sup>35</sup> and the “analytical density” (see Chapter 2.1.3. Second step) of available internet resources are therefore to a larger degree dependent on the level of political culture and political activity of a minority. Poles in Belarus, for example, demonstrate a different behavioural pattern in comparison to the Poles in Ukraine or Lithuania, as far as civil activity or political representation is concerned. Russians and Belarusians are again different from what we can observe with Ukrainians, Hungarians or Slovaks. The reason for difference in this self-representation lies also in the legal situation concerning the situation on the ground and the independence of the minorities in the host countries.

### 3.2.6 The “European perspective”

In the so-called transition countries, political participation is often associated with “European values”. The notion of Europe receives “positive”, democratic connotation. To criticize Europe is usually unpopular among democratic elites; the criticism towards Europe is rather a part of the vocabulary of authoritarian leaders. The ethnic minorities which are presented in this study share however different attitudes toward Europe. Not least the variety of opinions and pluralistic exchange of ideas, represented by the resources of ethnic minorities, inform us about different views on the issue of the European integration.

The European Union is primarily regarded by the ethnic minorities as a supranational organisation to observe human rights principles and to guarantee particular economic life standard. If these expectations are not fulfilled, the European Union loses its positive image. The latter is observable on issues like ethnic and minorities’ rights or economic situation.

Criticism toward the idea of Europe and the European Union<sup>36</sup> is typical for the Russian minorities in the Baltic States: 13% – in the case of the Russians in Lithuania, with a support of 2.8%, and 7.5% – in the case of the Russians in Latvia (with a low support of 0.9%) (see Figure 19). This coincides with the fact that the Russian minorities, in relation to other ethnic groups, are in general less critical toward their Soviet past. In their Soviet past, they see many advantages to the

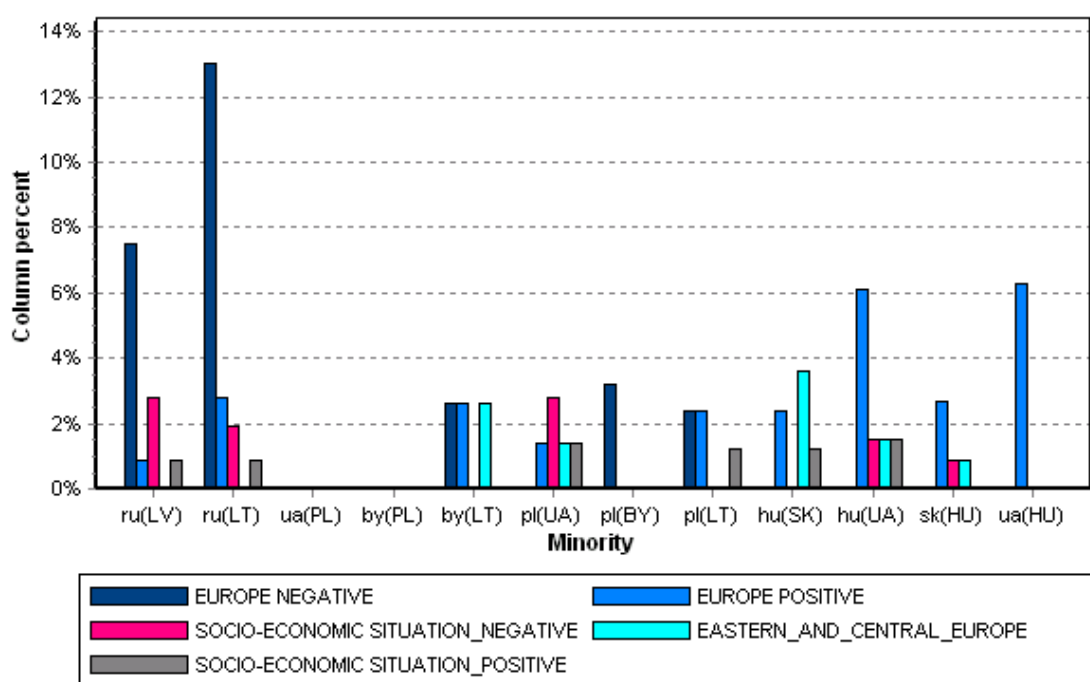
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<sup>35</sup> See the results of the internet data collection in Table 2 and the data on the frequency of the internet usage by each minority in the host country, Figure 1, as well as the comparison between two studies represented in Figure 1a and Figure 1b.

<sup>36</sup> The notions “Europe” and “the EU” (European Union) in this study are regarded as synonyms in so far as the EU as supranational political union implicates the abstract idea of Europe as political, cultural and economic, and not least spiritual, entity of the European population. It goes without saying that Eastern and Central European countries take their equal part in the constructing of the idea of Europe.

current situation. Especially the unofficial communication on Russian forums and postings reveal “pro” and “contra” regarding the politics of the European Union towards ethnic minorities in the Baltic States and the host countries Latvia and Lithuania.

**Figure 19: Frequency distribution of the categories “Europe negative”, “Europe positive”, “socio-economic situation negative”, “socio-economic situation positive”, and “Eastern and Central Europe” by minority, column %**



Criticism toward the idea of Europe and the European Union<sup>37</sup> is typical for the Russian minorities in the Baltic States: 13% – in the case of the Russians in Lithuania, with a support of 2.8%, and 7.5% – in the case of the Russians in Latvia (with a low support of 0.9%) (see Figure 19). This coincides with the fact that the Russian minorities, in relation to other ethnic groups, are in general less critical toward their Soviet past. In their Soviet past, they see many advantages to the current situation. Especially the unofficial communication on Russian forums and postings reveal “pro” and “contra” regarding the politics of the European Union towards ethnic minorities in the Baltic States and the host countries Latvia and Lithuania.

The skepticism of Russians concerning the EU is closely related to their criticism of economic situation and economic crisis which goes hand in hand with a high unemployment rate and the reduction of social benefits. The economic situation is being evaluated negatively by 2.8% of the Russians in Latvia and 1.9% by the Russians in Lithuania, which in comparison to other minorities is relative high (ibid.). “Positive” views on economic situation are found in 0.9% of Russian web contributions in Latvia and in 0.9% in Russian web documents in Lithuania – other minorities show bigger optimism in this question (ibid.). In case of the Russians in Lithuania, criticism

<sup>37</sup> The notions “Europe” and “the EU” (European Union) in this study are regarded as synonyms in so far as the EU as supranational political union implicates the abstract idea of Europe as political, cultural and economic, and not least spiritual, entity of the European population. It goes without saying that Eastern and Central European countries take their equal part in the constructing of the idea of Europe.

of the EU coincides with – in comparison to other minorities – a higher level of support for the mother country (4.6%, see Figure 11).

After the Russian minority, the Poles in Belarus (3.2%) and Lithuania (2.4%) appear to be skeptical about the policy of the EU (see Figure 19). Poles in Belarus, in particular the members of the official Union of Poles, criticize the EU for the lack of a clear position in cases when Poland allegedly discriminates ethnic Poles (the representatives of the official Union of Poles) in their visa policies. Poles in Lithuania criticize the policy of the European Union of not intervening in so-called cases of the violation of minority rights by the Lithuanian government.

The attitudes of the Belarusians in Lithuania towards the EU split in the EU-supporters and in the EU-opponents (2.6% in both cases) (ibid.). It can primarily be explained by different political interests among the Belarusians in Lithuania. The same tendency is observable with Poles in Lithuania (2.4% of EU-supporters and 2.4% of EU-opponents) – Poles in Lithuania are in favor of their socio-economic situation (1.2% of cases) (ibid.).

A development of the “European perspective” is most attractive for the Ukrainians in Hungary (6.3%), Hungarians in Ukraine (6.1%), Slovaks in Hungary (2.7%), Hungarians in Slovakia (2.4%), and Poles in Ukraine (1.4%) (ibid.). The socio-economic situation is supported by the Hungarians in Ukraine in 1.5% of cases (while 1.5% of the sources voice critical attitudes). Concerning this minority, no clear correlation with the economic status can be found. Slovaks in Hungary criticize their economic conditions in 0.9% of cases. In a larger number of cases, the Poles in Ukraine appear to be critics of their socio-economic situation – 2.8% – by 1.4% of supporters. Hungarians in Slovakia share positive opinions on their socio-economic situation (1.2%) (ibid.). It is, however, interesting to note that the socio-economic situation is addressed comparatively rarely.

The text fragments of the Hungarians in Slovakia contain – in relation to other minorities – the highest number of the references to the countries of Eastern and Central Europe (3.6%) (ibid.). The Belarusians in Lithuania try to construct their ethnic identity around the position of openness towards their neighboring countries (“Eastern and Central Europe”, 2.6%); similar tendencies are demonstrated by the Hungarians in Ukraine – the category “Eastern and Central Europe” is mentioned in 1.5% of the cases (ibid.).

In comparison to other minorities, the high level of national consciousness seems to prevent the Belarusian minority from EU discussion. On the one hand, they pay focused attention to national consciousness (15.4% in Poland and 5.1% in Lithuania, see Figure 10). On the other hand, their support for the EU is not impressive, to say the least – 0% of cases in Poland and 2.6% of cases in Lithuania (see Figure 19). A positive vision of Europe anticipates, however, the following posting from a Belarusian source in Poland:

*Michale jestem polskim patriotom z Grodzienszczyzny, ale mnie absolutnie nie przeszkadza bialoruski patriotyzm z Ziemi Bialostockiej. Naodwrot uwazam, ze My Polacy z Bialorusi i Bialorusini z Polski mamy podobne losy, podobne problemy i troski. A jak powstanie wolna Bialorus i przepadnie zelazna kurtyna miedzy naszymi krajami, to wtedy Ziemia bialystocka i Ziemia Grodzieńska staną jednym euroregionem. A w Białymstoku powstanie białoruski Uniwersytet, a w Grodnie polski uniwersyt. I ni kogo to nie będzie dziwić. I miedzy tymi miastami będą chodź pociągi ekspresowe, co godzinę. Nigdy nie walczyliśmy MY miedzy sobą i nie będziemy. Szczęść Boże!*

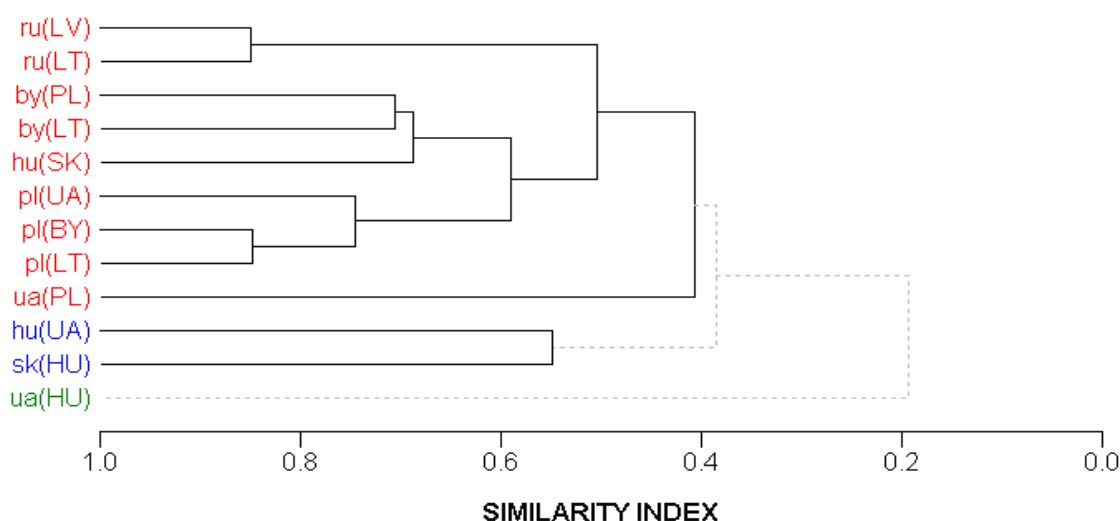


*(Michal is a real Polish patriot from Grodzienszczyzna<sup>38</sup>, but the Belarusian patriotism from the Białystok Land does not bother me at all. On the contrary, I have respect for it, because We, Poles from Belarus and Belarusians from Poland, have similar fortunes, similar problems and concerns. And when free Belarus rises and the iron curtain falls between our countries, then the Białystok Land and the Grodno Land would be the united Euro-region. In Białystok, the Belarusian University will be opened, and in Grodno – the Polish University. And nobody would be surprised about it. And between these places, express-trains will go, every hour. We have never been enemies and never will be. God bless us!)*<sup>39</sup>

### 3.3 Cluster and correspondence analysis

Clustering procedures using all keywords illustrate the relative positions of the minorities in the n-dimensional keyword space (see Figure 20). The group dendrogram shows the outlying positions of Hungarians in Ukraine, Slovaks in Hungary as well as Ukrainians in Hungary. With all other minorities, these groups share a similarity of  $\leq 0.4$  units.

**Figure 20: N-dimensional group dendrogram<sup>40</sup>**



Finally, correspondence analysis (see Figure 21), which reduces the n keyword dimensions to 3, produces roughly the same outcome: while the outlying minorities (such as Slovaks and Ukrainians in Hungary) are clearly separated from the rest, Hungarians in Slovakia appear closer to Russians in Latvia and Lithuania than to Hungarians in Ukraine. As in the above figure, the “dense

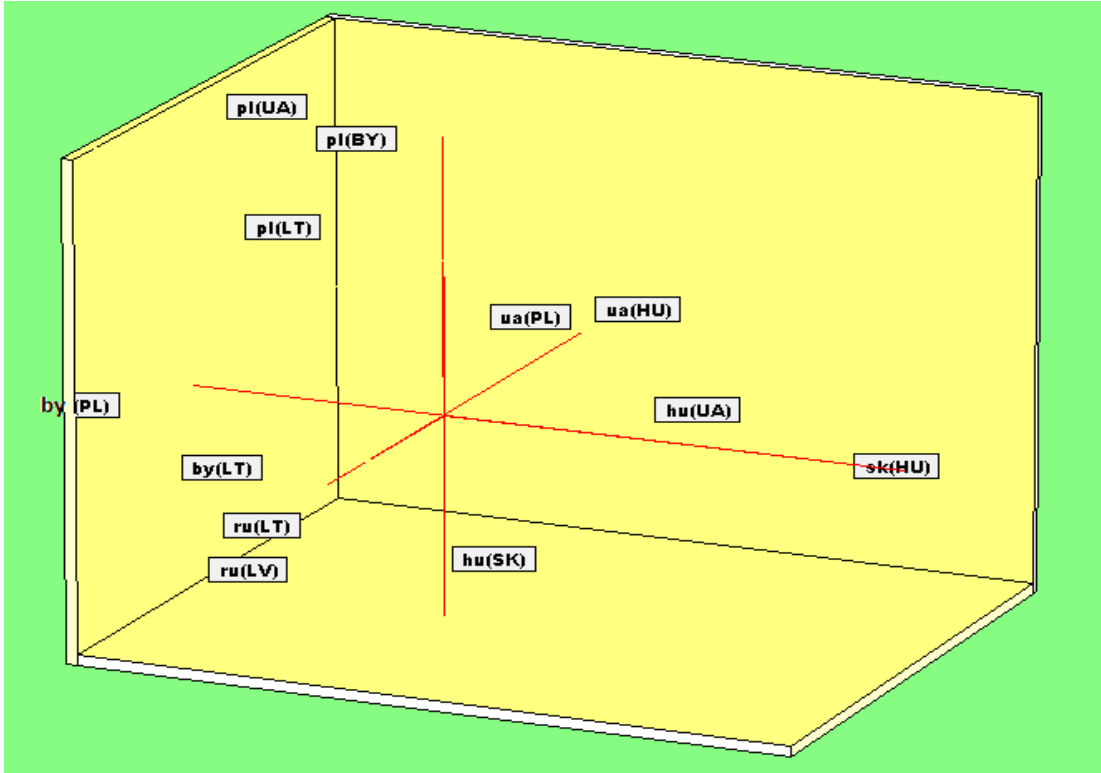
<sup>38</sup> A cordial manner of expression towards the region of Grodno (translit. Hrodno). Grodno is a city in the Western part of Belarus close to the Belarusian-Polish and the Belarusian-Lithuanian border (auth.).

<sup>39</sup> Aleksander (2010), posting to the article: «Мая Беласточчына» (My region Białystok), (author – Anempadystaj, M.), *Sonca.org* (organization), 3 Mai, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://sonca.org/maja-bielastoccyzna.html> (access on 1 November 2011).

<sup>40</sup> The similarity index (Jacard index) is a measure of diversity among sample sets. It is defined on the interval between 0 and 1.

pack” pattern of Russians and Poles in the respective countries is striking and can, against the backdrop of other results, claim high plausibility.

**Figure 21: 3-dimensional group dendrogram**



### 3.4 Conclusions

The content analysis of the internet presence of 12 East and Central European minorities (ENRI-WEB) identified the major themes addressed (or the eligible themes not addressed) by internet users who can be attributed to the various ethnic groups. To a certain extent, the results are confirmed and corroborated by other studies in the framework of ENRI-EAST and can thus be generalized to apply to the minorities as such.

ENRI-WEB strived to analyze factors which determine the modern notion of ethnic minority. The study analyzed notions like cultural and historical heritage of ethnic minorities, “self-experience” of minorities among other ethnic groups, and not least, minority rights, attitudes to the mother and host countries as well as the economic situation of different ethnic minorities.

The ethnic landscape is a living and moving sphere. Emerging nations seek their way to consolidation and independence. Ethnic identity is formed by factors like language, religion, culture, history and education. Civil activity – as a “driving force” – helps to promote these identification factors.

The adherence to the cultural attributes of identity, as expressed by music and art folklore, native language and native church, indicates attempts to preserve the spiritual heritage of a community of people, that otherwise could be lost, especially under the impact of the global mass society. Ethnic cultures tend, however, to react to this pressure by self-isolation rather than by opening toward the outer world. The insistence on one’s own culture results in provincialism, like the

case of the Slovaks in Hungary shows, which in the end leads to chauvinism or ethnic and national conflicts.

Ethnic identity would not be worth discussing if it would not rest on traditional and historical roots. The reminiscence of oppressive regimes, genocide victims on the one hand and national renaissance, national resistance and national leaders on the other, shape the political debates of ethnic minorities. Such debates are often a part of the policy of reconciliation or of the acceptance of historical truth by the neighbouring countries which share a dramatic past experience.

Historical memory serves two aims: to remind future generations of past events and to boost the myth of the national glory. Minorities like the Ukrainians in Hungary or the Poles in Lithuania and Ukraine voice negative attitudes to the Soviet past. Nations try to reshape and to rewrite historically imposed dogmas in an attempt to find historical justice. Some minorities like the Belarusians or the Ukrainians in Poland or the Slovaks in Hungary attempt to revive traditional patriarchal and family oriented values. Historical experience, shared historical memory, and especially dramatic events, can consolidate minorities. The “cultural paradigm” of identity cultivates the national idea/ideology as well as nationalism.

Ethnic minorities become active when they constitute a part of civil society, when they are able to reach out to political institutions in order to participate in the framing of political concepts and to receive safeguards of their cultural and economic rights. Ethnicity has to establish itself towards the host country. The stronger the ethnic community is, the less cases like discrimination and assimilation appear. Political participation is however relevant only for particular categories of representatives of ethnic minorities. Civil activity of ethnic organizations is, as a rule, not developed; topics concerning cultural issues are given priority across the board.

Civil activity of ethnic minorities faces a twofold problem of performing political action in the real political systems of the host countries and resisting the political majorities not representing ethnic interests and the low mobilization level among the ethnic population itself. In order to achieve political power different minorities have to coordinate their actions, like in the case of the Russians, Belarusians and Poles in Lithuania, who participated in the elections as voters and candidates under the umbrella of one party – Akcja Wyborcza Polaków na Litwie (Election action of the Poles in Lithuania). For some minorities like the Hungarians in Ukraine or Slovakia, or for the Ukrainians in Poland, political activity is reduced to the participation in the ethnic organizations which have more cultural and less political programs and whose primary aim is not the representation in the governmental bodies. The emphasis of cultural themes in the relevant internet resources clearly show this.

The positioning between the mother and host country sheds light on the political character of an ethnic minority. The study fleshed out the fact that – in any case – the ethnic minorities try to position themselves vis-à-vis the mother and host country as independent entities.

Attitudes toward the home countries vary. This relationship helps to define the principles of national consciousness and national idea among ethnic minorities. The native country can appear as real “mother country” and intensify the feelings of belonging to a nation, especially when the native country actively promotes and supports ethnic minorities – like in the case of Poland and ethnic Poles. The national feelings of ethnicity can be also intensified by an opposite tendency, when the mother country and the ethnic minority are in the position of conflict with each other, like in the case of Belarus and Belarusian ethnic groups. Also, if the mother nation is weakly developed, the national idea survives only among the ethnic community. In order for ethnic identity to be promoted in such situations, the ethnic minority requires strong political culture.

The mother country can also enhance the feelings of nationalism and chauvinism of ethnic minorities, especially when a political conflict between the mother and host countries exists. For example, the relationship between Russia, Latvia and Lithuania has a direct influence on the Russian minority in these countries, which is reflected in the internet sources. Conflicts between Ukraine and Poland intensify the national rhetoric among the Ukrainian and Polish ethnic minorities in both countries. This does not exclude the fact that the ethnic Ukrainians try to position themselves toward their mother country Ukraine independently and critically. The volatile relations between Poland and Lithuania negatively influence the position of the Polish minority in Lithuania in terms of nationalism and ethnic-national conflict. Nationalism carries a positive connotation when it provides “protective measures” for a weakly developed ethnic group.

The relationship of minorities with the host country can be described as an attraction/repulsion relation. The support of the host country and the acceptance of the dialogue between the minority and the host country – like in the case of the Belarusians in Lithuania – coincide with a sharp criticism towards the host country for ignoring the ethnic life of the community, like the case of Belarusians in Poland demonstrates. Russian internet users in Latvia criticize the government of their host country for the lack of political representation or for neglecting the rights of association and cultural freedoms.

Ethnic minorities try to defend their rights within civil society and to achieve equal rights within the host nation. Overall, the process of political acceptance by the host nation moves ahead at a slow pace. Minorities still tend to develop cooperation and find support rather with the mother country than with the host country.

Discrimination and violations of ethnic rights is a sensitive topic for all ethnic minorities. Major discriminative acts of ethnic minorities in the host countries concern the lack of ethnic schools and mass media, difficulties to achieve political power and effective representation of ethnic rights, and for some minorities gaining citizenship rights appears to be a problem, like for the Russians in Latvia. All minorities which were studied express the fear toward assimilation prompted by the integration policy of the host country and a free acceptance of minorities to change their identity.

The category “social fear” – apprehensions to speak the ethnic language and to state openly one’s own ethnicity for material reasons – unveils the legal position of ethnic minorities in host countries. Ethnic identity is influenced by the economic factor. Economic freedom and social rights can improve the self-identification of ethnic groups and, on the contrary, destroy it, if the economic freedoms and social rights are not guaranteed. Securing property rights on the territory of the host country represents a major factor of ethnic consciousness for the Belarusians in Poland and the Poles in Lithuania. The attitude to the European Union is shaped by the economic and political situation of the minority in the host country.

If the mother country can trigger nationalism among ethnic minorities, the host country influences the feeling of multiculturalism and community. Countries like Lithuania – historically and ethnically heterogeneous – contribute to the awareness that cultural openness and tolerance is an asset rather than a curse. ENRI-WEB has yielded additional evidence to the effect that the minorities along the new Eastern EU borders are critical, but loyal citizens. They are neither a reckless fifth column nor are they willing to sacrifice their national heritage to be fully accepted in their host countries.

## 4 MINORITIES' PROFILES<sup>41</sup>

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### 4.1 Russians in Latvia

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#### 4.1.1 Description of internet resources

Among the ethnic minorities under study, the highest number of online resources in the content analysis is found with *Russians in Latvia*, all in all 25. Among them are 7 periodicals, 1 news/broadcasting portal, 5 organizations, 7 resources with blogs, 2 forums, 1 personal website, and 2 articles containing postings. Text fragments were collected from periodicals “Telegraf”, “Novaya Gazeta”, and “Nasha Gazeta” as well as organizations – “Rodina”, “Russians in Latvia”, “Russki Mir”, and Jekabpils Russian Society “Rodnik”. While one forum was identified in “Novaya Gazeta” (<http://novaja.lv/forum/index.html>), the blogs were obtained from the periodical “Novaya Gazeta” and the news portal “NovoNews”. One text fragment was selected from the personal website “Elizaveta Krivzova”.

“Telegraf” (<http://www.telegraf.lv/>) is a daily edition funded by the private corporation “News Media Group” which represents the Europe-orientated wing of the Russian political spectrum in Latvia. The rubrics of the periodical include politics, business, social life as well as tabloid news. Apart from the news from Europe and international news, the periodical reports especially about local political parties and takes a critical stance toward host country politics regarding ethnic minorities. “Novaya Gazeta” (<http://novaja.lv/>) was founded in the Soviet era and has a 46 years tradition. This periodical has a circulation of 16 000 and is issued by the media company “Diena” three times per week. According to its mission statement, the publication strives to inform the population of Elgava Region, support the strengthening of democratic values and the integration of society as well as the development of Russian culture.

The news portal “Ves.lv” (<http://www.ves.lv/>) is a private internet project, owned by the company “Izdevniecības Nams Fenster”. This resource describes itself as a news portal for a modern and dynamic audience which expects to have new, interesting and up-to-date information from all aspects of life, politics, culture, and society from different regions of Latvia, neighbouring states and the international community. The news portal but stresses its ambition to be a platform for a liberal exchange of the readers’ views. The readers can contribute by publishing own information, interesting comments, articles and news on the portal’s website.

“Rodina” (<http://www.rodina.lv/>), the website of “Russian Latvia”, pledges equality of the Russian and Latvian peoples and tries to deny the negative historic memory of Latvians concerning the Russian occupation and around the foundation of the Latvian national state. In comparison to other organizations, this site reports about the life of the Russian community in tandem with the justification of the rights of Russians on Latvian territory while appealing to a national myth. Consequently, the organization comes out very strongly for an amendment of the Latvian Constitution to the effect that Russian became the second state language. The site comments on some historical issues, although with some “nationalistic touch” while accompanying its information with audio, video and text material.

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<sup>41</sup> General disclaimer from the editor: numeric values in the figures included in this chapter may slightly differ within the range of  $\pm 1\%$  as compared to the related explanatory text of the author. This variation is caused by the technical reasons of transition of the same data set between different analytical and illustrative software packages (WordStat, SimStat, MS Excel, MS Word), in particular due to the rounding error for decimal numbers. The author has departed from the original scores, while the final layout of the charts demonstrates slight deviations from these initial figures.

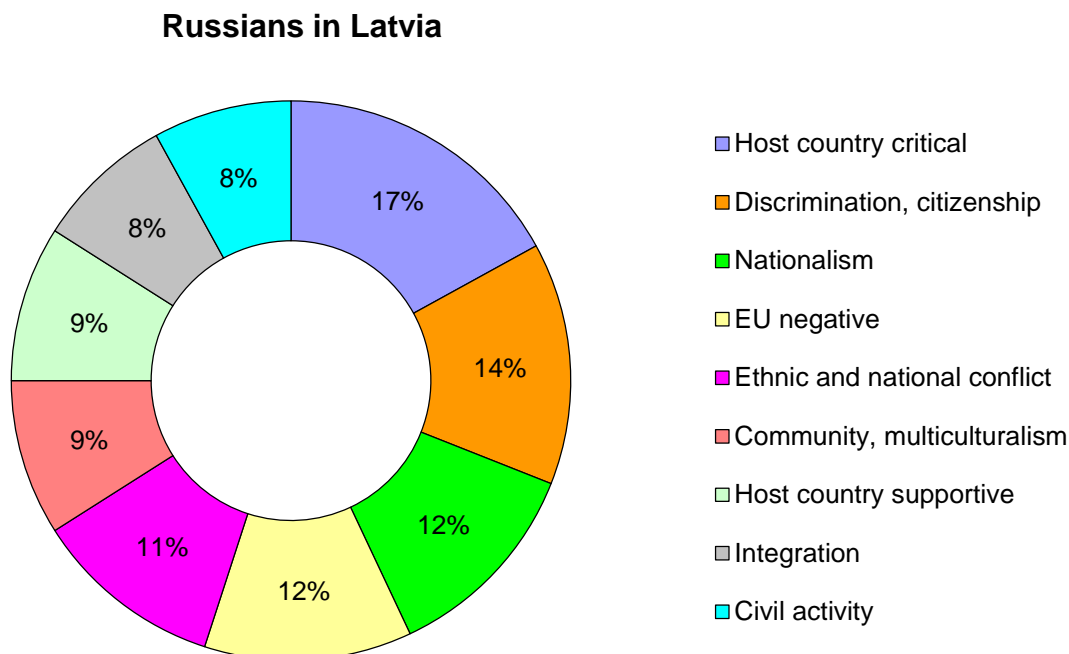
The NGO “*Russki Mir*” (<http://www.russkimir.lv/>) aims at preserving values of the Russian culture in Latvia and at promoting Russian education and language. It organizes initiatives, actions and appeals to the Latvian authorities in order to implement the rights of Russians, for example, as far as election participation of Russian nationals without citizenship is concerned. In comparison to “*Rodina*”, this organization follows its agenda in a more moderate way by appealing to the Latvian authorities. Among other rubrics like “*Consultation*” or “*Bank of Ideas*”, the website informs about Russian organizations in Latvia, who belong to the so-called “*Russian World of Latvia*”.

The website “*Russians in Latvia*” (<http://russkie.org.lv/>) introduces activities of the Russian Society in Latvia. This organization endeavours to develop the Russian community in Latvia, concerning language, culture, and Russian tradition and folklore. It supports opening and maintaining of Russian schools and popularizes the attitude to preserve and cherish its own language among the Russian population. The Russian Society was founded in Riga and it counts its track record back to 1996. “*Rodnik*” (<http://rodnik-jekabpils.blogspot.com/>), the Russian Society of Jekabpils was founded in 2000. Among its 65 members are 90% Russians and 10% Ukrainians and Belarusians. Its stated objectives are the support of cultural heritage and popular traditions. Jekabpils was chosen as a location because of its high percentage of Russian-speaking inhabitants (45%).

#### 4.1.2 Characteristic keyword clusters

Figure 1 below shows the distribution of most frequently mentioned keywords/categories according to the percentage of coded cases/documents for the Russian internet users in Latvia.

Figure 1: Keyword frequency, % of cases



During the analysis of the resources of the Russians in Latvia, the majority of the coded cases were assigned to the category HOST COUNTRY CRITICAL (17% of all cases). Russian minorities are critical of the government of their host country because of the alleged or perceived violation of minority rights and the tolerance extended to nationalistic organizations.

As Russian online resources reveal, a high percentage of the Russians does not possess Latvian citizenship and they reject to go through the process of naturalization. Allegedly, the citizenship had been unfairly taken from ethnic Russians at the beginning of the 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The dissatisfaction of the Russians is fuelled by the fact that they have to pass exams to receive the citizenship even though they have been living and working in Latvia their whole life.

Discrimination concerns such issues as difficulties to open national schools as well as freedom of the media and association, especially regarding the operation of national channels and the organizing of “Soviet style”. While the younger generation is influenced by assimilation, the elderly people feel nostalgia towards the communist past. The categories DISCRIMINATION and CITIZENSHIP make up 14% of cases.

The criticism towards the host country can be illustrated by the following citations:

*The ex-legionary Visvaldis Lacis rejected the possibility of integration as a fact: “At this point, we are just squandering our money: we are financing the minority schools, pay language courses...Exams are not tantamount to integration: the minority has to preserve its identity at its own cost.”*

*(Экс-легионер Висвалдис Лацис отрицал возможность интеграции как факт: «Мы сейчас просто транжирим деньги: финансируем школы нацменьшинств, оплачиваем курсы по обучению языку... Экзамены не означают интеграцию. А идентичность нацменьшинства должны сохранять на свои деньги»).*

*The main shortcoming of the document is the contradiction between the stated goals and the action plan, said Deputy Boris Cilevich (“CS”): “The idea to reduce the number of children belonging to the minorities and receiving education in their mother tongue, does not correspond to the term ‘integration’”.*

*(Главный недостаток документа - противоречия между заявленными целями и планом мероприятий, констатировал депутат Борис Цилевич («ЦС»). «Идея сократить численность детей нацменьшинств, которые получают образование на родном языке, не отвечает понятию «интеграция»»).*<sup>42</sup>

One of the biggest problems, according to the sources attributed to the Russian minority in Latvia, is the socio-economic situation which is connected with layoffs and reduction of social benefits. Russians argue that Latvia remains a developing country which after the joining of the European Union did not receive many economic benefits; corrupted and nationally orientated authorities failed in socio-economic policy. Negative attitudes regarding the EU reach 12% of analyzed cases (EU NEGATIVE).

<sup>42</sup> Gluchich, A. (2010) «Многострадальная интеграция латвийского общества остается под вопросом» (The woe-ful tale of integration in Latvia remains a question mark), *Telegraf* (periodical), 31 March, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.telegraf.lv/news/mnogostradalynaya-integraciya-latviiskogo-obshtestva-ostaetsya-pod-voprosom>) (accessed on 16 July 2010).

The issues discussed by the Russian resources in Latvia suggest, that the Russian minority is involved into ethnic and national conflicts with the host country (ETHNIC AND NATIONAL CONFLICT, 11% of cases) concerning the reception of history and attempts at revising history by some Latvian politicians. In turn, the Russians demonstrate an inclination towards nationalistic and occasionally chauvinistic rhetoric (NATIONALISM, 12%). The Russian minorities feel discriminated by expressions like “Soviet occupation” which convey the image of enemies in Latvian society. In the nationalistically tuned political debates, the society is split between those who are being called “occupants” and others who are being called “fascist”.

While the Latvian government is concerned about the cultural and political integration of society to normalize the “ethnic-demographic situation” (INTEGRATION, 8%), the Russian minority is worried to lose its “mentality” and “identity”. The memory of the Second World War among the Russian pupils – for example – would be erased if attention were not paid to the teaching of the war history. Russia as mother country supports the participation of the Russian community in cultural and educational programs. It initiates support for minority families who are in a difficult socio-economic situation.

The meaning of ethnicity and culture for the Russians in Latvia is conveyed by the following citation:

*Ethnicity, the ethnic determination of a person is its natural condition, which helps to preserve language, traditions, and life style. In an intensively changing world, ethnicity especially gives stability to our existence.*

*(Этничность, этническая определенность личности - ее естественное состояние, помогающее сохранить язык, свои традиции, образ жизни. В бурно меняющемся мире именно этничность придает стабильность нашему существованию).<sup>43</sup>*

According to the opinions expressed in the Russian resources, civil organizations of the Russian minorities look for chances of cooperation with the authorities. The fact that the ethnic rights are being violated can be explained by the low level of activities of the non-governmental organizations (CIVIL ACTIVITY, 8% of cases). The ethnic organizations are constructive towards the dialogue with the government (HOST COUNTRY SUPPORTIVE, 9%). The Russians in Latvia appreciate that the government structures are ready to involve the civil society in all stages of the political process from the agenda setting and planning until the implementation and control of the political programs. According to the opinion of the representatives of the Russian community as well as the Latvian government, there can be only the relations of cooperation between the authorities and the civil organizations of minorities, where both sides see each other as partners.

The Russian resources like the personal website of the political activist E. Krivcova (<http://www.krivcova.lv>) pledge the principles of COMMUNITY and MULTICULTURALISM which can be associated with 9% of analyzed cases. This can especially be seen during debates concerning linguistic rights. According to such debates, the state policy in Latvia should go in direction of multiculturalism when the Russians and Latvians respect tradition and language of each other and protect them mutually. While the official language is the Latvian, the Russians shall have the spheres where they could use their language, especially in the social and educational sphere.

<sup>43</sup> Apine, I. (2007) «Этнический компонент в гражданском обществе» (Ethnic component in the civil society), *Russki Mir* (organization), (without day and month of issue), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://shh.neolain.lv/seminar14/apine1.htm> (accessed on 29 October 2011).



## 4.2 Russians in Lithuania

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### 4.2.1 Description of internet resources

The landscape of resources of the *Russian minority in Lithuania*, which could be collected during the study, is as broad as in Latvia (24 resources) – 3 periodicals, 5 news/broadcasting portals, 6 organizations, 3 blogs, 5 forums, and 2 articles with postings. Among the resources are the periodicals “Litovski Kur’er” and “Obzor”, and news portals “NewsLitva”, “Runet”, and “Penki”. The internet portal “NewsLitva” includes information concerning immigrant issues, and the online portal “Penki”, apart from general news reports, carries information like entertainment or partner dating. In comparison to other minorities, Russians in Baltic States have a number of ethnically orientated forums where they discuss issues like discrimination, economic and social rights of minorities as well as ethnically sensitive EU policies. Apart from the forums “Rupor” and “TTS Forum” of the Russian community, the Russian blog in Lithuania “Patamushta” was analyzed.

The weekly “*Obzor*” (<http://obzor.lt/>) has been issued by the private company “Flobis” in Vilnius since 1997. The registered audience of the periodical’s website is 36 000 members, many of whom are active participants of forums and blogs. The periodical takes an independent position towards Lithuanian authorities, especially concerning minority issues. It seems to be conscious of its important role in the Lithuania’s civil society and shows solidarity with NGOs from countries like Belarus criticizing the Lithuanian authorities reportedly for providing to the Belarusian regime the account details of Belarusian independent organisations, the majority of which are registered in Lithuania.

“*Litovski Kur’er*” (<http://www.kurier.lt/>) is published in Vilnius since 1996, with classical news from politics, economics, culture and society and rubrics on countries like Belarus or Kazakhstan. Reports are edited in a critical style supporting Russian minorities in representation of their interests and propping up their self-consciousness. Its criticism is targeted at the Lithuanian government for its alleged tolerance of the Neo-Nazi movement which – in the opinion of the periodical’s authors – begins to threaten minorities and seems to represent mainstream European tendencies, especially in the face of the tragic events in Norway in 2011. “*Litovski Kur’er*” links the readers to the issues in the neighbouring countries like the official “*Belarus Segodnya*”, or the Russian tabloid “*Komsomolskaya Pravda*”.

According to its own statement, the *Klaipeda Association of the Russian Citizens* (<http://www.klaipeda1945.org/>) is responsible for independent information and social activities of Russians in the city of Klaipeda. It is organized as cultural center to support the Russian nationals with legal means and through cultural and political information. The website of the Association debates Russian history in Klaipeda and promotes initiatives like education of Russians from Lithuania in the universities of the Russian Federation. Klaipeda Association manages projects like the Russian Information Center and comments in a special rubric on the Russian-Belarusian Union. The rhetoric of the website is predominantly conservative continuing Soviet-style traditions. *Orthodox Community of Lithuania* (<http://www.pbl.lt/>) is a religious NGO taking an active part not only in cultural events, but also being integrated into political and social life. The organization is registered in Kaunas, and its website operates since 1997. The organization popularizes religion, but tries to do it with the means of educational programs and charitable missions. The intention is to adopt the religion to demands and problems of society, which all in all makes up a rational and pragmatic objective. As humanitarian organization, Orthodox Community provides help, and as information tool, it disseminates analytical articles about the role

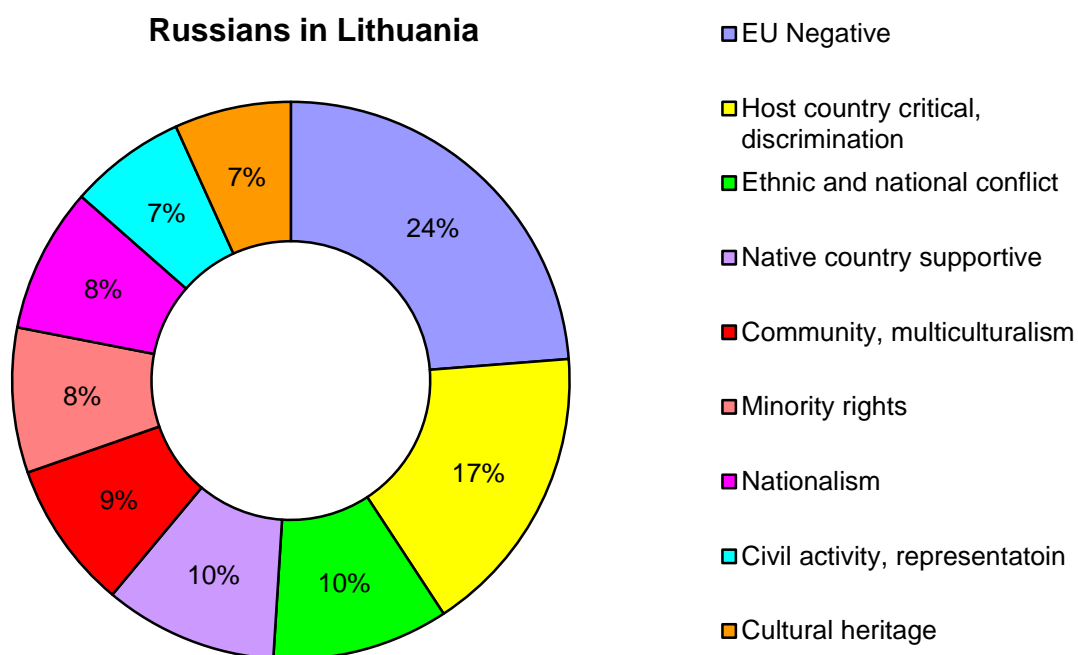
and importance of religion. The visitors of the website express their views in forums and the representatives of church voice their opinions in blogs.

The *Union of the Russians of Lithuania* (<http://sojuzrus.lt/>) represents a political party with headquarters in Vilnius. On its website, the organization claims: “While there are only a few Russians in Lithuanian executive organs, there is no one Russian representative in the Lithuanian parliament”. While participating in local politics, the Union of Russians strives to achieve a number of political, economic and social goals, especially improving social infrastructure of ethnic schools or providing help for the poor. Among special achievements of the Union are political campaigns like protests against the plans of authorities to build a garbage recycling factory, or the demonstration on 9 May in memory of the victory of the Soviet people during the World War II. The party members sign petitions directed to the Lithuanian president in protest against discrimination of the Russian language in schools.

#### 4.2.2 Characteristic keyword clusters

Figure 2 shows the distribution of most frequently mentioned keywords/categories according to the percentage of coded cases/documents for the Russian internet users in Lithuania.

**Figure 2: keyword frequency, % of cases**



According to Figure 2, the majority of the analyzed cases for the Russians in Lithuania can be assigned to the categories describing the legal situation of the Russian minority in Lithuania, such as “host country critical”/“discrimination” or “minority rights”. Attitudes to the European Union are to the higher degree influenced by the opinions of minorities on their social, political and economic situation.

As can be gathered from the online resources, Russian web users in Lithuania are critical towards the host country concerning the implementation of their cultural rights. As the Russian resources

in Lithuania suggest, the Russians do not have TV-channels of their own, there are only two Russian radio stations, and the Russian periodicals often reprint news from the Russian media. The Russian language at secondary and high schools has been increasingly replaced by the Lithuanian language (HOST COUNTRY CRITICAL/DISCRIMINATION, 17%). Also many parents associate better integration of their children in Lithuanian society and better career chances with the Lithuanian language.

Apart from the persistence of the problems with cultural rights, the Russian internet users are not satisfied with their economic situation. In their opinion, Lithuania has a high unemployment rate. The pro-Russian party politician Kazimira Prunskienė is critical towards the EU which in her understanding brought liberalization to countries like Lithuania but at the same time put it in a difficult socio-economic situation. The cases which express EU-critical (EU NEGATIVE) attitudes amount to 24%.

Tendencies of perceived discrimination on ethnic grounds are illustrated by the following citations:

*Real Russophobia started in 1993-1994, in the active attempts at separating themselves and one's own history from everything Russian, or even non-Lithuanian, and as a result, people tried to present themselves as a titular nation, so that even the Poles started to rewrite their surnames in the Lithuanian style.*

*(Настоящая русофобия началась в 1993-94 годах, в полных попытках отделить себя и свою собственную историю от всего русского, скорее даже не литовского и как следствие этого люди старались показать себя титульной нацией так, что даже поляки стали переделывать фамилии на литовский лад).<sup>44</sup>*

*The request "to underpin the principle of self-identification with a related social and professional activity" draws most attention: This is similar to the principle, when the suitor who seeks protection of his rights in the law court, has to prove his "human origin" before filing a lawsuit.*

*(Более всего обращает на себя внимание вносимое требование «подкрепить принцип самоидентификации соответствующей общественной или профессиональной деятельностью»: это подобно тому, как истцу, ищущему защиты своих прав в суде, прежде подачи иска требовалось бы доказать своё «человеческое происхождение»).*<sup>45</sup>

In comparison to Latvia, the Lithuanian government managed, however, to resolve the problem of citizenship more successfully. After the proclamation of state independence in 1990, the Lithuanian government issued the principle of "zero" citizenship, according to which everybody who wanted to become the Lithuanian citizen received these rights (MINORITY RIGHTS, 8%). The

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<sup>44</sup> Letchik (nickname) (2010), posting in the forum: «Русофобия в Литве существует?» (Does the russophobia in Lithuania exist?), *Rupor* (forum), 14 January, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://rupor.lt/index.php?showuser=3705> (accessed on 15 July 2010).

<sup>45</sup> Union of Russians of Lithuania (organization) (2010) «МИД России резко сокращает число соотечественников, которых намерено защищать» (Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs reduces rapidly the number of Russian nationals whom it is going to protect), 31 March, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.sojuzru.lt/index.php?name=News&op=article&sid=235> (accessed on 17 July 2010).

Lithuanian society has avoided political instability on an ethnic basis, which contributed to the democratization of the Lithuanian society.

The political life of the ethnic Russians in Lithuania is quite developed, with a high diversity of mass media and pluralistic information (CIVIL ACTIVITY/REPRESENTATION, 7%). The party Union of Russians in Lithuania was successful in implementing projects concerning the status of the Russian language, but the Russian political parties and organizations have problems to survive because of in their opinion not sufficient political activity among the Russian population. When it becomes difficult to achieve power, the parties change their image from ethnic to ideological.

According to the analyzed resources like periodicals “Obzor” or the Klaipeda Association of the Russian Citizens, Soviet history is a battleground for political controversies between Lithuania and Russia, which enhances nationalistic feelings on both sides (NATIONALISM, 8%). In statements of the Russian media, Lithuanian politicians try to present Russia as enemy regime which spreads its control on the informational field of Lithuania. The Russians in Lithuania are critical towards some Lithuanian representatives in the European Union who create such image. In their criticism of the Lithuanian government, Russians receive support from their home country (ETHNIC AND NATIONAL CONFLICT, 10%).

A critical attitude toward the host country is illustrated by the following quotation:

*Nothing unfortunately will be settled as long as Lithuania does not really stop to victimize itself and does not start to combat the “small people” complex; and as long as it does not turn into a real European country where nationalism is regarded as savagery and the destiny of primitive and uneducated people.*

*(Так что ничего, увы, не наладится, если Литва на самом деле не изживет в себе комплекс жертвы и маленького народа. Не станет настоящей европейской страной, где национализм - дрямучесть и удел недалеких, неграмотных людей).<sup>46</sup>*

In parallel, the representatives of the Russian ethnic minority share positive attitudes towards the host and mother country and they are interested in creating the constructive idea of a dialogue between different communities (COMMUNITY/MULTICULTURALISM, 9%). The Klaipeda Association of the Russian Citizens, for example, which in turn is supported from the budget of the Lithuanian state, is against any confrontation either regarding the reception of history or the fact of belonging to different nationalities. In the opinion of the organisation, Lithuania and the city of Klaipeda is home for representatives of many ethnicities who have lived here their whole life.

The Russians in Lithuania associate themselves strongly with their native country (NATIVE COUNTRY SUPPORTIVE, 10%) while paying attention to the preserving of the Russian tradition in Lithuania. Russian minorities share the opinion that CULTURAL HERITAGE (7%) shapes independence and identity, which can be illustrated by the following citations:

*A good tendency! We must not forget our roots and what unites all of us. Such actions revive the patriotic spirit which was repressed almost totally under the Soviets.*

<sup>46</sup> Spok (nickname) (2009), posting to the article: «Не хотят избавляться от синдрома жертвы» (Don't want to get rid of the victim's syndrome), (author – Listopad, E.), *Litovski Kur'er* (periodical), 21 Mai, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.kurier.lt/?r=13&a=2486&c&p=3&c> (accessed on 12 August 2010).

*(Хорошая тенденция!!!! Мы не должны забывать свои корни и то, что нас всех связывает. Подобные мероприятия возрождают духовный путь патриотизма, который был практически полностью задавлен советской властью).<sup>47</sup>*

The interview with the descendant of the Russian reformer Pyotr Stolypin, N. Sluchevski<sup>48</sup>, on the website of the Russian Cultural Center suggests that there are deep cultural and historical roots between Russia and Lithuania. Personalities like Pyotr Stolypin, who lived and worked as senior Russian official in the city of Kaunas, demonstrate that both countries and their people have close connections. N. Sluchevski expresses his regret concerning the abolishment of peasantry tradition to work on land in Lithuania, which negatively influenced national identity:

*And today, despite the industrial and energy branches, to separate the Russian farmer from the land is tantamount to continue the genocide which has begun in Soviet times. People lost the soil under their feet and nothing was left from their national identity.*

*(И сегодня, несмотря на промышленность и нефтегазовые отрасли, отрывать русского крестьянина от земли - значит продолжить геноцид, начатый в советские годы. У людей выбили почву из-под ног, и ничего от национальной идентичности не осталось).*

*No, the new rulers did not like the word "collective farm". And instead of finding new forms and new names for agricultural cooperatives, they were simply disbanded. The Lithuanian village was weakened and bled out alongside with large swatches of the natural culture.*

*(Да нет, слово «колхозы» новым властям уж больно не нравилось. И вместо того, чтобы найти новую форму и новое наименование сельскохозяйственным сообществам, их просто разогнали, обессилив, обескровив литовское село, а значит в огромной степени - свою национальную культуру).*

*Nikolaj Sluchevski: If it was like this, it is very sad. And the Russian example shows very clearly how the dilution of society, the annihilation of the peasantry as one of its parts, leads to the degradation of the state as such. There is no link between head and body any longer.*

*(Николай Случевский: Если так случилось, это очень печально. И на примере России отчетливо видно, как расслоение общества, уничтожение крестьянства как одной из его частей, ведет к деградации государства в целом - между туловищем и головой просто никакой связи не остаётся).*

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<sup>47</sup> Horss (nickname) (2010), posting to the article: «Школа «Традиция» фольклорными красками украсила начало летнего сезона в Паланге» (The "Tradiciya" school adorned the beginning of the summer season in Palanga with folkloristic colors), (author – Roshchina, L.), *Obzor* (periodical), 11 July, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://obzor.lt/news/n734.html> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

<sup>48</sup> Yasinskaya, T. (without date) «Калнабярже – поруганная колыбель столыпинских реформ» (Kalnabyarzhe – the lost cradle of the Stolypin reforms), interview with Sluchevski, N., *Russian Cultural Center* (organization), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.rkc.lt/news/kalnaberze/> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

## 4.3 Ukrainians in Poland

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### 4.3.1 Description of internet resources

According to the amount of available internet resources (14), the *Ukrainian minority in Poland* takes the 6<sup>th</sup> place under 12 ethnic minorities. The resources include 3 periodicals, 2 news/broadcasting portals, 4 organizations, 4 forums, and 1 article with postings. Leading periodicals are “Nad Buhom i Narvoyu”, “Nasze Slovo”, and “Ridna Mova”. Ukrainians in Poland emphasize close connections of Poles and Ukrainians and point out importance of integration of two ethnicities and their communication. Resources of Ukrainians in Poland receive sponsoring from the Polish government.

“*Harazd*” (<http://www.harazd.net/>) is the first Ukrainian news portal in Poland with a start in 2002, covering the regions like Przemyśl, Wrocław, Kraków, and Olsztyn. Its mission is to create a communication space within Ukrainian virtual life for the exchange of cultural, political, scientific, and intellectual information. “*Harazd*” hosts the forum with a similar name and information on Ukrainian resources in Poland. The founder and supervisor of the cultural internet project is the programmer Bogdan Sidor. The portal covers information from current politics and authors comments to the news on cultural life. Related to politics in Ukraine and Poland, and in neighbouring states like Russia or Belarus, critical views are predominant. “*Harazd*” represents a colorful design with national symbols, it displays traditional and patriotic context and appeals to the audience with similar interests.

The periodical “*Nad Buhom in Narvoyu*” (<http://nadbuhom.free.ngo.pl/>) has been edited since 1991 under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage of the Republic of Poland. Its electronic form appeared in 1999. This periodical is published two times per month in the Polish and Ukrainian languages by the Union of Ukrainians (Bielsk Podlaski). It reports on Podlasie region which illustrates the local character of the periodical. The purpose of the edition is to preserve the local atmosphere in its uniqueness and to prevent it from assimilation. Typical symbols of this culture as pictured on the website are the Ukrainian peasant house, the national church, and Ukrainians in national costumes. While reporting on cultural, historical and political events, the periodical suggests a kind of mythical image speaking about legends, traditions, mentioning heroic biographies. The periodical contains links to other resources like the Ukrainian-Polish internet journal ([www.ukraine-poland.com](http://www.ukraine-poland.com)).

“*Ridna Mova*” ([http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/dokumenty/r\\_mowa/](http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/dokumenty/r_mowa/)) is edited in Wałcz by the Union of Ukrainians and by the Ukrainian Teachers’ Association in Poland. It is devoted to matters of the Ukrainian culture and to issues of education in the native language. The assumption is that through language cultural, historical and traditional values are handed over. The periodical discusses linguistic as well as pedagogical problems how to bring the native language closer to the public, especially to children. The website is currently updated with lots of material, which suggests of a high esteem for culture and ethnicity in Poland.

“*Nasze Slovo*” (<http://nslowo.pl/>) is a traditional Ukrainian language periodical which is issued in Warsaw by the Socio-Cultural Ukrainian Association. The first edition of the periodical appeared in 1956 as a weekly of the Ukrainian minority which retained its status until now. In order to foster identity, the front page of the periodical website appeals to the members of the ethnic community to vote as Ukrainians in the upcoming census. Central rubrics comprise journalistic articles, essays and analysis of ethnic problems; how to preserve ethnicity in a multicultural society. As in many other Ukrainian resources, the history and its tragic events like the deportation of

the Ukrainian population as a part of “Akcja Wisła” constitute the historical discourse. The periodical pays attention to the Polish-Ukrainian relations and to issues of migration.

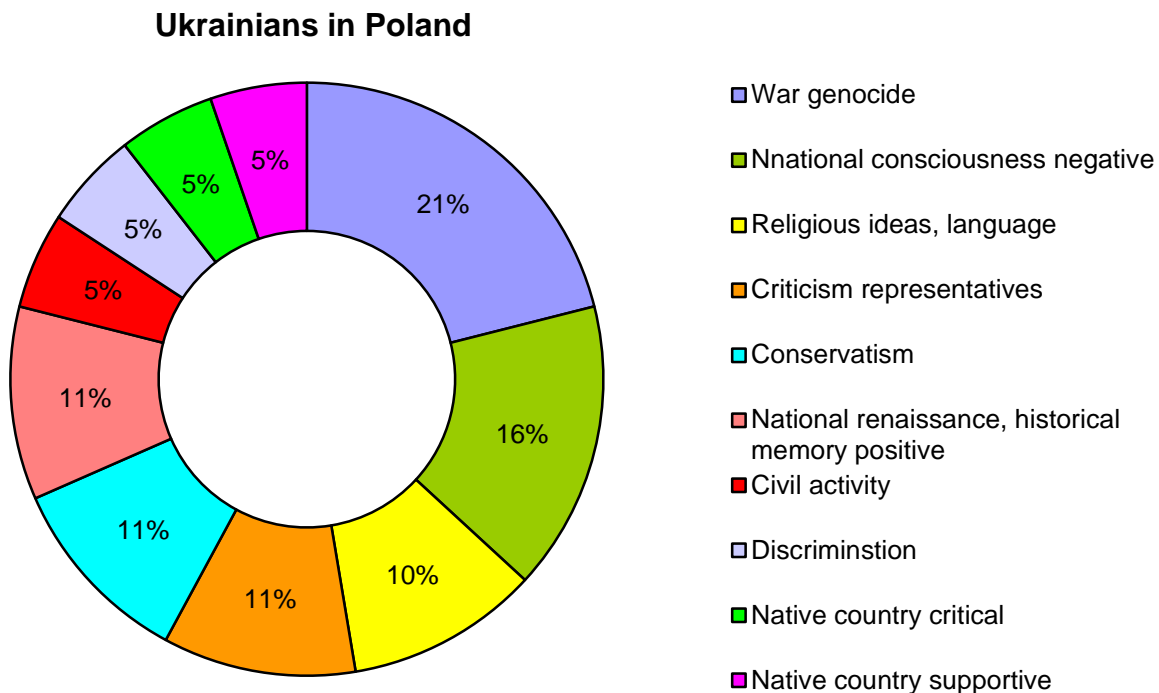
The *Union of Ukrainians in Poland* (<http://www.oup.ukraina.com.pl/>) has a wide network in different parts of the host country, like Szczecin, Przemyśl and other cities, with headquarters in Warsaw. The Union is financed by the Polish Ministry of Interior and Administration and has a membership of 7 000. The mission of the Union is the organization of cultural programs, seminars, and events, popularizing the Ukrainian culture and contributing to the development of the Ukrainian community in Poland. Besides the organization of folklore and cultural events, the organization carries out seminars on historical topics; it contributes therefore to information exchange concerning tragic historical events between historians and national politicians. Union of Poles is situated in ten regions and it represents itself like organization of Ukrainians, descendants of those Ukrainians who were forcefully deported during “Akcja Wisła” 1947. The Union contributes to the development of the national schools and it supports the connection with the international Ukrainian organizations. Having celebrated its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, the Union tries to cooperate with governments of both countries, Poland and Ukraine, especially concerning mutual understanding between the two nationalities.

The *Association “Ukrainian Peoples’ House”* (<http://www.narodnyidim.org/>) is registered in the city of Przemyśl. Its social activities cover the territory of Poland after the so-called “Curzon Line”, the region which is densely populated by ethnic Ukrainians, especially as a result of deportations of Ukrainians in the post war period. The Association is a non-profit organization which depends on donations of its members. The roots of this organization reach back to the “Narodny Dom” (Peoples’ House) initiated by Teofil’ Kormosh at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that focused on providing self-help to the members of the Ukrainian community culturally and economically. Today, these aims have remained, the Association supports especially talented Ukrainian children in the sphere of education. The website of the Association informs about different cultural events and missions concerning the life of community and issues journalistic reports.

### 4.3.2 Characteristic keyword clusters

Figure 3 shows the distribution of most frequently mentioned keywords/categories according to the percentage of coded cases/documents for the Ukrainian internet users in Poland.

**Figure 3: keyword frequency, % of cases**



The content analysis of text fragments from the resources of the Ukrainian minority in Poland suggested that the Ukrainian internet users pay high attention to the preservation of their cultural traditions and language. The categories like RELIGIOUS IDEAS as well as LANGUAGE achieved one of the highest numbers of cases, namely 10%. In context of the cultural heritage, the Ukrainian language and linguistic problems of the Ukrainian language are discussed in the traditionally designed journal “Ridna Mova”. The Ukrainians associate forgetting the national language with the loss of identity.

From the Ukrainian sources in Poland one can gather that the building of cathedrals and churches together with community life devoted to religion are very characteristic for the Ukrainian social and cultural activities. The Ukrainians in Poland interpret the meaning of ethnic identity from the point of view of religious and moral problems as well as traditional values. For the explanation of social phenomena, they tend to look into the past (CONSERVATISM, 11% of cases).

In the sources of the Ukrainians in Poland, religious and moral values appear to be constitutive parts of ethnic identity and consciousness. A distinction is often made between the representatives of the ethnic minorities with sincere religious beliefs behind the actual religious ceremonial and formal tradition, and those who misunderstand the notion of religion and substitute it by the adherence to the formal religious attributes (CRITICISM REPRESENTATIVES, 11%). Imperialism, war crimes and genocide became possible because of the lack of personal dignity, self-identification and respectable moral standing. Also, modern politics has an unpopular character because it fell to the influence of business and consumerist culture (NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS NEGATIVE, 16%).



In comparison to other ethnicities, commentaries on the economic situation or the politics of the European Union are less present here. On the one hand, the Ukrainians in Poland express critical attitudes toward the “pro-Russian” government in the Ukraine (NATIVE COUNTRY CRITICAL, 5%). On the other, they see the development of the national consciousness only in connection with the contacts with the mother country, 5% of cases could precisely explain the category NATIVE COUNTRY SUPPORTIVE during the analysis. The content of the collected web-addresses provides a picture on a rather developed political organization of the Ukrainians in Poland on the local level like in Szczecin or Przemyśl, especially within the Union of Ukrainians in Poland as the main “federal” body (CIVIL ACTIVITY, 5%). For the local ethnic groups of the Ukrainians, the European parliament elections is a chance to get into the European parliament and to represent the interests of the voters from their ethnic constituency.

In comparison to the Russian national ideal and principles of a quite integrated nation and exclusive and overwhelming Russian nationalism, the Ukrainian national belonging is not homogeneous but ethnically and politically divided. The Ukrainian online resources suggest that the Ukrainian identity developed on the basis of the Slavic-Orthodox culture. For example, different Carpathian ethnic groups, which developed their own dialects, could consolidate in the framework of the Ukrainian state and develop the national language (NATIONAL RENAISSANCE/HISTORICAL MEMORY POSITIVE, 11%). For the Ukrainian minority in Poland, the rhetoric of “justification of origins” is typical which helps to promote the national idea. According to this rhetoric, the Ukrainian ethnicity has deep cultural roots and historic tradition on the territory of Poland which goes back to the ancient Slavic settlements. Ukrainians were settling here even before the Poles came.

As is well known, Poland and Ukraine had tense relations in the past. The Ukrainians in Poland dwell upon their tragic history and the Soviet regime. In their opinion, the Ukrainian minority is scarcely spread over the Polish territory and they are weakly politically organized (DISCRIMINATION, 5%). The Ukrainian resources see the reason for this, among others, the tragic destiny of the ethnic Ukrainians who were exposed to repressions and deportations during Communism and the Polish regime. For the category WAR GENOCIDE, the highest amount of cases could be assigned in comparison to other categories – 21%. The members of organizations like the Union of Ukrainians in Poland are the descendants of Ukrainians who were deported during the “Akcja Wisła” in 1947. Ethnic Ukrainians can become a political power only if Ukraine becomes the member of the European Union.

The difficulties of reconciliation process between Poland and Ukraine are illustrated by the following lead quotations:

*But the word GENOCIDE is so easily and often used, that it becomes compromised, the notions are getting vague. Mutual apologies were already made by Kuchma-Kvas'nevs'ki and Jushchenko-Kachins'ki. Who is next?*

*(Але, слово ГЕНОЦИД вживається так легко і часто, що слово компромітується, поняття розмиваються. Вибачання один перед одним вже робили і Кучма-Квасньєвський і Ющенко-Качинський. Хто будуть наступниками?)<sup>49</sup>*

<sup>49</sup> Priadman (nickname) (2009), posting in the forum: «Чому ніхто не реагує на ухвалу Сейму?» (Why does nobody react on the decision of the Seim?), *Forum.Harazd.net* (forum), 30 July, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://forum.harazd.net/read.php?5,14716,14726> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

*And when during the World War I a perspective for the revival of national statehood of Ukraine and Poland opened, /these countries/ appeared to be a kind of "Siam sisters" – merged territories which the Ukrainian and Polish elites regarded as their own.*

*(Отже коли у ході I світової війни з'явилася перспектива відродження національної державності України і Польщі, показалися свого роду «сіамськими сестрами» - зрслими територіями, які українські та польські еліти уважали своїми).*

*...apart from such symbolical actions as mutual declarations and the prayers of the Polish and Ukrainian hierarchs, also practical steps are needed which would allow to re-compensate the harm caused to the Ukrainians in 1947.*

*(...окрім дійств із сфери символів, до яких належать спільні заяви та молитви польських і українських ієрархів, потрібні є практичні кроки, які дозволили б рекомпенсувати втрати завдані українцям у 1947 році).*

*Exactly in case the problems would find their positive solution on the state and local level we would have a real criterion to ascertain if the process of Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation and mutual understanding has left the realm of the state elite which in the international relations orientate themselves first of all toward the principle of pragmatism and political convenience, and made inroads into society, where the "ideological" animosity still dominates.*

*(Саме це, чи ці проблеми знайдуть своє позитивне вирішення на державному та місцевому рівні стане справжнім критерієм визначення, чи процес польсько-українського примирення та взаємозрозуміння вийшов поза державну еліту, яка в міжнародних взаєминах керується передусім прагматизмом і політичною доцільністю та проник у суспільство, у якому це дуже багато важить "ідейна" злопам'ятність)<sup>50</sup>.*

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<sup>50</sup> Havrilyuk, J. (2008) «Прагматизм добросусідства проти історичної злопам'ятності» (Pragmatism of the partnership against historical enmity), *Nad Buhom I Narvoyu* (periodical) (2), internet WWW-Site at URL: [http://nadbuhom.free.ngo.pl/art\\_1304.html](http://nadbuhom.free.ngo.pl/art_1304.html) (accessed on 29 October 2011).

## 4.4 Ukrainians in Hungary

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### 4.4.1 Description of internet resources

In relation to *Ukrainians in Hungary*, text fragments from the only Ukrainian periodical, “Hromada”, were analyzed which is edited by the Association of the Ukrainian Culture in Hungary and can be accessed through the website of this organization. The periodical *Hromada* (<http://www.hromada.hu/>) went online in 2000 and it receives funding from the Hungarian Public Foundation for National and Ethnical Minorities (Magyarországi Nemzeti és Etnikai Kisebbségekért Közalapítvány).

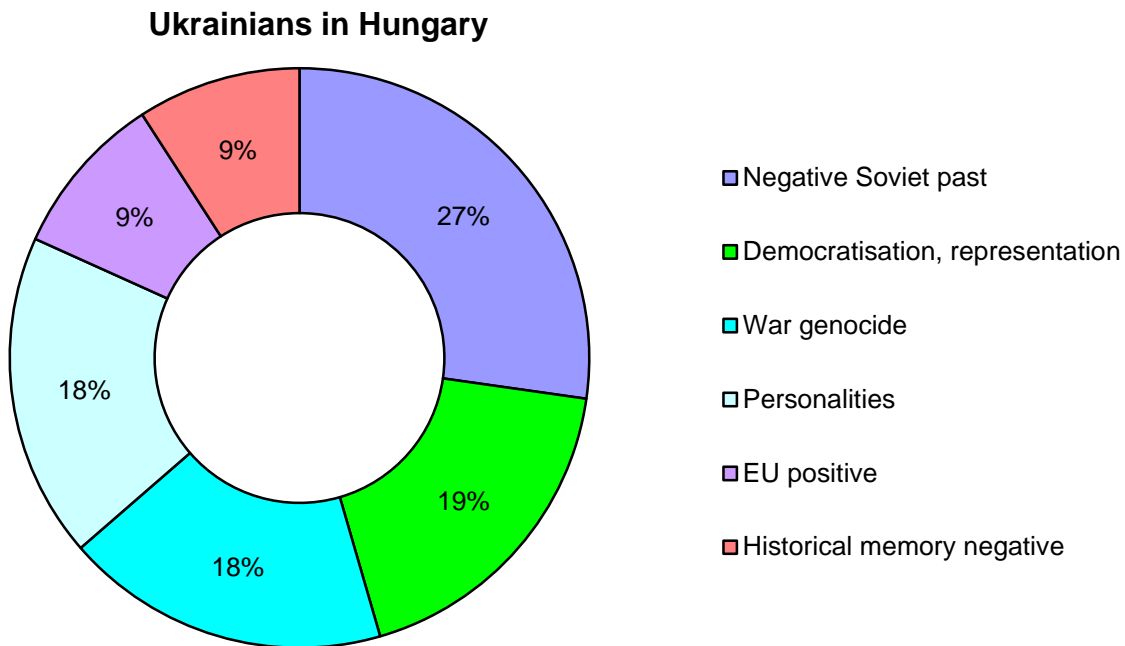
The *Association of the Ukrainian Culture in Hungary* (<http://www.ukrajinci.hu/tuku.htm>) which has 15 years experience in the field presents itself as organization with achievements, as far as cultural activities are concerned. Apart from issuing the periodical “Hromada”, it maintains contacts with the mother country as well as contacts to Ukrainian organizations abroad, it organizes cultural and youth exchange, scientific conferences on topics like “holodomor” (the devastating famine among the Ukrainian population in 1932-33 caused by the Stalinist collectivization drive).

The web-addresses of the Association of the Ukrainian Culture in Hungary together with the periodical “Hromada” can be entered through the website of the *State Self-Government of the Ukrainians in Hungary* (<http://www.ukrajinci.hu/>) which aim is to encourage the political participation of the Ukrainians in Hungary as well as the preservation of the Ukrainian cultural minority. The social activity of this organization is directed to the popularization of the national culture of the Ukrainians in Hungary. The website of the Ukrainian Self-Government in Hungary contains links to the popular political websites in Ukraine and Hungary together with the current news information from these countries.

#### 4.4.2 Characteristic keyword clusters

Figure 4 shows the distribution of most frequently mentioned keywords/categories according to the percentage of coded cases/documents for the Ukrainian internet users in Hungary.

Figure 4: keyword frequency, % of cases



The mindset of Ukrainians in Hungary is overshadowed by negative memories of the Soviet past. The majority of cases of the Ukrainian minority in Hungary, 27%, covers therefore the category NEGATIVE SOVIET PAST. Historical traumas such as the starvation (holodomor) during the 1930ies, repressions, and political persecution form the background of an evolving modern identity (WAR GENOCIDE, 18%). According to the website of the Association of the Ukrainian Culture in Hungary, among the issues which constitute a tragic national experience is the Chernobyl catastrophe, commemorated by the Ukrainians each year.

Categories like “negative Soviet past” or “war genocide” can be illustrated by the following citation:

*The guests were addressed in Ukrainian by Shandor Matyash, the president of the Gloria Victis Foundation: “Dear Ukrainian friends: May God bless you here in Chemer!”. This national-patriotic organization in Hungary researches the history of the motherland and, among other things, it compiles information on the crimes of the totalitarian regimes in Europe.*

*(Присутніх привітав українською мовою Шандор Матяш, голова фонду Gloria Victis: «Дорогі українські друзі! Хай Бог благословить вас на землі Чемера!»). Ця*

*національно-патріотична організація Угорщини досліджує історію рідної країни і, серед іншого, збирає свідчення про злочини тоталітарних режимів Європи).*<sup>51</sup>

The cultural legacy is reflected in the relatively high share of historical personalities mentioned in the texts, who symbolize past greatness and serve as crystallization points for identity building. As mentioned on the website Association of the Ukrainian Culture in Hungary, national memorials are being established for personalities like the poet Shevchenko by the Ukrainian community in Greece, or to the Hungarian king Andreas I who came to Hungary from Kiev to lay the foundations of Christianity (PERSONALITIES, 18%).

The ideological component of this endeavor is, however, weak: the national idea is rarely, if ever, mentioned. Due to the traditionally liberal minority policy in Hungary, there is no need for a strong ideological identity component. When it comes to joining the bandwagon of modern times, the Ukrainian Hungarians appear to be somewhat at the beginning of the process: Europe is seen in a positive light. A relative low share in the total number of assignments may be a result of the fact that Hungary's "European-ness" is taken for granted (EU POSITIVE, 9%).

It appears, however, that this modern identity is construed against a – somewhat biased and disproportional – template of the negative Communist past (HISTORICAL MEMORY NEGATIVE, 9%). The Ukrainians in Hungary seek to reconnect with the pre-Soviet historical and cultural legacy as well as with a beginning reassertion as a European minority in a democratic state attempting to use its rights through increased participation. The categories DEMOCRATISATION and REPRESENTATION together cover 19% of the analyzed cases for the Ukrainians in Hungary.

The Ukrainians in Hungary, similar to the Ukrainians in Poland, pay much attention to their own cultural origins. Analyzed sources convey the impression that the opening towards other cultures is weak. Instead, the minority finds comfort and attraction to stay with their own kin folks. The attempts at creating a particular picture of what shall be, and how the world shall look like from the point of view of ethnical culture illustrate this mindset.

Attempts of the Ukrainians to preserve their cultural identity can be demonstrated by the following lead citation:

*People have realized that it is time to avow themselves Ukrainians and not to be ashamed of their origin. One may say that in this case we learn from the experience of others before us.*

*(Люди відчули: настала пора признаватися українцем і більше не боятися через своє походження. Можна сказати й так, що в даному випадку спрацював приклад першопрохідців).*<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Hromada (periodical) (2010) «Подзвін по жертвах геноциду в Україні» (Toll after the genocide victims in Ukraine), (6), internet WWW-Site at URL: [http://hromada.hu/2010/nom\\_110/litopys/peredzvin.html](http://hromada.hu/2010/nom_110/litopys/peredzvin.html) (accessed on 29. October 2011).

<sup>52</sup> Ploskina, V. (2002) «Зі своєї дороги не зійдемо!» (We won't leave our way!), interview with Chortyani, Y., Hromada (periodical) (4), internet WWW-Site at URL: [www.ukrajinci.hu/arhiv/hromada\\_60\\_ua/ohlyad/riport.html](http://www.ukrajinci.hu/arhiv/hromada_60_ua/ohlyad/riport.html) (accessed on 20. August 2010).

## 4.5 Belarusians in Poland

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### 4.5.1 Description of internet resources

In comparison with the collected internet resources of other minorities, *Belarusians in Poland* take the fourth place under ethnic minorities with 15 resources. Belarusians in Poland have 2 periodicals, 4 news/broadcasting portals, 4 organization websites, 2 blogs, 2 forums, and 1 article with postings. The periodicals “Czasopis” and “Niva” set up by nationally oriented journalists and editors provide a large number of analytical materials. News portals like “Bialorus.pl”, the broadcasting portal Belarusian Service of the Polish Radio for Abroad or radio “Racyya” cover the news in Poland and Belarus as well as events relating to Belarusian minorities. In comparison to periodicals and news portals, the number of organizations here is limited to the youth organization “Sonca.org”, the Belarusian Association in Kraków, “Wolna Białorus”, which is opposing the Belarusian regime, and “Belarusian National Memory”.

The periodical “Niva” (<http://niva.iig.pl/>) is registered in the region of Białystok and introduces itself as “the Belarusians’ Weekly in Poland”. It is a nationally orientated newspaper which is devoted to the problems of Belarusian ethnicity in the region of Podlasie which is densely populated by the ethnic Belarusian population. The website offers a great deal of information and links to the Belarusian national/opposition organizations as well as to the resources of the Belarusian internet. In addition to the archive going back to 1998, the periodical advertises a number of editions – monographs, poetry, and publicist essays – issued under the authorship of the Program Council of the “Niva” weekly. In comparison to “Niva”, the website “Czasopis” (<http://czasopis.pl/>) represents not just a periodical but a broader forum or a platform to exchange views on cultural issues of the Belarusian ethnic group. Representing a forum for ethnic intellectuals, “Czasopis” contains, however, a small number of life opinions from the periodical’s audience. The self-reflection of Belarusians as national group prevents large-scale activities to open to and communicating with a broader public. The archive of the periodical is quite limited and goes back to the end of 2008.

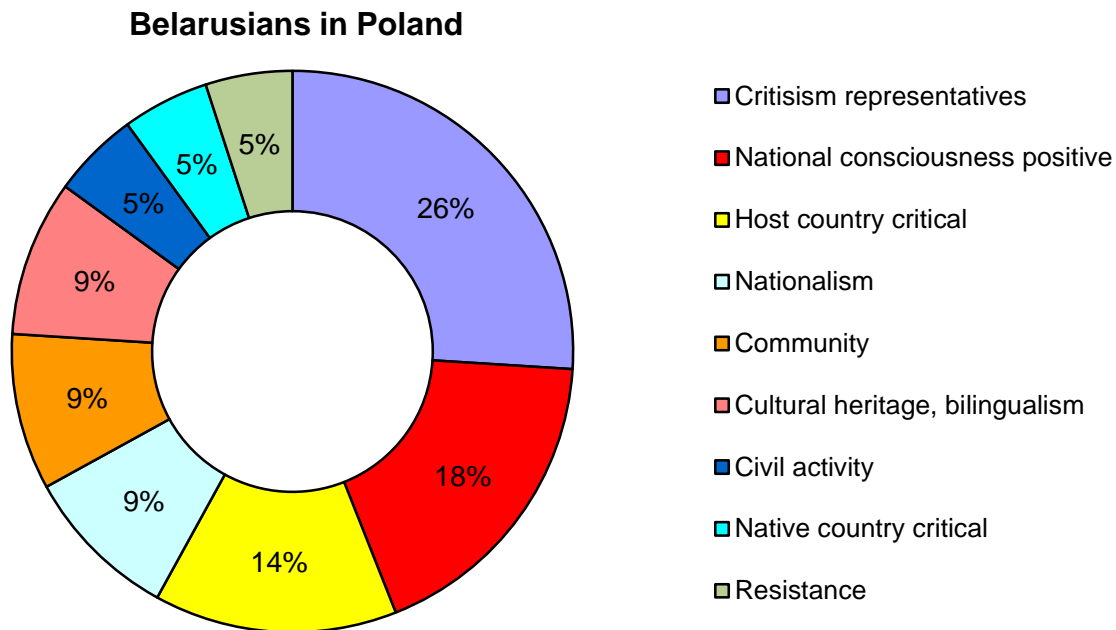
The website of the news portal “Bialorus.pl” (<http://www.bialorus.pl/>) is operated by the Centrum for Citizens’ Education Poland-Belarus. The aim of the portal is informing the Belarusian and Polish citizens about the socio-political, cultural life as well as about civic initiatives and the development of civil society in both countries, Poland and Belarus. The *Belarusian Service of the Polish Radio for Abroad* (<http://www.radyjo.net/>) has been established immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1992. The broadcasting and electronic news service was originally committed to informing the citizens in Belarus about social and political processes in Poland as well as about activities of the Belarusian diaspora in Poland and of the Polish minorities in Belarus. Due to the information on the website of the radio service, after the change of political regime in Belarus, the information policy was modified towards informing the public in Poland and worldwide about the situation in Belarus in order to influence the policy towards this country. The team of the Belarusian Service consists of the representatives of the Belarusian minority in Poland. The editor and some of the journalists studied Belarusian philology at Warsaw University. The independent trans-border Belarusian radio for Belarus “Racyya” (<http://new.racyja.com/>) started in Poland 1999 on the initiative of the Belarusian Union in Poland and the Belarusian Association of Journalists (Belarus). The broadcasting of radio “Racyya” was extended from the territory of Białystok and Warsaw to the areas around the Belarusian-Polish border and the cities like Grodno and Brest. As this radio station reports, it carries independent information with a critical stance towards the human rights situation in Belarus.

The website “*Sonca.org*” (<http://slonko.com.pl/>) is operated by the Belarusian Youth Association in Poland. The website is richly designed, very informative and detailed. It informs in full about the social life of young Belarusians in Poland, about their cultural, social, and political life. The diversity of headings and topics discussed suggests that Belarusian youth in Poland is very well organized and has lots of social initiatives. The organization “*Wolna Bialorus*” (<http://www.wolnabialorus.org/>) or the Union of Support of Democracy in Belarus was founded by the politically active representatives of Polish citizens as well as by Belarusians with strong civic positions who live in Poland. Apart from the distribution of information, it organizes political actions to draw the attention on the political system in Belarus. The website concentrates not on analysis but rather on action and visual information through photo archives, videos and collage pictures. The language of the website can be described as politically “expressive” with the particular objective to overthrow the Belarusian regime. “*Belarusian National Memory*” (<http://b-n-p.org/>) organizes socially active youth who is concerned about the national memory of the Belarusian culture and history. The activists find inspiration with the name of the Belarusian national hero Kastus’ Kalinoŭski. Criticised are the Belarusian authorities who prefer the Soviet history to the national Belarusian, the latter contributed, in the opinion of website activists, to the national independence of Belarus.

#### 4.5.2 Characteristic keyword clusters

Figure 5 shows the distribution of most frequently mentioned keywords/categories according to the percentage of coded cases/documents for the Belarusian internet users in Poland.

Figure 5: keyword frequency, % of cases



The keyword/category distribution in Figure 5 in relation to the analyzed cases demonstrates that the Belarusians in Poland have a distinctively developed community life. According to an established opinion among the Belarusians in Poland, the Belarusian ethnic culture could not find supporters among the Belarusian citizens in the home country, but this support could be found instead among the Belarusian initiatives abroad (NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS POSITIVE, 18%).

A big attention which the Belarusians in Poland pay to national consciousness coincides with the fact that in the majority of cases criticism is directed toward the members of the Belarusian ethnic group (CRITICISM REPRESENTATIVES, 26%). Especially the representatives of the Belarusian minority, who claim to be national intellectuals, have a damaged reputation. According to a standing critical comment of fellow Belarusians, some Belarusian intellectuals, who appear to be more interested in Western grants, are often not able to use the Belarusian language correctly.

A critical attitude toward the lack of the national consciousness among the ethnic Belarusians in Poland is expressed by Sakrat Yanovich, a representative of the national Belarusian intellectual thought in Poland, in the following quotation:



*Poles become those who have a weak character or lack of education. To become a Pole is more simple, no big intellectuality is needed nor expression of will.*

*(Палякамі ў нас робяцца тыя, у каго слабы характар або недавучанасць. Стацца палякам прасцей, не трэба столькі інтэлігентнасці ані праяваў волі).*

*The process of assimilation stops at the threshold of the national intellectuality. Dirty Van'ka from King's Stable won't be proud of what he has, because his life is difficult without Belarusianhood.*

*(Працэс асіміляцыі спыняецца на парозе нацыянальнай інтэлігентнасці. Замурзаны Ванька з Каралёвага Стойла не будзе ганарыцца сваім, бо ў яго і без беларускасці цяжкі лёс).<sup>53</sup>*

Internet users from the Belarusian minority criticize the host country Poland for not paying attention to the rights of the Belarusian community and for not caring for the representation of the ethnic communities in the governmental bodies (HOST COUNTRY CRITICAL, 14%). The Belarusian minority which the Belarusian resources in Poland describe as “colonial population” of the main nation is not able to influence social life in its region. The people show resignation in official politics and about the fact that it became difficult to influence something in real politics.

The resources of the Belarusian minority in Poland try to create a narrative about the existence of the Belarusian people (NATIONALISM, 9%). In their opinion, the Belarusians have their national historical symbol, namely the day of the foundation of the Belarusian National Republic on 25 March 1918. Many generations of the nationally conscious Belarusians had been fighting for national and state independence (RESISTANCE, 5%). Although Belarusian national statehood has been realized, the long Communist period has prevented the full development of the Belarusian national culture until now.

The representatives of national Belarusian thinking try to legitimize the existence of the Belarusian history, culture, traditions, and language which goes hand in hand with a strong support of the bilingualism (CULTURAL HERITAGE/BILINGUALISM, 9%). Although the Belarusian language in Poland is still being used in daily life by some parts of the population, the tendency is that the Belarusian language will survive, at the end of the day, only at the philological faculties of the universities. Only a minority of ethnic Belarusians have declared that they use the Belarusian language actively, and that they are not going to give up their nationality and their language which they inherited from their parents and grand parents.

The importance of the language for the development of the national consciousness illustrates the following quotation from the periodical “Niva”:

*It follows from the analysis of the census data that Belarusian consciousness was preserved by the population of those regions where the schools remained where at least the Belarusian language was taught.*

*(З аналізу даных перапісу вынікае, што беларускую свядомасць захавалі жыхары тых мясцовасцей, дзе ператрывалі школы, у якіх прынамсі вывучалася беларуская мова).<sup>54</sup>*

<sup>53</sup> Yanovich, S. (without date) «Без моладзі няма нацыі» (There is no nation without youth), *Sonca.org* (Belarusian Youth Association) (organization), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://sonca.org/biez-moladzi-niama-nacyi.html> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

The Belarusian resources in Poland refer to the collapse of communism, democratization and intensified communication between countries on a par with the introduction of the institute of private property (COMMUNITY, 9%). This is said to have exerted a decisive impact on the development of the Belarusian nation as modern European phenomenon. The Belarusian youth movement in Poland undertakes artistic, cultural and educational initiatives devoted to the national memory, Belarusian traditions and political issues (CIVIL ACTIVITY, 5%). Organisations like the Belarusian Youth Association can be described as traditionally and conservatively oriented aiming at discovering and popularising of the famous and forgotten historical names and events from the Belarusian history. The changing mindset of the Belarusians is suggested by a number of political youth organizations in Poland like “Mlody Front”, “Mloda Bialorus”, or “Mlodzi Demokraci”, who set themselves the goal to protest against the political system in Belarus (NATIVE COUNTRY CRITICAL, 5%).

## 4.6 Belarusians in Lithuania

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### 4.6.1 Description of internet resources

*Belarusians in Lithuania* have the same number of resources as Belarusians in Poland (15), but they are different concerning the discussed topics. Belarusians in Lithuania have one periodical “Run”, 3 news/broadcasting portals, 6 organizations, 2 blogs, and 3 articles with postings. The internet sites focus mainly on human rights violations in Belarus itself as well as on cultural matters and are predominantly operated by organizations. Apart from “Krok”, which represents the official opinion of the Belarusian state, there are organizations with a traditional and national orientation like the Association of the Belarusian Culture in Lithuania and the member-organizations of the international human-rights network like “Belarus Watch” (former JuBiC) and the Belarusian Human Rights House in Exile in Vilnius.

“Run” (<http://kamunikat.org/run.html?pubid=11505>) is the Belarusian periodical in Vilnius founded by the Vilnius Center of Democratic Initiatives “Democracy for Belarus”. The periodical, which is issued in PDF format, started in 1997, but it has not been edited on a regular basis. The editorial office of the periodical together with its contributors understand their mission as revival of national Belarusian life in Vilnius and the strengthening of identity of those Belarusians who live in this historically symbolic place. The periodical strives to promote a kind of mutual solidarity among Belarusian intellectuals and people with Belarusian ethnic roots in order to achieve a better representation of their interests. The editorial staff is critically oriented informing about the politics in Belarus and ideologically it stands closely to the Association of Belarusian Culture in Lithuania observing the Belarusian history and tradition in Lithuania and uniting young enthusiastic nationally inspired activists. This periodical addresses, apart from the Belarusians themselves, other major minorities in Lithuania.

Both news portals “Westki.info” and “Svobodaby.net” are operated on the territory of Belarus but with news from the national community in Lithuania. “Westki.info” (<http://www.westki.info/>) covers a vast region between three historical capitals of Belarus: Polozk, Vilnius and Minsk. According to the web presentation of this site, its title derives from a Belarusian word „vestki“ meaning „news“ and English word „west“ to signify that the website is

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<sup>54</sup> Miranovich, Ya. (2004) «Асіміляцыя беларусаў Беларусчыны» (Assimilation of the Belarusians of Białystok), *Niva* (periodical), (4), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://niva.iig.pl/> (accessed on 28 July 2010).

catering to the Western Lakeland geographical region of Belarus. Through inclusion of the news from the Baltic States, the site tries to foster cross-border dialogue between Belarus and its northern neighbors. There are freelance correspondents in Vilnius reporting on the life of local Belarusian community and providing a roundup of general Baltic news. Although the region has a long border with Lithuania and Latvia, the general public on both sides lack information about events on the other side of the state frontier. The second most important information portal for Belarusians in Lithuania is “*Svobodaby.net*” (<http://svobodaby.net/>). An online weekly “Tut i Cyaper” linked to this platform is officially registered in Minsk, Belarus. Apart from the critical news from Belarus representing the views of the Belarusian opposition, the information portal carries news from Lithuania and caters to Belarusians in Lithuania. The website rubric of Larysa Shapavalava answers the questions of visitors concerning retail and tourist attractions in Lithuania. The most popular blog site is *Andrei Khrapavitski’s Blogsome* (<http://belarus.blogsome.com>). Born in 1979, he graduated from the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, worked as an NGO activist and is currently editor-in-chief of *Westki.info*.

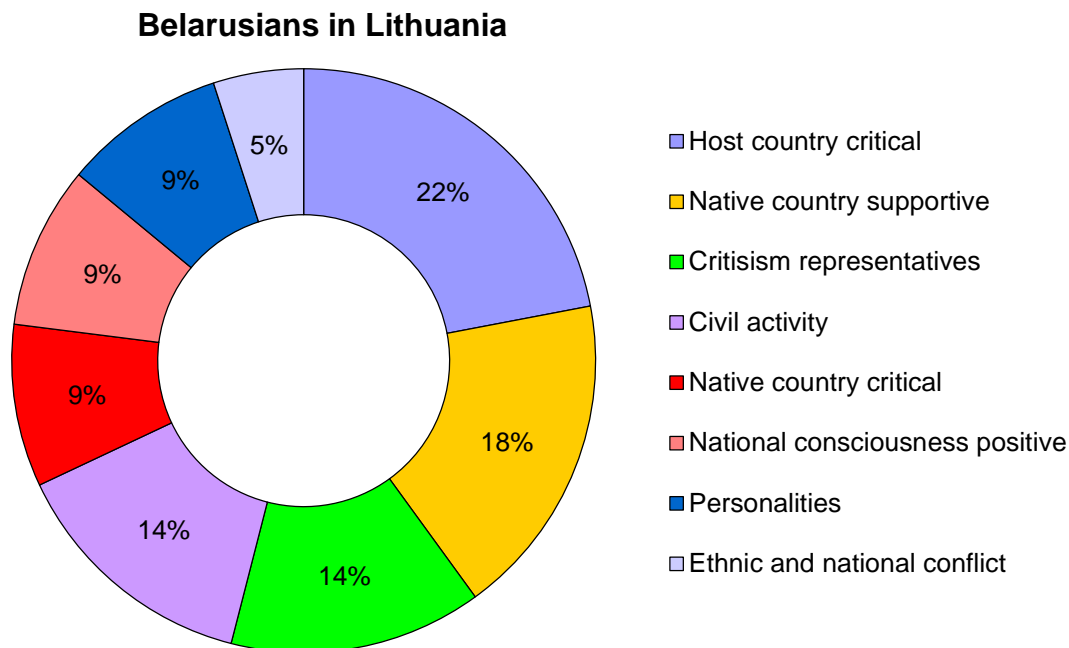
The *Association of the Belarusian Culture in Lithuania* (<http://westki.info/tbk>) uses the web portal of “*Westki.info*”. The Association is a meeting place for all those who are interested in the Belarusian culture and who are concerned about the future of the Belarusian cultural heritage in Vilnius and Lithuania. As suggested on the website of the organization, the distance between Belarus and Lithuania grows, and the influence of the Belarusian culture in Vilnius which historically belongs to this “eternal city” diminishes. The Belarusian community gets little support not only from Belarusians living in Lithuania, but also from Belarus itself. The reason for this lays in the fact that the Association represents the dissident national thought, with activists belonging to the Belarusian national renaissance movement before Communism, especially those elderly representatives who have lived in exile. Traditional are meeting events (in Belarusian “*impresy*”) of the representatives of the older and younger generation of this movement from Belarus, Lithuania and abroad. Many Belarusian biographies are connected with the famous “*Vilenskaya himnaziya*” (Vilnius Gymnasium). In contrast to the Association of the Belarusian Culture, the Belarusian Cultural Center “*Krok*” (<http://www.tts.lt/~snn/krok/index.php>) represents “official” Belarusian culture. It was launched in the city of Visaginas in 1995 in order to support education in the Belarusian language as well as to promote Belarusian arts and crafts. Parallel to the Belarusian schools, the Center supports national choirs and runs a TV station.

Lithuania is the center for the Belarusian non-governmental organizations. Some addresses like the European Humanitarian University or the Independent Institute of Socio-Economic and Political Studies are registered in this country. Apart from that, there are some organizations which support the Belarusian NGOs and political parties to guarantee their rights in Belarus. *Belarusian Human Rights House in Exile* ([http://humanrightshouse.org/Members/Belarus\\_BY/index.html](http://humanrightshouse.org/Members/Belarus_BY/index.html)) and “*Belarus Watch*” (former United Centre of the Belarusian Initiatives, JuBiC) (<http://www.belaruswatch.org/>) define their mission as to attract attention of the Lithuanian and international public to events in Belarus with the eventual aim to democratize the country. According to the mission statement, this can be achieved only in cooperation with international human rights organizations as well as with governments worldwide. Belarusian Human Rights House is a part of the international Human Rights House Network whose mission consists of action in form of petitions, information, and other activities protesting the violation of human rights in a particular country. Recently, such action was started to release the Belarusian human rights defender Ales’ Byalyacki, who was taken into detention by the Belarusian authorities. The organization “*Belarus Watch*” which represents the younger generation, has launched, besides election observation missions, also the campaign for Belarus without visa regime.

#### 4.6.2 Characteristic keyword clusters

Figure 6 shows the distribution of most frequently mentioned keywords/categories according to the percentage of coded cases/documents for the Belarusian internet users in Lithuania.

**Figure 6: keyword frequency, % of cases**



The majority of cases in the sources of the Belarusians in Lithuania contain keywords/categories like “host country critical” as well as “native country supportive”.

In the opinion of the leaders of the Belarusian community in Lithuania, the Belarusian culture which contributed to the multicultural society in Vilnya, is perishing. The Belarusian community does not find support either from the Belarusians themselves (CRITICISM REPRESENTATIVES, 14%) or from the Lithuanian government and has to struggle for its existence. Through their critical stance towards their mother country, the Belarusians criticize their host country for not observing the minority rights efficiently (HOST COUNTRY CRITICAL, 22%).

The organisations of the Belarusian minority, who share the official national ideology of Belarus, like the Belarusian Cultural Center “Krok” (NATIVE COUNTRY SUPPORTIVE, 18%), represent ideas which go back to the Soviet past and to the history of Belarus after the Second World War. In the centre of the official national idea stands for example the victory of the Soviet soldiers over fascism.

The criticism toward the host country can be seen in the following quotation:

*Their speeches stated that the Belarusians in reality remained forgotten and neglected. They do not have any support from anywhere and everything is exclusively a matter of enthusiasm.*

*(У іх прамовах канстатавалася, што беларусы сапраўды засталіся забытымі і не патрэбнымі. Яны не маюць ніадкуль падтрымкі і ўсё трымаецца выключна на адным інтузіазме).*

*Minister answered that if those want a Belarusian school they'd better go to Belarus.*

*(...міністар адказаў, што калі тыя хочаць беларускай школы, то няхай едуць у Беларусь).<sup>55</sup>*

The Belarusian cultural community in Lithuania developed together with Belarusian national independence (NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS POSITIVE, 9%). In Vilnius, the Association of the Belarusian Culture is a gathering place of intellectuals, musicians, artists, journalists, scientists and writers. It understands itself as a missionary organization which aims to preserve and to pass on the Belarusian cultural tradition, which has been shaped by the personalities from the modern and old history (PERSONALITIES, 9%), to further generations.

If some Belarusian organizations in Lithuania position themselves uncritically to politics in Belarus, other Belarusians are ideologically close to the critical part of the civil society and to the international human rights network (CIVIL ACTIVITY, 14%).

According to the opinion of some Belarusian politicians, the Belarusians achieved their political maturity while fighting for human rights and making their interests clear to the international community. “Belarus Watch” in Vilnius is an organisation of young people who position themselves as a modern political club. NGOs like the Belarusian House for Human Rights in Exile represent the Belarusian civil society in the European Union. Among the human rights activities were the appeal of the human rights defenders against the death sentence carried out by the Belarusian authorities in relation of two Belarusian citizens. In this case, the Belarusian organizations in Vilnius accused Belarus of the violation of international human rights standards. Another activity of the civil organizations in Lithuania had been election observation missions in different European countries (NATIVE COUNTRY CRITICAL, 9%).

The organization “Belarus Watch” carries out the anti-border campaign pledging for abolishment of the visa regime between Belarus and the European Union, which can be exemplified by the following citation:

*The new border crossed the multicultural, multi-lingual, and woeful region of Vilnya which is famous for its traditions of openness and tolerance. The small chapel in the village Raki with two altars – catholic and orthodox – has alone a high value.*

*(Новая мяжа прайшла праз шматкультурны, шматмоўны і шматпакутны Віленскі край, сьлыны сваімі традыцыямі адкрытасці і талерантнасці. Чаго варта адна толькі капліца у вёсцы Ракі з двума алтарамі - каталіцкім і праваслаўным!)*

*The film is devoted to the visa regime, which has harmful effects on the destinies of people, separates families, destroys economy, and human and intercultural contacts.*

55 Adamkovich, A. (2009) «Яны захоўваюць беларускі дух: Таварыству беларускай культуры ў Літве 20!» (They preserve the Belarusian spirit: Association of the Belarusian Culture in Lithuania celebrates the 20th anniversary!), Association of the Belarusian Culture (organization), 13 February, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://westki.info/tbk/7347/jany-zachouvaiuc-bielarusk%D1%96-duch-tavarystvu-bielaruskaj-kultury-u-l%D1%96tvie-%E2%80%9320> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

(Фільм прысвечаны «візавай» заслоне, якая балюча адбіваецца на лёсах людзей, раздзяляе сем'і, разбурае гаспадарку, міжчалавечыя і міжкультурныя кантакты).<sup>56</sup>

The issues of nationalism and ethnic conflicts in the multicultural city Vilnius (ETHNIC AND NATIONAL CONFLICT, 5%), are discussed, for example, in the blog site of Andrei Khrapavitski. The following citations exemplify this discussion:

*I don't know what the cure could be from nationalistic rhetoric, as it is so deeply rooted in our national identities. (Original citation)<sup>57</sup>*

*... they (westerners) don't and won't allow us to be the equal member of the "club". Not because of our politics or economy, but because of their mind setting. (Original citation)<sup>58</sup>*

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<sup>56</sup> (Without author) (2009) «JuBIC стварыў фільм «Памежжа»» (JuBIC created the film "Border land"), *JuBIC* (organization), 8 December, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.jubic.org/by/naviny/jubic-stvaryu-film-pamjezza-zaprasahjem-na-pragljad> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

<sup>57</sup> Khrapavitski, A. (2009) "The ills of Babylonian Vilnius", *Andrei Khrapavitski blog*, 30 October, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://belarus.blogspot.com/2009/10/30/the-ills-of-babylonian-vilnius/> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

<sup>58</sup> Tad (nickname) (2009), posting to the article: "The ills of Babylonian Vilnius", *Andrei Khrapavitski blog*, (author – Khrapavitski, A.), 9 November, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://belarus.blogspot.com/2009/10/30/the-ills-of-babylonian-vilnius/> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

## 4.7 Poles in Ukraine

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### 4.7.1 Description of internet resources

The web analysis of *Poles in Ukraine* identified and used 11 resources which translates to the 7<sup>th</sup> place among the ethnic minorities under study. There are 4 periodicals, 1 news/broadcasting portal, 4 websites of organizations, 1 article containing postings, and 1 personal website. Poles in Ukraine issue the following periodicals: “Dziennik Kijowski”, “Kurier Galicyjski”, and “Gazeta Polska Bukowiny”. Polish organizations are broadly represented in Ukraine, including “Odrodzenie” (Polish Cultural and Educational Association in Berdiansk), Federation of the Polish Organizations in Ukraine, Regional Association of the Polish Culture named after Adam Mickiewicz, and Regional Union of Poles in Ukraine (Żytomierz) which are culturally oriented to preserve the rights of Polish minorities. Extensive material in the form of reports and analytical articles collected in archives are found in the personal website of Stanisław Kosiedowski ([www.lwow.home.pl](http://www.lwow.home.pl)) which captures the traditionally rich cultural history of Poles in Lwów, where many Polish intellectuals, writers, musicians and actors have lived.

“Dziennik Kijowski” (<http://www.dk.com.ua/>) concentrates on social, economic as well as literature issues. Among the founders of the periodical are the Ukrainian State Committee on National Minorities and the Union of Poles in Ukraine. The periodical is issued two times per month in Kiev and it has been edited since 2003. It deals with major aspects of the life of the Polish minority in Ukraine, such as education and social problems, politics and the economic situation. Apart from the news from the Catholic Church and historical events concerning World Wars I and II as well as the material devoted to the war crimes especially from the side of the Soviet Union, the periodical publishes news from the mother country Poland and reports about the life of the Polish national minorities in other countries. All Ukrainian resources in Poland are traditionally orientated, among them “Kurier Galicyjski” ([http://www.duszki.pl/kurier\\_galicyjski/#\\_2011\\_](http://www.duszki.pl/kurier_galicyjski/#_2011_)), an independent periodical with a circulation of 6 000. The periodical has online presence in PDF form and contains an archive going back to 2007 including articles of the nationally orientated authors, historians, representatives of culture, and journalists. It promotes the interests of the Polish ethnicity discussing the topics of a mainly cultural character, like the issues of religion and Catholic Church, or education in the Polish language.

“Gazeta Polska Bukoviny” ([http://bukpolonia.cv.ua/pol/view\\_cat.php?cat=11](http://bukpolonia.cv.ua/pol/view_cat.php?cat=11)), similar to “Dziennik Kijowski”, has an instructive and detailed lay-out informing about political events concerning Poles and Ukrainians and disseminating information on cultural events as well as biographies of historic personalities. The monthly is dealing with social and economic problems as well as with subjects from the field of literature and culture. It is edited in Chernovtsy/Czerniowce by the Regional Association of Polish Culture named after Adam Mickiewicz. The periodical is financed by the Senate of the Republic of Poland under mediation of the foundation “Pomoc Polakom na Wschodzie”. The periodical was founded in 2007 for the representation of interests of ethnic Poles in the historical region of Bukowina and continues the tradition of “Gazeta Polska” since 1883. The periodical is sold in organizations of the Association of the Polish Culture named after Adam Mickiewicz and in the Roman-Catholic Church in Czerniowce and in the Bukowina region.

The *Polish Cultural and Educational Association in Berdiansk* “Odrodzenie” (<http://polonia.org.ua/2003-6/pl/1about.htm>) was founded by Poles in Ukraine to support the Polish community in aspects like preservation of its culture, tradition and history. The Association “Odrodzenie” which receives donations from the foundation “Pomoc Polakom na Wscho-

dzie” functions on the territory of Berdiansk. Main concerns are the shrinking number of ethnic Poles in Ukraine – among other reasons as a result of assimilation during Soviet times when it appeared to be dangerous to mention the belonging to the Polish nationality. As suggested by the name “Odrodzenie” which means “Renaissance”, this assimilation process has to be prevented through different cultural programs, intensive communication, youth exchange, and by scientific research dealing with linguistic problems of the Polish language as well as with unknown facts of Polish-Soviet history.

The *Federation of Polish Organizations in Ukraine* is the main public organization of Poles in Ukraine with headquarters in Kiev/Kijów and office in Lvov/Lwów. The Federation includes 18 000 members in 134 regions on the territory of the Ukrainian state. The organization is financed by governmental and non-governmental organizations, among others by the Senate of the Polish Republic, the association “Wspólnota Polska”, and the foundation “Pomoc Polakom na Wschodzie”. The Federation was founded in 1992 and has 22 member organizations. Events describing the life of the Polish minority in Ukraine embrace scientific conferences, youth meetings, festivals and competitions. The organization has patriotic foundations expressed through symbols like the Polish constitution 1791, memorable dates like the Day of the Polish flag, and cherishing the Polish sacred God’s Mother.

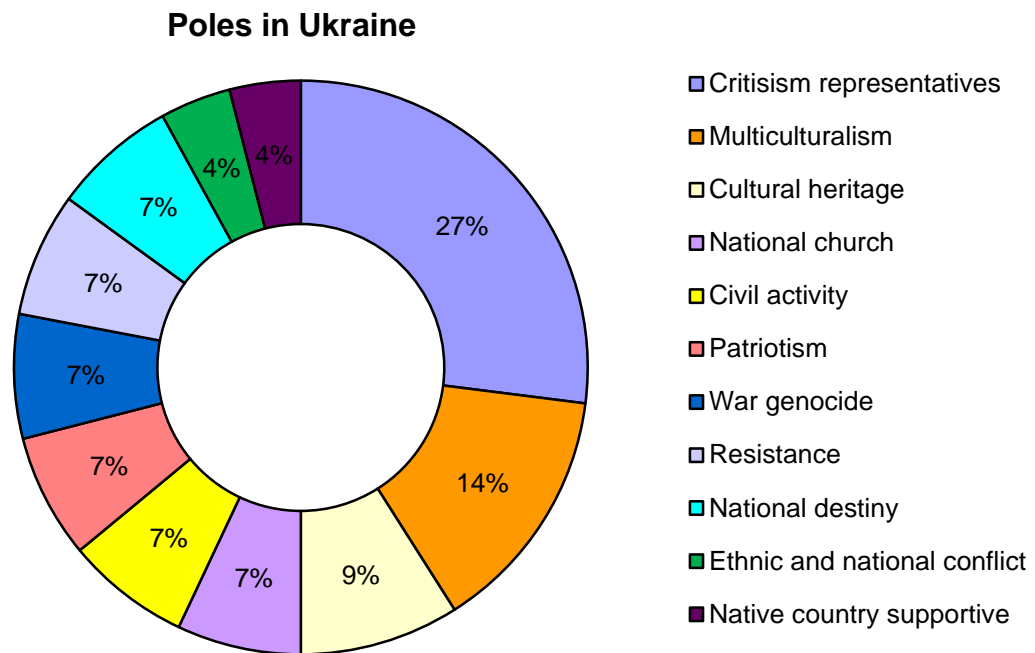
The *Regional Association of Polish Culture named after Adam Mickiewicz* has been operating in the region of Bukowina, the city of Czerniowce and other locations since 1998. The number of its members is 500. The main aspiration of the Association is to contribute to the Polish community in the regions that traditionally have been inhabited by ethnic Poles especially at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The region Bukowina is an ethnically pluralistic and diverse place with multiple nationalities. The Polish minority is an integral part of the Ukrainian state and of such a traditionally and historically revered place as Czerniowce.



#### 4.7.2 Characteristic keyword clusters

Figure 7 shows the distribution of most frequently mentioned keywords/categories according to the percentage of coded cases/documents for the Polish internet users in Ukraine.

Figure 7: keyword frequency, % of cases



While the Poles in Lithuania criticize their representatives including Polish politicians for the provoking ethnic and national conflict between the two neighboring states Lithuania and Poland, especially as far as the introduction of the Pole's card is concerned, Polish internet users in Ukraine are critical towards the members of their ethnic community for the weak national consciousness. The majority of cases for the Poles in Ukraine can be therefore referred to the keyword/category CRITICISM REPRESENTATIVES – 27% of cases. Polish sources in Ukraine discuss actively the introduction of the Pole's card by the Polish government, which gives special privileges for the Poles like the right to receive scholarships, to visit Polish schools, or to open business in Poland (NATIVE COUNTRY SUPPORTIVE, 4%).

Patriotic attitudes (PATRIOTISM, 7%) of the Poles in Ukraine to their mother country are illustrated by the following citation from the website of the Union of Poles in Ukraine:

*How can a newspaper call itself POLISH if it is defaming positive beginnings of the Polish Government and, while doing this, receives the financial support from the Senate of the Polish Republic through the Foundation "Support of the Polish citizens in the East"?*

*(Як може газета називатись ПОЛЬСЬКОЮ, коли вона наплюжить добрі починання Польського Уряду та ще й отримує при цьому фінансову підтримку від Сенату Республіки Польща через Фонд «Допомога полякам на Сході»?)<sup>59</sup>*

<sup>59</sup> Lyaskov's'ka-Shchur, V. (2010) «Як житомирські студенти їздили до Вінниці» (How Žitomir students went to Vinnitsya), Union of Poles in Ukraine, Žhitomir (organization), 17 March, internet WWW-Site at URL: [http://zozpu.zhitomir.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=71&Itemid=6](http://zozpu.zhitomir.net/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=71&Itemid=6) (accessed on 4 August 2010).

The social life of the Polish ethnic community in Ukraine relates strongly to the culture expressed in the activities of the Polish schools, of the music and folklore collectives (CULTURAL HERITAGE, 9%). Among main issues of the periodicals and websites of the Polish minority in Ukraine are the Catholic religion, the religious community, the activity of the churches, and the life of the church members and priests (NATIONAL CHURCH, 7%). In connection to religion, the Poles in the Ukraine articulate moral issues and they adhere to their cultural tradition. A military carrier is an important attribute of the biographies of the historic personalities.

In parallel to cultural and historical issues, European matters are discussed which brings patriotic features into the discussion on Eastern and Central Europe. The Poles in Ukraine have a strong civil society (CIVIL ACTIVITY, 7%) and share the principles of MULTICULTURALISM (14%).

The historic memory of the Ukrainian Poles is linked to genocide and their tragic national destiny (WAR GENOCIDE, 7%). Today, personalities like Stepan Bandera are being rehabilitated in Western Ukraine. Ethnic Poles blame the members of the Ukrainian resistance movement for being involved in the genocide against the ethnic minorities like Poles and Jews. The category ETHNIC AND NATIONAL CONFLICT appears in 4% of cases.

The resources of the Polish minority in Ukraine point out that the Poles share their historical memory and social experience with the former Soviet people. Like many Soviet citizens they became the victims of the repressive Stalin regime. The Poles who were born on the territory of the Soviet Union and had Soviet citizenship became the victims of the totalitarian regime. Not only places like Katyn', where 20, 000 Polish officers were executed, but also the destinies of many other "unknown" people who went through the war, post-war repressions, and Stalinist work-camps are remembered (RESISTANCE, 7%). To belong to an ethnic minority was enough to launch the allegation of being an "enemy of the people" (NATIONAL DESTINY, 7%). This argumentation can be exemplified by the following citation:

*I (Wiktor Więckiewicz, auth.) was accused of treason and of many other crimes which I never committed. It was also stated that I, who was born in Żytomierz, possessed on this ground the Soviet citizenship and must go back to the USSR, but I had to be put on trial.*

*(Oskarżono mnie o zdradę ojczyzny i wiele innych przestępstw, których nigdy nie popełniałem. Stwierdzono też, że ja, urodzony w Żytomierzu, posiadam na tej podstawie obywatelstwo radzieckie i powinienem wrócić do ZSRR, ale muszę ponieść karę).*

*For the criminal investigator the most important fact was that I (Wiktor Więckiewicz, auth.) came from the family of the repressed in 1937-1938, and this was enough in order to bring my case in accordance with article 58 of the Criminal Codex of the RSFSR and to pass it to the War Tribunal.*

*(Dla śledczego najważniejsze było to, że pochodzę z rodziny represjonowanej w latach 1937-1938 i tego było dosyć, aby moją sprawę „dopasować” do artykułu 58 Kodeksu Karnego RSFSR i przekazać do Trybunału Wojskowego).<sup>60</sup>*

<sup>60</sup> Zubarewa, W. et al (without date) "A życie trwa..." (And the life goes on...), *Dziennik Kijowski* (periodical), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.dk.com.ua/post.php?id=62> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

## 4.8 Poles in Belarus

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### 4.8.1 Description of internet resources

*Poles in Belarus* have 8 resources and they take the 10<sup>th</sup> place among ethnic minorities as far as the amount of the collected resources is concerned. They have 3 periodicals, 1 news/broadcasting portal, 4 organizations, and 1 article containing postings. The Union of Poles in Belarus issues periodicals like “Echa Polesia”, “Głos znad Niemna”, and “Magazyn Polski”. While “Głos znad Niemna” and “Magazyn Polski” are periodicals with a distinct political orientation and social engagement, “Echa Polesia” serves informative and educational objectives with emphasis on cultural, historical, and linguistic matters. The organization Union of Poles in Belarus has representations in local areas like Mogilev (Polish House) or Brest, and is represented by organizations like “Polish Foundation for Education in Belarus” in Grodno. The news of the official Union is published on the website <http://www.polacy.by/>, and the non-official Union has its one website: <http://zpb.org.pl/>.

The culturally orientated periodical “*Echa Polesia*” (<http://echapolesia.pl/>) is edited in the city of Brest. The 80 pages long quarterly carries the title “Bulletin of Filorets of Polesie”, of the historical-cultural territory in southern Belarus and northern Ukraine covering also the Lublin voevodship of Poland and the Bryansk region of Russia. Polesie stands out with multiculturalism and ethnic diversity. The periodical publishes material about the cultural and historical tradition of the region of Polesie mentioning famous personalities, providing bibliographies, and carries letters from readers and their comments about the life of the Polish minority in Polesie. The website introduces a list of representatives of the nobility, szlachta, with roots in this region.

“*Głos znad Niemna*” exists in PDF format in internet, with the last available edition, however, in September 2010. While the editorial office is situated in Grodno, the periodical receives funds from the Senate of the Republic of Poland together with the foundation “Wolność i Demokracja”. Being critically orientated, as under authorship of the non-official Union of Poles, the periodical concentrates on political issues concerning the Polish minority with the statement that the Belarusian government is not tolerant against minorities and that the Polish minority is subjected to an enduring assimilation process. Apart from criticizing the government, the periodical carries rather patriotic and conservative features. It tries to preserve historic memory while reporting about biographies of Polish soldiers and family trees. A central issue represents Catholic Church, religious traditions and safeguarding of memory of past generations while taking care of cemeteries.

The edition of “*Magazyn Polski*” ([http://kresy24.pl/magazyn\\_polski/](http://kresy24.pl/magazyn_polski/)) stops, similar to “*Głos znad Niemna*”, in September 2010. It is an independent periodical which was founded in 1992 and has a volume of 60 pages. The periodical reflects on cultural-historical and political matters while expressing sharp criticism of Belarusian authorities parallel to focusing on some current international events. Apart from reports about the Belarusian opposition, the periodical comments on major events from the life of the Polish minority such as commemoration of some memorial dates, school and academic life, as well as celebrating of national holidays and organizing of conferences. Larger part of topics is dedicated to historical issues, like the occupation of Western Belarus by the Red Army, or to personalities who lived on the territory of Grodno like Eliza Orzeszkowa.

The *Union of Poles in Belarus* (Związek Polaków na Białorusi) was founded during Perestroika and the collapse of the Soviet regime in 1990 as a follow-up institution of the Polish Association

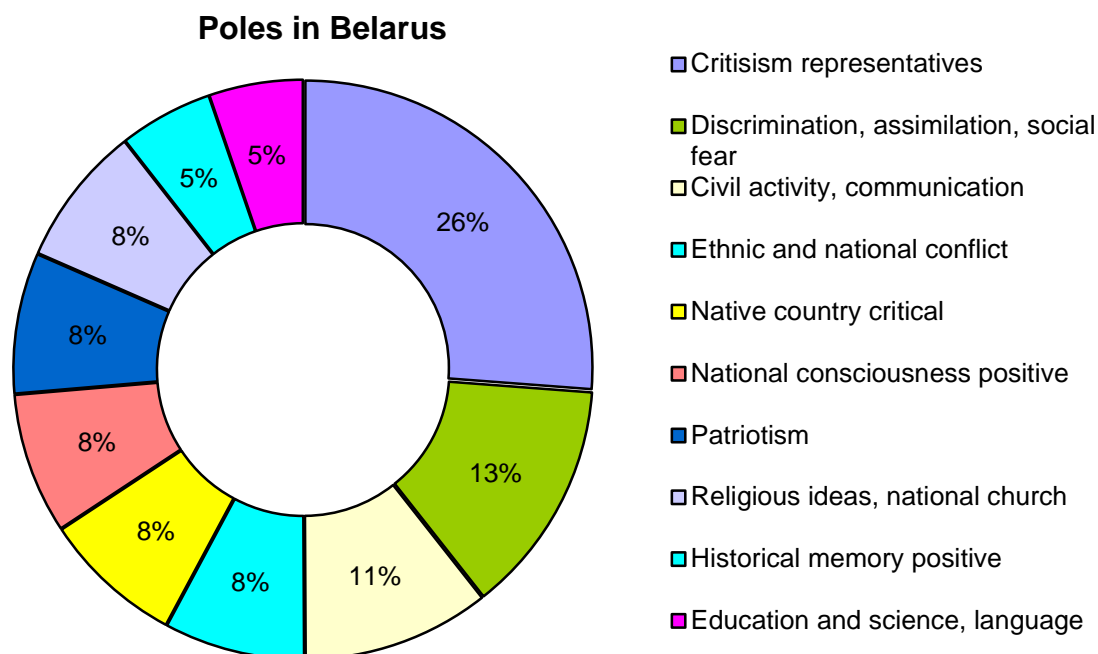
for Culture and Education named after Adam Mickiewicz in the region of Grodno. This organization puts much effort into reviving the Polish community as a consequence of democratic processes in Belarus while investing into education in the Polish language, opening Polish classes, founding new member and associate organizations in the regions of Belarus. The so-called “*Polish House*” (Polski Dom) in cities like Mogilev (<http://dom-polski.org/>) or Brest or other smaller cities like Nesvizh – some of which have self-financing – carry out educational and enlightening work and attempt to preserve the Polish culture, tradition and history on Belarusian territory. After the split of the Union of Poles, its fundamental aims remain the same, namely an attentive attitude to Catholic religion, remembering of heroic activities of the Polish army and of participation of the Polish population in the resistance movement during the World Wars I and II as well as the caring attitude to national history as preserved in the old architecture, memorials and cemeteries.

Nevertheless, the attitude of the Union members toward authorities in Belarus as well as Poland is different. The website <http://www.polacy.by/> is designed to demonstrate loyalty to the Belarusian government and takes a “constructive” approach to politics. For that position, they were lambasted by their compatriots in Belarus and Poland being called “Belarusian Union of Poles” (see Paweł Grzelak on the website of the oppositional Union: <http://zpb.org.pl/node/2>). The Association *Polish Foundation for Education in Belarus* (Polska Macierz Szkolna na Białorusi) (<http://www.pmsgrodno.org/content/view/9/6/>) was founded in Grodno in 1995 with the purpose to promote the Polish language and education in the Polish culture. In different words, the organization wants to achieve “... implementation of education in the Polish language on the territory of Belarus in the spirit of the Polish people, Christianity and Community of citizens...”. The educational institution “Polish Foundation for Education in Belarus” teaches Polish especially for younger people who plan to study in Poland.

#### 4.8.2 Characteristic keyword clusters

Figure 8 shows the distribution of most frequently mentioned keywords/categories according to the percentage of coded cases/documents for the Polish internet users in Belarus.

Figure 8: keyword frequency, % of cases



The category CRITICISM REPRESENTATIVES appeared in 26% of analyzed cases, which suggests that internet users among the Polish minority perceive a conflict situation within the Polish community in Belarus.

The interests of the Poles in Belarus are divided: One part of the Union of Poles in Belarus constitutes the officially registered Union, while another part of the Union represents the views oppositional to the Belarusian government and faces therefore problems with official registration. The analysis of the text fragments from the official as well as non-official websites of the Union of Poles suggests that the interests of the ethnic Poles in Belarus are not consolidated – instead the resources of the official and non-official Union of Poles voice criticism towards the opposite side. Ironically enough, this enduring situation of tense political discussion between the Belarusian government and the representatives of Poles on the one hand, and among Polish minorities on the other, stimulates the development of a rather vivid political life among the Polish internet population in Belarus. Categories like CIVIL ACTIVITY and COMMUNICATION amount to 11% of cases.

Resources of Poles in Belarus air the problems of DISCRIMINATION, ASSIMILATION, and SOCIAL FEAR (13% for all categories), especially in concern of the Soviet period which is associated with the discrimination of the Polish national community and with the imperial politics in Soviet style. The number of ethnic Poles in Belarus had decreased especially in the post-communist time. In the opinion of the Polish minorities in Belarus, the Soviet regime was practicing the process of cultural assimilation towards ethnic Poles, the latter was especially influ-

enced by collectivization and modernization. Also the Polish Catholic Church was under prohibition in the Soviet Union from 1937 till 1989 which had a negative impact on the national identity and on the development of the Polish language. As result of such politics, the majority of ethnic Poles in Belarus do not use the Polish language in their daily life.

The following citation from a text fragment on the website of the non-official Union of Poles demonstrates an example of the discrimination and assimilation politics towards Poles in Belarus from the point of view of the non-official Union of Poles:

*Examples of the similar actions<sup>61</sup> – during the census there have been cases when the interviewers pressured people to register as Belarusians.*

*(Przykładem podobnych akcji - z jednej strony w trakcie spisu ludności były fakty zachęcania przez ankieterów ludzi zapisywać się Białorusinami).*

The same source contains however the criticism towards the increase of numbers of the representatives of other ethnic groups:

*It is interesting to know, that there are minorities whose number is rising. And this happens not at a quite dizzying pace. Thus, the number of Chinese who live in Belarus has grown over the last 10 years. The number of the Arabs has increased 2.7 times and of the Turkmen population, 2.3 times. The main reason of this development is the constant emigration of representatives of these nations who regard Belarus as an attractive European country where the living conditions are much better than in their home countries.*

*(Ciekawe, że są mniejszości, które liczebnie rosną. I to nie w bardzo zawrotnym tempie. Tak w ciągu 10 lat zwiększyła się liczba Chińczyków, mieszkających na Białorusi, 2,7 razy zwiększyła się liczba Arabów, 2,3 razy - Turkmenów. Główną przyczyną takiego rezultatu jest stała emigracja przedstawicieli tych narodów, gdyż Białoruś w ich oczach jest atrakcyjnym europejskim krajem, gdzie warunki życia są znacznie lepsze niż w ich ojczyznach (ibid.)).*

One part of the Poles in Belarus is critical towards their mother country for in their opinion unbalanced politics towards the Polish community in Belarus (NATIVE COUNTRY CRITICAL, 8%). The conflict emerges from different readings among the members of the Union of Poles and among the leadership which represent different views on the Union politics, especially concerning the stance towards Belarusian politics and the Belarusian opposition. The conflict between the members of the Union of Poles was the reason for diplomatic conflicts between the Polish and Belarusian governments as well as with the international community which puts the blame on the side of the Belarusian government (ETHNIC AND NATIONAL CONFLICT, 8%). According to the Belarusian law, the Union of an ethnic group has to pursue only cultural aims, but not political. The members of the official Union share this view and they do not support the policy of Angelika Boris, the president of the non-official Union.

The criticism toward the native country Poland, as expressed on the website of the official Union of Poles, illustrates the following citation:

<sup>61</sup> Attempts of the Belarusian authorities to create a nationally monolithic Belarusian society (auth.), see Sablewski, Z. (2010) "Białoruś nieprzychylna dla mniejszości" (Belarus is not friendly towards minorities), *Union of Poles in Belarus* (organization), 21 September, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://zpb.org.pl/node/120> (accessed on 25 October 2011).

*Polish media presented the internal conflict in the Union of Poles of Belarus propagandistically one-sided as persecution of the Polish minority and contributed outright to the escalation of the atmosphere of conflict among the Polish community in Belarus.*

*(Media polskie w celach propagandowych jednostronnie prezentowały wewnętrzny konflikt w ZPB jako prześladowanie polskiej mniejszości narodowej, a wręcz podsycaly atmosferę konfrontacji wśród polskiej społeczności na Białorusi).*

*Anonymous communications stream in or people wrote directly about being afraid to indicate their name in order not to get on the “black list” of prohibition to enter the mother country. People were afraid of the retaliation of Boris.*

*(Napływają anonimy, albo ludzie wprost piszą, że boją się ujawnić nazwiska, żeby nie trafić na „czarną listę” zakazu wjazdu do Macierzy. Po prostu ludzie boją się zemsty Borisa).<sup>62</sup>*

For all Polish groups in Belarus, the preservation of NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS POSITIVE is vital (8%).

The Poles in Belarus maintain historical memory, they pay a lot of attention to national tradition. Significance of patriotism for the Polish House in Mogilev becomes explicit especially at organization of the special events devoted to the memory of the Second World War (PATRIOTISM, 8%). The text fragments analyzed on the website of the Polish House in Mogilev try to remind of the feelings of internationalism that were leading during the Great Fatherhood War on the territory of the Soviet Union. The members of the Polish diaspora take part at the meetings of the war veterans (HISTORICAL MEMORY POSITIVE, 5%).

The resources of the Poles in Belarus draw attention to the RELIGIOUS IDEAS and the NATIONAL CHURCH (8%).

The Polish lyceum in Grodno (Polska Macierz Szkolna) pursues the aim to educate the representatives of the Polish ethnic minorities in Belarus in the Polish language, the history and culture of Poland. The attempts are directed toward the increase of the number of those students – not only among ethnic Poles – who want to study at the universities in Poland. According to the policy of the lyceum, it is open for all those who are interested in the Polish culture, literature and language. By this, it stimulates the overcoming of the cultural gap between the Russian speaking majority in Belarus and other citizens (EDUCATION AND SCIENCE/LANGUAGE, 5%).

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<sup>62</sup> Kruczkowski, T. (2009) “Niektóre aspekty działalności nieoficjalnego ZS ZPB w latach 2005-2008” (Some aspects of the activity of the non-official Union of Poles in Belarus 2005-2008), *Polacy.by* (news portal), 22 June, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.polacy.by/content/view/208/27/> (accessed on 20 July 2010).

## 4.9 Poles in Lithuania

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### 4.9.1 Description of internet resources

For *Poles in Lithuania*, 10 resources were collected which results in the 8<sup>th</sup> place for this minority. Poles in Lithuania publish various internet materials consisting of 4 periodicals, 1 news/broadcasting portal, and 3 websites of organizations. Apart from that, there is 1 forum and 1 article containing postings (newspaper “Kurier Wileński”). The range of resources is completed by periodicals like “Magazyn Wileński”, “Tygodnik Wileńszczyzny”, “Kurier Wileński”, and Quarterly “Znad Wili”. The organizations include the Union of Poles in Lithuania, foundation “Zbiory Wileńskie”, Polish Press- and Conference Centre “INFOPOL”, and radio “Znad Wili”.

„*Magazyn Wileński*” ([www.magwil.lt](http://www.magwil.lt)) describes itself as an independent illustrated monthly issued in Vilnius since 1990. The periodical popularizes the idea of cultural identity and the Polish-ness of the Vilnius/Wilno territory. Personalities like the poet Czesław Miłosz shaped the cultural tradition of this place which appears resilient to decay. The philosophy behind this edition is not to adhere to popular and modern culture typical for industrialized society, but on the contrary to oppose these trends by emphasizing the personal character of the people, the territory, the country and its nature, symbols, and folklore. For cultural treasures, there is no need to look far away, Lithuanian and Polish land bears rich historical heritage which has to be noticed and preserved. Besides culture, education and religion, the periodical reports on patriotic issues, especially concerning the Polish-Lithuanian war with the articles like “Bo wolność krzyżami się mierzy” (transl.: But freedom is measured by crucifixes) or reports about descendants of Poles in Lithuania.

“*Tygodnik Wileńszczyzny*” ([www.tygodnik.lt](http://www.tygodnik.lt)) is edited in Vilnius with financial support of the Senate of the Polish Republic and the foundation “Pomoc Polakom na Wschodzie”. The periodical displays high standards and quality of information, all in all indicating a high level of professionalism. The periodical informs about cultural life in Vilnius concerning the Polish community with emphasis on the necessity to keep up tradition and Polish culture. The edition contains links to Polish resources like “Wirtualna Polonia”. It publishes news from Lithuania, commentaries from readers together with the rubric “samorządność” (self-government). “*Kurier Wileński*” ([www.kurierwilenski.lt](http://www.kurierwilenski.lt)) is the only Polish daily periodical in Central-Eastern Europe issued in Vilnius. Since its first edition in 1953, the periodical has reported about the life of the Polish minority in Lithuania. The periodical represents a news edition with current updates on different aspects of life like politics, economy, culture; it carries international news and reports as well as interviews with politicians. The periodical highlights the subjects which deserve the highest public interest and the majority of the audience’s comments. “Kurier” is among those periodicals which contain up to 100 and more postings relating to articles, especially concerning the ethnic topics and the violation of ethnic rights and conflicts with Lithuanian authorities.

The foundation “*Zbiory Wileńskie*” (<http://www.nasz-czas.lt/>) started in Vilnius in 2003. The organization is devoted to the collection, research and publication of information connected with the history of the region of Vilnius, especially of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and with the post war history. Apart from the photo material depicting architecture and historical sites of the Vilnius region, it carries reports about historical events, famous personalities, news from the historical research, discussion material and bibliographical data. Apart from the Polish, it uses the Lithuanian and Belarusian languages and reports about the life of respected minorities and multicultural history. The *Union of Poles in Lithuania* (Związek Polaków na Litwie) (<http://www.zpl.lt/aktualnosci>) was founded in Vilnius to protect and represent the Polish minority in Lithuania which is among



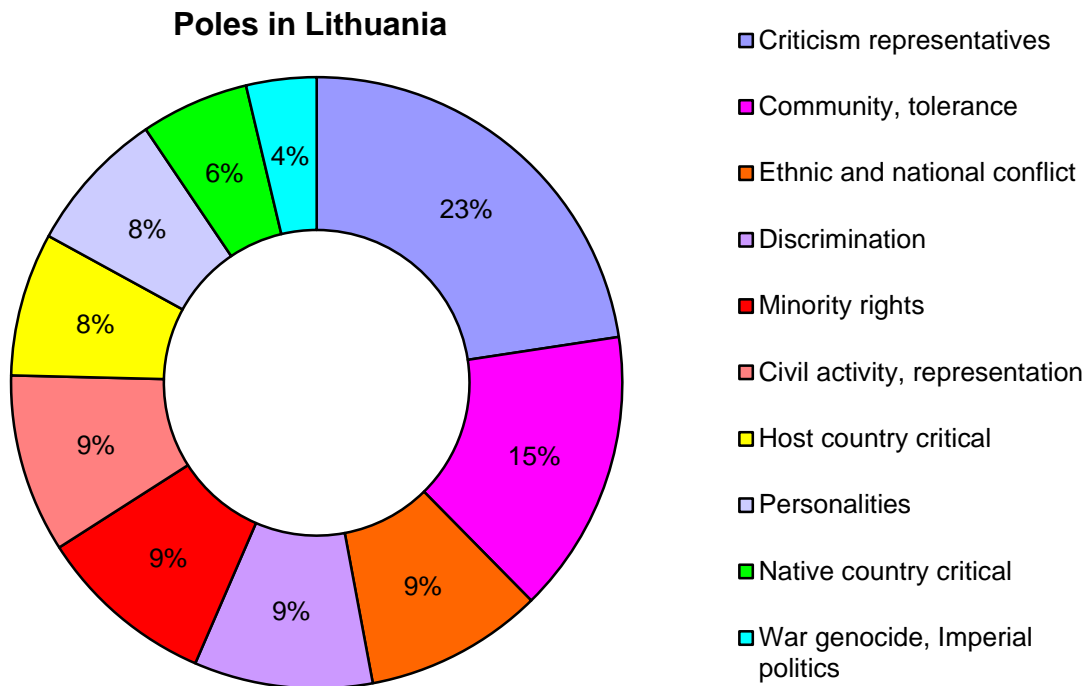
the biggest minorities in the country (6.7% or 235-300 000 people, see the rubric “Statut” on the website of the Union). The Union of Poles was founded in 1990 and has 11 thousand members. Apart from the protection of the ethnic rights, the organization implements educational and cultural programs and supports Polish initiatives, socio-cultural as well as economic. The Union issues its own periodical “Nasza Gazeta”. The website of the Union publishes reports about mutual initiatives of the Polish community as well as the process of dialogue and criticism in concern of the rights of Polish minorities.

*INFOPOL, Polish Press and Conference Center in Lithuania* (<http://www.infopol.lt/pl/apie/>) is an organization with an online news portal which has headquarters in Vilnius and was founded in 2007. The news portal contributes to information exchange between Poland and Lithuania as well as provides information to neighboring countries like Belarus, Kaliningrad region, Estonia, Ukraine, and Latvia. Respectively, the language of these countries is used depending on reports. Apart from that the portal aims to meet interests of the Polish community abroad which amounts to 2-3 million people. In comparison to periodicals, the news portal contains updated information (“kronika wydarzeń”) from the life of the Polish minority, comments on legal issues, politics, and economy as well as commentaries of journalists. Among the resources, there is one Polish radio in Lithuania “Znad Wilii” ([www.zw.lt](http://www.zw.lt)) with office in Vilnius. It was founded in 1992 and contains rubrics like “Salon polityczny” (Political Salon), “aktualności” (Topical news), and “ogłoszenia” (Announcements) with current news from Lithuanian politics and European Union, from the political, economic and cultural life, education system and cultural life in Lithuania.

#### 4.9.2 Characteristic keyword clusters

Figure 9 shows the distribution of most frequently mentioned keywords/categories according to the percentage of coded cases/documents for the Polish internet users in Lithuania.

Figure 9: keyword frequency, % of cases



As far as the sources of the Poles in Lithuania are concerned, the majority of themes (23%) is covered by the categories CRITICISM REPRESENTATIVES. Representatives of the Polish minority in Lithuania express criticism towards some Polish political elites who, in their opinion, develop a nationalist stance and provoke conflicts between two neighbouring country Lithuania and Poland (ETHNIC AND NATIONAL CONFLICT, 9%). They argue that some Polish politicians have a conservative political culture and, being educated in the Soviet times, retain the old ideology, although the political climate in Europe has changed. Under the conditions of a liberal European Union with its freedom of movement, the Polish government introduced the so-called “Polish card”, a document which is to foster the feeling of belonging to the Polish nation and to strengthen Polish national identity. Critical reviews of ethnic Poles in Lithuania allege that the nationalistic policy provokes conflicts between two neighbouring countries and spreads ethnic hatred in the Polish population in Lithuania who regard Lithuania as their home country. The latter is true especially for the elderly generation which went through the war and post-war period (NATIVE COUNTRY CRITICAL, 6%).

All in all, issues like creating a democratic community of citizens based on tolerance and solidarity are high ranking topics in the resources of the Poles in Lithuania. From the analysis of sources one can gather that Lithuania and Poland try to overcome historically tense relations. The creation of a kind of community between two countries commands therefore high attention (COMMUNITY/TOLERANCE, 15%). Representatives of the Polish minority and the Lithuanian society refer to their common historical background, marked with memorials and names of intellectuals who lived in the multicultural surroundings of Vilnius (PERSONALITIES, 8%). In the

opinion of the Polish and Lithuanian politicians, both countries have very much in common: historically, the Polish culture made significant contributions to the culture in Lithuania. The Polish government supports the cultural programs between two countries which are to improve the understanding between two societies.

However the situation of minority rights is regarded as positive in the text fragments attributable to the Poles in Lithuania (MINORITY RIGHTS, 9% of cases), ethnic Poles are still in a state of conflict with the Lithuanian government on matters of discrimination. The category DISCRIMINATION appears in 9% and the category HOST COUNTRY CRITICAL in 8% of all cases. The Polish minority in Lithuania have a special advocacy agency to help to protect and to promote the rights of the Polish ethnic community. It is socially active to guarantee the equal distribution of rights between the main nation and the minorities, especially in the sphere of property rights, as well as to help those members of the Polish community who do not have enough knowledge of the Lithuanian language. Professional advocates rely on support of the Lithuanian government and try to promote dialogue between two countries, Poland and Lithuania.

The following citation from the periodical “Tygodnik Wilenszczyzny” proves that multiculturalism depends on protection of the minority rights:

*The topic of the ethnic minorities is a very complicated and emotional issue that is why among other reasons it is so difficult to find a common denominator here.*

*(Temat mniejszości narodowych jest tematem bardzo skomplikowanym i emocjonalnym, między innymi dlatego jest tak trudno znaleźć dlań wspólny mianownik).<sup>63</sup>*

Poland and Lithuania had complicated relations in the past which is discussed by the Polish resources in Lithuania. The history of the Polish-Lithuanian relations appears marked with war tragedies and humanitarian catastrophes (WAR GENOCIDE/IMPERIAL POLITICS, 4%). Ethnic Poles share patriotic feelings. Events to commemorate the past are frequently organized by the Union of Poles.

As suggested by analyzed cases in text fragments, political groups of the Poles in Lithuania are very well organized to represent the rights of the minority (CIVIL ACTIVITY/REPRESENTATION, 9%). Ethnic Poles in Lithuania have a stronger and more effective civil mobilization than in Belarus or Ukraine. The specification of the political representation is therefore strongly connected with the civil culture of the host country. The party of the Polish minority in Lithuania AWPL (Akcja Wyborcza Polaków na Litwie) united not only representatives of the Polish ethnic minority, but also other minorities and the representatives of the main nation, Lithuania. The party was successful in the election process and in the governmental coalition. Its representative was elected deputy to the EU Parliament.

Poles present themselves as a strongly organized social group in Lithuania:

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<sup>63</sup> Cytacka, R. (2008) “Międzynarodowa konferencja OBWE o mniejszościach narodowych. Dwa poglądy na ten sam problem” (International OSCE-conference about ethnic minorities. Two visions on the same problem), *Tygodnik Wilenszczyzny* (periodical) (24), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.tygodnik.lt/200824/> (accessed on 15 August 2010).

*In Lithuania it became a tradition that Poles, who represent an autochthonous and most numerous group, had to fulfill the leadership role among ethnic minorities.*

*(Na Litwie tak się stało, że rolę lidera wśród mniejszości pełnić wypadło Polakom - ludności autochtonicznej i liczebnie najliczniejszej).<sup>64</sup>*

## 4.10 Hungarians in Ukraine

### 4.10.1 Description of internet resources

The web analysis of *Hungarians in Ukraine* used 10 resources: 3 periodicals, 3 organizations, 3 blogs, 1 article with comments. This minority takes the 9<sup>th</sup> place among other minorities as far as collected resources are concerned. Hungarians in Ukraine are represented by periodicals like “Beregi Hirlap”, “Kárpáti Igaz Szó”, and “Ukrajnai Magyar Krónika”.

The regional press is represented by *Beregi Hirlap* ([www.beregihirlap.uz.ua](http://www.beregihirlap.uz.ua)), a weekly with a print run of 1 900. “Beregi Hirlap” is the official periodical for Beregvidék (Zakarpattia region). This publication, which counts almost one century of existence, is an edition of the Beregszász regional council. The online version started in 2005 and until today it has had over 300 000 visitors.

The most important Hungarian-language online daily in Ukraine is *Kárpáti Igaz Szó* (<http://www.hhrf.org/karpatigazszo/100626/index.html>) which started online at the beginning of 2003. In Soviet times, it had a circulation of 40 000 which dropped to a figure of 3 103 after the breakup of the USSR. Its status of a semi-official news outlet brought it into trouble after the first Yanukovich government was ousted as a result of the “Orange Revolution”. The internet edition is supported by the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation (HHRF) and the Motherland Foundation/Gábor Bethlen Endowment (Szülőföld Alap/Bethlen Gábor Alap). The latter Foundation subsidizes educational and cultural institutions as well as self-government activities of Magyar minorities abroad. The Foundation also supports other domains such as *Kárpátalja.hu*, *Kárpátalja.info*, or *Beregszász.com*, and *Beregszász.info*. These sites are partly commercial and market tourist infrastructure in the Transcarpattia region or report and comment on the situation of the Hungarian minority.

*Ukrajnai Magyar Krónika* ([www.kronika.bereg.net.ua](http://www.kronika.bereg.net.ua)) is an online weekly which has existed since 2006. It comes out for the defense of Hungarian cultural values and is sponsored by the *Ukrainian Hungarian Democratic Union, UMDSz* ([www.umdsz.uz.ua](http://www.umdsz.uz.ua)), by professional organizations and institutions such as the *Transcarpattia Institute for Hungarian Education* ([www.kmmi.org.ua](http://www.kmmi.org.ua)) which was founded by the Democratic Union together with the Transcarpattia Union of Magyar Intellectuals. The UMDSz poses as the defender of the interests of ethnic Hungarians in Ukraine and criticizes alleged or real attempts at cracking down on education in the mother tongue. It is the only nationally registered Hungarian organization in Ukraine. According to the website analysis tool Woorank (<http://204.236.225.207/de>), its site has between 30 000 and 100 000 visitors per month.

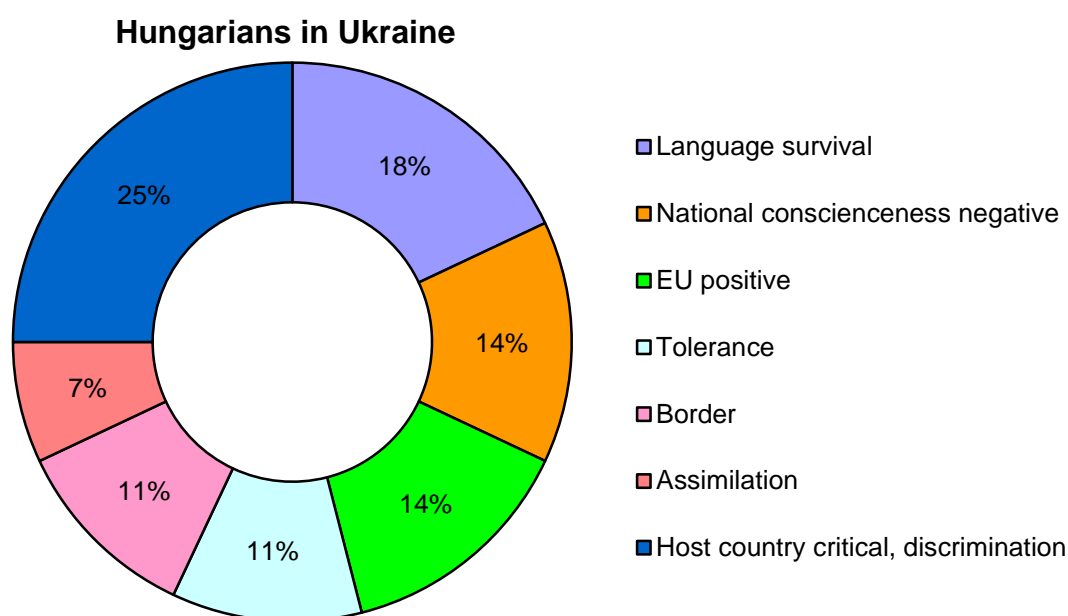
<sup>64</sup> (Without author) (2009) “Zdobyliśmy Europę!” (We won Europe!), *Union of Poles in Lithuania* (organization), 11 June, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.zpl.it/aktualnosci/20090611/zdobylyismy-europe> (accessed 29 October 2011).

The Protestant Church is represented by the online publication *Transkarpattya Reformed Church Parish* ([www.reformatus.com.ua](http://www.reformatus.com.ua)), the website of the Transkarpattya Church District of the (Reformed) Protestant Church. This institution claims a purely religious mission, but also strives to support Hungarian cultural traditions. The major site is *Kárpátalja Blog* (<http://karpatalja.blog.hu/>), which is mainly used by Magyar intellectuals from Transkarpattya and linked to other blog sites (e.g. BDK blog). While the forums of the Hungarians in Ukraine are published mainly on the Ukrainian websites (with the correspondent extension “.ua”), the Hungarian blog sites are run by Hungarian servers.

#### 4.10.2 Characteristic keyword clusters

Figure 10 shows the distribution of most frequently mentioned keywords/categories according to the percentage of coded cases/documents for the Hungarian internet users in Ukraine

Figure 10: keyword frequency, % of cases



Dread of assimilation and the loss of the Hungarian mother tongue is the dominant feature of the Ukrainian Hungarians (LANGUAGE SURVIVAL, 18%). Hungarians in Ukraine are highly critical of their host country and complain discrimination (HOST COUNTRY CRITICAL/DISCRIMINATION, 25%). Nevertheless, they also criticize the lack of the development of the national consciousness among the representatives of their community. The category NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS NEGATIVE covers 14% of the analyzed cases. The high importance of the ideological component of the Hungarians in Ukraine reflects media freedom under the Yushchenko administration, but probably also a belated reassertion of nationalism which has been a substitute for the official ideology in most post-Communist countries.

The EU is obviously seen as a guarantor for minority rights. In this context, support for the EU and their “European” identity is strongly expressed (EU POSITIVE, 14%). This goes with a frequent reference to visa problems which prevent the maintenance of regular visits to the mother country (BORDER, 11%). The emphasis on TOLERANCE issues among the Hungarian minori-

ties in Ukraine (11%) can be explained as reaction on the increasing nationalist orientation of the Hungarian government which has created friction with the neighboring states.

EU-supportive views are exemplified in the following quotes:

*Several /speakers/ highlighted the extraordinary role of Transkarpattya for the aspirations to integrate /Ukraine into the EU/. The state in this region has excellent opportunities to establish direct contacts /with EU countries/. Like on litmus paper, it registers the internal processes in the EU in its public opinion.*

*(Többen kiemelték Kárpátalja rendkívüli szerepét az integrációs törekvések útján. Az ország e régiójában ugyanis kiválóak a lehetőségek a közvetlen kapcsolatépítésre, illetve az Unión belüli folyamatok lecsapódásának hatásaira is mintegy lakmuspapírként itt reagál leggyorsabban a közvélemény).<sup>65</sup>*

The Hungarian resources after 2008 are characterized by the persistent predominance of the ASSIMILATION issue (7%) and an increasing significance of historical awareness, which is counterbalanced by the emphasis on tolerance as well as negative assessments of national consciousness.

The identity of Hungarians in Ukraine is couched in religious and mythological symbols:

*The Turulbird is an important totem animal of the Magyar mythology.*

*(A turulmadár a magyar mitológia fontos totemállata).<sup>66</sup>*

As with other minorities covered by this study, the national/ethnic identity of Hungarians in the Ukraine is work in progress. As the high variability of keywords over time demonstrates, several directions are still open – the creation of a genuinely European identity, the relapse into nationalism, or, what seems most probable at this point and on the basis of our data – the emergence of a sui generis identity. Such identity is laced around the self-assertion of a minority which is conscious of their rights and uses them and which simultaneously leaves no doubts about their civic loyalty towards the young Ukrainian state. This civic attitude is demonstrated by the following citation:

*Those misrepresent the right views, who are rubbing in an identity which is based on an exaggerated image of the historic homeland. In the eyes of the present generation, it is only symbolic anyhow.*

*(Torzítják a helyes felfogást azok, akik a mai nemzedék szempontjából csak jelképes öshaza eltúlzott kiemelésén alapuló azonosságtudatot sulykolnak).<sup>67</sup>*

<sup>65</sup> Vaskeba, I. (2005) "Ukrajna szerepe a megújult Európában" (The role of Ukraine in new Europe), *Kárpáti Igaz Szó* (periodical), 26 February, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.hrf.org/karpatiigazszo/050226/ke01.html> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

<sup>66</sup> Tóth, V. (2009) "A Magyar Hálaadás Napja" (Hungarian Thanksgiving), *Kárpáti Igaz Szó* (periodical), 26 November, internet WWW-Site at: <http://www.hrf.org/karpatiigazszo/091126/magyar.html> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

<sup>67</sup> Carolus (nickname) (2010) "Európai magyarság (ismétlés)" (European Hungarians, second edition), *Carolus blog*, 6 July, internet WWW-Site: [http://carolus.blogter.hu/312847/europai\\_magyarsag](http://carolus.blogter.hu/312847/europai_magyarsag) (accessed on 29 October 2011).

## 4.11 Hungarians in Slovakia

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### 4.11.1 Description of internet resources

The web analysis concerning *Hungarian minorities in Slovakia* used 17 resources, which indicates a high degree of web activity by members of this minority (third place among all ethnic minorities under study). The resources of Hungarians in Slovakia include 3 periodicals, 1 news portal, 7 resources with blogs, 1 forum, and 5 articles with postings. The internet presence of Magyars in Slovakia is quite pronounced. A multitude of news portals, e-periodicals, blogs and other publications tries to organize, to inform, and to raise the awareness of the community.

The periodical *Csallóköz* (<http://issuu.com/csallokoz/docs>) is the regional Hungarian internet publication in Slovakia. It is published in the Hungarian and Slovak languages by an ethnically mixed team of publishers. The periodical has a moderate political stance which strives at promoting the rights of Slovak citizens of Hungarian descent. According to its self-description, the periodical *Paráméter* ([www.parameter.sk](http://www.parameter.sk)) is the most popular media for Slovak Hungarians. Around 70% of its readership is concentrated in the Zytina Ostrov, one of Slovakia's key economic regions. Around 12 000 visits per day of the online periodical website are registered. Three fourths of the visitors are Slovak citizens, the remaining part are mostly Hungarians. As other similar publications, it sports an advertisement section, a video and imagery rubric, but also a forum with a broad audience. "Paráméter" is supported by the Cultural Ministry of the Slovak Republic. Despite of the "official" funding, critical opinions can be freely vented.

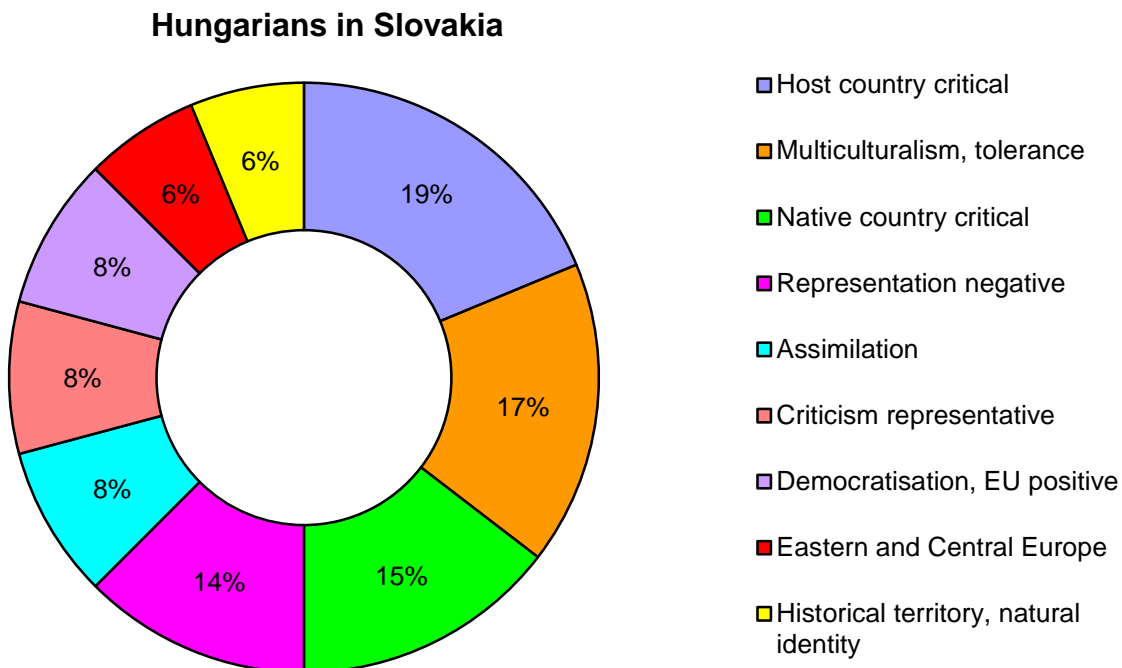
*Magyar* (<http://www.magyar.sk/szwmw.asp>) is the largest news portal. It was established in 2005 under the auspices of the Hungarian Ministry for Information and Communication and the Puskás Tivadar Public Foundation, a public body that promotes technology transfer as well as the internet presence of Magyars outside Hungary. "Magyar" is operated by Hungarian organizations in Slovakia and has the stated objective to inform about their activities, about Hungarian schools in Slovakia, to report about community life and various events. The news portal *Felvidék Ma* (<http://www.felvidek.ma>) has an estimated number of page views of 767 000 per year and is the largest Hungarian news site in Slovakia. Established in 2005, it gained popularity among the Magyars during the political conflicts which harnessed ethnic identity as a vehicle when it took a distinct nationalist position, especially during 2009 when clashes between Hungarian and Slovak soccer fans occurred.

"Felvidék Ma" competes with other commercial news portals such as *Bumm* (<http://bumm.sk>). A different position is taken by the news portal *Körkép* (<http://korkep.sk/>), which caters to liberal and intellectuals. Among the websites which in most cases are linked to news portals "Bumm" or "Körkép" are *Komáromi Blog*, *Szlovenszko Blog*, the news portal *Presztige*, and online periodicals such as *Paráméter*. The majority of websites are of a non-political nature providing information for everyday life. Overall, most contributions are moderate and pragmatic. This landscape is a far cry from Hungary-based sites which contain a hard core of such right extremist and anti-Semitic sources as *Kuruc.info* ([www.kuruc.info](http://www.kuruc.info)). To that extent, they reflect the present party system and the voting preferences in Slovakia. Incidentally, the June 2010 elections in Slovakia have punished the radicals on both sides of the ethnic fence.

### 4.11.2 Characteristic keyword clusters

Figure 11 shows the distribution of most frequently mentioned keywords/categories according to the percentage of coded cases/documents for the Hungarian internet users in Slovakia.

Figure 11: keyword frequency, % of cases



In contrast to widely held stereotypes and commentaries in the media, Hungarians in Slovakia are bent on living together and co-operating with their Slovak compatriots. The categories MULTICULTURALISM/TOLERANCE are mentioned in 17% of all cases.

Hungarians in Slovakia are critical toward their host country Slovakia (HOST COUNTRY CRITICAL, 19%), but also toward their own political representatives (CRITICISM REPRESENTATIVES, 8%). Hungarian minorities are conscious of their cultural legacy, their historical and political role in Central Europe and consider education in their mother tongue as the main tool to prevent ASSIMILATION (8% of cases). The online resources of the Hungarians in Slovakia suggest that Hungarians direct their criticism to the Hungarian parents and to politics in the mother country rather than to Slovak government authorities.

Processes of assimilation and the erosion of the factor of national identity among Hungarians in Slovakia are emphasized in the blog-site “Paráméter”:

*The Hungarian name is the most visible sign of belonging to the nation or of Magyar identity. In the present situation, when, as a result of the extreme vulnerability of this identity, the number of Magyars is rapidly decreasing, the doors of Magyar elementary schools are closing, the official registration of the Magyar name, the open avowal would in any case be an identity-strengthening factor which would stop the assimilation process.*



*(A magyar név a nemzethez való tartozás vagyis a magyar identitás legláthatóbb jele. A jelen helyzetben, mikor a harmatgyenge identitás következményeként rohamosan fogy a magyarok száma, folyamatosan zárulnak be a magyar alapiskolák kapui, a magyar név hivatalosítása vagyis vállalása mindenképp identitáserősítő tényező lenne, amivel megfékezhetnénk a beolvadási folyamatot).<sup>68</sup>*

Numerous contributions come out against what is perceived as an unwise claim of the present government to represent all Magyars and to disregard the national sovereignty of neighboring states (NATIVE COUNTRY CRITICAL, 15%). Quite naturally, this is seen as a move that may spell trouble for the situation of the minority. Hungarians in Slovakia subscribe to democratic values and frequently come out against Hungarian jingoism. There are some distinct differences in the post-2008 ranking of keywords: While criticism of the host country is still on a high level, the necessity of a “European” value, namely tolerance, comes to the foreground. The negative consequences of an excessive national consciousness are more clearly realized (DEMOCRATISATION/EU POSITIVE, 8%).

A great deal of attention is given to the – obviously unsatisfactory – structure of interest representation (REPRESENTATION NEGATIVE, 14%), where the allegedly/perceived excessive diversity of Hungarian parties together with their ideological orientation is criticized. This is illustrated by the rejection of the ideological component of ethnicity and the relatively strong support for citizenship and democratization. The geographical focus of the Hungarian identity in Slovakia is Central Europe (EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE, 6%), a fact that does not exclude the claim to live on one’s own territory. The latter is never treated as controversial, but as something natural which does not need further discussion.

While reminiscence of a negatively perceived Communist past prevails in the period before 2008, the issue of assimilation gains prominence after 2008 to the detriment of multiculturalism. Overall, one may state that the identity of Hungarians in Slovakia is firmly rooted in the Central European topography. It has not been affected by nationalist currents in the mother country. It is an identity of ethnic belonging which accepts mother tongue and space as undisputed natural ingredients (HISTORICAL TERRITORY/NATURAL IDENTITY, 6%). This goes with an attitude of active citizenship, which is often critical of Slovak policies and authorities but does not challenge Slovak statehood. Hungarians in Slovakia insist that Slovakia is their historical territory, but their identity centers around the notion of Central Europe.

The meaning of the natural identity can be illustrated by the following quotation:

*It is not important for others, who I am, but for me. The answer has to be asked from the inside, not from the outside.*

*(Nem másnak fontos tudni: ki vagyok én, hanem nekem. Nem felülről, belülről kell kérni és hallani a választ).<sup>69</sup>*

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<sup>68</sup> Gábor, B. (2008), “Promóció-névhasználat” (Promotion and name use), blog of Gábor, B. in *Paráméter* (periodical), 18 July, internet WWW-Site: <http://www.parameter.sk/blog/balko-gabor/2008/07/18/promocio-%E2%80%93-nevhasznalat> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

<sup>69</sup> Gyurkovits, R. (2010) “Nem felülről, belülről – avagy: Ki a magyar?” (Not from outside, from inside, or: Who is Magyar?), *Felvidék Ma* (news portal), 8 November, internet WWW-Site: [http://www.felvidek.ma/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=25243&catid=64&Itemid=131](http://www.felvidek.ma/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=25243&catid=64&Itemid=131) (accessed on 29 October 2011).

## 4.12 Slovaks in Hungary

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### 4.12.1 Description of internet resources

Related to *Slovaks in Hungary*, three resources have been identified and used for analysis, among them one periodical “L’udové Noviny” and two organizations, like the official website of the Mogyorósbánya administration and the Association and Regional Cultural Center of Slovaks from Pilis. Due to the small number of resources, Slovaks in Hungary occupy the 11<sup>th</sup> place before the Ukrainians in Hungary in the content analysis ranking. The *Association and Regional Cultural Center of Slovaks from Pilis* ([www.pilis-slovak.hu](http://www.pilis-slovak.hu)) unites Slovak settlements of the Pilis region and organizes as well as coordinates programs for 15 Slovak villages in the Pest and Komárom districts. This regional union promotes Slovak activities, assists local Slovak activists in extending and strengthening networks and relations with Slovakia. Its website has meanwhile become a major tool for communication in this Slovak network. The Association is financed by the Slovak authorities from the funds for support of the Slovak minorities abroad.

*L’udové Noviny* ([www.luno.hu](http://www.luno.hu)) is the only country-wide periodical. To that extent, the Slovak minority is on a par with the Chinese minority in Hungary which can also boast one daily “Xindaobao”. Originally founded in 1957, “L’udové Noviny” went online in October 2004. Its stated goals are the “preservation and development of identity, the mother tongue as well as culture” (see front page of the website [www.luno.hu](http://www.luno.hu)). “L’udové Noviny” is fully subsidized by the Public Foundation for National and Ethnic Minorities in Hungary. It is owned by the National Self-Government of Slovaks and is edited by the non-profit organization “Legatum”. There are permanent tensions between the National Self-Government of Slovaks and rival Slovak organizations, such as the Association of Hungarian Slovaks or the Association of Slovaks from Pilis.<sup>70</sup> The Marshall IDX<sup>71</sup> lists “Ludové Noviny” as the only publication in Slovak with an audience of 1 400.

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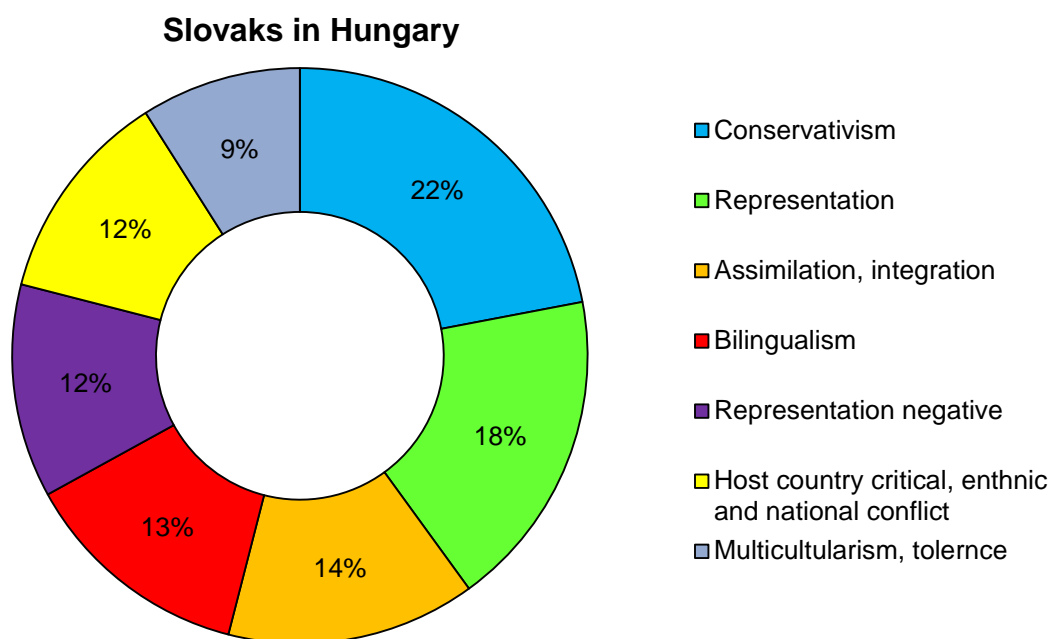
<sup>70</sup> See for example internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=190154024348105&topic=650> (accessed on 8 March 2011).

<sup>71</sup> See internet WWW-Site at URL: [www.marshallindex.com/resources/index/Hungary](http://www.marshallindex.com/resources/index/Hungary) (accessed on 24 August 2011).

#### 4.12.2 Characteristic keyword clusters

Figure 12 shows the distribution of most frequently mentioned keywords/categories according to the percentage of coded cases/documents for the Slovak internet users in Hungary.

Figure 12: keyword frequency, % of cases



The Slovakian internet users in Hungary clearly link their survival as a minority to increased participation in the governing bodies. Out of all analyzed cases, 18%, was assigned to the category REPRESENTATION.

At the same time, the topics discussed in the sources of Slovaks in Hungary suggested, that this minority is focused on their own small world and cultural traditions. Contributions about local cultural events such as folk song performances abound. The trend over time appears to be an increasing sense of isolation and towards conservative values (CONSERVATISM, 22%). Probably this has to do with the age structure and the settlement patterns of this specific population (dominance of senior citizens and village dwellers). Political representation has remained the dominant theme, social and political conflicts have receded into the background, and a trend towards provincialism appears.

Participation in elections and in the political life in Hungary in general is the preferred tool to make the ethnic group of Slovaks more conscious of their roots and their belonging to a minority group which is – according to national and international observers – rapidly assimilating (ASSIMINATION/INTEGRATION, 14%). Because of the shortfalls of political participation, the lack of representation is often criticized (REPRESENTATION NEGATIVE, 12%). The criticism is also directed to the host country, which all in all contributes to some ethnic tensions. The categories HOST COUNTRY CRITICAL and ETHNIC AND NATIONAL CONFLICT are mentioned in 12% of analyzed cases on Slovaks in Hungary.

The following citation from “Ludové Noviny” illustrates the importance which Slovaks in Hungary attribute to the public participation in the sense of strengthening national identity:

*Ida Dušková, Slovenský Komláš (village in Hungary, auth.): We have ourselves entered in the election register, because our parents and grand parents were Slovaks. My two kids completed Slovak schools, both of them passed the state exam in Slovak.*

*(Ida Dušková, Slovenský Komláš: ‘Zapíšeme sa do menšinového volebného zoznamu, lebo naši rodičia a starí rodičia boli Slováci. Obidve moje deti chodili do slovenskej školy, obidve zložili štátnicu zo slovenského jazyka’).*<sup>72</sup>

The resources of the Slovaks in Hungary demonstrate that the Slovaks come out for a peaceful co-existence with the ethnic Hungarians and a tolerant national consciousness (MULTICULTURALISM/TOLERANCE, 9%). Education in the mother tongue is seen as a crucial factor in the survival of the minority (BILINGUALISM, 13%).

The atmosphere of multiculturalism and bilingualism is illustrated by the following citation from the website of the Association of Slovaks from Pilis:

*As a teenager I was not really at home in my mother tongue, nor did I master Hungarian, which I knew better already by then. This was at the time when I began to write stories. One word came in Slovak, the next in Hungarian... This is not only an identity disorder, but also a result of bilingualism.*

*(Ako pätnásť-šestnásťročný som sa akosi nedokázal úplne stotožniť ani so svojim materinským jazykom, ani s maďarčinou, ktorú som už dovtedy ovládal lepšie. Bolo to práve v časoch, keď som začal aj básne písať. Jedno slovo ma napadlo po slovensky, druhé po maďarsky.... Takže sú tu zato nielen poruchy identity, ale aj nejaké /vý/plody dvojjazyčnosti).*<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Patayová Fábiánová, E./Lampert, C. (2010) “Naša anketa: Prečo som sa zapísal do zoznamu voličov?” (Our poll: Why did I register for elections?), *Ludové Noviny* (periodical), 23 May, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.luno.hu/content/view/10137/61/> (accessed on 29 October 2011).

<sup>73</sup> Filipko, R. (2008) “Imrich Fuhl: Načo by mi bolo iné občianstvo?” (What would another citizenship be good for?), *Association and Regional Cultural Center of Slovaks from Pilis* (organization), (without day and month of issue), internet WWW-Site at URL: [http://www.pilis-slovak.hu/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=240&Itemid=71](http://www.pilis-slovak.hu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=240&Itemid=71) (accessed 1 November 2011).

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## ANNEX ONE: DATA BANK OF INTERNET RESOURCES

### Minority: Russians in Latvia

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Periodical</b>			
1. Biznes&Baltiya (Бизнес&Балтия)	<a href="http://www.bb.lv/">http://www.bb.lv/</a>	0	0
2. Million (Миллион)	<a href="http://www.million.lv/">http://www.million.lv/</a>	0	0
3. Nasha Gazeta (Наша газета)	<a href="http://www.nasha.lv/">http://www.nasha.lv/</a>	1	0
4. Nedelya Ogre (Неделя Огре)	<a href="http://www.eogre.lv/">http://www.eogre.lv/</a>	0	0
5. Novaya Gazeta (Новая газета)	<a href="http://novaja.lv/">http://novaja.lv/</a>	8	4
6. SeyChas (СейЧас)	<a href="http://www.dautkom.lv/?lang=ru&amp;id=3">http://www.dautkom.lv/?lang=ru&amp;id=3</a>	0	0
7. Telegraf (Телеграф)	<a href="http://www.telegraf.lv/">http://www.telegraf.lv/</a>	6	5
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>15</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>News/broadcasting portal</b>			
1. Grani (Грани)	<a href="http://www.grani.lv/">http://www.grani.lv/</a>	0	0
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Organisation</b>			
1. Jekabpils Russian Society "Rodnik" (Родник)	<a href="http://rodnik-jekabpils.blogspot.com/">http://rodnik-jekabpils.blogspot.com/</a>	4	2
2. Russians in Latvia (Русские в Латвии), Information Site of the Russian Society in Latvia	<a href="http://www.russkie.org.lv">http://www.russkie.org.lv</a>	5	4
3. Russians of Latvia (Русские Латвии), Web-Lexicon of the Institute of the Russian Cultural Heritage	<a href="http://www.russkije.lv/">http://www.russkije.lv/</a>	3	1
4. Russki Mir (Русский мир)	<a href="http://www.russkijmir.lv/">http://www.russkijmir.lv/</a>	4	3
5. Site of Russian Latvia "Rodina"	<a href="http://www.rodina.lv/">http://www.rodina.lv/</a>	8	5
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>24</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Blog</b>			
1. Nasha Gazeta (Наша газета)	<a href="http://www.nasha.lv/rus/blog/">http://www.nasha.lv/rus/blog/</a>	3	0
2. Novaya Gazeta (Новая газета)	<a href="http://novaja.lv/blog/all.html">http://novaja.lv/blog/all.html</a>	1	1
3. NovoNews	<a href="http://www.novonews.lv/index.php?mode=category&amp;id=37">http://www.novonews.lv/index.php?mode=category&amp;id=37</a>	3	1
4. Russian Baltics (Русская Прибалтика)	<a href="http://russbalt.livejournal.com/28834.html">http://russbalt.livejournal.com/28834.html</a>	0	0
5. Russkie.lv	<a href="http://community.livejournal.com/russkie_lv">http://community.livejournal.com/russkie_lv</a>	0	0
6. Russophone Livejournal	<a href="http://community.livejournal.com/russophone/">http://community.livejournal.com/russophone/</a>	0	0
7. Telegraf (Телеграф)	<a href="http://www.telegraf.lv/blogs/1">http://www.telegraf.lv/blogs/1</a>	3	0
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Forum</b>			
1. Forum "Gorod"	<a href="http://forum.gorod.lv/">http://forum.gorod.lv/</a>	0	0
2. Novaya Gazeta (Новая газета)	<a href="http://novaja.lv/forum/index.html">http://novaja.lv/forum/index.html</a>	1	1
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Article with postings</b>			
1. Nasha Gazeta (Наша газета)	<a href="http://www.nasha.lv/">http://www.nasha.lv/</a>	2	0
2. Ves.lv	<a href="http://www.ves.lv/">http://www.ves.lv/</a>	3	2
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Personal website</b>			
1. Elizaveta Krivcova	<a href="http://www.krivcova.lv/?p=383">http://www.krivcova.lv/?p=383</a>	2	1
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL:</b>		<b>57</b>	<b>30</b>

### Minority: Russians in Lithuania

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Periodical</b>			
1. Ekspress-Nedelya (Экспресс-неделя)	<a href="http://www.nedelia.lt/">http://www.nedelia.lt/</a>	0	0
2. Litovski Kur'er (Литовский курьер)	<a href="http://www.kurier.lt/">http://www.kurier.lt/</a>	6	2
3. Obzor (Обзор)	<a href="http://obzor.lt/">http://obzor.lt/</a>	9	4
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>15</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>News/broadcasting portal</b>			
1. NewsLitva (Новости Литвы)	<a href="http://www.newslitva.lt/">http://www.newslitva.lt/</a>	6	3
2. Penki	<a href="http://www.penki.lt">http://www.penki.lt</a>	4	1
3. Runet	<a href="http://www.runet.lt">http://www.runet.lt</a>	4	3
4. "Russian Radio" in the Baltic States	<a href="http://www.russkoeradio.fm/">http://www.russkoeradio.fm/</a> , <a href="http://www.rusradio.lt/">http://www.rusradio.lt/</a>	0	0
5. The First Baltic Channel (Первый балтийский канал)	<a href="http://www.1tv.lv/">http://www.1tv.lv/</a>	0	0
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>14</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Organisation</b>			
1. Klaipeda Association of Russian Citizens (Клайпедская ассоциация российских граждан)	<a href="http://www.klaipeda1945.org/">http://www.klaipeda1945.org/</a>	9	4
2. Political Organisation "Union of Russians of Lithuania" (Союз русских Литвы)	<a href="http://www.sojuzru.lt/">http://www.sojuzru.lt/</a>	9	4
3. Russian Cultural Center (Русский культурный центр)	<a href="http://www.rkc.lt/">http://www.rkc.lt/</a>	7	2
4. Russian Theatre of Drama of Lithuania (Русский драматический театр Литвы)	<a href="http://www.rusudrama.lt/ru">http://www.rusudrama.lt/ru</a>	0	0
5. Orthodox Community of Lithuania (Православное братство Литвы)	<a href="http://www.pbl.lt/">http://www.pbl.lt/</a>	6	1
6. Society of the Orthodox Education in Lithuania "Zhivoy kolos" (Живой колос)	<a href="http://www.kolos.lt/">http://www.kolos.lt/</a>	0	0
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>31</b>	<b>11</b>

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Blog</b>			
1. Dmitri Matveev	<a href="http://dm-matveev.livejournal.com/">http://dm-matveev.livejournal.com/</a>	0	0
2. Obzor (Обзор)	<a href="http://www.obzor.lt/blogs/">http://www.obzor.lt/blogs/</a>	0	0
3. "Patamushta" (Патамушта), Russian blog in Lithuania	<a href="http://www.patamushta.lt">www.patamushta.lt</a>	1	1
Total number:		1	1
<b>Forum</b>			
1. Forum in Vilnius (Форум в Вильнюсе)	<a href="http://vilnius.borda.ru/">http://vilnius.borda.ru/</a>	0	0
2. Orthodox Community of Lithuania (Православное братство Литвы)	<a href="http://www.pbl.lt/ru/forums.html">http://www.pbl.lt/ru/forums.html</a>	0	0
3. Penki	<a href="http://forum.penki.lt/">http://forum.penki.lt/</a>	0	0
4. Rupor, Russian forum in Lithuania	<a href="http://rupor.lt">http://rupor.lt</a>	2	2
5. TTS Forum	<a href="http://forum.tts.lt/">http://forum.tts.lt/</a>	1	1
Total number:		3	3
<b>Article with postings</b>			
1. Litovski Kur'er (Литовский курьер)	<a href="http://www.kurier.lt/">http://www.kurier.lt/</a>	2	1
2. Orthodox Community of Lithuania (Православное братство Литвы)	<a href="http://www.pbl.lt/">http://www.pbl.lt/</a>	1	1
Total number:		3	2
GRAND TOTAL:		67	30

### Minority: Ukrainians in Poland

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Periodical</b>			
1. Nad Buhom i Narvoju (Над Бугом і Нарвою)	<a href="http://nadbuhom.free.ngo.pl/index.php">http://nadbuhom.free.ngo.pl/index.php</a>	13	7
2. Nashe Slovo (Наше слово)	<a href="http://nslowo.pl/component/option,com_fronpage/Itemid,73/">http://nslowo.pl/component/option,com_fronpage/Itemid,73/</a>	14	7
3. Ridna Mova (Рідна мова)	<a href="http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/dokumenty/r_mowa/">http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/dokumenty/r_mowa/</a>	8	4
Total number:		35	18
<b>News/broadcasting portal</b>			
1. Harazd	<a href="http://www.harazd.net/">http://www.harazd.net/</a>	2	2
2. Polish Radio Bialystok: Ukrainian service "Ukraińska dumka"	<a href="http://www.radio.bialystok.pl/dumka/">http://www.radio.bialystok.pl/dumka/</a>	0	0
Total number:		2	2



Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Organisation</b>			
1. Association "Ukrainian Peoples' House" in Przemysł (товариство "Український Народний Дім")	<a href="http://www.narodnydim.org/">http://www.narodnydim.org/</a>	2	0
2. Union of Ukrainians in Poland (Об'єднання українців у Польщі)	<a href="http://www.oup.ukraina.com.pl/index.php?option=com_frontpage&amp;Itemid=1">http://www.oup.ukraina.com.pl/index.php?option=com_frontpage&amp;Itemid=1</a>	8	2
3. Union of Ukrainians in Poland, branch in Przemysł	<a href="http://oupper.harazd.net/news.html">http://oupper.harazd.net/news.html</a>	4	0
4. Union of Ukrainians in Poland, branch in Szczecin	<a href="http://www.ukraincy.org/">http://www.ukraincy.org/</a>	3	2
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>17</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Forum</b>			
1. Forum.harazd.net (ГараздForum)	<a href="http://forum.harazd.net/">http://forum.harazd.net/</a>	6	5
2. Gazeta.pl	<a href="http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/f,40728,UKRAINCI_PIDLASZA.html">http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/f,40728,UKRAINCI_PIDLASZA.html</a>	0	0
3. Nad Buhom i Narvoju (Над Бугом і Нарвою)	<a href="http://nadbuhom.free.ngo.pl/forum/">http://nadbuhom.free.ngo.pl/forum/</a>	0	0
4. WM.pl - Forum of the Warmia and Mazury Regional Portal (Forum Warmińsko-Mazurskiego Portalu Regionalnego)	<a href="http://forum.wm.pl/index.php">http://forum.wm.pl/index.php</a>	1	1
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Article with postings</b>			
1. Polish Radio Białystok: Ukrainian service "Ukraińska dumka"	<a href="http://www.radio.bialystok.pl/dumka/">http://www.radio.bialystok.pl/dumka/</a>	1	0
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL:</b>		<b>62</b>	<b>30</b>

**Minority: Ukrainians in Hungary**

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Periodical</b>			
1. Hromada (Громада)	<a href="http://www.hromada.hu/index_hu.html">http://www.hromada.hu/index_hu.html</a>	30	10
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>30</b>	<b>10</b>

**Minority: Belarusians in Poland**

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Periodical</b>			
1. Czasopis (Чапoнiк)	<a href="http://czasopis.pl/">http://czasopis.pl/</a>	13	7
2. Niva (Нiвa)	<a href="http://niva.iig.pl/">http://niva.iig.pl/</a>	21	7
	<b>Total number:</b>	34	14
<b>News/broadcasting portal</b>			
1. Belarusian Radio "Racyya" (Рацця)	<a href="http://new.racyja.com/">http://new.racyja.com/</a>	4	1
2. Belarusian Service of the Polish Radio for Abroad	<a href="http://www.polskieradio.pl/zagranica/by">http://www.polskieradio.pl/zagranica/by</a>	5	2
3. Belarusian Service of the Polish Radio Bialystok "Pod znakiem Pogoni"	<a href="http://www.radio.bialystok.pl/pogon/">http://www.radio.bialystok.pl/pogon/</a>	0	0
4. Bialorus.pl	<a href="http://www.bialorus.pl/">http://www.bialorus.pl/</a>	4	1
	<b>Total number:</b>	13	4
<b>Organisation</b>			
1. Belarusian Association in Kraków (Towarzystwo Białoruskie w Krakowie)	<a href="http://www.towarzystwobialoruskie.free.ngo.pl/">http://www.towarzystwobialoruskie.free.ngo.pl/</a>	0	0
2. Belarusian National Memory (Беларуская Нацыянальная Памяць)	<a href="http://b-n-p.org/">http://b-n-p.org/</a>	0	0
3. Sonca.org	<a href="http://slonko.com.pl/">http://slonko.com.pl/</a>	9	6
4. Union of Promotion of Democracy in Belarus "Wolna Białorus"	<a href="http://www.wolnabialorus.org/">http://www.wolnabialorus.org/</a>	0	0
	<b>Total number:</b>	9	6
<b>Blog</b>			
1. Bielarus.np	<a href="http://bielarus-np.livejournal.com/">http://bielarus-np.livejournal.com/</a>	0	0
2. Nacijanalist's Journal	<a href="http://nacijanalist.livejournal.com/93279.html#comments">http://nacijanalist.livejournal.com/93279.html#comments</a>	1	0
	<b>Total number:</b>	1	0
<b>Forum</b>			
1. Slonko.com.pl	<a href="http://forum.sonca.org/">http://forum.sonca.org/</a>	4	4
2. Union of Promotion of Democracy in Belarus "Wolna Białorus"	<a href="http://www.wolnabialorus.org/forum/index.php">http://www.wolnabialorus.org/forum/index.php</a>	2	2
	<b>Total number:</b>	6	6
<b>Article with postings</b>			
1. Sonca.org	<a href="http://www.slonko.com.pl/rowni-w-roznorodnoci-mniejszoci-narodowe-w-kalejdoskopie.html">http://www.slonko.com.pl/rowni-w-roznorodnoci-mniejszoci-narodowe-w-kalejdoskopie.html</a>	1	0
	<b>Total number:</b>	1	0
	<b>GRAND TOTAL:</b>	64	30

**Minority: Belarusians in Lithuania**

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Periodical</b>			
1. Run' (Рунь)	<a href="http://kamunikat.org/run.html">http://kamunikat.org/run.html</a>	4	0
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>News/broadcasting portal</b>			
1. "About Vilnia and not only" (Пра Вільню і не толькі)	<a href="http://vilnia-by.com/">http://vilnia-by.com/</a>	0	0
2. Svobodaby.net	<a href="http://svobodaby.net/">http://svobodaby.net/</a>	3	2
3. Westki.info: News of Vilnia (Westki.info: Весткі з Вільні)	<a href="http://www.westki.info/vilnia">http://www.westki.info/vilnia</a>	4	3
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Organisation</b>			
1. Association of the Belarusian Culture in Lithuania (Таварыства беларускай культуры ў Літве)	<a href="http://westki.info/tbk">http://westki.info/tbk</a>	11	9
2. Belarusian Human Rights House in Exile in Vilnius (Беларускі Дом правоў чалавека ў выгнанні ў Вільні)	<a href="http://humanrightshouse.org/Members/Belarus_BY/index.html">http://humanrightshouse.org/Members/Belarus_BY/index.html</a>	7	4
3. European Humanitarian University (Еўрапейскі гуманітарны ўніверсітэт)	<a href="http://ehu.lt/">http://ehu.lt/</a>	0	0
4. "Krok" (Крок), Belarusian Cultural Center in Lithuania	<a href="http://www.tts.lt/~snn/krok/index.php">http://www.tts.lt/~snn/krok/index.php</a>	8	6
5. Middle School named after Francysk Skaryna in Vilnius (Віленская сярэдняя школа імя Францыска Скарыны)	<a href="http://www.skorina.info/bl/">http://www.skorina.info/bl/</a>	0	0
6. "Belarus Watch" (United Center of the Belarusian Initiatives) (name in English)	<a href="http://www.belaruswatch.org">http://www.belaruswatch.org</a> ( <a href="http://www.jubic.org/by">http://www.jubic.org/by</a> )	4	2
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>30</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Blog</b>			
1. Belarus.blogsome.com, blog of Andrei Khrapavitski	<a href="http://belarus.blogsome.com/category/the-baltics/lithuania/">http://belarus.blogsome.com/category/the-baltics/lithuania/</a>	2	2
2. Svobodaby.net	<a href="http://svobodaby.net/">http://svobodaby.net/</a>	1	0
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Article with postings</b>			
1. Belarus.blogsome.com, blog of Andrei Khrapavitski	<a href="http://belarus.blogsome.com/category/the-baltics/lithuania/">http://belarus.blogsome.com/category/the-baltics/lithuania/</a>	1	0
2. Svobodaby.net	<a href="http://old2.svobodaby.net/index.php?id=7">http://old2.svobodaby.net/index.php?id=7</a>	2	1
3. Westki.info: News of Vilnia (Westki.info: Весткі з Вільні)	<a href="http://www.westki.info/vilnia">http://www.westki.info/vilnia</a>	1	1
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL:</b>		<b>48</b>	<b>30</b>

**Minority: Poles in Ukraine**

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Periodical</b>			
1. Dziennik Kijowski	<a href="http://www.dk.com.ua/main.php?act=main">http://www.dk.com.ua/main.php?act=main</a>	13	8
2. Gazeta Polska Bukowiny	<a href="http://bukpolonia.cv.ua/index.php?option=com_content&amp;view=category&amp;id=48&amp;Itemid=91&amp;lang=uk">http://bukpolonia.cv.ua/index.php?option=com_content&amp;view=category&amp;id=48&amp;Itemid=91&amp;lang=uk</a>	9	0
3. Kurier Galicyjski	<a href="http://www.lwow.com.pl/kurier-galicyjski/gazeta.html">http://www.lwow.com.pl/kurier-galicyjski/gazeta.html</a>	6	3
4. Wołanie z Wołynia	<a href="http://polskiekresy.info/index.php?option=com_content&amp;view=article&amp;id=1015:wolanie-z-wolynia&amp;Itemid=637">http://polskiekresy.info/index.php?option=com_content&amp;view=article&amp;id=1015:wolanie-z-wolynia&amp;Itemid=637</a>	0	0
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>28</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>News/broadcasting portal</b>			
1. Lwowska Fala	<a href="http://polskiekresy.info/index.php?option=com_wrapper&amp;view=wrapper&amp;Itemid=534">http://polskiekresy.info/index.php?option=com_wrapper&amp;view=wrapper&amp;Itemid=534</a>	4	2
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Organisation</b>			
1. Federation of the Polish Organisations in Ukraine (Federacja Organizacji Polskich na Ukrainie)	<a href="http://fopnu.org.ua/">http://fopnu.org.ua/</a>	5	2
2. Polish Cultural and Educational Association in Berdiansk "Odrodzenie"	<a href="http://polonia.org.ua/2003-6/pl/1/about.htm">http://polonia.org.ua/2003-6/pl/1/about.htm</a>	13	5
3. Regional Association of the Polish Culture named after Adam Mickiewicz, Czerniowce, Ukraine (Обласне товариство польської культури імені Адама Міцкевича)	<a href="http://bukpolonia.cv.ua/">http://bukpolonia.cv.ua/</a>	4	2
4. Regional Union of Poles in Ukraine, Żytomierz (Житомирська обласна Спілка поляків України)	<a href="http://www.zozpu.zhitomir.net/">http://www.zozpu.zhitomir.net/</a>	2	2
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>24</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Article with postings</b>			
1. Regional Association of the Polish Culture named after Adam Mickiewicz, Czerniowce, Ukraine (Обласне товариство польської культури імені Адама Міцкевича)	<a href="http://bukpolonia.cv.ua/">http://bukpolonia.cv.ua/</a>	1	0
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Personal Website</b>			
1. Stanisław Kosiedowski	<a href="http://www.lwow.home.pl/">http://www.lwow.home.pl/</a>	6	6
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL:</b>		<b>63</b>	<b>30</b>

**Minority: Poles in Belarus**

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Periodical</b>			
1. Echa Polesia	<a href="http://echapolesia.pl/">http://echapolesia.pl/</a>	11	4
2. Głos znad Niemna	<a href="http://www.zpb.org.pl/index1.php?id=zpbd">http://www.zpb.org.pl/index1.php?id=zpbd</a>	8	0
3. Magazyn Polski	<a href="http://kresy24.pl/magazyn_polski/">http://kresy24.pl/magazyn_polski/</a>	6	0
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>25</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>News/broadcasting portal</b>			
1. Information Service of Poles in Belarus "Polacy.by" (Serwis Informacyjny Polaków na Białorusi)	<a href="http://www.polacy.by/">http://www.polacy.by/</a>	13	6
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>13</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Organisation</b>			
1. Poland-Belarus. Polish Diaspora (Польша-Беларусь. Польская диаспора) (Brest)	<a href="http://zabugom.com/">http://zabugom.com/</a>	9	3
2. Polish House in Mohilev (Дом Польский в Могилеве)	<a href="http://dom-polski.org/">http://dom-polski.org/</a>	9	4
3. Polish Foundation for Education in Belarus (Polska Macierz Szkolna na Białorusi)	<a href="http://www.pmsgrodno.org/content/view/9/6/">http://www.pmsgrodno.org/content/view/9/6/</a>	11	3
4. Union of Poles in Belarus (Związek Polaków na Białorusi)	<a href="http://zpb.org.pl/">http://zpb.org.pl/</a>	10	8
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>39</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Article with postings</b>			
1. Polish House in Mohilev (Дом Польский в Могилеве)	<a href="http://dom-polski.org/">http://dom-polski.org/</a>	4	2
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL:</b>		<b>81</b>	<b>30</b>

**Minority: Poles in Lithuania**

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Periodical</b>			
1. Kurier Wileński	<a href="http://www.kurierwilenski.lt">www.kurierwilenski.lt</a>	5	0
2. Magazyn Wileński	<a href="http://www.magwil.lt">www.magwil.lt</a>	8	5
3. Quarterly „Znad Wilii”	<a href="http://znadwiliwilno.lt/kwartalnik">http://znadwiliwilno.lt/kwartalnik</a>	0	0
4. Tygodnik Wileńszczyzny	<a href="http://www.tygodnik.lt">www.tygodnik.lt</a>	10	5
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>23</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>News/broadcasting portal</b>			
1. Radio „Znad Wilii”	<a href="http://www.zw.lt">www.zw.lt</a>	11	3
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Organisation</b>			
1. Foundation „Zbiory Wileńskie”	<a href="http://www.nasz-czas.lt/">http://www.nasz-czas.lt/</a>	6	4
2. Polish Press- and Conference Centre in Lithuania INFOPOL (Polskie Centrum Prasowe i Konferencyjne na Litwie)	<a href="http://www.infopol.lt/pl/apie/">http://www.infopol.lt/pl/apie/</a>	7	1
3. Union of Poles in Lithuania (Związek Polaków na Litwie)	<a href="http://www.zpl.lt/aktualnosci">http://www.zpl.lt/aktualnosci</a>	10	6
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>23</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Forum</b>			
1. Kurier Wileński	<a href="http://forum.kurierwilenski.lt/">http://forum.kurierwilenski.lt/</a>	0	0
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Article with postings</b>			
1. Kurier Wileński	<a href="http://www.kurierwilenski.lt">www.kurierwilenski.lt</a>	9	6
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL:</b>		<b>66</b>	<b>30</b>

**Minority: Hungarians in Ukraine**

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Periodical</b>			
1. Beregi Hírlap	<a href="http://www.beregihirlap.uz.ua/">http://www.beregihirlap.uz.ua/</a>	15	5
2. Kárpáti Igaz Szó	<a href="http://www.hhrf.org/karpatiigazszo/100626/index.html">http://www.hhrf.org/karpatiigazszo/100626/index.html</a>	50	8
3. Ukrajnai Magyar Krónika	<a href="http://www.kronika.bereg.net.ua">http://www.kronika.bereg.net.ua</a>	10	2
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>75</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Organisation</b>			
1. Transkarpátia Reformed Church Parish (Kárpátaljai Református Egyházkerület)	<a href="http://www.reformatus.com.ua/">http://www.reformatus.com.ua/</a>	10	6
2. Transkarpátia Institute for Hungarian Education (Kárpátaljai Magyar Művelődési Intézet)	<a href="http://www.kmmi.org.ua">www.kmmi.org.ua</a>	10	1
3. Ukrainian Hungarian Democratic Union, UMDSz (Ukrajnai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség)	<a href="http://www.umdsz.uz.ua/">http://www.umdsz.uz.ua/</a>	10	1
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>30</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Blog</b>			
1. BDK Bázis Blog	<a href="http://bdk.blog.hu/">http://bdk.blog.hu/</a>	5	2
2. Carolus Blog	<a href="http://carolus.blogter.hu/">http://carolus.blogter.hu/</a>	5	1
3. Kárpátalja Blog	<a href="http://karpatalja.blog.hu">http://karpatalja.blog.hu</a>	10	1
4. Kijevi Blog	<a href="http://kijeviblog.blogspot.com">http://kijeviblog.blogspot.com</a>	15	2
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>35</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Article with postings</b>			
1. Transkarpátia Reformed Church Parish (Kárpátaljai Református Egyházkerület)	<a href="http://www.reformatus.com.ua/index.php?m=aktualitas&amp;a=show&amp;i=2482">http://www.reformatus.com.ua/index.php?m=aktualitas&amp;a=show&amp;i=2482</a>	1	1
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL:</b>		<b>141</b>	<b>30</b>

**Minority: Hungarians in Slovakia**

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Periodical</b>			
1. Csallóköz	<a href="http://issuu.com/csallokoz/docs">http://issuu.com/csallokoz/docs</a>	10	2
2. Paráméter	<a href="http://www.parameter.sk/">http://www.parameter.sk/</a>	25	1
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>35</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>News/broadcasting portal</b>			
1. Magyar.sk	<a href="http://www.magyar.sk/szwmw.asp">http://www.magyar.sk/szwmw.asp</a>	10	1
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Blog</b>			
1. Bumm	<a href="http://bumm.sk">http://bumm.sk</a>	20	1
2. Felvidék Ma	<a href="http://www.felvidek.ma">http://www.felvidek.ma</a>	15	4
3. Komáromi Blog	<a href="http://komaromiblog.com/">http://komaromiblog.com/</a>	15	1
4. Paráméter	<a href="http://www.parameter.sk/">http://www.parameter.sk/</a>	4	4
5. Presstige	<a href="http://presstige.sk/blog">http://presstige.sk/blog</a>	15	3
6. Szlovenszko	<a href="http://www.slovensko.blog.hu">www.slovensko.blog.hu</a>	10	1
7. Új Szó	<a href="http://uj szo.com">http://uj szo.com</a>	13	1
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>92</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Forum</b>			
1. Association of Hungarian Teachers in Slovakia (SzMPSz Pedagóg)	<a href="http://www.szmpsz.sk">http://www.szmpsz.sk</a>	5	1
2. Kukac.sk	<a href="http://kukac.sk">http://kukac.sk</a>	10	1
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>15</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Article with postings</b>			
1. Bumm	<a href="http://bumm.sk">http://bumm.sk</a>	3	3
2. Komáromi Blog	<a href="http://komaromiblog.com/">http://komaromiblog.com/</a>	2	2
3. Körkép	<a href="http://korkep.sk/">http://korkep.sk/</a>	1	1
4. Szlovenszko	<a href="http://szlovensko.sk/">http://szlovensko.sk/</a>	1	1
5. Új Szó	<a href="http://uj szo.com">http://uj szo.com</a>	2	2
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL:</b>		<b>161</b>	<b>30</b>

**Minority: Slovaks in Hungary**

Resource	Website	Text fragment	
		1 Sample	2 Sample
<b>Periodical</b>			
1. L'udové Novine	<a href="http://luno.hu">http://luno.hu</a>	35	20
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>35</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Organization</b>			
1. Official website of the Mogyorósbánya administration (Mogyorósbánya weboldala)	<a href="http://www.mogyorosbanya.hu">www.mogyorosbanya.hu</a>	10	1
2. Association and Regional Cultural Center of Slovaks from Pilis (Združenie a Regionálne Kultúrne Stredisko Pilíškých Slovákov)	<a href="http://www.pilis-slovak.hu/">http://www.pilis-slovak.hu/</a>	20	9
<b>Total number:</b>		<b>30</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL:</b>		<b>65</b>	<b>30</b>

**GRAND TOTAL OF ALL SOURCES FOR ALL MINORITIES****905****340**



## ANNEX TWO: EMPIRICAL DATA BASES OF THE PROJECT AND RULES OF ACCESS

### Overview of empirical data sets produced within the frameworks of ENRI-East project

Description of exploitable foreground	Confidential	Foreseen embargo date	Exploitable product(s) or measure(s)	Timetable, commercial or any other use	Patents or other IPR exploitation	Owner & Other Beneficiaries involved
Values and Identity Survey (ENRI-VIS)	Yes	Till October 2015	Survey manual, sampling tables, SPSS data file, Code & reference book; technical report	Starting from 2012	Access to database only in cooperation with project partners	Project consortium (all beneficiaries)
Biographical Interviews (ENRI-BIOG)	Yes		Methodology and survey tools; survey manual; transcripts of interviews in original languages; accompanying information and files; summaries or translations in English; technical report			
Expert interviews (ENRI-EXI)	yes					

### General rules of access to and exploitation of ENRI-East empirical data bases

The exploitable foreground of the project consists of different data bases:

- ENRI-VIS: quantitative data base, 6800 respondents of the ethnic minority groups
- ENRI-BIO: 144 qualitative, biographical interviews with members of the ethnic minority groups
- ENRI-EXI: 40 qualitative expert interviews with representatives of NGOs, mass media and governmental officials

The data is exclusively held for the use of the ENRI-East consortium for three years after the end date of the project after which time they will be made generally available to a wider public to conditions explained below.

ENRI qualitative interviews (expert interviews and biographical interviews) are stored on a password secured online storage platform (interview transcripts, technical reports, related documents and graphic files) until three years after the end of the project. Every project team leader has access to this platform. The co-ordinating team will then transfer the data set to an appropriate institution for scientific data bases.

The quantitative data base will be available for all consortium members after the closure of the project as before. Access is guaranteed through the ENRI-East website in the member section until three

years after the project. The co-ordinating team will then transfer the data set to an appropriate institution for scientific data bases.

Access rights may be granted to third parties royalty-free or to fair and reasonable conditions. All requests for access rights shall be made in writing to the co-ordinator, who will then initiate further actions. The granting of access rights to third parties is conditional on the acceptance of co-authorship of at least one party of the ENRI-East consortium, including ensuring that data will be used only for the intended purpose and that appropriate confidentiality obligations are in place.

Within the next years and beyond the foreground will mainly be exploited in form of publications in academic journals. First analyses and interpretations are included in the ENRI-East reports on every minority and available in the ENRI-East Working Paper Series on the project website (<http://www.enri-east.net/project-results>).

The project ENRI-East, a cross-national study of trans-boundary social and ethnic groups in Europe did not create any foreground which leads to patents, trademarks, registered designs or the like, except the acknowledged publications in peer-reviewed journals and a variety of other media sources.