

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

Series of project research reports

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

Belarus
Germany
Hungary
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Research Report #9

**The Russian Minority
in Lithuania**

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About the ENRI-East research project (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 Easter 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-BLOG: 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)
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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 synopsis 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
 - Methodology and implementation of ENRI-VIS (Technical report)
 - ENRI-VIS Reference book (major cross-tabulations and coding details)
18. Qualitative sub-studies of ENRI-East project (methodological and technical reports)
 - Methodological report on Biographical Interviews (ENRI-BIO)
 - Methodological report on Expert Interviews and data base description (ENRI-EXI)
 - Methodological report on the pilot study on Musical cultures and identities (ENRI-MUSIC)
 - Methodological report and main findings of the Pilot study of web-spaces (ENRI-BLOG)

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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http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/ssh/home_en.html

http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/index_en.html

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Abstract

The report is composed of six main parts: contextual report, ENRI-VIS results, ENRI-BIOG results, ENRI-EXI results, ENRI-BLOG results, conclusions, executive summary. The **contextual report** contains overview and analysis of data gained mainly from the secondary sources (historical, sociological, other kind of research) on the history of Russians in Lithuania, demographic overview, self-organisation of Russians in Lithuania. **ENRI-VIS** is a quantitative survey which took place in three counties and 4 municipalities in Lithuania (in Klaipeda county, the respondents were questioned in the municipality of Klaipeda city; in Utena county, the respondents were questioned in the municipality of Visaginas town; and Vilnius county, the respondents were questioned in the municipalities of Svencionys region and Vilnius city) in 15 November 2009 – 15 February 2010. Survey agency: Lithuanian Social Research Centre. Survey Sample: 804 Russians living in Lithuania. The report presents the main results of the survey and provides with main descriptive outcomes under the following sets of questions: ethnicity and ethnic identity, national identity; family, households and related ethnic aspects; xenophobia, conflicts and discrimination; social and political capital, participation, attitudes toward EU. The importance of independent variables is marked in case of relevant results. **ENRI-BIOG** is a qualitative survey (12 interviews with members of three generations that are conducted in Vilnius). It presents the brief description of the people interviewed and the main facts of their live stories. The report presents quotations and primary analysis of the interviews having in mind the main questions – European identity, national identity (relationship to country of residence and mother country), regional identity, civic participation and ethnic organisation. **ENRI-EXI**: three interviews with experts representatives of key organizations related with the Russian minority issues were conducted in Lithuania. This part the primary analysis interviews are presented. The analysis is made in accordance to the following questions: main issues associated with that minority in the country of residence, relationship to mother country, relationship to European events and organisations. **ENRI-BLOG** is as Content Analysis of Internet Resources attributable to ethnic minorities in order to analyse the identity-related cultural, social and political activity of minorities. This part of study analyses the situation of Russians in Lithuania.

Summary of the study

In the **contextual report** we present an overview of data gained from the secondary sources (historical, sociological, other kind of research) on the history of Russians in Lithuania, demographic overview, self-organisation of Russians in Lithuania.

Enri-Vis: The survey used a a questionnaire translated into Russian (48.8 per cent) and Lithuanian (41.9 per cent) languages. Survey Sample: 804 Russians living in Lithuania. For the sampling, two methods were applied: random route sampling classic (89 respondents reached) and random root focused enumeration (715 respondents reached). The survey took place in three counties and 4 municipalities. In Klaipeda county, the respondents were questioned in the municipality of Klaipeda city; in Utena county, the respondents were questioned in the municipality of Visaginas town; and Vilnius county, the respondents were questioned in the municipalities of Svencionys region and Vilnius city. Survey agency: Lithuanian Social Research Centre.

The report provides with main descriptive outcomes under the following sets of questions: ethnicity and ethnic identity, national identity; family, households and related ethnic aspects; xenophobia, conflicts and discrimination; social and political capital, participation, attitudes toward EU. The importance of independent variables is marked in case of relevant results.

First of all, the ethnic minorities' respondents were asked what language they speak most often at home. The majority of the Lithuanian Russians (71 per cent) speak Russian most often at home. Approximately one fifth of the Russian respondents (21.3 per cent) indicated that they speak Russian and Lithuanian often at home. According to the survey data, 5.6 per cent of the Russians speak Lithuanian most often at home. Among the rear cases of other languages (1.5 per cent), Polish or Polish and Russian were mentioned.

The respondents were asked about their closeness to different groups and regions, including local and European dimensions. The answers of the Lithuanian Russians indicate several tendencies. The majority of the Lithuanian Russians fell very close or rather close to the local environment as 81.5 per cent maintain their closeness to the settlement where they live, 80.6 per cent – to Lithuania and 78 per cent – to the Lithuanian Russians. Trying to identify the components of self-identification, the respondents were asked to define the categories, which are the most important in thinking about him/her selves by defining the three most important categories. Based on the survey's data it is possible to conclude that among the Lithuanian Russians, self-identification first of all is based on the categories related to social status, including occupation, social class, that could be defined as attained through social participation in social environment and labour market, and followed by categories such age, gender and to far less extent, ethnicity or geographical dimensions.

The questionnaire included the questions that aim at disclosing the respondents' opinion on what things are important for being truly Russian or truly Lithuanian. While considering the components that are important for being truly Russian, the great majority of the Lithuanian Russians maintain that it is very important or rather important (93.5 per cent) to be able to speak Russian. Also, most of the Lithuanian Russians give priority to the feeling being Russian (88.8 per cent) and to having Russian ancestry (80 per cent). Half of the Lithuanian Russians (50.6 per cent) tend to ascribe great importance to the religion (being Orthodox) and respect the political institutions and laws of the Russian Federation as important components of being Russian.

The answers to the question on the level of proud of being member of certain ethnicity related group, most Lithuanian Russians are very proud or proud of being Russian (75 per cent) and being Lithuanian Russian (65.7 per cent).

The respondents were asked to express their opinion regarding the situation of ethnic minority groups and Russians in particular. The Lithuanian Russians nearly unanimously agree with a statement that 'It is better if Russians preserve their own customs and traditions' – 91.6 per cent strongly agree or rather agree.

The respondents were asked to express their opinion on different statements related to the opportunities for their children education, to speak minority language in everyday life, opportunities to read newspapers and magazines in Russian and have the representatives in the parliament. In general, all the opportunities listed in the questionnaire seem to be of a high significance to the Lithuanian Russians as the majority of respondents qualify them as very important or rather important. The great majority of the Lithuanian Russians maintains that an opportunity to preserve Russian folk customs, traditions, culture (89.1 per cent), an opportunity to speak Russian in everyday life (85.1 per cent), an opportunity for their children to study the ethnic history and culture

of Russians (84.2 per cent) and an opportunity to read newspapers and magazines in Russian (83.3 per cent) are very important or rather important. Also, the majority maintain that an opportunity for their children to get education in Russian and an opportunity to have the Russian representatives in the parliament are of great importance (75.5 per cent and 70.5 per cent, correspondingly).

Several more detailed questions were provided to respondents concerning their usage of printed or electronic newspapers, television, radio and websites. Among the media resources, television is most widely used in terms of different programs. The second most widely used media source is the listening to the radio, followed by reading the printed newspapers and browsing the internet sources. The majority of Russian respondents admire the Russia's programs at most as they (83.6 per cent) watch them regularly / often. Half of respondents (54.1 per cent) watch the Lithuanian programs on regular basis, and a bit less part (46.1 per cent) watch programs prepared by the Lithuanian Russians.

The survey data show that the majority of Russians surveyed (60.2 per cent) defined themselves as Orthodox, 5.8 per cent – as Old believers. 10.9 per cent of the Lithuanian Russian belongs to the Roman Catholics. Also, nearly one fifth of the Russian sample (18.8 per cent) consider themselves as not belonging to a denomination.

Most of respondents live in small households, as one fourth of the sample (24.2 per cent) lives alone, i.e. a respondent is the only member of the household; in this case, the majority is comprised by senior persons (50 years old and older).

The survey data enable to conclude that the households of the Lithuanian Russians tend to bear a monoethnic nature. Based on preliminary estimations of different questions (the ethnicity of a spouse, ethnicity of other household members, language used at home, etc.), it is possible to presume that approximately one fifth of respondents' household has Lithuanians or other minority members.

While asked about their parents ethnicity, 71.8 per cent of respondents named that their father and 66.4 per cent that their mother were Russians, with a corresponding shares of 9.3 and 11 per cent – the Lithuanian Russians. 5.5 per cent of respondents fathers and 8.7 per cent of mothers are/were Lithuanians.

Half of the Russian respondents' parents are/were citizens of Lithuania - 54.9 per cent mothers and 50.1 per cent fathers, the rests' parents were either Russian citizens (36 per cent mother and 38.9 per cent father) or of other citizenship (6.7 and 8 per cent, correspondingly).

Respondents were asked about the languages they speak. Majority of Russians questioned declared their knowledge of Russian (98.1 per cent) and Lithuanian (79.9 per cent) languages. Out of those who do not know Lithuanian, the majority (85.2 per cent) is comprised by the Russian seniors (50 years old and older), mostly retired persons. Data of this survey once again proves tendencies identified by earlier surveys that non-knowledge of the state language is related only to elder Russian population. The Census 2001 data recorded that 27.8 per cent of the Lithuanian Russians did not know Lithuanian language.

By the level of the education achieved, one third (32.8 per cent) of the Russians have vocational training (including secondary education), 21 per cent have the secondary education. The other share of the Russian respondents that comprised one third of the sample, have reached the level of higher education: 23.6 per cent have a bachelor degree (or equivalent) and 11.2 per cent - master's or postgraduate degree. 6.1 per cent of the Russian respondents have basic education with

vocational training, and those who have primary or lower education comprise 3.8 per cent of the Russian respondents.

While generalising the data on the respondents' social status, more than half (52.1 per cent) of the Russian sample is inactive regarding the labour market and 47.9 per cent - involved in the labour market. Among the unemployed, the retired/disabled Russians dominate and comprise nearly one third (30.1 per cent) of the total sample. 4.5 per cent of the sample is comprised of full time students, similar share (4.0 per cent) identified themselves as housewives/keeping house, while 2.4 per cent indicated being on a temporary leave (sick leave, maternity leave).

While subjectively assessing their social standing in the 10 point scale, the Russian respondents tend to place them either to the lower, or middle social standing: 38.1 per cent of respondents identified themselves to the low social standing (while marking one of the first three (from 1 to 3) points of the scale) and similar share (38.2 per cent) - to the representatives of the middle social standing (while marking the middle points (from 4 to 7) of the scale). Every fifth Russian respondent (20.4 per cent) identified him/herself with the higher social standing (while marking one of the last three (from 8 to 10) points of the scale).

While analysing the data on average monthly income of the Russians surveyed, one third of the sample (34.6 per cent) is concentrated among those receiving the lowest income (up to 800 LTL, which is an official minimum wage; equivalent to ~230EUR). While one fourth of the sample (25.2 per cent) on average receives 801–1,250 LTL, one fifth (20.4 per cent) – 1,250-2,000 LTL per month.

While considering possible tensions between different social groups, Lithuanian Russians were asked to express their opinion on the level of tension between poor and rich people, between old people and young people, between Lithuanian Russians and Lithuanians, between Lithuanian Poles and Lithuanians, between different religious groups and between Roma and Lithuanian society.

Most part of Russian respondents (49 per cent) tends to identify tensions between poor and rich people first of all, a similar part (41 per cent) maintains that there is some tension between poor and rich people. With regard to tensions between old and young people, majority of respondents (56 per cent) maintain that there is some tension, while 24 per cent – no tension. Considering manifestations of ethnic tension, a certain distribution of opinions could be observed. Nearly half of respondents (47 per cent) maintain that there is some tension between Russians and Lithuanians in Lithuania, and 10 per cent – there is a lot of tension. However, 41 per cent maintains that there is no tension.

Most part (41 per cent) of Russians surveyed think that there is some tension between Poles and Lithuanians, however, nearly one fifth (19 per cent) have no opinion concerning this. Also, about one tenth (11 per cent) of Russians maintain that there is a lot of tension between Poles and Lithuanians.

The respondents were asked to identify an approximate number of their friends. Most part of respondents (40.9 per cent) said they had from 5 to 10 friends, over one fourth (24.7 per cent) had up to 4 friends and one fourth (23 per cent) had eleven or more friends. 2 per cent of respondents indicated that they have no friends at all. Most of respondents (46.4 per cent) maintain that most of their friends come from various ethnic/nationality groups, while 26.9 per cent of Lithuanian Russians estimate that most of their friends are Lithuanian Russians, and 12.6 per cent – Russ-

ians. Only 8.8 per cent of the Lithuanian Russians estimate that most of their friends are Lithuanians.

According to the survey data, 14.4 per cent of Russian respondents indicated that in the past 12 months they have personally felt discriminated against or harassed in Lithuania on the basis of one or more of the following grounds: ethnic or national origin, gender, age or religion. (In total, 185 cases of experienced discrimination or harassment were reported in the survey data). Among the grounds listed, ethnic or national origin was most frequently mentioned: 11 per cent of the Russians have felt discriminated against or harassed on the grounds of ethnic origin in the last 12 months. 8 per cent of respondents indicate experienced discrimination or harassment on the ground of age, 3 per cent – on gender. While analysing the social demographic data of those who have experienced discrimination, no significant patterns can be observed as the distribution of gender or age of respondents corresponds the sample.

While analysing the data on social trust, most Lithuanian Russians tend to express their higher trust to different social groups than the institutions. The majority of the Russians surveyed trust the Lithuanian Russians (77.4 per cent, including answers ‘trust them completely’, ‘rather trust them’), Russians (76.4 per cent), people in general (72.4 per cent) and Lithuanians (72.1 per cent).

While analysing the survey data on respondents’ interest in politics, the Russians surveyed express their relatively high interest in all areas of politics as the majority is interested in politics of Lithuania – 64.4 per cent (‘very interested’ and ‘rather interested’), politics of Russia – 60.9 per cent and politics about Russians living in Lithuania – 60.2 per cent.

While considering the European Union, most part of Russians surveyed (42.4 per cent) has a neutral image of the EU, followed by a significant share of those having a very positive or fairly positive – 33.1 per cent. Those who have very negative or rather negative image of the EU comprise 15.4 per cent of the sample.

The data of the minority survey enable to conclude on migrational attitudes of ethnic minorities in Lithuania. The respondents were asked whether they would take an opportunity to leave Lithuania and move for another country one either alone or with their whole family and a good deal of monetary and social support. The data results show that strong emigrational attitudes are close to minority groups.

Most of Russians surveyed (40.7 per cent) provided the interviewers with negative answers that they would never leave. More than a quarter of respondents (28.9 per cent) said they would definitely leave, while a similar part (23.5 per cent) expressed their doubt saying that they perhaps would leave. While comparing different social demographical groups of the sample, greatest differences are observed among the age groups. The younger the respondents, the more willing to leave Lithuania or move for another country they are, e.g., among the respondents under age of 29 years old, 46.3 per cent expressed their opinion that they would definitely leave, while in the group of 30–49 years old this parts comprises 36.9 per cent, and among those elder that 50 years old – 17.8 per cent. Those who doubt and say that they perhaps would leave comprise 30.9, 30.3 and 6.5 per cent in each age group, correspondingly. The strongest negative attitudes towards migration are among the senior population – 59.5 per cent of this group said that they would never leave Lithuania, while among the youngest Russians this share comprises 17.4 per cent. Also, those active in labour market have are more likely to leave the country. Gender, place of birth, citizenship or other variables do not have specific influence to migrational attitudes.

The questionnaire included several questions on membership in voluntary organisations. The data analysis shows that one third of the Russian sample (34.3 percent) takes part in one or several voluntary organisations. In terms of activity, most respondents indicate being inactive members, with few exceptions.

ENRI-BIOG: The interviews were conducted in accordance to the methodological guidelines developed by ENRI-EAST team and described in the project manual. 12 interviews with the members of three generations were conducted. Most interviews were conducted in Russian. The Russian respondents in Lithuania come mainly from Vilnius city.

Survey agency – Lithuanian Social Research Center.

The questions of European identity, national identity (relationship to country of residence and relationship to mother country), regional identity, civic participation and ethnic organization, ethnic conflicts and discrimination experiences were analysed in the report.

Answering to the questions on European identity, conceptualization of Europe, the respondents used to talk of the EU and Lithuania's accession to the EU. Part of respondents expressed the criticism towards EU as a political organization. These respondents were talking of some European values, such as the freedom of free speech and what was referred as "negative" opinion towards Russia, the Lithuanian status (EU uses the small states territories for its own purposes, the national language is vanishing, the unreasonable politics towards the agriculture in the member states) in the EU. Other respondents, especially the representatives of youngest generation, named a number of advantages related with Lithuania's accession to the EU: possibilities of traveling and studying, career opportunities.

The major part of respondents described themselves as Lithuania's Russians, i.e. closely connected with Lithuania. The interviewed respondents mostly feel relationship to Russia because of the Russian language, Russian culture or Orthodox religion. Almost all interviewed respondents participate in the activities of ethnic cultural organization and are active in political life (most of respondents participate at the elections, know about the political parties, was elected in the municipality (council). Nobody of interviewed respondents feel any tensions or conflicts between Russians and Lithuanians living in Lithuania, most of them say they did not experience any discriminative situations (with some exceptions). The respondents from older generation or those who do not speak Lithuanian language mentioned some embarrassing situations related with the Lithuanian language command. Anyway no one of them thinks that they have been discriminated on that base.

ENRI-EXI: The interviews were conducted in accordance to the methodological guidelines developed by the ENRI-EAST team and described in the project manual. Three interviews with experts representatives of key organizations related with the Russian minority issues were conducted in Lithuania. The first interview with minority experts in Lithuania were conducted with a policy analyst at the national level (The expert also represents the Russian cultural organization). The others two interviews with minority experts in Lithuania were conducted with a policy analyst at the national level NGO. All interviews were conducted in Vilnius. It is important to notice, that all of mentioned Russian experts are of the Russian origin themselves.

Survey agency - Lithuanian Social Research Center.

Web-analysis ENRI-BLOG: Internet can be assumed to provide valid sources of information, because it is a modern and flexible means of communication. Analyzing the presence of minorities in the internet, the study can be expected to yield insights into actual concepts of identity.

The internet research helps to understand not only special opinions and media activities of minorities, but also how the concept of ethnic identity evolves within new media like internet. Internet provides a forum for the democratic exchange of information, a free and unrestricted domain to escape the limits of political participation in real politics.

The data base of the content analysis consists of online resources attributable to ethnic minorities, such as periodicals, organisations, blogs, forums, personal websites, and commentaries to articles. Collection of empirical resources from the internet has been carried out in two steps: selection of online resources and selection of text fragments within the online resources. Internet resources were identified by employing search engines like www.google.com for different languages and countries using key-words combinations, or checking websites which contain catalogues of resources like <http://kamunikat.org/>. Individual text fragments within a resource were selected for processing according to the criterion of theoretical relevance.

The research discovered a large number of different resources of ethnic minorities. In the study, 154 resources were randomly identified on internet, from which 350 text fragments were collected and analyzed. Qualitative and quantitative content analysis of the text fragments was conducted using *simstat/wordstat6.1* program. The data analysis consisted of the description of a resource or a text fragment according to formal criteria like “title”, “author”, or “intention”, as well as according to the content of text fragments. The former data were ordered after numerical code in the *simstat* data table. The data of the qualitative content analysis were summarized after categories which constituted the *wordstat* data set. These qualitative categories include “host country critical”, “ethnic and national conflict”, “discrimination”, “nationalism”, etc. (For detailed explanation see “Results of content analysis”). On the basis of *simstat/wordstat* data, research results were generated in form of figures which in turn have been qualitatively interpreted.

The landscape of resources of *Russian minorities in Lithuania* is as broad as in Latvia (24 resources) – 3 periodicals, 5 news/broadcasting portals, 6 organizations, 3 blogs, 5 forums, and 2 resources containing articles/blogs 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. From the forums “*Rupor*” and “*TTS Forum*” of the Russian community, the Russian blog in Lithuania “*Patamušta*” was analyzed.

The weekly “*Obzor*” (<http://obzor.lt/>) has been issued by the private company “*Flobis*” in Vilnius since 1997. The registered auditorium 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 Latvian 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 Latvian authorities 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 begins to threaten minorities and seems to represent mainstream European tendencies, especially in the face of the

tragic events in Norway. “Litovski Kur’er” links the readers to the issues in the neighbor countries like the official “Belarus Segodnia”, or the Russian tabloid “Komsomolskaia Pravda”.

Klaipeda Association of the Russian Citizens (<http://www.klaipeda1945.org/>) is responsible for independent information and social activities for 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 Latvia 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 as of 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 Latvian president in protest against discrimination of the Russian language in schools.

Russians in Lithuania 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 (“discrimination”, 6.3%). Also many parents associate better integration of their children in the Lithuanian society and better carrier chances with the Lithuanian language (“assimilation”, 2.5%). Lithuania has a high unemployment rate. The pro-Russian party politician Kazimira Prunskienė is critical towards the EU which in her opinion brought liberalization to countries like Lithuania but at the same time put it in a difficult socio-economic situation (“Europe negative”, 5.5%).

In comparison to Latvia, the Lithuanian government managed 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*”, 2.3%). The Lithuanian society has avoided political instabilities on an ethnic basis, which contributed to the democratization of the Lithuanian society.

Soviet history is a battleground for controversies between Lithuania and Russia. Russian media point at the Russian image as enemy regime which tries to control the informational field of Li-

thuania. The Russians in Lithuania are critical towards some Lithuanian representatives in the European Union who create such image (*“host country critical”*, 11.1%). In their criticism of the Lithuanian government, Russians receive support from their home country (*“ethnic and national conflict”*, 7.1%). In parallel, the Russians in Lithuania share *positive* attitudes towards the host country (3.0%). The newspaper “Klaipeda”, while receiving funding from the Lithuanian authorities, is against any confrontation either regarding the reception of history or the fact of belonging to different nationalities (*“community”*, 4.0%).

Summary of practical recommendations

The research conducted in Lithuania encompasses quantitative and qualitative surveys. The research data is revealing of different aspects of Russian minority situation in Lithuania and presents perspectives of different members of Russian group and the experts of this group. The initial data analysis is presented in the report and raises a number of questions to be further investigated. Some basic practical recommendations are drawn at this stage.

1 RUSSIANS IN LITHUANIA: A BACKGROUND OVERVIEW

Vida Beresnevičiūtė / Tadas Leončikas / Arvydas Matulionis / Kristina Šliavaite

1.1 Lithuanian-majority and Russian-minority relations

1.1.1 Historical overview

The sociologist Natalija Kasatkina, who investigated the situation of Russian population in Lithuania in inter-war period of the 20th century, names a few waves of immigration of Russians to Lithuania until then: 1) those who immigrated before the 17th century, 2) Old Believers who immigrated in the 17th century, 3) 19th century colonists, 4) refugees from Russia after the Russian Revolution in 1917 (Kasatkina 1997 cited in Марцинкявичюс 2007:219). The occupation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union in the 1940s intensified the immigration of Russian population to the territory of Lithuania.

In 1923 there were 50,000 Russians in Lithuania and 82 per cent of them lived in rural areas (Lietuvos gyventojai 1923 cited in Марцинкявичюс 2007:223). Sociologist Natalija Kasatkina and historian Andrius Marcinkevičius conducted research on socio-cultural situation of Russians in Lithuania in 1918-1940 (Kasatkina, Marcinkevičius 2009). The researchers stated that “ethnic minorities, at least until the 1926 coup d’état, were provided with opportunities not only to educate their children in Lithuanian language schools, but also to establish schools teaching in their own languages“ (Kasatkina, Marcinkevičius 2009:291). Most of Russian schools were primary and their number was increasing during the first decade of Lithuania’s independence – from 3 primary schools with Russian language of instruction in 1921 to 15 in 1926, but since 1929 it started to decrease (Kasatkina, Marcinkevičius 2009: 291). The literacy of the Russian population in Lithuania in the interwar period was much lower than the literacy of such groups as Lithuanians, Jews, Poles, Germans, Latvians in Lithuania (Kasatkina, Marcinkevičius 2009:327). In 1925, Russian organizations built and opened the Kaunas Russian Gymnasium what was important event for the Russian community in Lithuania (Kasatkina, Marcinkevičius 2009:300). The majority of Russians in inter-war Lithuania were employed in agriculture (Kasatkina, Marcinkevičius 2009:294-295).

From 1959 till 1989 the population of Russians in Lithuania increased by 113,500 people and numbered up to 344,500 (Census data cited in Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:39-40). In the Soviet period, almost 60 per cent of Russians in Lithuania were employed in the industry sector (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:45). In 1988, the national revival movement “Sąjūdis” was founded in Lithuania and on March 11, 1990 Lithuania announced the restoration of its Independence. On January 13, 1991 the Soviet army attacked peaceful people who gathered near the TV tower in Vilnius to defend it from attacks. Fourteen people were killed by the Soviet soldiers on that night. The people who gathered near the key objects of Lithuania to defend them from the Soviet army were of different nationalities – Lithuanians, Poles, Russians, Belarusians, etc. The first country which recognized the Independence of Lithuania was Iceland. In 1991, the Treaty on the Foun-

dations of Inter-State Relations between the Republic of Lithuania and the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic was signed.¹

The liberal Law on Citizenship was introduced in Lithuania in 1989 and all permanent residents of the country were eligible to get Lithuanian citizenship (Kasatkina, Kadziauskas, Sliavaite 2006). There were no serious ethnic conflicts in Lithuania in the 1980s or later on. However, from 1989 till 2001 the number of Russians in Lithuania decreased by 36.2 per cent (124,700) (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:12). After the break up of the Soviet Union the status of Russians in Lithuania and in many other former Soviet republics changed as they became just one of ethnic groups. Their attitudes towards the restoration of Lithuania's independence differed, however, people of different nationalities supported the break-up of the Soviet Union and independence for Lithuania.

1.1.2 Political overview

After the break up of the Soviet Union the status of Russians in Lithuania and in many other former Soviet republics changed as they became just one of ethnic groups in the post-Soviet period. The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania adopted in 1992 guarantees a number of rights to the ethnic minorities in Lithuania. Article No.37 guarantees the right to the members of national communities to nourish their language, culture and customs. Article No.45 grants the right to the ethnic communities to manage independently their national culture issues, education, and charity. State support for the national communities is guaranteed.²

In 1995 the Law on the State language of the Republic of Lithuania was introduced which regulates the use of the state language (Lithuanian language) in establishments, enterprises and organizations, courts, transactions, official events, education and culture, names, signs and information.³ Article No.1 states that "other laws of the Republic of Lithuania and legal acts adopted by the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania shall guarantee the right of persons, belonging to ethnic communities, to foster their language, culture and customs". The Law on National Minorities ceased to exist at the beginning of 2010 and currently new project of the Law on National Minorities is under discussions. There was some conflict between the Law on the State Language and the Law on National Minorities on the regulation of the use of minority languages and the state language in governmental and other state institutions in areas populated densely by the ethnic minorities (Kasatkina, Kadziauskas, Sliavaite 2006:368).

1.2 Demographic overview

1.2.1 The 2001 Census

There were 219,789 Russians in Lithuania in 2001 and they made 6.3 per cent of total Lithuanian population (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:12). For comparison, in 1989 Russians in Lithuania amounted up to 344,455 and they made 9.37 per cent of the total population (Lietuvos statistikos

¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania, available at: <http://www.urm.lt/index.php?606961642> (accessed on 11.04.2010)

² Lietuvos Respublikos Konstitucija. Available at: http://www3.lrs.lt/home/Konstitucija/Konstitucija.htm#II_SKIRSNIS_ZMOGUS_IR_VALSTYBE, (accessed on 08.04.2010).

³ The Republic of Lithuania Law on the State Language, available at: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter2/dokpaieska.showdoc_e?p_id=21941 (accessed on 08.04.2010)

departamentas 1992 cited in Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:39-40). One of the reasons of the decrease in the size of the Russian population in Lithuania is their emigration to Russia after Lithuania regained its independence in 1991 (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003).

1.2.2 Language Usage

As the Population Census 2001 revealed, 89 per cent of Russians (196,042) considered Russian language as their native language, 6 per cent (13,954) considered Lithuanian language as their native language, 389 – Polish, 91 - Ukrainian (Statistics Lithuania 2002b:74).

1.2.3 Age structure

The statistical 2001 census data reveal that 18.1 per cent of Russians in Lithuania are under 20 years of age. Within the Russian group, 16.3 per cent are older than 65 years. By comparison 13.7 per cent of Lithuanians are older than 65 years and 28.4 per cent of Lithuanians are younger than 20 years (data provided by the Department of Statistics cited in Leončikas 2007:149). Therefore Russians in Lithuania can be perceived as an “older” group than Lithuanians.

1.2.4 Geographic Distribution

The majority of Russians in Lithuania are concentrated in Vilnius county (98,790), Visaginas town (15,491), Kaunas county (26,304) and Klaipėda county (44,082) (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:192-193).

Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda are the main industrial cities in Lithuania, therefore the concentration of Russian population there is not surprising. Visaginas (former Sniečkus) is a town next to the Ignalina nuclear power plant in eastern part of Lithuania. It was constructed in the Soviet period and the population of the town came mainly from other parts of the Soviet Union. The majority of Visaginas' population are Russians or Russian language speakers with limited Lithuanian language command. The reactors of the plant were closed in 2004 and 2009 (see Kavaliauskas 1999, Kavaliauskas 2003, Sliavaite 2005, etc.)

1.2.5 Religious Denomination

Among 219,789 Russians in Lithuania in 2001, 45.7 per cent (100,658) registered as Orthodox, 10 per cent (21,807) as Roman Catholics, 11 per cent (24,969) as Old Believers, 24 per cent (53,678) noted that they do not belong to any religious confession (Statistics Lithuania 2002b:204).

1.2.6 Education

The rights of national minorities to receive public and state supported pre-school and general education in their native languages is guaranteed by a number of laws, such as the Law on Education,⁴ the Law on National Minorities,⁵ the Provisions for the Education of National Minori-

⁴ Švietimo įstatymas (Law on Education), No. I-1489, of 25 June 1991; last amended on 21 January 2010, available at: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter2/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=279441&p_query=&p_tr2= (accessed on 12.04.2010)

⁵ Tautinių mažumų įstatymas (Law on National Minorities), Law No. XI-3412 of 23 November 1989; An English translation available at: <http://www3.lrs.lt/c-bin/eng/preps2?Condition1=21840&Condition2=> (accessed on 12.04.2010)

ties⁶. In March 2011 the Lithuanian Parliament adopted a new Law on Education according to which since the new academic year the number of lessons taught in Lithuanian language in elementary and secondary schools of national minorities is going to increase (Samoškaitė 2011). This law raised discontent among national minorities in Lithuania.

The general number of teaching establishments in Lithuania was decreasing and consequently the number of ethnic minority schools and schools with Russian language of teaching was decreasing as well⁷. This decrease can be illustrated by the numbers given below.

In 2003, there were 2,151 public schools in Lithuania and in 221 of them teaching was provided in the languages of ethnic minorities. Of these 221 institutions, 59 provided education in Russian, 75 in Polish, and 87 in a combination of languages (e.g. Lithuanian and Russian; Lithuanian and Polish; Polish and Russian; Lithuanian, Polish and Russian; etc)⁸. On 1st September 2011, there were in total 1,310 public schools and in 146 of them teaching was provided in the languages of ethnic minorities. Of these 146 establishments, 34 provided education in Russian, and 63 in a combination of languages.⁹

According to the statistics, in September 2011 there were 5 kindergartens with the Russian language, 6 with the Lithuanian and Russian languages of instruction.¹⁰

Currently there are no Russian institutions of higher education in Lithuania. However, there is a wide variety of opportunities to study Russian language and literature. For example, there is a Department of Russian Philology at the Faculty of Philology, Vilnius University. There are Departments of Russian Literature and Intercultural Communication and of Russian Language Didactic at the Faculty of Philology at the Vilnius Pedagogical University where there is also a Russian Centre.

1.2.7 Employment

The Population Census 2001 revealed that among Russians 6.5 per cent work as legislators, senior officers and managers (as compared with 8.6 per cent of Lithuanians), 13.9 per cent Russians work as specialists (15.8 per cent of Lithuanians), 11.7 per cent work in services and trade (11.1 per cent of Lithuanians), 18.6 per cent take positions of qualified workers and craftsmen (13.3 per cent of Lithuanians), etc. (Department of Statistics cited in Beresnevičiūtė 2005:141). The sociologist Vida Beresnevičiūtė notes that less ethnic minority representatives are employed in the public sector (Beresnevičiūtė 2005:115). The sociologists Natalija Kasatkina and Tadas Leončikas conducted research among ethnic groups in Lithuania in 2001-2002 and noted that one fifth of their respondents indicated the importance of nationality (Lithuanian) in getting a good job (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:224).

⁶ LR Švietimo ir mokslo ministro 2002 m. sausio 16 d. įsakymas Nr 56 „Dėl Tautinių mažumų švietimo nuostatų patvirtinimo“. Valstybės žinios, 2002, Nr. 9-337.

⁷ Source: Švietimo įstaigų kaita pagal mokymo kalbas (4-9 k.), LR Švietimo ir mokslo ministerija, available at: http://www.aikos.smm.lt/aikos/Statistika/kaitlr4_9.html (accessed on 2011-09-07)

⁸ Source: Švietimo įstaigų kaita pagal mokymo kalbas (4-9 k.), LR Švietimo ir mokslo ministerija, available at: http://www.aikos.smm.lt/aikos/Statistika/kaitlr4_9.html (accessed on 2011-09-07)

⁹ Source: Švietimo įstaigų kaita pagal mokymo kalbas (4-9 k.), LR Švietimo ir mokslo ministerija, available at: http://www.aikos.smm.lt/aikos/Statistika/kaitlr4_9.html (accessed on 2011-09-07)

¹⁰ Source: Švietimo įstaigų kaita pagal mokymo kalbas (4-9 k.), LR Švietimo ir mokslo ministerija, available at: http://www.aikos.smm.lt/aikos/Statistika/kaitlr4_9.html (accessed on 2011-09-07)

It is important to mention the employment situation of inhabitants of Visaginas, a town in eastern part of Lithuania where the Russian population makes up the majority of the town's population. The Ignalina nuclear power plant, which is located a few kilometres from Visaginas, was the main employer of town population before its last working reactor was shut at the end of 2009 due to international agreements. The government of Lithuania adopted the law which provides social support to unemployed plant employees and their families. However, the inhabitants of Visaginas are facing a number of social, economic challenges (on the situation of Visaginas' population see, for example, Baubinas, Burneika, Daugirdas, Kriauciūnas, Ribokas 2002, Kavaliauskas 1999, Sliavaite 2005, etc.).

1.3 Russian self-organisation in Lithuania

1.3.1 Political organisation

There are two registered Russian political parties: *The Union of Lithuanian Russians* (Lietuvos rusų sąjunga) and *The Political Party Russian Alliance* (Politinė partija Rusų aljansas).¹¹ In 2002 The Political Party Russian Alliance in Klaipėda was founded as a regional political party (Фреյоте-Пакаускене 2003: 102).

Russian parties do not gain substantial support in Lithuanian society and there are no representatives of these parties elected at the current parliament of Lithuania. Members of these parties, however, are elected to the municipal councils (for example, in Vilnius, Klaipėda, Visaginas).

1.3.2 Russian civil society

In 2005, there were more than 100 Russian non-governmental organizations (NGO) in Lithuania (Фреյоте-Пакаускене 2007:96). The sociologist Monika Frėjūtė-Rakauskienė notes that the biggest amount of non-governmental Russian organizations are registered in the main cities of Lithuania, as well as in the areas densely populated by Russians (Фреյоте-Пакаускене 2007:99). The main activities of Russian NGOs are focused on the cultural sphere, such as the organization of folklore festivals, etc. (Фреյоте-Пакаускене 2007:103). In the context of Russian NGOs it is important to mention the well known *Russian Culture Centre in Vilnius*, which was founded in 1988 and is involved in a number of cultural projects.¹² The other active Russian NGO based in Vilnius is the *Association Youth Initiative Group* which was established in 2004 and focuses mainly on the Russian speaking youth.¹³ However, the sociologists Natalija Kasatkina and Tadas Leončikas have identified a general civic passivity on the part of Russians in Lithuania (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:226).

The main sources of the funding of Russian NGOs are individual donations, support from the Lithuanian Republic and support gained from the Embassy of Russia in Lithuania (Фреյоте-Пакаускене 2007:105).

¹¹ The Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Lithuania, <http://www.tm.lt/dok/registruotu%20politiniu%20partiju%20sarasas.pdf> (18.03.2010)

¹² See more information at: <http://www.rkc.lt/en/about/> (accessed on 11.04.2010)

¹³ Association „Youth Initiative Group”, at: <http://www.jig.lt/en/about/> (accessed on 22.11.2010)

1.3.3 Arts and culture

The Russian Cultural Centre¹⁴ is one of the most important Russian non-governmental organisations that work in the sphere of culture (Фрејоте-Пакајскене 2007:103). Russian cultural centers and organisations are founded in other smaller towns of Lithuania, like Alytus, Panevėžys, etc.¹⁵

It is important to mention the *Lithuanian Russian Drama Theatre (Lietuvos rusų dramos teatras)* which is located in Vilnius. The history of the theatre stretches back to the end of the 19th century and it is the only professional drama theatre in Lithuania where the plays are performed in the Russian language.¹⁶

1.3.4 Religious organisation

Research conducted by Lithuanian sociologists Natalija Kasatkina and Tadas Leončikas in 2001-2002 led them to the conclusion that among their Russian respondents “confessional or religious identity barely appears among the self-declared identities and is rarely given any importance on the list of suggested identity categories“ (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:226).

1.3.5 Publishing and the press

There are a number of newspapers issued in Lithuania in the Russian language, such as: *Litovskij kurjer*, *Echo Litvy*¹⁷, *Ekspress nedelia*¹⁸, *Obzor*. Their audience are the Russian speaking population in Lithuania.

1.3.6 The media

The main Lithuanian internet sites (for example, ru.delfi.lt) are issued not just in Lithuanian, but also in Russian language. *Ru.delfi.lt* is one of the most popular internet sites that covers the main daily news in Lithuania and abroad and it aims at a broad audience.

Russian radio channels in Lithuania are the *Russkoje Radio Baltija*¹⁹ and *Raduga*²⁰. The *Russian state Baltic TV channel*²¹ is also available. Lithuanian radio broadcasts daily news in the Russian language. Lithuanian TV broadcasts the programme in Russian “Rusų gatvė” (“The Street of Russians”) once a week. TV channels from Russia are available for those who have cable TV access.

¹⁴ Rusų kultūros centras, available at: <http://www.rkc.lt/lt/> (accessed on 18.01.2010)

¹⁵ Panevėžio rusų kultūros centras, <http://www.panevezys.lt/DesktopDefault.aspx?tabID=1958>

Alytaus rusų kultūros draugija “Malachit”, <http://www.ams.lt/New/index.php?Lang=34&ItemId=33798>

¹⁶ Lietuvos Rusų dramos teatras, <http://www.rusudrama.lt/> (accessed on 01.09.2011)

¹⁷ See more information at: <http://www.delfi.lt/directory/8/81/83/index.php> (accessed on 12.04.2010)

¹⁸ See more information at: <http://www.impressteva.lt/index.php?id=6921&pid=5268> (accessed on 13.04.2010)

¹⁹ See more information at: http://www.rusradio.lt/ru/O_radio/ (accessed on 13.04.2010)

²⁰ A radio channel in Russian starte din Klaipėda in 2001, for more information see at: <http://www.raduga.lt/apie> (accessed on 13.04.2010)

²¹ See more information at: <http://goliath.ecnext.com/coms2/product-compint-0000494762-page.html> (accessed on 13.04.2010)

1.4 Overview of existing surveys

It is beyond the limits of this report to make a comprehensive historiography of existing surveys on Russian group in Lithuania. Below we make a short overview of some recent publicly available works.

In 2007 the centre of Ethnic Studies of the Institute for Social Research published *Etniškumo studijos/Ethnicity studies: Русские в странах Балтийского региона: меньшинство и государство, Baltijos jūros regiono rusai: mažuma ir valstybė* which focused on the Russian population of the Baltic area (*Etniškumo studijos / Ethnicity studies 2007*). The issue included articles examining and comparing different aspects of the situation facing the Russian minority in Lithuania, Finland and Latvia.

One of the recent scientific works which reviews the situation of the Russian ethnic group in Lithuania in 1918-1940 is a brilliant attempt of sociologist Natalija Kasatkina and historian Andrius Marcinkevičius to combine historical and sociological expertise in researching the situation of the Russian ethnic group from a historical perspective. The authors analyze the social and cultural situation of Russians in Lithuania in the interwar period (Kasatkina, Marcinkevičius 2009).

Kasatkina Natalija, Leončikas Tadas (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003) analyse the data of the survey conducted in 2001-2002 among a few ethnic groups in Lithuania and Russians were one of the groups surveyed. The researchers analyse data on identification tendencies, perceptions of social status, participation in civic society (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003). The researchers came to the conclusion that “Russians exhibit the conventional features of an ethnic group less than others: They identify less strongly with categories such as territory, coethnics in the country, and co-believers. [...]” (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:226). The researchers argue that the level of integration of Russians into the dominant society is related with their social status, i.e. those with lower education and low status are less integrated (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:226).

The sociologists investigated different aspects of the social situation of ethnic groups in Lithuanian society and Russians were one of the groups included in their follow-up analysis. The researchers analyzed the issues of social integration (Beresnevičiūtė 2005), processes of assimilation (Leončikas 2007), civic and political activity (Frėjutė-Rakauskienė 2003, 2007).

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2 MAIN FINDINGS OF THE ENRI-VIS SURVEY (ENRI-VIS)

Vida Beresnevičiūtė

2.1 Technical parameters of the survey of the Lithuania's Russians

- Instrument: The survey used a questionnaire translated into Russian (48.8 per cent) and Lithuanian (41.9 per cent) languages.
- Survey Sample: 804 Russians living in Lithuania.
- Sampling: For the sampling, two methods were applied: random route sampling classic (89 respondents reached) and random root focused enumeration (715 respondents reached).
- Survey geography: The survey took place in three counties and 4 municipalities. In Klaipėda county, the respondents were questioned in the municipality of Klaipėda city; in Utena county, the respondents were questioned in the municipality of Visaginas town; and Vilnius county, the respondents were questioned in the municipalities of Svencionys region and Vilnius city.
- Time: Fieldwork: 15 November 2009 – 15 February 2010.
- Survey agency: Lithuanian Social Research Centre.

Socio-demographic profile of the respondents

		N	%
Gender	Female	534	66.5
	Male	269	33.5
Total		803	100
Age groups	Up to 29	150	18.7
	30-49 years old	242	30.1
	50 year old and elder	406	50.5
	NA	6	0.7
Total		804	100
Education	No qualifications	5	0.6
	Primary	26	3.2
	Basic with vocational training	49	6.1
	Secondary	169	21.0
	Secondary with vocational training	264	32.8
	Higher (Bachelor degree)	190	23.6
	Higher (Master degree, post graduate degree)	90	11.2
NA	11	1.3	
Total		804	100
Occupation	Working full-time (40 hours a week)	316	39.3
	Working part-time (8-30 hours a week)	43	5.3
	Casual/temporary work	23	2.9
	Housewife/keeping house	32	4.0
	Unemployed	86	10.7
	Retired/disabled	242	30.1

	N	%
Full-time student at school/college	36	4.5
Temporary leave (sick leave, maternity leave)	19	2.4

Socio-demographic profile of the respondents (continued)

	N	%	
Other	1	0.1	
Refusal	6	0.7	
Total	804	100	
Marital Status	Single	151	18.8
	Cohabiting/living with partner	51	6.3
	Married	367	45.6
	Divorced	95	11.8
	Widowed	134	16.7
	DK	2	0.2
	Refusal	4	0.5
Total	804	100	
Average net monthly income	Up to 800 LTL*	278	34.6
	801-1,250 LTL	203	25.2
	1,251-2,000 LTL	164	20.4
	2,001 LTL and more	66	8.2
	No income	45	5.6
	NA	48	6.0
Total	804	100	
Place of residence (urban)	Visaginas	89	11.1
	Vilnius	452	56.2
	Klaipeda	247	30.7
	Svencioniu reg.	16	2.0
Total	804	100	

* 1EUR=3.4528 LTL

The report provides with main descriptive outcomes under the following sets of questions: ethnicity and ethnic identity, national identity; family, households and related ethnic aspects; xenophobia, conflicts and discrimination; social and political capital, participation, attitudes toward EU. The importance of independent variables is marked in case of relevant results.

2.2 Ethnicity and ethnic identity, national identity

This section of the report covers the following issues and related questions to ethnicity and ethnic identity: self-categorisation, ethnic categorisation, closeness to different groups and areas, concept of nation, identity categories, media and identity.

2.2.1 Language usage

First of all, the ethnic minorities' respondents were asked what language they speak most often at home. The majority of the Lithuanian Russians (71 per cent) speak Russian most often at home. Approximately one fifth of the Russian respondents (21.3 per cent) indicated that they speak

Russian and Lithuanian often at home. According to the survey data, 5.6 per cent of the Russians speak Lithuanian most often at home. Among the rear cases of other languages (1.5 per cent), Polish or Polish and Russian were mentioned.

Among those who mentioned either Lithuanian and Russian or Lithuanian as most often spoken language at home, representatives of younger (26 per cent) and middle (39 per cent) generations prevail and comprise three quarters of the group. Majority of this category lives in Vilnius or Klaipėda, i.e. the cities which can be characterized as multi-ethnic ones. (See Table 1.)

2.2.2 Closeness

The respondents were asked about their closeness to different groups and regions, including local and European dimensions. The answers of the Lithuanian Russians indicate several tendencies. The majority of the Lithuanian Russians fell very close or rather close to the local environment as 81.5 per cent maintain their closeness to the settlement where they live, 80.6 per cent – to Lithuania and 78 per cent – to the Lithuanian Russians. The other dimensions of closeness received far more deliberate attention of the Lithuanian Russians as 42.4 per cent feel close to Russia (including the answers very close and rather close), 30.4 per cent maintain their closeness to Europe, 25.1 per cent – to the Baltic country region and 23 per cent – to the Eastern Europe. (See Table 2)

The factor analysis of the indicators that target the issues of belonging to certain groups or area confirms the aforementioned distributions. It extracts two factors that could be defined as a local and European (international) one, with a specific sentiment to Russia, which is in between of these two opinion sets. (See Table 2a).

2.2.3 Self-categorisation

Trying to identify the components of self-identification, the respondents were asked to define the categories, which are the most important in thinking about him/her selves by defining the three most important categories. While generalising the data on the first category chosen by the respondents, the distributions are as follows: one third of the Lithuanian Russians (32.5 per cent) mentioned their current (or previous) occupation, followed by their age (14.8 per cent) or gender (11.8 per cent) groups. The being a Lithuanian Russian in self-definition of the Russians surveyed is less important in the list of the most important categories as every tenth (10.1 per cent) Russian chose it. While considering the set of the second importance of the categories in self definition, the following categories were mentioned: 17.9 per cent of Lithuanian Russians named their age group, 14.1 per cent – their current (or previous) occupation, 12.7 per cent – their social class, 11.7 per cent – their gender. The set of the third choice is rather scattered as 17.3 per cent of the Lithuanian Russians give priority to the coming from the settlement that one lives in, 14.1 per cent name age group, 11.1 per cent – social class, followed by gender, occupation, and ethnicity (approximately 8 per cent each) (See Table 3).

Based on the survey's data it is possible to conclude that among the Lithuanian Russians, self-identification first of all is based on the categories related to social status, including occupation, social class, that could be defined as attained through social participation in social environment and labour market, and followed by categories such age, gender and to far less extent, ethnicity or geographical dimensions.

2.2.4 Concept of nation

The questionnaire included the questions that aim at disclosing the respondents' opinion on what things are important for being truly Russian or truly Lithuanian. While considering the components that are important for being truly Russian, the great majority of the Lithuanian Russians maintain that it is very important or rather important (93.5 per cent) to be able to speak Russian. Also, most of the Lithuanian Russians give priority to the feeling being Russian (88.8 per cent) and to having Russian ancestry (80 per cent). Half of the Lithuanian Russians (50.6 per cent) tend to ascribe great importance to the religion (being Orthodox) and respect the political institutions and laws of the Russian Federation as important components of being Russian. A significant share of the Russians surveyed do not consider such factors as being a citizen of Russian Federation, being have lived in Russian for most of one's life and having been born in Russia as significant factors for being a Russian as majority maintain that these are rather not important or not important at all (72.7 per cent, 65.8 per cent, and 63.5 per cent, correspondingly). (See Table 4).

While considering the components that are important for being truly Lithuanian, several issues could be considered. Nearly one tenth of the sample could not express their opinion on the issue and the categories provided are assessed with less certainty. Still, the great majority of the Lithuanian Russians maintain that it is very important or rather important (82 per cent) to be able to speak Lithuanian for being Lithuanian. Also, majority of the Lithuanian Russians give priority to the feeling being Lithuanian (75.5 per cent), respect the Lithuanian political institutions and laws (69.5 per cent) and to have Lithuanian ancestry (63.5 per cent). More than half of the Lithuanian Russians (55.8 per cent) tend to ascribe great importance to having citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania, nearly half (49 per cent) being have lived in Lithuania for most of one's life and having been born in Lithuania (47.1 per cent) for being Lithuanian. (See Table 5).

While comparing the attitudes of the Lithuanian Russians towards the importance of certain things for being Russian or Lithuanian, knowledge of the corresponding language and subjective feeling of being true representative of one or another ethnicity could be distinguished as common things for the concepts of the nations. However, the Lithuanian Russians tend to give more importance to the facts of being born, have been lived for most of one's years and having a citizenship of the receiving country for the being a true representative of a dominant ethnicity and far less importance of the aforementioned facts of the sending country for being a representative of an ethnic minority.

2.2.5 Ethnic pride and ethnic status

The answers to the question on the level of proud of being member of certain ethnicity related group, most Lithuanian Russians are very proud or proud of being Russian (75 per cent) and being Lithuanian Russian (65.7 per cent). While considering their proud of being Lithuanians, the Russians surveyed have dispersed opinions: nearly half of respondents (46.5 per cent) maintain that this question is not applicable to them, 8.7 per cent refused to answer this question. 23.4 per cent of the Lithuanian Russians are not proud at all or rather not proud being Lithuanian, while 16.4 per cent have an opposite positive attitudes. While considering their feelings towards being representatives of the Baltic country region, Eastern Europe or Europe, the respondents tend to have no clear opinion, however, they are rather proud of being European (47.8 per cent chose 'very proud', 'rather proud') and Baltic country region (42 per cent, correspondingly) than being Eastern European (44.4 per cent 'not proud at all or rather not proud'). (See Table 6).

The answers to the aforementioned questions have a significant statistical correlation with the description of one's ethnic status. The majority of the respondents maintain that their ethnic status is best described by a formula 'I'm Lithuanian Russian' – 59.8 per cent. Nearly every fifth (21.9 per cent) Lithuanian Russian gives priority to the statement 'I'm Russian' and every seventh (14.1 per cent) – to the statement 'I'm Lithuanian with Russian descent'. Only 1.1 per cent of the Russian sample defines their ethnic status as being Lithuanians. (See Table 7). The choice of the formulas of ethnic status slightly relates to the respondent's age: a relatively larger share of the youngest respondents tend to choose a statement 'I'm Lithuanian with Russian descent' and comprises 28 per cent among the respondents under 29 years old, while it reaches 16.7 per cent among the respondents of 30-49 years old and 8 per cent among the seniors (50 years and elder). (See Table 7a).

2.2.6 General assimilation strategy

The respondents were asked to express their opinion regarding the situation of ethnic minority groups and Russians in particular. The Lithuanian Russians nearly unanimously agree with a statement that 'It is better if Russians preserve their own customs and traditions' – 91.6 per cent strongly agree or rather agree. Concerning the statement 'It is better if Russians adapt and blend into the larger society', the opinions of the Lithuanian Russians are contradictory: half of respondents (50.2 per cent) tend to agree and 44.2 per cent – disagree with it. However, no significant correlations could be observed. (See table 10).

2.2.7 Educational and cultural aspects of identity

The respondents were asked to express their opinion on different statements related to the opportunities for their children education, to speak minority language in everyday life, opportunities to read newspapers and magazines in Russian and have the representatives in the parliament. In general, all the opportunities listed in the questionnaire seem to be of a high significance to the Lithuanian Russians as the majority of respondents qualify them as very important or rather important. The great majority of the Lithuanian Russians maintains that an opportunity to preserve Russian folk customs, traditions, culture (89.1 per cent), an opportunity to speak Russian in everyday life (85.1 per cent), an opportunity for their children to study the ethnic history and culture of Russians (84.2 per cent) and an opportunity to read newspapers and magazines in Russian (83.3 per cent) are very important or rather important. Also, the majority maintain that an opportunity for their children to get education in Russian and an opportunity to have the Russian representatives in the parliament are of great importance (75.5 per cent and 70.5 per cent, correspondingly). (See Table 11).

Importance of opportunities for children education is significant for those respondents who have obtained their primary or secondary education in Russian language. The majority of the sample of Lithuanian Russians surveyed has obtained primary education (88.7 per cent) and secondary education (79.7 per cent) in Russian language. 46 per cent of the respondents have obtained higher education or professional training in Russian language, too. Among this group of sample, the elder respondents dominate and comprise 66.5 per cent, while younger respondents make only 5 per cent of the group. (See Table 12.) This is related to limited opportunities to obtain higher education in Russian language after the restoration of the Independence.

The respondents of the survey have maintained that it is of highly importance for them to use the media in Russian language and to give school education for their children in minority language. According to the survey data, majority of the Lithuanian Russians can take advantages of these

opportunities. The great majority of the Russian sample has an opportunity to read newspapers and magazines in the Russian language, issued in Lithuania (95 per cent), and to give school education for their children in Russian language (87.9 per cent). Also, most Russians can watch TV programs of the Lithuania TV channels in Russian language (75 per cent) and listen to the radio programs of the Lithuania radio stations in Russian language (75.1 per cent). (See Table 13)

2.2.8 Media usage

Several more detailed questions were provided to respondents concerning their usage of printed or electronic newspapers, television, radio and websites. Among the media resources, television is most widely used in terms of different programs. The second most widely use media source is the listening to the radio, followed by reading the printed newspapers and browsing the internet sources. The majority of Russian respondents admire the Russia's programs at most as they (83.6 per cent) watch them regularly / often. Half of respondents (54.1 per cent) watch the Lithuanian programs on regular basis, and a bit less part (46.1 per cent) watch programs prepared by the Lithuanian Russians. The same pattern could be observed in the practices of listening to the radio or browsing the internet: more respondents use the Russia's sources first (53.9 per cent listen to Russia's radio regularly or often; 44.7 per cent browse the Russia's websites regularly), then follow the Lithuanian sources (36.7 per cent and 37.1 per cent of regular usage, correspondingly) and finally the sources produced by the Lithuanian Russians (35.6 per cent and 23.6 per cent of regular usage, correspondingly). As a kind of exception, the printed media could be mentioned. In this case, the preference is given to the printed or electronic newspapers produced by the Lithuanian Russians as 50.5 per cent of the Russians surveyed identify these sources being of regular or often use. The Lithuanian newspapers are read on regular basis by 38.3 per cent of the Lithuanian Russians and 33.3 per cent give regular priority to the Russia's newspapers. Still, 15.2 per cent of the sample identify that they never read the Russia's newspapers, as they do not have such opportunity. (See Table 14, Table 15).

2.2.9 Religious denomination and practice

The survey data show that the majority of Russians surveyed (60.2 per cent) defined themselves as Orthodox, 5.8 per cent – as Old believers. 10.9 per cent of the Lithuanian Russian belongs to the Roman Catholics. Also, nearly one fifth of the Russian sample (18.8 per cent) consider themselves as not belonging to a denomination. (See Table 21).

Although the majority of the Lithuanian Russians could be defined as belonging to a certain religion or religious denomination, most of them are relatively rear practitioners. 14.7 per cent of the respondents never practice religion. More than half respondents (55 per cent) practice religion several times a year or rarer and one quarter of the respondents (27.6 per cent) practice their religion once a month or more often apart from funerals, christenings and weddings. (See Table 22).

2.3 Family, households, employment and related ethnic aspects

This section of the report provides with an overview of main results of the survey on the household of the respondents, their socio-demographic profile, ethnic descent, marital status, issues related to employment and subjective social status.

2.3.1 Household composition

Most of respondents live in small households, as one fourth of the sample (24.2 per cent) lives alone, i.e. a respondent is the only member of the household; in this case, the majority is comprised by senior persons (50 years old and elder). According to the answers of the Lithuanian Russians, one third (33.3 per cent) of their households are comprised of two persons. One fifth (20.5 per cent) of the respondents' household consists of three persons. 14.4 per cent of the Russian respondents live in the households that consist of four persons, and 7.5 per cent – five or more persons. (See Table 31)

The structure of the two-persons households most often consists of a respondent and her/his spouse (72.5 per cent of all two-person households), a respondent and her/his child (13.7 per cent) or a respondent and her/his parent (6.1 per cent).

While analysing the relationship of respondent's household other members with him/her, most often the oldest household member is respondents' spouse (64 per cent), parent (17.3 per cent), or other relative. While defining ethnicity of the household's oldest member, the respondents tend to choose between the Russian (45.9 per cent), the Lithuanian Russian (23.7 per cent) and the Lithuanian (16.8 per cent) most often. In most cases, the second (and the third) oldest member of the household is a child (63.3 per cent), who in terms of ethnicity is defined as the Russian (38.9 per cent), the Lithuanian Russian (27.8 per cent) or the Lithuanian (19.3 per cent). Among the Russian respondents, the Lithuanian citizenship dominates, the same corresponds their family members, while in each case over 90 per cent of household members are identified as citizens of the Republic of Lithuania. 14.2 per cent of respondents indicate that in their households children of 7-15 years old live (in most cases - 1 child), in the households of 12.1 per cent respondents, there are children under 6 years old. (See Table 32)

The survey data enable to conclude that the households of the Lithuanian Russians tend to bear a monoethnic nature. Based on preliminary estimations of different questions (the ethnicity of a spouse, ethnicity of other household members, language used at home, etc.), it is possible to presume that approximately one fifth of respondents' household has Lithuanians or other minority members.

By their marital status, 45.6 per cent of the Russian respondents are married, 6.3 per cent live with a partner or cohabitate. A significant share of respondents declare being divorced (11.8 per cent) or widowed (16.7 per cent). 18.8 per cent of the Lithuanian Russians are single. (See Table 53) While asked about the number of the children, nearly one third of the Russians respondents (31.6 per cent) indicated that they have two children all in all. A little bit less share of the Russians respondents (28.9 per cent) has the only child. 6.1 per cent of the Russians surveyed have three children. Only 2 per cent of the Russians have four or more children. One fourth of the Russian respondents (23.6 per cent) do not have children. (See Table 39)

Worth noticing that the respondent's educational attainment correlates with the level of educational attainment of his/her spouse, i.e. a tendency to marry a person of similar education can be observed among the Russians surveyed.

2.3.2 Ethnic descent

While asked about their parents ethnicity, 71.8 per cent of respondents named that their father and 66.4 per cent that their mother were Russians, with a corresponding shares of 9.3 and 11 per cent – the Lithuanian Russians. 5.5 per cent of respondents fathers and 8.7 per cent of mothers are/were Lithuanians.

Half of the Russian respondents' parents are/were citizens of Lithuania - 54.9 per cent mothers and 50.1 per cent fathers, the rests' parents were either Russian citizens (36 per cent mother and 38.9 per cent father) or of other citizenship (6.7 and 8 per cent, correspondingly). (See Table 40)

The aforesaid data correspond to the data on the place where a respondent has been born and his/her duration of living in Lithuania. The majority of the Russian sample (57.2 per cent) was born in Lithuania, with one fourth (24 per cent) born in Russia and 15.2 per cent in other countries. The oldest group (50 years old and elder) of the sample is characterized by different countries of origin: 39.7 per cent were born in Russia, 37.4 – in Lithuania and 21.4 per cent – in other countries (among which countries of the former Soviet Union dominate). In the group of Russians under 29 years old, 90 per cent of respondents are born in Lithuania, while in the group of 30–49 years old, this share comprises 70.7 per cent. Data on the period of living in Lithuania, corresponds the aforementioned survey results. Majority of those (65 per cent), who were not born in Lithuania, have been living in the country for 30 years or longer. One fourth (23.1 per cent) of Russians born outside Lithuania have been living there for 21–30 years. While those who presumably have come to country after the declaration of the Independence (i.e. live not longer than 20 years), comprise 11.9 per cent of Russians surveyed. (See Table 38)

2.3.3 Languages spoken

Respondents were asked about the languages they speak. Majority of Russians questioned declared their knowledge of Russian (98.1 per cent) and Lithuanian (79.9 per cent) languages. Out of those who do not know Lithuanian, the majority (85.2 per cent) is comprised by the Russian seniors (50 years old and elder), mostly retired persons. Data of this survey once again proves tendencies identified by earlier surveys that non-knowledge of the state language is related only to elder Russian population. The Census 2001 data recorded that 27.8 per cent of the Lithuanian Russians did not know Lithuanian language.

Among the foreign languages, English was the most often mentioned - 30.8 per cent of the Russian respondents maintain speaking English; 18.6 per cent speak Polish, 11.6 per cent – German. Other foreign languages (such as Italian, French, and Spanish) were mentioned just by few Russians surveyed. Also, similar small shares of the Russians speak Ukrainian (2.4 per cent) or Belarussian (2.3 per cent) languages. (See Table 44)

2.3.4 Education, occupation and professional activity

By the level of the education achieved, one third (32.8 per cent) of the Russians have vocational training (including secondary education), 21 per cent have the secondary education. The other share of the Russian respondents that comprised one third of the sample, have reached the level of higher education: 23.6 per cent have a bachelor degree (or equivalent) and 11.2 per cent - master's or postgraduate degree. 6.1 per cent of the Russian respondents have basic education with vocational training, and those who have primary or lower education comprise 3.8 per cent of the Russian respondents.

The majority of the Russians questioned (59.8 per cent), indicated they have been in education for 11–15 years. According to the answers of one fifth of the sample (20 per cent), the respondents' education lasted for more than sixteen years, while 17 per cent of the Russians surveyed were in education up to ten years. (See Table 43)

Data on educational attainment rates of the Census 2001 broken down by age structure showed that while older Russians have higher educational attainment levels than Lithuanians, there are

important generational differences. Attainment rates among younger Russians are similar to the Lithuanian average. The apparently high educational attainment levels across the Russian population reflects the fact that many Russians coming to Lithuania in previous decades did so as immigrant labour – and were generally well educated and skilled.

While generalising the data on the respondents' social status, more than half (52.1 per cent) of the Russian sample is inactive regarding the labour market and 47.9 per cent - involved in the labour market. Among the unemployed, the retired/disabled Russians dominate and comprise nearly one third (30.1 per cent) of the total sample. 4.5 per cent of the sample is comprised of full time students, similar share (4.0 per cent) identified themselves as housewives/keeping house, while 2.4 per cent indicated being on a temporary leave (sick leave, maternity leave). (See Table 45)

Unemployed people comprise 10.7 per cent of the total Russian sample. While considering the time of the survey, the general unemployment level was quite similar (e.g. in 2009, 13.7 per cent and in the 1st Q of 2010, - 18.1 per cent²²). Also, as among the general population, unemployment is higher among the Russian men (15.7 per cent) than women (8.3 per cent).

39.3 per cent of the Russians surveyed were working full-time (or 40 hours a week). 5.3 per cent of the Russians were working part-time (8-30 hours a week), 2.9 per cent had some casual/temporary work.

Employed or those who have been employed are nearly evenly distributed between those who work in profit-making private firms and companies (43.6 per cent) and those who work in central government, local government or other state institutions and organisations (47 per cent). The other options available were chosen very rarely. (See Table 46)

While describing the current or last employment, the answers of the Russian respondents distributed in the following sequence: most of the Lithuanian Russians work as employees in non-manual (44.3. per cent) and manual (36.9 per cent) occupations. Nearly every tenth (9.4 per cent) Russian surveyed describes its employment as self-employed professional. (See Table 47)

With regard to occupation, most of the respondents (24.4 per cent) named the occupations that could be defined as professionals. In similar shares, the Lithuanian Russians can be defined as craft and related trades workers (17.9 per cent) and service and sales workers (16.2 per cent). 11 per cent work in elementary occupations. (See Table 48).

The respondents were asked whether they have ever been unemployed for a period more than three months. The survey data imply that nearly every second Russian - 44.4 per cent - has been unemployed for a period more than three months. The data analysis shows that elder respondents tend having experienced unemployment relatively more often: among those who have ever been unemployed for a period more than three months respondents under 29 years old comprise 19.3 per cent, the middle aged (30-49 years old) respondents - 38.4 per cent, and the seniors (50 years and elder) - 41.2 per cent. The other socio-demographic characteristics (gender, level of education, current employment status) of the Russian respondents do not have significant influence to the unemployment experience. This might be related to the overcoming through the economic changes that have been taken place in the 90-ies, privatisation of the industrial companies and other related structural changes in the economy and labour market.

²² Statistics Lithuania, <http://www.stat.gov.lt/lt/news/view?id=8931&PHPSESSID=6637564967bf8f20a2bb3c3d763cb>

2.3.5 Assessment of the social standing

While subjectively assessing their social standing in the 10 point scale, the Russian respondents tend to place them either to the lower, or middle social standing: 38.1 per cent of respondents identified themselves to the low social standing (while marking one of the first three (from 1 to 3) points of the scale) and similar share (38.2 per cent) - to the representatives of the middle social standing (while marking the middle points (from 4 to 7) of the scale). Every fifth Russian respondent (20.4 per cent) identified him/herself with the higher social standing (while marking one of the last three (from 8 to 10) points of the scale). However, no significant correlations between subjective assessment of one's social standing and other variables of the social status are not observed. (See Table 50)

2.3.6 Average monthly income and household's articles

While analysing the data on average monthly income of the Russians surveyed, one third of the sample (34.6 per cent) is concentrated among those receiving the lowest income (up to 800 LTL, which is an official minimum wage; equivalent to ~230EUR). While one fourth of the sample (25.2 per cent) on average receives 801–1,250 LTL, one fifth (20.4 per cent) – 1,250-2,000 LTL per month. (See Table 51)

The analysis of the employed Russians who have indicated exact sums of their average income shows that the average salary is 1,418.13 LTL which is a little bit lower to the average net salary, which in 1st Q of 2010 was 1,583.9 LTL²³. Among those who chose to indicate an interval of their income, the average is higher than the whole's sample: the lowest income (up to 800 LTL) receive 15.3 per cent, 801-1,250 LTL – 25.4 per cent, 1,250-2,000 LTL – 30.2 per cent and those higher than 2,000 LTL – 16.4 per cent of the sample.

Along with the question on average net monthly income, the respondents were asked about certain things (property) in their household. In general, the households of the Russian respondents are quite well equipped. The great majority (96.7 per cent) of the households have a coloured television, while one third (33.8 per cent) has two coloured televisions, and every tenth (10.4 per cent) – three or more coloured televisions. Also, the great majority (84 per cent) households represented by the Russian respondents have an automatic washing machine. Most of the households are equipped with personal computer or notebook (62.4 per cent; 10 per cent have two or more personal computers or notebooks) and internet access at home (60.7 per cent). Half of the respondents' households (52.3 per cent (2 or more are owned by nearly 10 per cent of households) own a car 4 years old or older. Also, nearly a half (49.6 per cent) of respondents own a HIFI. The summer house or dacha is owned by a quarter (23.9 per cent) of the households of the Russian surveyed. Least popular household articles are the dish washers, which are available in one tenth (10.7 per cent) of respondents' households.

The Lithuanian ENRI-VIS questionnaire included a question on the ownership of the housing in which a respondent lives. The majority of respondents (79.5 per cent) indicate that they themselves or anybody from their household are owners of the housing they live in. (See Table 52)

²³ Statistics Lithuania,

<http://www.stat.gov.lt/lt/news/view?id=9014&PHPSESSID=a3684daa6c906396e76e3ae962cd4907>

2.4 Xenophobia, conflicts, discrimination

2.4.1 Social tension

While considering possible tensions between different social groups, Lithuanian Russians were asked to express their opinion on the level of tension between poor and rich people, between old people and young people, between Lithuanian Russians and Lithuanians, between Lithuanian Poles and Lithuanians, between different religious groups and between Roma and Lithuanian society.

Most part of Russian respondents (49 per cent) tends to identify tensions between poor and rich people first of all, a similar part (41 per cent) maintains that there is some tension between poor and rich people. With regard to tensions between old and young people, majority of respondents (56 per cent) maintain that there is some tension, while 24 per cent – no tension. (See Table 18)

Considering manifestations of ethnic tension, a certain distribution of opinions could be observed. Nearly half of respondents (47 per cent) maintain that there is some tension between Russians and Lithuanians in Lithuania, and 10 per cent – there is a lot of tension. However, 41 per cent maintains that there is no tension.

Most part (41 per cent) of Russians surveyed think that there is some tension between Poles and Lithuanians, however, nearly one fifth (19 per cent) have no opinion concerning this. Also, about one tenth (11 per cent) of Russians maintain that there is a lot of tension between Poles and Lithuanians.

The Lithuania's questionnaire included a question on tension between the Roma and the Lithuanian society. Most Russian respondents maintain that there is a lot of tension (38.1 per cent) or some tension (23.3 per cent) between Roma and Lithuanian. Still, one third of respondents had no opinion (13.8 per cent) or did not answer the question (21.6 per cent).

According to the opinion of half of Russian respondents (52 per cent), there is no tension between different religious groups in Lithuania. Also, 14 per cent of respondents do not have opinion concerning religious tensions, while a quarter of Russians maintain that there is some tension between different religious groups.

The results of the analysis of the questions on social distance towards different groups correspond to the aforesaid data. Comparing the data on social closeness or distance towards five ethnic groups, the Lithuanian Russians tend to be very close to Russians as the great majority (98 per cent) accept all the relationships with Russians. With regard to Lithuanians, Poles and Belarussians, although the general attitude is very positive, the closer relationship such as family membership or friendship is accepted with a slight less enthusiasm: approximately 97 per cent of the Lithuanian Russians accept Lithuanians, 95 per cent accept Belarussians and 92 per cent Poles as ones living in the same settlement, as working colleagues and as neighbours in their street, while in case of family membership, the level of acceptance reaches 89 per cent, 87 per cent and 79 per cent, correspondingly. The case of Roma discloses the most differentiated social distance with regard to different social relationships. Worth mentioning that one fifth of the sample could not answer the questions related to Roma, which might prompt of limited relations and knowledge of this minority group. The attitudes of the Lithuanian Russians towards the Roma are negative as most part of the sample (42 per cent) tend to accept them as ones living in the same settlement, however, the same share does not want the Roma do be their working colleagues (40 per cent) or their neighbour in the same street (41 per cent). Half of the Lithuanian Russians surveyed

would like to escape the Roma as a friend (49.5 per cent) or family member (59 per cent). (See Table 17)

2.4.2 Friendship and communication

The respondents were asked to identify an approximate number of their friends. Most part of respondents (40.9 per cent) said they had from 5 to 10 friends, over one fourth (24.7 per cent) had up to 4 friends and one fourth (23 per cent) had eleven or more friends. 2 per cent of respondents indicated that they have no friends at all. Most of respondents (46.4 per cent) maintain that most of their friends come from various ethnic/nationality groups, while 26.9 per cent of Lithuanian Russians estimate that most of their friends are Lithuanian Russians, and 12.6 per cent – Russians. Only 8.8 per cent of the Lithuanian Russians estimate that most of their friends are Lithuanians. (See Table 59, 60)

In the survey questionnaire, the respondents were asked if they have relatives, friends or other acquaintances or business partners living in Russia. Most of respondents (68.2 per cent) maintain that they have relatives, 50.5 per cent – friends and 23.8 per cent – other acquaintances. (See Table 55)

Concerning the ways of communication, in case of relatives, telephone / SMS is the most wide spread mean as more than half of those having relatives in Russia contact them by phone at least once a month or more frequent (27.4 per cent) or at least one or several times a year (27.6 per cent). Internet based contacts comprise second most frequent contacts as 24.7 per cent use them at least once a month or more frequent and 15.8 per cent at least one or several times a year. Personal meetings with relatives are not often but one most of the respondents (42.9 per cent) make it once in several years and over quarter (27.8 per cent) more often. Mail is least popular mean of communication with relatives in Russia, but still over one third (36.9 per cent) use it. (See Table 56)

In case of friends, telephone / SMS and internet based contacts are the most wide spread mean as half of those having friends in Russia contact them by phone or internet at least once a month or more frequent (23.8 per cent and 33.6 per cent, correspondingly) or at least one or several times a year (29.4 per cent and 19.4 per cent, correspondingly). Personal meetings with friends are not often but most part of the Russian respondents (46.9 per cent) make it once in several years and a quarter (27.5 per cent) more often.

In case of other acquaintances or business partners living in Russia, the internet based contacts are most often as the Russian respondents contact them by these means at least once a month or more frequent (30.4 per cent) or at least one or several times a year (20.9 per cent). The telephone /SMS contacts are also frequent and wide spread (39.6 per cent use it at least once or several times a year or more often). Personal meetings follow the same pattern as in case of friends or relatives as 42.7 per cent of those who have other acquaintances or business partners in Russia meet with them once in several years.

2.4.3 Experiences of discrimination

According to the survey data, 14.4 per cent of Russian respondents indicated that in the past 12 months they have personally felt discriminated against or harassed in Lithuania on the basis of one or more of the following grounds: ethnic or national origin, gender, age or religion. (In total, 185 cases of experienced discrimination or harassment were reported in the survey data). (See Table 19)

Among the grounds listed, ethnic or national origin was most frequently mentioned: 11 per cent of the Russians have felt discriminated against or harassed on the grounds of ethnic origin in the last 12 months. 8 per cent of respondents indicate experienced discrimination or harassment on the ground of age, 3 per cent – on gender. While analysing the social demographic data of those who have experienced discrimination, no significant patterns can be observed as the distribution of gender or age of respondents corresponds the sample.

Among the sectors of society, in which the respondents felt discriminated against or harassed because of their ethnicity in this period, the area of employment was most often mentioned. Of the Russians who reported discrimination in the survey (N=91), 38 respondents indicated the case ‘at work’ and 30 specified ‘when looking for a job’, 36 – ‘in shops’, 35 – ‘on the street’, 34 – ‘in the health care system’, and 26 – ‘on public transportation’. The data prompts that one respondent has indicated experienced discrimination in several areas. (See Table 20)

2.5 Social and political capital, participation, attitudes towards EU

2.5.1 Social trust

While analysing the data on social trust, most Lithuanian Russians tend to express their higher trust to different social groups than the institutions. The majority of the Russians surveyed trust the Lithuanian Russians (77.4 per cent, including answers ‘trust them completely’, ‘rather trust them’), Russians (76.4 per cent), people in general (72.4 per cent) and Lithuanians (72.1 per cent). (See Table 8)

Regarding the different institutions, most Lithuanian Russians tend to distrust them. The Lithuanian Parliament and the Lithuanian Government are the most distrusted institutions: correspondingly, 83.6 and 78.7 per cent of respondents indicate that they rather do not trust them or do not trust them at all. Majority of Russians do not trust the courts in Lithuania (60.6 per cent) and Lithuanian media (59.8 per cent). The police in Lithuania is the only institution listed regarding which the opinions are distributed rather evenly between positive and negative poles. While 45.9 per cent of Russians surveyed maintain that they trust the police completely or rather trust, 48.9 per cent maintain that they rather do not trust or do not trust the police. (See Table 9)

2.5.2 Politics

While analysing the survey data on respondents’ interest in politics, the Russians surveyed express their relatively high interest in all areas of politics as the majority is interested in politics of Lithuania – 64.4 per cent (‘very interested’ and ‘rather interested’), politics of Russia – 60.9 per cent and politics about Russians living in Lithuania – 60.2 per cent. (See Table 23)

Still, the voting in the last elections is a little bit lower than interest in politics. Over half of the Russian sample (54.2 per cent) voted in the elections to the parliament (in 2008), 44 per cent voted in the European Parliament Elections in Lithuania. Only 6 per cent identified themselves as non-eligible to vote in both elections. (See Table 24)

The survey results indicate that the higher the interest in politics, the higher voting in the elections, e.g., among those who voted in the last elections, three fourths (75.9 per cent) express their interest in politics; however, among those who did not vote, those interested and uninterested in politics distribute in equal parts.

The results of the survey with regard to support for political parties identify several things. As there is no political party that aims at representing interests of the Lithuanian Russians, the votes

of the Russian population distribute among different political parties. Still, a certain share of permanent Russian supporters for the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party can be identified by the survey data as 13.7 per cent of those who voted in the last Parliamentary Election 2008 supported the latter. Certain shares of Russians supported relatively newly established political parties (distinct in active electoral campaigns, populist statements), such as “Party ‘Justice and Order’” or the Coalition ‘Labour party + Youth’ (18.5 and 17.8 per cent, correspondingly). (See Table 24a, 24b)

2.5.3 Attitudes towards European Union

While considering the European Union, most part of Russians surveyed (42.4 per cent) has a neutral image of the EU, followed by a significant share of those having a very positive or fairly positive – 33.1 per cent. Those who have very negative or rather negative image of the EU comprise 15.4 per cent of the sample. (See Table 25)

Still, the majority of the Russians surveyed (56.1 per cent) maintains that Lithuania benefits a lot or rather benefits from being a member of the EU. Over one fourth (28.1 per cent) of Russians maintain negative attitudes towards Lithuania’s benefits from the EU and think that the country has no benefits at all or rather does not have benefits. Worth noticing that 13.8 per cent of the sample did not have an opinion with regard to the Lithuania’s benefit from being a member of the EU. (See Table 26)

The respondents were asked to assess their situation after joining the European Union. Most of Russian respondents maintain that both situation for their ethnic groups in making political decisions and recognition of culture of the ethnic group is much the same after the joining the EU – 57.2 and 60.9 per cent, correspondingly. In similar parts, the respondents maintain that situation has become much better or rather better in these areas (16.3 and 16.4 per cent, correspondingly) or that it has worsened – 12.0 and 7.8 per cent, correspondingly. Worth noticing that every seventh Russian respondent did not have an opinion regarding possible changes of participation in the political decisions or recognition of culture of his or her ethnic minority group after joining the EU (14.3 and 14.7 per cent, correspondingly). (See Table 27)

The data analysis enables to conclude that the ‘euro-optimists’ tend to identify more benefits and positive changes in minority situation regarding their political participation and recognition of culture.

While analysing the survey data on fears about the future of Europe and the European Union, it is obvious that the Lithuanian Russians are mostly afraid of an increase in drug trafficking and international organized crime (77.6 per cent) and the loss of social benefits (70.5 per cent). Nearly half of Russians feel afraid of more difficulties for ethnic and national minorities (51.6 per cent) and the loss of Russian identity and culture (48.8 per cent); however, significant shares of respondents do not have certain fears (39.7 and 45.6 per cent, correspondingly). One third of the Russians (35.2 per cent) spell out their fair concerning the loss of the Lithuanian national identity and culture, while one tenth of the sample (10.1 per cent) has no opinion with regard to this issue. (See Table 28)

2.5.4 Migrational attitudes

The data of the minority survey enable to conclude on migrational attitudes of ethnic minorities in Lithuania. The respondents were asked whether they would take an opportunity to leave Lithuania and move for another country one either alone or with their whole family and a good deal

of monetary and social support. The data results show that strong emigrational attitudes are close to minority groups.

Most of Russians surveyed (40.7 per cent) provided the interviewers with negative answers that they would never leave. More than a quarter of respondents (28.9 per cent) said they would definitely leave, while a similar part (23.5 per cent) expressed their doubt saying that they perhaps would leave. While comparing different social demographical groups of the sample, greatest differences are observed among the age groups. The younger the respondents, the more willing to leave Lithuania or move for another country they are, e.g., among the respondents under age of 29 years old, 46.3 per cent expressed their opinion that they would definitely leave, while in the group of 30–49 years old this part comprises 36.9 per cent, and among those elder that 50 years old – 17.8 per cent. Those who doubt and say that they perhaps would leave comprise 30.9, 30.3 and 6.5 per cent in each age group, correspondingly. The strongest negative attitudes towards migration are among the senior population – 59.5 per cent of this group said that they would never leave Lithuania, while among the youngest Russians this share comprises 17.4 per cent. Also, those active in labour market have are more likely to leave the country. Gender, place of birth, citizenship or other variables do not have specific influence to migrational attitudes. (See Table 29)

Those who have expressed their willingness to leave Lithuania, were asked which country they would prefer. Most often Russian respondents (N=386) mentioned Russia (29.3 per cent), then United Kingdom (16.1 per cent) or United States (10.9 per cent) were mentioned, followed with a greater gap by the other countries such as Norway (6.2 per cent), Germany (5.7 per cent) or Italy, Belarus, Ireland, and Spain (3 per cent each). (See Table 30)

2.5.5 Participation in voluntary organisations

The questionnaire included several question on membership in voluntary organisations. The data analysis shows that one third of the Russian sample (34.3 percent) takes part in one or several voluntary organisations. In terms of activity, most respondents indicate being inactive members, with few exceptions.

The most popular voluntary organisations among the Lithuanian Russians are the church or religious organizations, in which 16.4 per cent of respondents indicate inactive and 5.5 per cent – active membership. However, the belonging to a certain religion or religious denomination has little influence regarding participation in the church or religious voluntary organizations. The survey data show that the majority of Russians surveyed (60.2 per cent) defined themselves as Orthodox. However, the membership rate in church or religious organizations within this group is relatively higher than the average: 21.7 per cent of the Orthodox believers define themselves as inactive members and 6.6 per cent as active members of the church or religious organizations. This might be related to the misinterpretation of the church or religious organizations and subjective ascription following the belonging to the religion or denomination, and attendance of religious gatherings, servings. The socio-demographic characteristics of the members of the church or religious organizations correspond the distributions of the general sample. (See Table 57)

Nearly one tenth (9.2 per cent) of the Russian sample declares its membership in sport or recreational organizations, while 5.8 per cent consider themselves as active members and 3.4 per cent – inactive members. A lesser share of respondents take active (5.0 per cent) and inactive (2.7 per cent) membership in art, music or educational organizations. Both aforementioned organisations are distinct in higher numbers of active than inactive members which might be determined by the

nature of activities of such organisations. Also, if the sport or recreational organizations are more attractive to the men (most of members are men), the art, music or educational organizations – to women (majority of members are women). Both types of organisations are more attractive to younger Russians.

6.6 per cent of the Russian respondents are members of Labour Union and 3.5 – representatives for the Lithuanian Russians, 1.7 per cent are members of political parties. Among the members of the organisations representing the Lithuanian Russians, women and elder people dominate.

While analysing the answers to the question on ethnic composition of the voluntary organisations, according to the members of these organisations, the most mono-ethnic voluntary organisations are those representing the Lithuanian Russians and the church or religious voluntary organizations: the majorities of the members of these organisations estimate that the majority of the members are Russians (correspondingly, 96 per cent and 79 per cent of the members). According to the estimations of nearly of half members of labour unions, political parties, and art, music or educational organisations, the majorities of members are Russians (correspondingly, 48, 46, and 45 per cent). Presumably most ethnically heterogeneous are the sport or recreational organisations as majority as 67 per cent of their participants maintain that except themselves, there aren't any Russian members. (See Table 58)

2.6 Annex: Tables

Table 1. What language or languages do you speak most often at home?

	Frequency	Percent
Russian	571	71.0
Russian and Lithuanian	171	21.3
Lithuanian	45	5.6
Other languages	12	1.5
NA	5	0.6
Total	804	100

Table 2. How close do you feel to...

	Very close		Rather close		Rather not close		Not close at all		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
How close do you feel to Lithuanian Russians?	250	31.1	377	46.9	136	16.9	25	3.1	10	1.2	1	1
How close do you feel to settlement where you live?	289	35.9	367	45.6	110	13.7	24	3.0	6	0.7	1	0.1
How close do you feel to Lithuania?	292	36.3	356	44.3	120	14.9	26	3.2	3	0.4	1	0.1
How close do you feel to Russia?	118	14.7	223	27.7	298	37.1	149	18.5	9	1.1	2	0.2
How close do you feel to Baltic country region?	32	4.0	170	21.1	320	39.8	250	31.1	21	2.6	3	0.4
How close do you feel to Eastern Europe?	28	3.5	157	19.5	309	38.4	272	33.8	21	2.6	8	1.0
How close do you feel to Europe?	42	5.2	203	25.2	275	34.2	255	31.7	16	2.0	8	1.0

Table 2a. Rotated Component Matrix(a)

	Component	
	'international'	'local'
How close do you feel to Lithuanian Russians?	,131	,733
How close do you feel to settlement where you live?	,088	,833
How close do you feel to Lithuania?	,133	,769
How close do you feel to Russia?	,423	,402
How close do you feel to Baltic country region?	,859	,164
How close do you feel to Eastern Europe?	,913	,101
How close do you feel to Europe?	,847	,119

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3,084	44,056	44,056	3,084	44,056	44,056	2,511	35,869	35,869
2	1,462	20,887	64,943	1,462	20,887	64,943	2,035	29,074	64,943
3	,895	12,782	77,726						
4	,539	7,697	85,423						
5	,419	5,986	91,409						
6	,373	5,332	96,741						
7	,228	3,259	10000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table 3. We think of ourselves in different terms. Some are more important to us than others. Please tell me, generally speaking which is the most important to you in describing who you are? And which is the second and third important?

	The most important		The second important		The third important	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
My current (previous) occupation	261	32.5	113	14.1	70	8.7
My gender (that is, being a man/woman)	95	11.8	94	11.7	73	9.1
My age group (that is, young, middle age, old)	119	14.8	144	17.9	113	14.1
My religion (or being agnostic or atheist)	38	4.7	58	7.2	59	7.3
Being a Lithuanian Russian	81	10.1	79	9.8	65	8.1
My social class (that is upper, middle, lower, working, or similar categories)	65	8.1	102	12.7	89	11.1
Coming from the settlement you live	66	8.2	76	9.5	139	17.3
My preferred political party, group or movement	1	0.1	3	0.4	37	4.6
Being European	17	2.1	32	4.0	41	5.1
To be a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania	41	5.1	58	7.2	63	7.8
98 – DK	11	1.4	19	2.4	35	4.4
99 – Refusal	5	0.6	9	1.1	10	1.2

Table 4. Some people say that the following things are important for being truly Russian. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is

	Very important		Rather important		Rather not important		Not important at all		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. to have been born in Russia	116	14.4	155	19.3	265	33.0	245	30.5	13	1.6	7	0.9
b. to have Russian citizenship	72	9.0	119	14.8	307	38.2	277	34.5	15	1.9	7	0.9
c. to have lived in Russia for most of one's life	66	8.2	176	21.9	281	35.0	248	30.8	14	1.7	10	1.2
d. to be able to speak Russian	595	74.0	157	19.5	22	2.7	15	1.9	4	0.5	6	0.7
e. to be an Orthodox	227	28.2	180	22.4	197	24.5	172	21.4	16	2.0	7	0.9
f. to respect Russian political institutions and laws	154	19.2	245	30.5	220	27.4	157	19.5	14	1.7	7	0.9
g. to feel Russian	513	63.8	201	25.0	53	6.6	19	2.4	7	0.9	7	0.9
h. to have Russian ancestry	377	46.9	266	33.1	101	12.6	40	5.0	8	1.0	7	0.9

Table 5. And how important do you think each of the following things for being truly Lithuanian?

	Very important		Rather important		Rather not important		Not important at all		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. to have been born in Lithuania	181	22.5	198	24.6	200	24.9	136	16.9	32	4	45	5.6
b. to have Lithuanian citizenship	252	31.3	197	24.5	164	20.4	111	13.8	23	2.9	44	5.5
c. to have lived in Lithuania for most of one's life	173	21.5	221	27.5	222	27.6	104	12.9	26	3.2	46	5.7
d. to be able to speak Lithuanian	467	58.1	192	23.9	50	6.2	20	2.5	20	2.5	45	5.6
e. to be a Catholic	160	19.9	159	19.8	174	21.6	200	24.9	45	5.6	48	6
f. to respect Lithuanian political institutions and laws	280	34.8	279	34.7	118	14.7	47	5.8	19	2.4	44	5.5
g. to feel Lithuanian	374	46.5	233	29	55	6.8	58	7.2	28	3.5	47	5.8
h. to have Lithuanian ancestry	277	34.5	233	29	114	14.2	83	10.3	33	4.1	50	6.2

Table 6. How proud are you of being

	Very proud		Rather proud		Rather not proud		Not proud at all		Not applicable		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Russian	310	38.6	293	36.4	80	10.0	34	4.2	41	5.1	26	3.2	8	1.0
Lithuanian	33	4.1	99	12.3	95	11.8	93	11.6	374	46.5	40	5.0	30	3.7
Lithuanian Russian	224	27.9	304	37.8	120	14.9	58	7.2	34	4.2	36	4.5	13	1.6
Baltic country region	83	10.3	255	31.7	175	21.8	145	18.0	26	3.2	73	9.1	12	1.5
Eastern European	55	6.8	232	28.9	187	23.3	170	21.1	33	4.1	85	10.6	12	1.5
European	107	13.3	277	34.5	144	17.9	146	18.2	23	2.9	72	9.0	10	1.2

Table 7. Out of the following list, please select the formula that best describes your ethnic status

	N	%
I'm Russian	176	21,9
I'm Lithuanian Russian	481	59,8
I'm Lithuanian with Russian descent	113	14,1
I'm Lithuanian	9	1,1
DK	7	0,9
Total	786	100

Table 7a. Out of the following list, please select the formula that best describes your ethnic status by age groups

	Up to 29 years old		30-49 years old		50 years old and elder	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
I'm Russian	19	12.8	45	19.2	111	27.9
I'm Lithuanian Russian	82	55.4	145	62.0	249	62.6
I'm Lithuanian with Russian descent	42	28.4	39	16.7	32	8.0
I'm Lithuanian	4	2.7	3	1.3	2	0.5
DK	1	0.7	2	0.9	4	1.0
Total	148	100	234	100	398	100

Table 8. Could you tell me how much you trust?

	Trust them completely		Rather trust them		Rather do not trust them		Do not trust them at all		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
People in general	119	14.8	463	57.6	168	20.9	48	6.0	3	0.4	1	0.1
Lithuanian Russians	154	19.2	468	58.2	128	15.9	34	4.2	13	1.6	4	0.5
Lithuanians	116	14.4	464	57.7	153	19.0	51	6.3	14	1.7	3	0.4
Russians	150	18.7	464	57.7	131	16.3	35	4.4	16	2.0	4	0.5

Table 9. Please tell me how much you trust each of the following institutions?

	Trust them completely		Rather trust them		Rather do not trust them		Do not trust them at all		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. Lithuanian parliament	23	2.9	80	10	286	35.6	388	48	22	2.7	2	0.2
b. Lithuanian media	35	4.4	264	32.8	280	34.8	199	25	22	2.7	1	0.1
c. The police in Lithuania	68	8.5	301	37.4	232	28.9	163	20	36	4.5	2	0.2
d. Lithuanian government	21	2.6	114	14.2	319	39.7	314	39	29	3.6	1	0.1
e. The courts in Lithuania	31	3.9	192	23.9	246	30.6	237	30	88	11	4	0.5

Table 10. There are different opinions about the situation of ethnic minority groups and Lithuanian Russians in particular. I will read out some statements concerning this issue. Could you please tell me, how much do you agree with them?

	Strongly agree		Rather agree		Rather do not agree		Do not agree at all		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. It is better if Lithuanian Russians adapt and blend into the larger society	173	21.5	231	28.7	231	28.7	125	15.5	27	3.4	6	0.7
b. It is better if Lithuanian Russians adapt preserve their own customs and traditions	469	58.3	268	33.3	36	4.5	12	1.5	10	1.2	6	0.7

Table 11. To what degree is it important for you:

	Very important		Rather important		Rather not important		Not important at all		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. An opportunity for your children to get education in Russian language	418	52.0	189	23.5	130	16.2	50	6.2	7	0.9	6	0.7
b. An opportunity for your children to study the ethnic history and culture of Lithuanian Russians	425	52.9	252	31.3	80	10.0	29	3.6	8	1.0	7	0.9
c. An opportunity to read newspapers and magazines in the Russian language	474	59.0	195	24.3	98	12.2	28	3.5			2	0.2
d. An opportunity to speak Russian language in everyday life	492	61.2	192	23.9	96	11.9	15	1.9	2	0.2	2	0.2
e. An opportunity to preserve Russian folk customs, traditions, culture	486	60.4	231	28.7	69	8.6	6	0.7	5	0.6	2	0.2
f. An opportunity to have the representatives of your nationality in Lithuanian parliament	377	46.9	190	23.6	133	16.5	84	10.4	12	1.5	2	0.2

Table 12. Have you obtained education in Russian language?

	Yes		No		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. In primary education	713	88.7	78	9.7	1	0.1
b. In secondary education	641	79.7	121	15.0	1	0.1
c. In higher education or professional training	370	46.0	328	40.8	18	2.2

Table 13. Do you have an opportunity ...

	Yes		No		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. to watch TV programs of the Lithuanian TV channels in Russian language	603	75.0	176	21.9	15	1.9	6	0.7
b. to listen to the radio programs of the Lithuanian radio stations in Russian language	604	75.1	162	20.1	28	3.5	6	0.7
c. to read newspapers and magazines in the Russian language, issued in Lithuania	764	95.0	27	3.4	3	0.4	5	0.6
d. To give school education for your children in Russian language	707	87.9	54	6.7	21	2.6	17	2.1

Table 14. How often do you read printed or electronic NEWSPAPERS...

	Regularly /Often		Rarely		Never, but I have such an opportunity		Never, but I do not have such an opportunity		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lithuanian newspapers	308	38.3	302	37.6	167	20.8	21	2.6			5	0.6
Russian newspapers	268	33.3	293	36.4	114	14.2	122	15.2			5	0.6
Lithuanian Russians' newspapers	406	50.5	240	29.9	79	9.8	53	6.6	15	1.9	8	1.0

Table 15. How often do you watch TELEVISION or listen on the RADIO or on the WEB...

	Regularly /Often		Rarely		Never, but I have such an opportunity		Never, but I do not have such an opportunity		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
TV:												
Lithuanian programs	435	54.1	266	33.1	87	10.8	11	1.4	1	0.1	4	0.5
Russian programs	672	83.6	82	10.2	19	2.4	27	3.4	1	0.1	2	0.2
Lithuanian Russians' programs	371	46.1	231	28.7	70	8.7	105	13.1	18	2.2	6	0.7
Radio												
Lithuanian programs	295	36.7	271	33.7	159	19.8	70	8.7	1	0.1	3	0.4
Russian programs	433	53.9	197	24.5	83	10.3	84	10.4	2	0.2	3	0.4
Lithuanian Russians' programs	286	35.6	226	28.1	107	13.3	153	19.0	21	2.6	6	0.7
Websites												
Lithuanian websites	298	37.1	139	17.3	98	12.2	236	29.4	3	0.4	5	0.6
Russian websites	359	44.7	107	13.3	74	9.2	232	28.9	2	0.2	5	0.6
Lithuanian Russians' websites	190	23.6	174	21.6	115	14.3	271	33.7	20	2.5	7	0.9

Table 17. We all have different relationships with one another. Please tell me for each one of them if you would accept the relationships with persons coming from different ethnic groups. So how would you feel about having a member of the following...

	17.1 Lithuanian						17.2 Russian						17.3 Polish						REFUSAL	
	YES		NO		DK		YES		NO		DK		YES		NO		DK			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
a. as a family member?	718	89.3	69	8.6	1	0.1	793	98.6	3	0.4	1	0.1	632	78.6	138	17.2	1	0.1	1	0.1
b. as a friend?	758	94.3	28	3.5	1	0.1	792	98.5	3	0.4	1	0.1	692	86.1	78	9.7	1	0.1	1	0.1
c. as a neighbor on your street?	778	96.8	9	1.1	1	0.1	791	98.4	2	0.2	1	0.1	744	92.5	27	3.4	1	0.1	1	0.1
d. as a working colleague?	771	95.9	14	1.7	1	0.1	791	98.4	2	0.2	1	0.1	736	91.5	34	4.2	1	0.1	1	0.1
e. as one living in the same settlement?	777	96.6	7	0.9	1	0.1	788	98	2	0.2	1	0.1	748	93	20	2.5	1	0.1	1	0.1

	17.4 Belarussian								17.5 Roma							
	YES		NO		DK		REFUSAL		YES		NO		DK		REFUSAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. as a family member?	703	87.4	83	10.3	1	0.1	1	0.1	121	15.0	474	59.0	43	5.3	166	20.7
b. as a friend?	734	91.3	51	6.3	1	0.1	1	0.1	197	24.5	398	49.5	43	5.3	166	20.7
c. as a neighbor on your street?	768	95.5	19	2.4	1	0.1	1	0.1	264	32.8	330	41.0	43	5.3	167	20.8
d. as a working colleague?	766	95.3	19	2.4	1	0.1	1	0.1	271	33.7	322	40.0	43	5.3	168	20.9
e. as one living in the same settlement?	768	95.5	16	2	1	0.1	1	0.1	337	41.9	255	31.7	43	5.3	169	21.0

Table 18. In your opinion, how much tension is there between each of the following groups in this country

	No tension		Some tension		A lot of tension		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Poor and rich	59	7.3	328	40.8	391	48.6	23	2.9	3	0.4
Old people and young people	190	23.6	449	55.8	150	18.7	12	1.5	2	0.2
Lithuanian Russians and Lithuanians	327	40.7	376	46.8	84	10.4	14	1.7	3	0.4
Lithuanian Poles and Lithuanians	222	27.6	330	41	90	11.2	155	19.3	4	0.5
Different religious group	415	51.6	205	25.5	64	8	111	13.8	7	0.9
Roma and Lithuanian society	26	3.2	187	23.3	306	38.1	111	13.8	174	21.6

Table 19. In the past 12 months have you personally felt discriminated against or harassed in Lithuania on the basis of one or more of the following grounds?

	Yes		No		DK	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ethnic or national origin	91	11	709	88.2	3	0.4
Gender	24	3	764	95	2	0.2
Age	64	8	725	90.2	2	0.2
Religion	6	0.7	779	96.9	6	0.7

Table 20. In which of these environments did you feel discriminated or harassed because of your ethnic origin in the last 12 months

	Yes		No		Not applicable		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. At school/university	7	0.9	43	5.3	10	1.2			2	0.2
b. At work	38	4.7	30	3.7	5	0.6			2	0.2
c. in the health care system	34	4.2	37	4.6					2	0.2
d. By the court	6	0.7	41	5.1	9	1.1	2	0.2	4	0.5
e. By the police	6	0.7	43	5.3	9	1.1	1	0.1	2	0.2
f. At church	1	0.1	53	6.6	4	0.5			3	0.4
g. when looking for a job	30	3.7	28	3.5	6	0.7			2	0.2
h. In restaurants, bars, pubs, or discos	13	1.6	46	5.7	3	0.4			2	0.2
i. On the street	35	4.4	34	4.2					2	0.2
j. By neighbours	16	2	45	5.6					2	0.2
k. In shops	36	4.5	34	4.2					2	0.2
l. On public transportation	26	3.2	35	4.4	2	0.2			3	0.4

Table 21. Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination? If yes, which one?

	N	%
Roman Catholic	88	10.9
Protestant	5	0.6
Orthodox	484	60.2
Jew	1	0.1
Muslim	4	0.5
Buddhist	2	0.2
Other	11	1.4
Do not belong to a denomination	151	18.8
Old believers	47	5.8
DK	4	0.5
Refusal	7	0.9
Total	804	100

Table 22. Apart from funerals, christenings and weddings, how often do you practice your religion?

	N	%
Every day	7	0.9
Several times a week	19	2.5
Once a week	64	8.4
Once a month	120	15.8
Several times a year	276	36.3
Once a year or less often	140	18.4
Never	112	14.7
DK	12	1.6
Refusal	11	1.4
Total	761	100

Table 23. How interested would you say you are in politics in

	Very interested		Rather interested		Rather not interested		Not interested at all		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. Lithuania	176	21.9	342	42.5	209	26.0	74	9.2	1	0.1	2	0.2
b. Russia	156	19.4	334	41.5	230	28.6	81	10.1	2	0.2	1	0.1
c. related to the Lithuanian Russians	167	20.8	315	39.2	226	28.1	77	9.6	13	1.6	3	0.4

Table 24. Did you vote in the last ...

	Yes		No, but eligible to vote		No, not eligible		Can't remember		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a) Lithuanian Parliament elections (2008)	436	54.2	308	38.3	50	6.2	9	1.1	1	0.1
b) European Parliament elections in Lithuania	354	44	375	46.6	49	6.1	21	2.6	4	0.5

24A. Which party did you vote for in the Lithuanian Parliament elections (October 12 2008)?

	N	N
Liberals Movement of the Republic of Lithuania	3	0.4
Liberal and Centre Union	12	1.5
Rising Nation Party	15	1.9
Homeland Union - Lithuanian Christian Democrats	22	2.7
Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action	35	4.4
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	59	7.3
Do not know, do not remember	74	9.2
The Coalition "Labour party+Youth"	77	9.6
Party "Justice and Order"	79	9.8
Other	16	2.0
-6	362	45.0
No answer	40	5.0
Total	794	98.8

24B. Which party did you vote for in the European Parliament elections (June 7 2009)?

	N	%
Liberals Movement of the Republic of Lithuania	11	1.4
Homeland Union - Lithuanian Christian Democrats	17	2.1
Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action	28	3.5
No answer	28	3.5
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	49	6.1
Do not know, do not remember	79	9.8
Labour party	72	9.0
Party " Order and Justice"	59	7.3
Other	7	0.9
-6	446	55.5
Total	796	99.0

Table 25. In general, do you have a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image of the European Union?

	N	%
Very positive	52	6.5
Fairly positive	238	29.6
Neutral	341	42.4
Fairly negative	102	12.7
Very negative	22	2.7
DK	9	1.1
Refusal	40	5.0
Total	804	100

Table 26. Generally speaking, would you say that Lithuania benefits or does not benefit from being a member the European Union?

	N	%
Benefits a lot	76	9.5
Rather benefits	375	46.6
Rather does not benefits	188	23.4
Does not benefit at all	38	4.7
DK	111	13.8
Refusal	16	2.0
Total	804	100

Table 27. Compared to our situation after joining the European Union, would you say our current situation is better, much the same, or worse than the old system in terms of whether:.....?

	Much better		Rather better		Much the same		Rather worse		Much worse		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. Your ethnic minority group has a say in making political decisions	23	2,9	108	13,4	460	57,2	83	10,3	14	1,7	99	12,3	16	2
b. Recognition of culture of your ethnic minority group	24	3	108	13,4	490	60,9	51	6,3	12	1,5	103	12,8	15	1,9

Table 28. Some people may have fears about the future of Europe and the European Union. I'm going to read out a list of things which some people say they are afraid of. For each one, please tell me if you - personally - are currently afraid of it, or not?

	Afraid of it		Not afraid of it		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. The loss of Lithuanian Russians' identity and culture	392	48.8	367	45.6	36	4.5	5	0.6
b. An increase in drug trafficking and international organized crime	624	77.6	138	17.2	33	4.1	6	0.7
c. The loss of social benefits	567	70.5	191	23.8	37	4.6	5	0.6
d. The loss of Lithuanian national identity and culture	283	35.2	430	53.5	81	10.1	6	0.7

e. More difficulties for ethnic and national minorities	415	51.6	319	39.7	60	7.5	7	0.9
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Table 29. If you had an opportunity to leave your country and move for another one either alone or with your whole family and a good deal of monetary and social support, would you go?

	N	%
Yes, I would definitely leave	232	28.9
Yes, perhaps I would leave	189	23.5
No, I would never leave	327	40.7
DK	49	6.1
Refusal	7	0.9
Total	804	100

Table 30. If you can choose, which country would be your preference?

	N	%
Russia	113	29.3
United Kingdom	62	16.1
United States of America	42	10.9
Norway	24	6.2
Germany	22	5.7
Italy	13	3.4
Belarus	13	3.4
Ireland	12	3.1
Spain	12	3.1
Sweden	9	2.3
Canada	9	2.3
France	8	2.1
Other America	7	1.8
Other Europe	8	2.2
Poland	3	0.8
Turkey	3	0.8
Belgium	3	0.8
Greece	2	0.5
Netherlands	2	0.5
Finland	2	0.5
Switzerland	2	0.5
Ukraine	2	0.5
Other	13	3.4
Total	386	100

Table 31. Including yourself, how many people – including children – live here regularly as members of this household?

	Total		Persons 16 years old and elder		Children of 7-15 years old		Children under 6 years old	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	-	-	-	-	689	85.8	705	87.8
1	194	24.2	206	25.7	90	11.2	86	10.7
2	267	33.3	360	44.8	20	2.5	10	1.2
3	165	20.5	141	17.6	3	.4	2	.2
4	116	14.4	73	9.1	1	.1	-	-
5	45	5.6	17	2.1	-	-	-	-
6	9	1.1	3	.4	-	-	-	-
7	4	0.5	2	.2	-	-	-	-
8	2	0.2	1	.1	-	-	-	-
9	1	0.1					-	-
	803	100	803	100	803	100	803	100

Table 32. Main characteristics of the household members (per cent)

	Senior (N~541)	Second oldest (N~330)	Third oldest (N~150)
Male	55.8	53.8	46.7
Female	44.2	46.2	53.3
Up to 29 years old	4	41.4	55.9
30-49 years old	46	45.6	41.2
50 years old and elder	49.9	12.9	2.9
Spouse	64.0	8.1	4.1
Son, daughter	12.8	63.3	66.9
Father/mother	17.3	13.6	3.0
Lithuanian Russian	23.7	27.8	27.9
Russian	45.9	39.8	32.7
Lithuanian	16.8	19.3	23.6
Other	13.5	12.8	13.9
Lithuanian citizenship	92.9	94.8	92.9

Table 37. Place of birth

	N	%
Lithuania	460	57.2
Russia	201	25.0
Other country	122	15.2
Refusal	21	2.6
Total	804	100

Table 38. How long have you been living in this country?

	N	%
Up to 10 years	16	3,7
11-20 years	35	8,2
21-30 years	99	23,1
31-40 years	89	20,8
41-50 years	70	16,4
51 years or longer	119	27,8
Total	428	100

Table 39. How many children all in all do you have, including the adopted ones?

	N	%
No children	190	25.3
1	232	30.9
2	254	33.8
3	49	6.5
4 and more	17	2.2
DK	3	0.3
Refusal	6	0.8
Total	428	100

Table 40. Parents' ethnicity and citizenship

	ETHNICITY				CITIZENSHIP			
	Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lithuanian	42	5.5	66	8.7	381	50.1	411	54.9
Russian	548	71.8	501	66.4	296	38.9	270	36.0
Lithuanian Russian	71	9.3	83	11.0				
Other / double	94	12.3	101	13.4	61	8.0	50	6.7
DK	6	0.8	2	0.3	19	2.5	15	2.0
Refusal	2	0.3	2	0.3	3	.4	3	.4
Total	763	100	755	100	760	100	749	100

Table 43. About how many years of education have you completed?

	N	%
Up to 4 years	12	1.5
5-10 years	125	15.5
11-15 years	481	59.8
16 years or longer	161	20
DK	13	1.6
Refusal	12	1.4
Total	804	100

Table 44. What languages do you speak? (Answers – ‘yes’)

	N	%
Lithuanian	642	79.9
Russian	789	98.1
English	248	30.8
French	13	1.6
Italian	9	1.1
Spanish	12	1.6
German	93	11.6
Other	192	23.9

Table 45. Now we are also interested in the kind of work you are doing (i.e. main job). Which of the statements on this card applies to you at the moment?

	N	%
Working full-time (40 hours a week)	316	39.3
Working part-time (8-30 hours a week)	43	5.3
Casual/temporary work	23	2.9
Housewife/keeping house	32	4.0
Unemployed	86	10.7
Retired/disabled	242	30.1
Full-time student at school/college	36	4.5
Temporary leave (sick leave, maternity leave)	19	2.4
Other	1	0.1
Refusal	6	0.7
Total	804	100

Table 46. Which of these types of organizations do/did you work in?

	N	%
profit-making private firm or company	330	43.6
non-profit making private organization (charity, pressure group)	13	1.7
central government, local government, or other state organization (incl. health service, education, police, fire brigade, etc.)	158	20.9
self-employed	26	3.4
State establishment	198	26.2
worker's co-operative	8	1.1
agricultural association/co-op	4	0.5
joint venture	4	0.5
private farm	1	0.1
never worked (house-wife)	9	1.2
DK	6	0.8
Total	804	100

Table 47. Which of the descriptions on this card best describes your current/last employment status?

	N	%
Self-employed farmer	4	0.5
Self-employed professional	70	9.4
self-employed in business/trade	21	2.8
employee in non-manual occupation	329	44.3
employee in manual occupation	274	36.9
helps out, assists in family business	7	0.9
Other	12	1.6
DK	8	1.1
Refusal	18	2.4
Total	743	100

Table 48. Please, tell me with your own words, what is/was your occupation?

	Frequency	Percent
Managers	35	4.6
Professionals	187	24.4
Technicians and associate professionals	35	4.6
Clerical support workers	75	9.8
Service and sales workers	124	16.2
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	15	2.0
Craft and related trades workers	137	17.9
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	41	5.4
Elementary occupations	84	11.0
DK	2	0.3
Refusal	31	4.0
Total	766	100

Table 49. Have you ever been unemployed for a period more than three months?

	N	%
Yes	357	46.7
No	400	52.4
Refusal	7	0.9
Total		100

Table 50. In Lithuania today, some people are considered to have a high social standing and some are considered to have a low social standing. Thinking about yourself, where would you place yourself on this scale if the top box indicated high social standing in this country and the bottom box indicated low social standing.

	N	%
1	44	5.5
2	46	5.7
3	93	11.6
4	123	15.3
5	211	26.2
6	96	11.9
7	91	11.3
8	53	6.6
9	16	2.0
10	4	.5
DK	13	1.6
Refusal	14	1.7
Total	804	100

Table 51. Considering all your sources of income, please tell me, what is your average net monthly income?

	N	%
iki 800 LTL	278	34.6
801-1250 LTL	203	25.2
1250-2000 LTL	164	20.4
2001 LTL and more	66	8.2
No income	45	5.6
Refusal	48	6.0
Total	804	100

1EUR=3.4528 LTL

Table 52. Does your household have... (Answers 'yes')

	N	%	How many
automatic washing machine	670	84	
HIFI	394	49.6	
coloured television	777	96.7	2 TV N=270, 3 TV N=68, 4 TV N=14
Any cars 4 years old or older	420	52.3	2 cars N=63, 3 cars N=10
Any cars younger than 4 years old	45	5.8	
personal computer or notebook	501	62.4	2 PC N=71, 3 PC N=21
Dish washer	85	10.7	
Dacha, summer house	189	23.9	
Internet-access at home	483	60.7	
Are you or anybody from the household an owner of the housing you live in	543	79.5	

Table 53. What is your marital status?

	N	%
Single	151	18.8
Cohabiting/living with partner	51	6.3
Married	367	45.6
Divorced	95	11.8
Widowed	134	16.7
DK	2	0.2
Refusal	4	0.5
	804	100

Table 54. What is the highest level of education your spouse / partner has achieved?

	N	%
No primary	1	0.2
Primary	3	0.7
Basic with vocational training	36	8.4
Secondary	83	19.3
Secondary with vocational training	161	37.4
Higher (Bachelor degree)	93	21.6
Higher (Master degree, post graduate degree)	48	11.2
DK	3	0.7
Refusal	2	0.5
Total	430	100

Table 55. Do you have ... living in Russia?

	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
Relatives	546	68.2	255	31.8
Friends	398	50.5	390	49.5
Other acquaintances or business partners	180	23.8	576	76.2

Table 56a. How frequently do you contact your relatives living in Russia?

	at least once a month or more frequently		not every month, but at least one or several times a year		less frequently (once in several years)		no contacts at all in this way		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Per telephone /SMS (N=521)	143	27.4	144	27.6	127	24.4	94	18.0	8	1.5	5	1.0
Mail (N=477)	47	9.9	66	13.8	63	13.2	290	60.8	11	2.3	0	0.0
Internet based contacts, such as Emailing chats, skype, Facebook, etc. (N=474)	117	24.7	75	15.8	38	8.0	218	46.0	8	1.7	18	3.8
Personal meetings, face-to	38	7.7	99	20.1	211	42.9	136	27.6	4	0.8	4	0.8

face (N=492)														
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Table 56b. How frequently do you contact your friends living in Russia?

	at least once a month of more frequently		not every month, but at least one or several times a year		less frequently (once in several years)		no contacts at all in this way		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Per telephone /SMS (N=374)	89	23.8	110	29.4	114	30.5	50	13.4	4	1.1	7	1.9
Mail (N=346)	27	7.8	35	10.1	60	17.3	212	61.3	12	3.5	0	0.0
Internet based contacts, such as Emailing chats, skype, Facebook, etc. (N=345)	116	33.6	67	19.4	30	8.7	114	33.0	5	1.4	13	3.8
Personal meetings, face-to face (N=352)	29	8.2	68	19.3	165	46.9	86	24.4	1	0.3	3	0.9

Table 56c. How frequently do you contact your other acquaintances or business partners living in Russia

	at least once a month of more frequently		not every month, but at least one or several times a year		less frequently (once in several years)		no contacts at all in this way		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Per telephone /SMS (N=167)	33	19.8	33	19.8	51	30.5	45	26.9	1	0.6	4	2.4
Mail (N=156)	6	3.8	8	5.1	25	16.0	111	71.2	6	3.8	0	0.0
Internet based contacts, such as Emailing chats, skype, Facebook, etc. (N=158)	48	30.4	33	20.9	17	10.8	52	32.9	1	0.6	7	4.4
Personal meetings, face-to face (N=164)	9	5.5	29	17.7	70	42.7	52	31.7	2	1.2	2	1.2

Table 57. Membership in voluntary organizations

	Active member		Inactive member		Don't belong		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Church or religious organization	44	5.5	132	16.4	605	75.2	3	0.4	20	2.5
Sport or recreational organization	47	5.8	27	3.4	708	88.1	3	.4	19	2.3
Art, music or educational organization	40	5.0	22	2.7	721	89.7	3	.4	18	2.2
Labour Union	11	1.4	42	5.2	727	90.4	3	.4	21	2.6
Representatives for Lithuanian Russians	11	1.4	17	2.1	754	93.8	3	.4	19	2.3
Political party	5	.6	9	1.1	760	94.5	2	.2	28	3.4

Table 58. Description of members of the organization

	The majority of the members are Russians		There are a few Russians		Except yourself, there aren't any Russians members		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Church or religious organization (N=135)	107	79.3	13	9.6	2	1.5	11	8.1	2	1.5
Sport or recreational organization (N=64)	17	26.6	43	67.2	3	4.7	1	1.6	-	-
Art, music or educational organization (N=58)	26	44.8	29	50.0	1	1.7	2	3.4	-	-
Labour Union (N=48)	23	47.9	22	45.8	1	2.1	2	4.2	-	-
Representatives for Lithuanian Russians (N=25)	24	96.0	1	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Political party (N=13)	6	46.2	6	46.2	-	-	1	7.6	-	-

Table 59. Approximate number of friends

	N	%
No friends	13	1.7
1-4	188	24.7
5-10	311	40.9
11-15	45	5.9
16 and more	130	17.1
DK	43	5.7
Refusal	30	3.9
Total	760	100

Table 60. Which statement describes your friends the most?

	N	%
most of my friends are Lithuanian Russians	205	26.9
most of my friends are Lithuanians	67	8.8
most of my friends are Russians	96	12.6
most of my friends are of other origin/nationality	30	3.9
my friends come from various ethnic/nationality groups	354	46.4
DK	4	0.5
Refusal	7	0.9
Total	763	100

3 MAIN FINDINGS OF BIOGRAPHICAL INTERVIEWS (ENRI-BIO)

Monika Frėjutė-Rakauskienė

3.1 Brief description of the people and their life stories interviewed and from which districts/settlements they came²⁴

“Anna”²⁵ (interview No 1) is a respondent from a younger generation. “Anna” was born in Siberia (Russia) in 1988. Her father is Russian from Russia, mother – Lithuanian from Latvia (she moved to Latvia for work). Anna’s parents met each other in Siberia where they went to work for „Komsomoljskaja stroika” (Communist construction works). The family moved to Latvia in 1988 when she was three years old. “Anna” returned to Lithuania when she was thirteen and attended the Lithuanian boarding school for exiles’ children in Vilnius. After finishing the secondary school in 2005, she was accepted to the University where she continued her postgraduate studies. In 2006 “Anna” gained the Lithuanian citizenship. At the beginning of interview she described herself as Russian, however later she started to doubt and told that she is “half Russian, half Lithuanian”. She speaks Russian with father and friends, Lithuanian with her mother, neighbours.

“Ivan Ivanovich” (interview No 2) is a respondent from the oldest generation. He was born in 1925 in Ukraine in a military family. He has lived in Lithuania since 1946 and now he is on retirement. In 1943 he graduated from secondary school and was called to serve in the armed forces (directed for studies in Tambov Military Mine School). After finishing his course of Military Mine School in 1944, he was directed to the Front. He was injured and sent to hospital. After he finished military service in June of 1945, he continued the military education in Leningrad and in 1946 he was directed to the Northern body of troops (Lithuania, Vilnius). In 1994 he joined the organization of ex-servicemen who fought in World War II on the side of anti-Hitler coalition. He speaks only Russian language, but understands Lithuanian. An informant describes himself as Russian, despite his father and mother were born in Ukraine.

“Pavel Aleksandrovich” (interview No 3) is a respondent from a middle generation. He was born in Lithuania in 1969. He describes himself as Russian. His father is from Ukraine, mother Russian-speaking from Lithuania’s small town near Lithuanian-Belarus Border. He attended the secondary school with Russian language and finished the University in Vilnius. Currently he is working in the café in Vilnius. The informant mainly speaks Russian, but knows Lithuanian.

“Nadezda Ivanovna” (interview No 4) was born in Russia in 1938. After she finished secondary school in the native town, she studied in Moscow in the Institute of Theatre for one year. But she returned home and completed studies at the theatre study in the town where she was born. Afterwards she was accepted to the Lithuanian drama theatre and moved to Lithuania for work and living. She got married in Lithuania. Currently she teaches art at the secondary school. Formerly she was a member of Vilnius Common Council. Currently she is a leader of Russian cultural organization. She speaks Russian.

²⁴ The interviews were conducted in accordance to the methodological guidelines developed by the ENRI-EAST team and described in the project manual. See “Manual for Qualitative Biographical In-Depth Interviews” available at: <http://www.enri-east.net/work-packages/wp5/en/>.

²⁵ All names are changed.

“Valerij Petrovic” (interview No 5) is a respondent who represents the middle generation. He was born in Lithuania in small town near Vilnius in 1973. His parents were also born in Lithuania, and his grandparents were Jewish from Belarus. He spoke Yiddish with his grandparents and Russian with the rest of family, he also speaks Lithuanian. He finished the Russian school in the place he lived and was accepted to the University in Vilnius. He mainly works as a teacher of Russian language and literature and history at secondary school with Russian language of instruction in Vilnius. He describes himself as Russian.

“Olga” (interview No 6) represents the middle generation. She was born in Lithuania, in Vilnius area in 1963. Her mother moved to Lithuania for work from Byelorussia, a small town near Lithuanian boarder, in 1957. “Olga’s” relatives from his father’s side are “Old Believers” who came to Lithuania long time ago. So, his father is a Russian from Lithuania. She attended musical school and after finishing the school she was accepted to the Vilnius conservatoire. She lives with her family in Vilnius, works as a teacher of music and has a children ensemble. Her husband is Byelorussian. In her family they speak Russian, but she speaks Lithuanian very often with the friends, neighbours.

“Nikolaj Vladimirovic” (interview No 7) is from the oldest generation. He was born in Belgium in 1933. An informant describes himself as Russian, despite he has a citizenship of France and Belgium. His father was emigrant from Russia, mother – Dutch. He attended the gymnasium in Belgium and after he was enrolled into French army. For 12 years he had been for military service in Indochina, Algeria, Morocco. He retired from the military office as a major, because of an injury. His wife is a Russian from Lithuania. They met in Belgium and moved to Vilnius, where all family live. Currently he is retiree and is involved in the activity of the Assembly of Russia’s Nobility of Lithuania. He speaks Russian within his family and with friends in Lithuania.

“Asia” (interview No 8) is a respondent who represents the middle generation. She was born in Lithuania, in the region nearby Vilnius in 1958. She grew up in a mixed Polish - Russian family. Her father and mother are Russians from Lithuania, but her grandmother from father’s side was brought up in a Polish family, so she considered herself to be a Pole. “Asia” finished the secondary school with Russian language of instruction. She finished the medical training school, higher medical school and works as paramedic in secondary school medical station. She is married to a Lithuanian. With her family members she communicates mostly in Lithuanian. “Asia’s” children consider themselves Lithuanians.

“Natalija” (interview No 9) represents the youngest generation. She was born in Lithuania, in Vilnius in 1986. She started to attend Lithuanian kindergarten in the place she lives and after attended secondary school with Russian language of instruction. She finished the University in Vilnius. She is enrolled in the activities of youth theatre and youth organization in Lithuania. Her mother is a Russian-speaking, but she is a Pole from Vilnius. Her father is Armenian from Azerbaijan. “Natalija” speaks in Russian in her family and she describes herself as Russian.

“Sergej” (interview No 10) is a respondent from youngest generation. He was born in Lithuania, Vilnius, in 1992. His parents are Russians from Lithuania. He attended the Lithuanian kindergarten and secondary school with Russian language of instruction that is located near the place they live. After his parents divorced he chose to live with his mother. His mother moved to England where he is spending the summers and planning to study there. In his family he speaks Russian, but he speaks Lithuanian well.

“Artiom” (interview No 11) represents the youngest generation. He was born in Lithuania, in Vilnius in 1993. His mother is Russians and father is Pole from Lithuania. In his family and with

his relatives he speaks Russian. He attended Lithuanian kindergarten and currently he studies in the secondary school with Russian language of instruction at eleventh grade. He describes herself as Russian.

“Alexandra” (interview No12) is one of the older generations of ethnic Russians in Vilnius, descending from two very old Russian families of Italian and Tatar origin. Her Russian family was posted to Lithuania at the end of 1944, when her father got a position in the regional Communist party committee in one of the Lithuanian towns. She was 13 years old at that time when her family moved to Lithuania. She went to the Russian schools in Lithuania and later to the Vilnius University. After doing her further studies and teaching and working as an academic in Leningard (St Petersburg), she returned to Vilnius, which is her home town for most of her life - her “little” Motherland, as she describes Lithuania. She is very emotionally attached to Vilnius and is very keen to talk about what certain buildings and places mean to her, being a significant part of her life and the life of her family there. “Alexandra” has been actively involved in the academic and intellectual life of Vilnius, but maintains a fairly strong Russian identity. However, she claims that she can describe herself as European by her views, education and life style. She was married to a Russian singer and actor from St. Petersburg, with whom she had a daughter, who moved with her to Vilnius. They later got divorced when he moved back to St Petersburg. She speaks Russian with her family – now only her daughter, who lives in Moscow, but is keen to educate her grandchildren in Vilnius, where they will be learning Lithuanian, English and French.

3.2 European identity

Asked about Europe or European identity the informants were mostly speaking not about geographically boundaries of European continent, but about the European Union as an organization. The Europe has associations not with the European countries or people of European countries, their mentality, common culture, but the European Union institution and politics of European Union. Only some of the interviewed respondents emphasized that difference:

“<...> Actually I consider my identity to be, and very many people here consider, that we are European people. In a sense, not the European Union, but Europe as the continent. And the European Union as well. So that's that. My origin, but as an expression says: <<Your real identity is not the way you talk, but the way you think>>. As I think Russian, I put my identity more to Russian-speaking...<...>” (Interview No 9)

Only some interviewed respondents could say that they feel European because of the common mentality, predominate culture, religious of the European continent:

“<...>Well yes. I feel. I could say that yes. I don't think too often if I am European. But I could say that for example that I can easily find a common language with people from Europe, because we have similar problems... more general...and so one. I can maybe also because I can travel through Europe. With green passport as well. <...>” (Interview No 1)

“<...> Yes. That's how I should be called, because it is hard to say that I am a Lithuanian or an Englishman. Exactly - European.<...>” (Interview No 10)

Most interviewed respondents have difficulties identifying themselves with the Europe, their motherland or the place they live:

“<...>And if you would need to choose then you would say you are more Russian, Lithuanian or more European? These are the identities. It might sound funny, but I would say that I am more Lithuanian.<...>” (Interview No 1)

“<...> It's difficult. Probably when you're in Vilnius, you feel... Yes, there's a shift for the European. But when you come to London, you see we're still lacking behind. It's this... They have this European habit, the development is more visible...<...> ...But when you come to Russia, you see that we're far in advance for a long time. <...> I guess we're in a midway now. Well, Vilnius. It's anyway closer to Europe. Not to America, not to Russia, more to Europe. Yes, Vilnius, Europe... But I don't know. To tell the truth, I couldn't live in Russia. <...>”(Interview No 3).

“<...>Simply my blood is mixed. I can't say I'm Lithuanian, nobody...I simply become automatically the citizen of Europe, that is to say it (Europe) means much to me. European. <...>” (Interview No11).

The respondents who represent the older generation are more Eurosceptic towards the European Union institution than the younger ones. But it was an exception with the informant (interview No 7) from the oldest generation who has the French and Belgium citizenships and refers to Europe as his motherland:

“<...> I consider myself to be European. It means, it means not only this, it is everything. For I am from there to there. Belarus and so on, I find it great mistake, for example, that Russia is not in the European Union. Belarus because of Lukashenko. But they will not remain alien. I, for me all this... I consider myself to be European. <...> Without it from here up to here (looks at the map of Europe – interviewers' remark). My motherland? Europe. <...>” (Interview No 7).

Those who participated in the military actions of the Second World War or survived during the War, put the European Union and Russian federation in contraposition. They found offensive the fact that these countries that were in antifascist coalition during the Second World War (countries as France and Great Britain) and Germany are in one Union, but the Russian Federation that is excluded from this Union:

“<...>I don't have any hatred towards anybody. But at the same time I have many puzzled questions. Well generally they arise. “Why do we need such distinction?” So. If we all used to fight on the same front line. No some Germans became friends with English and French. And they expelled their ex ally - the Russians from their Union. So that's the question that arise. <...>” (Interview No 2).

One of the respondents (interview No 4) criticized some European values, such as the freedom of free speech and what was referred as “negative” opinion towards Russia:

“<...> they say it is freedom and declaration... more of declarations and free thoughts, but when this parade goes year after another and even occasionally two times so this is not very nice and it is not really well rated by the European Union. This fascist cries, symbols... the time have already come to reject them, I suppose. <...>I believe that the European Union must go to meet Russia. It is needed to associate, it is not needed to be dependent on them, not needed...<...>” (interview No 4).

An interviewed respondent (interview No 5), who is Eurosceptic, has a lot of complains because of the European Union and is unhappy because of the Lithuanian status in the European Union. The main critics are:

The European Union uses the small states territories for its own purposes:

“<...> Since Lithuania has nothing to give but it is possible to take the last things from it. There are not a lot forests but soon they will be deforested and exported. There are no minerals. It means it is possible to burry rubbish of nuclear production to the ground. And such is the role of small republics... they are given such unenviable role. That's why I suspect that there are no big future for Lithuania. Well, except that it is possible to go to Europe for free. Well, not for free... without visas. It is comfortable. <...>” (Interview No 5).

The identity of small states of European Union is becoming less important:

“<...> and in very Lithuania national originality will be more and more vanishing. I mean, if in the whole world anti-globalists are gaining momentum... well, there are idiots anti-globalists who in the streets... these are in one category, and clever ones, who are in offices. I don't understand what must save some kind of national originality. And globalization demolishes it. It starts at the level of national currency, further at the level of national language, at the level of names even just of toponyms... here we go through a street and what we read there... well, okay – here is “Punktukas”. Well, basically these are massive borrowings... Anglicism, if there some kind of... organization... or some kind of association, not “bendrija” (speaks Lithuanian “community” – interviewer's remark)... Euro-, some kind of commission. <...>” (Interview No 5).

The national language is vanishing:

“<...>Language goes away... On television we hear massive English... well, we watch English culture, American cinema, production of foreign authors. I don't think that somebody from Lithuanian young people knows about Lithuanian cinema's culture at all, Lithuanian theatre, Lithuanian painting. They know much better what is happening at doctor House'. How his mood has bettered or something... <...> So a small republic by flowing into such giant financial organization as the European Union, it is questionable whether it gains something, paradoxical though it may sound. <...>” (Interview No 5).

Also there were spill out of the critics regarding the European Union politics towards the agriculture in the member states:

“<...>I think that Europe has been dictating some kind of terms to us, though. They admitted us on some conditions. Yes. We pay some price, not as easy as: “Come, we will help you. Seeing that you are such wonderful, fine people, hard-working, and good as well...”. If, as far as I know, because it was paid from European funds, for farmers in order they don't farm, and for what purposes it was... <...> And for what purposes to make a land standstill, because as long it stays standstill and overgrows... and I know that later it is more difficult... that it “bears” and to grow something in that land. You know. After all, we could work on our land and to have more our harvest. For me merely as for intellectual person it is, well, somehow interesting why it is like that and not like this. And wouldn't say: “Here, we will give you a tractor and etc. and you can grow”. What are the purposes? To realize here their production, you know. To realize, and in order we don't have our production... It means, I can see only this, that we would be very much depended on, on... on the same Europe. And I don't know if it is very good. <...>” (Interview No 6).

On the other hand, there are respondents who are enthusiastic because of Lithuania's accession to the EU (interview No 8). The respondent is of the middle generation and thinks that Lithuania and its people gain from the European Union. She called the Europe as “our big motherland”:

“<...> Europe is our big motherland now. <...> Only good. The help of the European Union. More freedom for people, more choice. Especially today, people can go away somewhere to work. As I say, to earn bread. Only from the good side. People help each other in the Union. Huh... states. I consider as if in a large family. If some feel bad, some other will help. Everything is normal. I consider that it gained. Gained. Well, so much help now... Though politicians don't know how to use what the European Union gives. And in general... no sense to talk on politics... If politicians would be able to give what the European Union gives us ordinary people, for the development of economics, I consider we would live much better today. <...>” (Interview No 8).

Differently from the informants of older generation, the informants from youngest generation more easily refer to themselves as Europeans and identify with Europe or European Union.

The interviewed respondents of younger age are more euro-enthusiastic in a sense of new possibilities that Europe could offer to them: possibilities to study, to live in the countries of European Union, possibilities to do your career in these countries:

“<...>And now, as I'm planning future not so remote (laughs – interviewer's remark), so now I'm planning to migrate to England first of all. But it will be only the first country, for I must improve my English. <...> It would be the first snooping... just to see where, what and how it is in that country, because I never have been there for the need, yes? Need of job. At first I'll go to Ireland, and if not to Ireland... oh no, not Ireland, but England. If not to England, then to Norway or Sweden. There... well... again the English language. I'd like to Finland very much, really... maybe. So to these countries. I dreamt of Spain, but I know the present situation is horrible there. <...> Now we—the Youth organization that I represent—we can act, travel, due to the European Union, we can see the world and not only the European Union and so on, so now I look at it really positive. <...>” (Interview No 9).

“<...> I am very glad that we are in the European Union. Firstly, a bunch of possibilities are open now. And it is a sin not to grab them. I am not talking namely about a departure to study somewhere, although it is very important for me because I want to do it. At the same time all projects which are applied constantly, it is constantly possible to participate, constantly some new acquaintances... I like it very much, so to say... In this summer I participated in three such large-scale projects. I was very glad. New acquaintances, new people. <...> I participate in projects, I travel around Europe, roads have been being fixed, bridges have been being built, specifically for me everything is all right.<...>” (Interview No 10).

“<...> I'm glad. Well, there are no frontiers, nothing. More possibilities are, much more. <...> So you finish twelve forms and whole Europe is yours. It's very comfortable. <...>” (Interview No 11).

3.3 National identity – relationship to country of residence

Most interviewed respondents, including those who were not born in Lithuania, think about Lithuania as their homeland. One of the interviewed respondents (interview No 4) was born in Russia, but she moved for work to Lithuania almost 50 years ago. She considers Lithuania (Vilnius) as her homeland as she lived there for biggest part of her life, she even brought her mother from Russia there (who later was bury there).

“<...> I must tell you, I consider Lithuania as my homeland. Also...this is my home country. Even though I have to mainly deal with Russian media, from Russia or Belarusian in Russian language. So. I chose for myself newspapers in Russian but from Lithuanian publishers, I am interested in Lithuania's life as well as Russia's life. Also I watch TV...sometimes Lithuanian programs ...also... Then we can say, that all friends and everything else...<...>” (Interview No 2).

For a respondent who has French and Belgium citizenships (interview No 7) Lithuania is only the place where he lives with his family.

It is noticeable, that ethnicity is not defined geographically (i.e. place (country) they are born), but has connections with culture, language.

The interviewed respondent (interview No 1) thinks that her homeland is Lithuania (Vilnius), despite the fact that she was born in Siberia and from childhood lived in Latvia in a small town near Lithuanian-Latvian boarder. The first memories of the respondent are from Latvia, but she thinks that it isn't enough to be born in a country, or live there until thirteen years for considering Russia or Latvia as her homeland.

“<...> What is your homeland? Lithuania. So that's it. And I don't know with Latvia. It was not enough of time for Latvia to become my homeland. The first memories are from Latvia. Yes. NNN (small town in Latvia – interviewer's remark), fog, the sea. Nothing else. <...>” (Interview No 1).

Some of interviewed respondents from younger (interview No 10, No 11) and middle (interview No 8) generation identify with Lithuania, because they have Lithuanian citizenship. They think that they identify more with the Russian culture and language than with Russia as a country:

“<...> Native land. Well, it is very difficult for me. You understand. I was thinking a lot. I cannot call myself a Russian from Russia. I can call myself a Russian speaker. Yes. From the childhood I was watching Russian books, watching Russian cartoons. I was told Russian fairy tales. I know a lot about this culture, I mean, I don't feel that Russian is my Native land. But at the same time as I think about Lithuania, yes, I like the city, yes, I like lots of things I like, but here also... maybe because of some social feeling in the society it is also hard to call it Native land, because it...<...>” (Interview No 10).

“<...> I'm considered to be a Russian-speaking inhabitant of Lithuania. I have a citizenship of Lithuania, I'm absolutely Lithuanian. <...> I am considered to be just the Lithuanian who speaks Russian. I can put it that way. <...>” (interview No 11).

“<...> I became Lithuanian citizen... a citizen of Lithuania. Well, you know... I consider myself to be Lithuanian because I don't know such Russian culture, I was born and grew up in Lithuania. And I consider myself to be Lithuanian. <...> Well, until I finished secondary school I probably considered myself to be Russian in Lithuania. It was not that Russian, of Russian nationality.<...>” (Interview No 8).

3.4 National identity – relationship to mother country

Most interviewed respondents were not born in Russia and they do not have any relatives in Russia anymore or they have remote ancestors who live “somewhere” in Russia but do not visit them. Some of respondents are born in the territories of former Soviet Union (i.e. Ukraine) (Interview No 2), but do not consider Ukraine as their motherland:

“<...> As I told you, I was born in Ukraine. My father and my mother were Ukrainian. So. Well... all other relatives - and aunts, uncles, grandmother, grandfather – all were Ukrainian as well. All of them live in NNN region. <...> “<...> But following the nationality of our parents...we are Ukrainian. But basically we never actually lived in Ukraine. If only some two or three years...only when my father served for the Ukrainian units of the Soviet Army, but generally we lived all around Russia.<...>” (Interview No 2).

The interviewed respondents mostly feel relationship to Russia because of the Russian language, Russian culture or Orthodox religion.

One of the interviewed respondents (interview No 4) who was born in Russia defines herself as Russian speaking non inhabitant of Russia.

“<...>As I am always suggesting that in general it is needed to write not “Russkije” but “Rossijanje” (“Russians” and “inhabitants of Russia” – interviewer's remark). Since it is the second America, as in America, no... Chinese... there different people live but they are citizens of USA (United States of America). So I consider Russia the same. It is so multinational. <...> We are Russians. We are registered as Russians but I can tell you that after all in Russia during those times, in years of Revolution, everybody was registered as Russians. Didn't matter ethnical... You understand, because there are very many ethnical nationalities in Russia, 87 or 90...<...> So. And I have, to speak honestly, such origin in my family. Grandpa. Grandpa was going purely Russian NNN. <...> Of course I have Orthodox confession. <...>” (Interview No 4).

One of the interviewed respondents (interview No 7) thinks that his homeland is Europe and European Union, but he emphasizes that his heart belongs to Russia because his father and mother were Russians emigrants from Russia:

“<...>because my father and mother were Russians, I was brought up in Russian spirit... eh... Thank them for teaching me Russian.<...> I myself, in my heart I consider myself to be Russian. But it was the best for me to get this passport, European passport. I have two passports. Belgian and French. It is written in both... eh... the European Union. It is great anyhow... It would be even greater as it was in America, and it would come. It would come. I think so. It's necessary to admit Russia into it, into the European Union. <...> Yes, very much, an orthodox believer<...>” (Interview No 7).

Another respondent (interview No 8) considers Russia as her historical motherland. She has no relatives in Russia and she describes herself as Orthodox:

“<...> I'm an Orthodox believer. I was christened at Orthodox Church. I'm the Orthodox believer<...> I have only a cousin in Russia. So there's nothing special. <...>” (Interview No 8).

One of the interviewed respondents (Interview No 9) from the youngest generation emphasized that she is more Russian speaking than a Russian:

“<...>Nevertheless, we feel that we are Russian-speaking Russians in Lithuania, and we are Lithuanians in Russia. The tonality changes a little. They always question me because of my appearance, for it is visible that I'm not a very Russian-speaking. Yes, Russian-speaking, but I'm not Russian by origin. Actually it's in line with blood, so I have very little Russian blood and don't have Lithuanian blood at all. That depends on country... In some other country it is very exotic to say I'm Armenian. As I don't know that language, I fail to communicate naturally with Armenians, because the very identity is different, and our mentality differs very much.<...>” (Interview No 9).

She talks about the common space of former Soviet Union that makes impact on the people and their mentality, culture (for example the importance of New Year celebration as fest for Russians in Lithuania inherited from Soviet Union):

“<...> And again, it depends on one's age. If they are elderly people who... well, we are born in the Soviet Union as well, but we were only born there... we didn't live... four years – it's too short period. Parents have brought us up, that is the Soviet Union made an impact, and not too little. <...> So we are these mediators who still love the Soviet Union, but this love filters very much the events that occurred there... what was good... still was good... love it, because it did much good for our parents...<...> depreciate a good deal the New Year because it is as if the heritage of the Soviet Union. <...>” (Interview No 9).

Other respondents of the younger generation (interview No 10, No 11) feel relation to Russia more because of the culture, Russian language:

“<...> Russia for me is a representation of some kin of... Russia is Pushkin, Russia is cinema, Russia is something else... it is no way Moscow, St. Petersburg or something else... exactly this such cultural something... with what I associate... And with geographical area, it is difficult for me to say something. <...>” (Interview No 10).

“<...> I didn't have a think of it, but on the whole I can say I'm perhaps rather Russian than Lithuanian, because I spend more time with Russian-speaking people, I belong more to Russians, well, it as if seems to me so. It doesn't hinder me in anything.<...> My motherland (laughs – interviewer's remark). Well, I even don't know. As I was born in Lithuania, probably my motherland is more Lithuania, although Russia is my motherland as well. My motherland is rather the world, if I can put it that way. I even don't know what can I call... <...> My mother descended from Russia, the city of NNN, as much as I remember. And my mother's sister... their family can be considered to be absolutely Russian in Lithuania, and I am as if of mixed blood, I have Lithuanian blood, Polish blood,

and Russian blood. But on the whole we speak Russian. “<...> Such is my origin because I am absolutely Russian from the side of my mother, and Lithuanian and Russian from the side of father. <...>” (Interview No 11).

3.5 Regional identity

It is problematic to make generalizations about regional identity of interviewed respondents. Each respondent has its own region to identify with. The interviewed respondents identify with Russia, Byelorussia or other territories inhabited of Slavs (Ukraine and Poland).

“<...>The first place for me is Lithuania. This is my homeland. And here I... and the roots, and everything, everything, the whole my life is Lithuania. Since in the childhood till fifteen years I was spending every summer in Belarus, my mom comes from Belarus, and when I go there for a visit, it is very jolly for me to communicate there. Well, the second one of importance, in the second place would be Belarus. I don't have any relatives in Russia at all. And as I have said, they, from the father's side, came here even 300 years ago, I don't know from which side they came, from which location here and etc. But I even don't know if I can attribute Russia to something. Maybe only to my genetics or something, to some kind of inner temptation to sing Russian folk songs and etc. But I do not know if Russia would be so important in my life. I have started to visit Russia just thanks to the fact that I have Russian folk ensemble and we sing Russian folk songs. <...>You see, if to have a look accordingly to some exact cultural relations, accordingly to some bond, because, for instance, from the side of my mom, we have a relation in Poland as well. And I was in Poland for several times. And I can agree in Polish little bit. So. Well, but probably just because the fact that I don't communicate so closely, but here is also, as you see, Poland is as well “western Slav” (speaks Russian (“zapadnyje slavianie”) – interviewer's remark) so to say. So. So I would put Poland to the fourth place because I even communicate little bit. <...>”. (Interview No 6).

“<...> So Russia is perhaps the first. Well, Kaliningrad is Russia. Maybe Poland. Well, perhaps I have something in my roots and many Poles are among my relatives. Well, Belarus. They are close neighbours as well. The Ukraine. Slovakia is further already Moldova.<...>” (Interview No 8).

It was also the respondents who identify themselves with Europe as region.

For example one of interviewed respondent (Interview No 1) identifies herself with Slovenia and the entire Balkans region as she learned the Slavonic language at the University. She also mentioned (the only one of the interviewed respondents of Russian ethnic origin) that she identifies with the former common territory of Great Duchy of Lithuania:

“<...> A... Belarus, a part of Poland...maybe like this... Part of Ukraine. This is the land of the Great Duchy of Lithuania because I work with Slavonic studies and there do research about these connections of the Great Duchy of Lithuania... among all those languages, cultures and so one and this is really interesting and... These are the historic lands of the Great Duchy of Lithuania. <...>” (Interview No 1).

One of the respondents (Interview No 2) is a Second World War veteran who identifies with the places where he participated in military actions against the Hitlerian Germany. He strongly identifies with the Russia despite him was born in Ukraine:

“<...>In general...to Russia...I belong to it now. <...> There territories here....I participated in the military operations there during the war. I started here in the West of Ukraine and Eastern part of Moldova in June 1946 ... oh 1944. So. The first attack there, and we drove the Germans back. And already in Hungary...in the region of Balaton they tried to stay... <...> This one here. Here is Bulgaria. <...>”. (Interview No 2).

One of the respondents (Interview No 5) identifies with Belarus, as her grandparents are from this region. He also identifies with Russia because of the Russian culture. On the third place he identifies with Spain as he is a devotee of Latin American Revolution and things connected to this revolution:

“<...>Then I would mark some kind of Spain. Well, because it is the native land of Latin American revolution. “Viva le revolution, El Pablo, Niva, Tamasa Revasido, Ernesto Diavara Ramasero”. Basically we all came from Spanish revolution. <...>” (Interview No 5).

Only one interviewed respondent from the oldest generation (Interview No 7) without any doubts identifies with the whole European region. This could be influenced by the fact that the respondent has a citizenship of Belgium and France.

The interviewed respondents from the youngest generation (Interview No 9, No 10, and No 11) more easily identify with European region, with the Western European countries. The motivation for that is the opportunity provided by Europe (European Union space) for studies and career. All they have intentions to emigrate. Some of the respondent’s parents live in emigration. Anyway besides identification with the European region, they identify with Russia as they think about themselves as Russian speaking.

“<...>Really, if to write out of regions, not out of countries... then Europe will be the first. No... Out of more large regions... Europe will be the first and here it will be... Armenia is not in that region nor is Russia... The first will be Europe. The first is Europe for sure. (A pause – interviewer’s remark) The second will be that Russian-speaking community. Russia will not be ... Kirghizia and Armenia also understand Russian... It would be Russian-speaking, but not Russian community. There’s a lot of difference. <...>” (Interview No 9).

“<...>It is difficult to say for me that I am a person from Russia. Yes. That’s how I should be called, because it is hard to say that I am a Lithuanian or an Englishman. Exactly - European.<...>” (Interview No 10).

“<...>Everybody I associate with, well, of course not everybody, for the most part my associates are Russians, I learn at Russian school, I’m more a Russian of Lithuania than a Pole of Lithuania or a Lithuanian of Lithuania. Almost none of them remained (relatives in Russia – interviewer’s remark). My grandmother’s sister, that grandmother who died. Her sister is also. They live in Russia, somewhere nearby NNN... Some relatives are there.<...>” (Interview No 11).

3.6 Civic participation and ethnic organization

Almost all interviewed respondents participate in the activities of ethnic cultural organization and are active in political life (most of respondents participate at the elections, know about the political parties, one of interviewed respondent was elected in the Vilnius city municipality (council).

One of the interviewed respondents (Interview No 2) participates in the activity of organization that attracts the veterans of II World War.

“<...>are there many people? Let’s count – in 1994 there were 8000 veterans in Vilnius. Now there are approximately 1300 left. <...> That’s how many of them left during those 16 years and it is related to the conditions, they have to deal with...<...>” (Interview No 2).

One of the interviewed respondents (Interview No 4) is active in political life (formally she was a member of Municipality (a deputy of the city council):

“<...>exactly at that time I, when we had entered the European Union I was (Pause – interviewer’s remark). I am Russian. True, we entered with Polish group... there also Belarusians... We didn’t

have our own party yet, Russian was only developing, but I passed... they voted for me... <...>” (Interview No 4).

Another respondent of the middle generation (Interview No 5) does not participate in the elections and in the Russian political or public organizations in Lithuania:

“<...>I don’t participate at all. No. On the principle. Since I used to communicate with them pretty closely. We just were developing “KVN” (“Club of happy and inventive”–game popular in Russia – interviewer’s remark) here for a long time and we were trying to get means from Russian organizations. So far... they have stolen so much that they don’t have anything to give. Lithuanian banks were giving us money in much easier way and they were more responsibly concerning that issue. <...>” (Interview No 5).

Most of the interviewed respondents not only participate in the ethnic cultural non-governmental organizations, but are the leaders (i.e. one respondent leads an ensemble (Interview No 6) of those organizations:

“<...>Even I have Lithuanian children, where, for instance, father is Lithuanian and mother is Russian. Well, I would rather say that from mixed. Oh, here... It means, yes. Parents of the boy are Poles but he is here, in Russian school, I don’t know how he landed up there. Polish boy, who, here, graduated from the school. So from those old-timers I say, yes. The girl also has Belarusian roots, another one has Russian – Ukrainian roots, and the fourth is Russian. And from those little children – there are even Lithuanian children. who are still with me, And as I say we were trying to sing also... we have one Belarusian and we were trying to sing one song in our repertoire, well, maybe Polish... of course my children don’t speak Polish so it is harder for them. They accept it and I even know that father or mother of one girl is from Ukraine. They even were trying to “infect” us with Ukrainian... Ukrainian songs are really melodic and beautiful as well. So. So I could say that children are diplomatic and even cosmopolitan. They accept all cultures very normally, they are very friendly and I think that such is my life, this is the goal of my life, such as, that children would be good, normal people.<...>” (Interviewed No 6).

One of the interviewed respondents (Interview No 7) participates at the Assembly of Russia’s Nobility of Lithuania:

“<...> I was the member of the council of nobility’s unification in Moscow for years and years, I didn’t know how many, perhaps fifteen or something, or more. There was a law that a foreigner can’t be NNN (position of the organization – interviewer’s remark). That... They cancelled the law when Lithuania entered the European Union. Then they appointed me NNN (position of the organization – interviewer’s remark) at once. I don’t know if I have more some, so to say, abilities for it or something of the kind. However people think I have because I was born there, my communication is different, my possibilities are different and everything... And there’s much, much stimulation in that Lithuanian nobility. No one recognizes that Lithuanian nobility. Eh... They never had the king. Excuse me, I talk to you openly. Nobody makes a secret of it. And only 2500 members are now. They appoint us as well. I saw frequently, I saw with my own eyes that unfledged boys 33 years old got already their coat of arms. I don’t know how it is possible. The coat of arms ought to be confirmed, signed by the hand of emperor, or some king or the like. And not by the first who. Many, many, many some unclear persons... It is necessary, always necessary to get some paper that one’s great-grandfather or somebody in one’s family is a nobleman. And then he must give the whole questionnaire, every paper, all certificates of birth, certificates of marriage, this and that, it is very difficult because many of them have disappeared, were burned, it was war, it was communism, at that time no one could talk about nobility. And they find something so slowly, so slowly. It is very difficult. There are about thirty of us in Lithuania. Well, genuine ones. Not as in Lithuania. No, noblemen are Russian. Their origin may be different. It was... it was necessary to be confirmed by tsar before the revolution. Today the most important is culture. It is culture, we try somehow eh... Thanks God connections with the Russian embassy are very good now. Because Li-

thuanians ignore us entirely. They don't want anything. It is only a word in Russian, and they... as some little hedgehog. I don't know whether it is right or not, I don't want to judge <...>" (Interview No 7).

Not only respondents from older or middle generation participate in the activities of ethnic minority organizations, but also the youngest ones.

"<...> I have just turned eighteen so it is difficult to speak about the topic of political activeness. But I doubt that I would go to vote if there were the elections now... and supposedly I saw that I can trust the candidate, then – yes. Mostly before elections a brainwashing is starting and I don't want to vote on this basis. And to sit and finding out who for what reasons and how has made something for a period of some time and how much he helped for the country, well, I think that under such conditions with the amount of our information this is a huge work, which... well, I believe it doesn't deserve my attention. Since I can make something more egoistical for myself. Thus. It is difficult for me to say something. I can say that when, here, again it is related to schools, I am in the council of school and I know from politics from Poland's side that they are very actively defending their schools. I mean, we had presidents that they will close schools and now they are closing Russian and Polish schools, they really have defended their rights for existence. And Russian political side failed, it didn't want, was passive or wanted more to close, I don't know, Russian schools are still closing down. Until now it goes worse for them to keep their rights for an existence. This is the only one thing what I can tell about our politicians from this side. Only NNN (Russian non-governmental organization in Lithuania – interviewer's remark). All the rest there are Lithuanians and vice versa - I need to speak in Lithuanian because there... Well, there no one with whom to communicate in Russian. But otherwise only NNN (Russian non-governmental organization in Lithuania – interviewer's remark). Well, there... Under NNN is this "NNN". I suppose it is the same, I mean again with them. Yes. There are some others but they sit in the same office. There everything is also related with Russia. Well, nor really with Russia... with Russian people. Although there was a project... again European... Czechoslovakia... Oh... My God... Czechia, Poland, Lithuania and Germany. Basically it doesn't have any relation to Russian people. <...>" (Interview No 10).

One of the interviewed respondent is young and very active person, she participates in the activities of theatre and in the organization of youth. Formerly she also participated in the activities of some Russian political party in Lithuania:

"<...> It was only school. Yes. Beside all this education I have musical education in singing... theatre... I have attended theatre for seven years till now <...> for some eighteen years... Yes. That is the only exceptional contribution of mine... and on the whole in our organization there are very many young people from that theatre... So that's that. Well, now I work in the organization that represents ethnic minorities. <...> and we began with Russian-speaking people... now we have extended and joined all ethnic minorities, as many as there exist... But for the most part we work with Russian-speaking people, as we ourselves are Russian-speaking, though people of Russian nationality are almost absent here. Yes. All right. The organization was established six years ago, and at first it was established for publishing a newspaper in Russian. For Russian-speaking people, for youth exactly. It was published for three or four years. It was distributed free of charge at schools, universities, higher educational establishments... whenever possible, and for other friends, too... through Russian organizations and so on, and so forth. Aha. Then... The organization was established by NNN – the director of the present NNN (Russian Nongovernmental organization, – interviewer's remark). <...> We started to work not only with Russian-speaking people, not only for the sake of our newspaper... the most notable our projects are "NNN" that is performed for six years, and this year will be performed as well.<...> I really take part in the election of president... always.

I: So You Yourself are not inscribed in party members?

R: Ah... No longer.

I: Uh-huh... But you were sometime?

R: I was and I disliked it very much, because I saw that kitchen from inside, what everything was there and so on. And in general, if you say or do something somewhat not in line, they at once start to look at you in some different way and smile to you till now, but you really know what's going on there. So that's there, I see no sense. Because policy itself is such thing that any kind of truth never is there. Never is. Always will be a counter and I feel I don't want to get in their way. <...>" (Interview No 9).

3.7 Ethnic conflicts and discrimination experiences

Speaking generally nobody of interviewed respondents feel any tensions or conflicts between Russians and Lithuanians living in Lithuania, most of them say they did not experience any discriminative situations (with some exceptions (interview No 1, No 9, No 10).

"<...>No. There was one time, I still remember. I went to obtain Lithuanian...documents. I went to the Migration department, I think, I don't remember. In order to obtain Lithuanian citizenship. And when I was waiting in the waiting room, I was reading a book in Russian... And someone called me, and I answered in Russian. So my neighbour, who was sitting next to me, she was American Lithuanian, so she called me for some reason Polish (laughing – interviewer's remark) and then she said... That was the only time. M... I even can't answer. <...>" (Interview No 1).

The respondents from older generation or those who do not speak Lithuanian language mentioned some embarrassing situations related with the Lithuanian language command. Anyway no one of them thinks that they have been discriminated on that base.

"<...>...there was nothing special. There was no hostility. Of course, it was not very nice to hear remarks from some people, that I still do not speak Lithuanian language....Well...so I had to go red and explain that because of long years of military service I still had to communicate generally to Russian speaking people. I cannot tell you it was necessary for me to learn Lithuanian. No. In the army Russian was generally a common language to be used, no matter the military unit was located in the territory of the Republic of Lithuania. That's obvious. She was a pensioner and I was a pensioner. We continued to live in NNN (district of Vilnius – interviewer's remark). Nothing...we had no difficulties. At the time...in the beginning of course...we had to listen to "«O kada Jūs kalbėsite lietuviškai?»" (speaks in Lithuanian language "When you will speak Lithuanian?" - interviewer's remark). So we had to explain, that I was a former military. In terms of communication I was always in the ranks with the Russian-speaking people, so there was no need to learn Lithuanian language. <...> Well now, you can hear a lotfrom young people they do not respond to questions in Russian. Yes. They ... «aš nesuprantu...»... «ką Jūs norite sužinoti» (speaks Lithuanian "I do not understand", "What you would like to know?" – interviewer's remark). So they respond with a Lithuanian question. But still the majority of them apologize "atsiprašau" (speaks Lithuanian "I am sorry" – interviewer's remark). Yes. <...>" (Interview No 2).

"<...>No, but I remember that moment. It was "perestroika", these ruptures. There were even tensions between neighbors, but it somehow ended very quickly. Of course there are some fools that go on the streets drunk and say 'rusas, rusas' (speaks in Lithuanian language "Russian, Russian" – interviewer's remark). But I hear the same from Russians: 'Beat Lithuanians.' Especially in my neighbourhood, where unfortunate people live. I can't tell... I didn't feel anything, for sure. The only thing: now when you enter a shop, you automatically speak Lithuanian with a shop assistant, even though you see that a person's surname is not Lithuanian... But it's good. Why not? It should be this way. And also I heard that before they didn't study Russian language at schools. There was such a moment. It was probably wrong. Why? But it's ok. Lithuania. There should be Lithuanian language. <...> With my neighbors it's as we wish – sometimes we talk in Russian, sometimes in

Lithuanian, it depends. With some acquaintances, well, most of my “bendradarbiai” (speaks in Lithuanian language “associates” – interviewer’s remark) are in mixed marriages... We have very good relations. Well, I even heard that neighbors stopped greeting with each other: ‘It’s all because of you, occupants’. But it somehow didn’t last long. <...>” (Interview No 3).

<...> I: Huh... tell please, such a question. Did you ever feel you are discriminated by national indication?

R: No. Never, Yes. Well, one of them who is from Belarus doesn’t know language well. Nevertheless she works in the Lithuanian kindergarten. She never told anything of the kind, she never was discharged because she’s Russian. Well, sometimes you hear, “Well, my surname is Russian, that’s why I was discharged there. Lithuanians remained, and I was discharged.” I haven’t heard my close friends telling something like that. I don’t know. I speak Russian and Lithuanian, that’s why I don’t know. I never had any problems. I don’t know. Never. Well, I never in my life had problems in relations to people, in communication. Neither in national nor in some other. Well, I don’t know. Everything is normal. I can’t say as others say, “That’s that. You start speaking Russian, they don’t answer. You start Lithuanian, they don’t answer.” I had never such problems. <...> Maybe somebody was offended. I can’t say. I don’t know. I don’t know. I can say, my mother associates now, some Lithuanian from NNN settled in the neighbourhood, so she doesn’t want to speak Russian. Maybe she doesn’t understand well, but it is infamous for her to speak Lithuanian. She said to my mother. My mother can speak Lithuanian, though badly. <“Jūs privalot kalbėti lietuviškai.”>. <“Privalot.”> (Switches to Lithuanian – “You must speak Lithuanian. Must” – interviewer’s remark.) Everybody understands just as he likes. <...>” (Interview No 8).

One of the interviewed respondents (interview No 5) explained that Vilnius city is the multinational city and there predominates not only Lithuanian, but also Russian and Polish languages and therefore there is no reason to feel discriminated:

<...> Well, I... particularly me not. Yes, I have such friends that also not (laughing)... So. Well, “Rusai Lauk” (speaks Lithuanian “Russians go away” – interviewer’s remark). So it looks like it is not for me... Occupants “Go home”. Well, okay if I go to NNN. In NNN there basically all are like me. There they have started to learn Lithuanian language only recently. Well, further what – Polish Diaspora – one, Jews unfinished off by Germans – two, the builders of bright communistic future – three. And national cadres... only the first secretary of the District Committee and still his mom was an Ukrainian. That’s why I don’t have any discrimination particularly in the Native land, and it also doesn’t exist in Vilnius and there cannot be any serious discrimination. Here the population is mixed. Vilnius is unique. <...> Ah... So Vilnius is a multinational city, multicultural, all this mix of cultures, mutual assimilation... it has made Vilnius probably more respectful to each other and basically, I don’t know... This was now... during these years. They want to develop their Russian language because of the reason... they go often to Russia for tours... Well, Lithuanian theatre – it is a serious thing. It is not Lithuanian football... (laughing). So... I mean, nowadays I don’t think... only totally finished, some not clever people probably raise here a question about claustrophobia, Russophobia... Well, sick are being healed. Although mass idiotism cannot be healed. Well, we will see... we will see... Particularly I haven’t experienced it. <...>” (Interview No 5).

The respondents from younger generation who speak Lithuanian very well talked of some discriminative situations (e.g. unequal treatment in the University because of the surname which sounds Russian (interview No 9) or not friendly attitude because of speaking in Russian language (Interview No 10). One of the younger respondents (Interview No 10) mentioned the skinhead’s actions in Lithuania.

<...> Well, in my postgraduate studies I came across unpleasantness of Russian-speaking... for the first time. As a bachelor, I had no problems. Our dean was wonderful. And now I come across them and in a very, very strained way. As a matter of fact, I’m shocked because I don’t feel I’m worse in anything. I had problems with my course mates, with some of them, because I’m Russ-

ian-speaking. Since very many people arrived from various places of Lithuania. Anyhow, they were surprised a lot that we're here from Russian school... Some didn't believe... I don't know whether I have an accent or I haven't it, I really don't know... Maybe not much. But maybe it was clearer in the first course, just after Russian school and, let's say, my course mates were from Visaginas. It is entirely Russian town. And we communicated, there's no doubt, Russian with each other. I think, well, everything's quite logical. And some course mates disliked it very much. And they interrupted, that will you please here in Lithuania... Yes, bachelor. <<Speak Lithuanian, please>>. To my mind, it's absolute nonsense, because the country is free and you don't thrust yourself nor anything else...but there were some such discussions... serious, so to say... and since then it stopped. Then people comprehended and everything was all right. But those people were not from Vilnius, those who didn't tolerated. And all this stopped after that, because, to my mind, to know a few languages – it's not bad for them as well. Later on there was a kind of ... <<Please teach a bit...>>. For it is necessary in Lithuania. Lots of literature... And in my postgraduate studies I came across not with my mates, but with lecturers who were intolerant... I don't know... the NNN University should... somehow... There's nothing bad that at the university there are people of other nationalities, cultures and so on. So I came across and now I have problems because of it. But I'll overcome it... Doesn't matter. Really, I can't say... maybe because of my surname... I don't know. Yes. An absolute catastrophe is with marks. Absolute. The same works are... even the better ones... I hope to God I get at most positive evaluation. So such are the problems. Conditions are very unequal. Absolutely, and anyhow communication is very strict. We are two Russian-speaking girls. And with us in such a way that all the course feel but can't do anything. Well, so it is. But it doesn't matter... there are such problems, but nothing's of it. The image of Lithuania is falling down just in your eyes when you see... <<this is your country, that's why you must adapt yourself, if you are born here, it is your native land>>. Well, these problems are few... I came across them just now. Anyhow everything is not bad. Really, I myself don't focus much on it. I know there are not many such problems in Lithuania. My mother has some more, as she doesn't know Lithuanian... she understands, but can't speak it. Well, in general her identity is a kind of Russian-speaking. It's difficult to understand both me and my mother when you don't see our surname, it's not clear... It is seen that she's not a Lithuanian woman, but, well, as a matter of fact, there's no such attitude that you're worse in anything. In my life I don't remember any vivid examples, because I never had these problems. That's why I say that till my postgraduate studies I hadn't anyhow... I never had. So that's that. As for it, everything is all right, indeed. Everything is already all right for young people. <...>" (Interview No 9).

"<...> Now I feel myself very easy but actually three years ago there was such a war... I don't know... we have this trend of skinheads emerged and here... at that time it was called Government's Square and it was really scary then because there were passing such guys, I mean for little bit older people there was no problem at all because there were such conflicts among youth and here just always are people who like fighting and they need a cavil. And at that time this cavil was that you are or a Russian, or a Polish or somebody else... And at that time it was really scary. Yes. There have been. But I was so to say with friends and okay... In Russian. Yes. And it was enough. And latter it appeared that girlfriend's friend was among them so everything ended quite well. So there we just split up. But here among my acquaintances was... one girl was thrown in a river, I mean there were not nice incidents. Well, and now it is quiet. There are even just a few left. The wave is finishing and everybody is very happy. From my side...Yes. There was. One moment... When I was going to a driving school there was a woman who writes... to speak shortly, she was unfair towards me just because she had heard how I had been speaking on the phone in Russian. Yes. She had heard. I mean, she was doing her own job but was doing with such a face that... well, I don't know... This was very unpleasant, such moments. Well, it happens of course that it is let to slip but I just don't pay attention. Well, I just have memorized this example because she made me really angry. Well, it was just terrible. So. I think that the majority of my acquaintances... well, here again, they have a very tolerant attitude towards the fact that I am a Russian, very quietly. But there are always people who think that they were hurt or something else has happened."

ned... There are such, who don't tolerate very much. On the other hand. The very groups. I have a bunch of Russian people, who scream themselves that here the Lithuanians are like this or like that... The Polls are like this or like that... This is some kind of common disease. That they cannot anyhow make a peace, to make what is not here and has been not clear for a long time. Just there is nothing to do for a person. And that's it. <...>" (Interview No 10).

"<...> For the most part I can say no. Maybe sometimes some say: "There, he's Russian" and everything of that kind. But it's as if a mere trifle. Some sort of heavy attacks never occurred. Of course, latterly that reform of Russian schools was in Lithuania, and in general schools of national minorities in Lithuania, latterly they wanted to make some changes, to unite schools. Our school met such problems too, they wanted to join together our school and some other or to leave our school as it was... And we are to choose, that is to say, if we'll be high school from the ninth to twelfth form or primary school from the first to eighth. So it was this way... well, I didn't like it much. And in principle everything is all right anyhow. As long as I live not once... almost... anybody came and said, "I'm Russian and they don't accept me for job..." That's that. One never has said, "I'm Russian, they do me wrong, beat me", or something of the kind. Everything is all right. Well, maybe they try to constrict a little, because I don't think in our country there is some special attitude to Russians as to some strongly distinguished nation. I have heard that in Latvia or Estonia, don't remember, Russian-speaking people make 50 per cent. Was it or wasn't. As though it is. I don't think in Lithuania it makes great problems for the Lithuanian language because it dies out, and all that, and Lithuania dies out. I don't think that there is a special attitude to Russians. Maybe they even help them somehow. Well, on the whole everything is good enough. <...>" (Interview No 11).

3.8 Summary Matrix

Table presenting individual respondents in rows and a description of key variables in separate columns.

Respondent	Place of residence	Sex	Age	educational level	Occupation	European identity	national identity (residence)	national identity (mother country)	regional identity	relationship to organisation of minority group	Languages
No 1. Anna	Vilnius	Female	22	H	Student	Anna identifies with Europe and has travelled in Europe through ERASMUS exchange programme	Lithuanian	Russia, Latvia	Slovenia and Great Duchy of Lithuania	No relation	Russian with father, Lithuanian with mother, neighbors, with friends Russian and Lithuanian
No 2. Ivan Ivanovich	Vilnius	Male	85	H	Retiree	Does not identify with Europe (only identification with Europe or territories of Europe related to World War II, where he participated).	Lithuanian	Russia, Ukraine	Russia	He has a high position in the world war II veterans organization in Lithuania	Russian predominate
No 3. Pavel Aleksandrovich	Vilnius	Male	41	H	work in the café	Feels more European than Russian. He travels a lot, has acquaintances in Europe.	Lithuanian	Ukraine, Lithuania	Check Republic, Ukraine, Holland	No relation	Russian, Lithuanian with ex-wife, with family in everyday life, English with friends.
No 4. Nadezda Ivanovna	Vilnius	Female	72	H	Retiree, works as a private "art" teacher	Does not identify with Europe, but travels a lot with the children art studio and ensemble.	Lithuanian	Russia	Russia, Lithuania, Kaliningrad, Italy, France	Has his own children art studio and leads the organization of Lithuanian Russian culture.	Russian predominates, but speaks Lithuanian with neighbors, at school, theatre, knows Polish.
No 5. Valerij Petrovic	Pabrade	Male	37	H	Works as a history teacher in a school in Vilnius with Russian language of instruction	Does not identify with Europe. Has a skeptical view to Europe.	Lithuanian	Belarus	Belarus, Russia, Spain (native land of Latin American revolution)	No relationship.	Grandpa and grandma were trying to talk with him in Yiddish. He speaks also Latin, Russian in communication with friends, also speaks in English.
No 6. Olga	Vilnius	Female	47	H	works as a teacher of music	Does not identify with Europe. Has a skeptical attitude towards Europe.	Lithuanian	An informant describes herself as Russian. Her father is a Russian from Lithuania, mother – Byelorussian from Byelorussia.	Belarus, Russia, Poland	has a children ensemble	Within the family speaks only in Russian. With friends– depends on friends–Russian or Lithuanian.

Respondent	Place of residence	Sex	Age	educational level	Occupation	European identity	national identity (residence)	national identity (mother country)	regional identity	relationship to organisation of minority group	Languages
No 7 Nikolaj Vladimirovic	Vilnius	Male	77	H	Retiree	Introduces himself as European citizen, he has a citizenship of Belgium and France.	European, Lithuanian	His motherland is Europe. In his heart he considers himself to be Russian.	Europe	Lithuanian House of Russian Nobility	Russian, French
No 8 Asia	Vilnius	Female	52	H	work as paramedic in secondary school medical station	Identifies with Europe. Former worked in Germany.	Lithuanian	Motherland is Lithuania.	Russia, Poland, Kaliningrad	participate actively in the Red Cross Society	Russian and Lithuanian – “fifty-fifty in everyday life”.
No 9 Natalija	Vilnius	Female	24	H	Student	Identifies with Europe, her father works and lives in Ireland and she planning to emigrate to England or other European country.	Lithuanian	Motherland is Lithuania. An informant describes herself as Russian, despite her father is Armenian from Azerbaijan, mother – Pole from Lithuania	Europe, Russia and Russian-speaking countries	attends the youth theatre in Lithuania, involved in the youth organization activities	Russian with her mother. Lithuanian and Russian with her friends.
No 10 Sergej	Vilnius	Male	18	L	attends the 12th secondary school class	Introduces himself as European, his aunt lives in Sweden, and his mother lives in England where he spent the summers. Plans to study in England and after in Sweden and live here.	Lithuanian	Lithuania	First place – England. Second – Sweden and third – European Union	he is in the council of school and participate in the activity of one of the cultural Russia NGO in Lithuania	Mainly in Russian and only in Russian with family, with friends mainly Russian, but also sometimes – Lithuanian, speaks English, understand Polish and learning Swedish language.
No 11 Artiom	Vilnius	Male	16	L	attends the 11th secondary school class	He introduces himself as European. With his family he travels around Europe (Poland, Latvia, Estonia, France, Finland, Sweden, and Germany.	Lithuania	Lithuania but also Russia is his motherland.	. First and second are Lithuania and Russia. His “blood is mixed”. Poland at the third place	do many things on the social plane at school (perform on the stage of our school)	Russian in most cases, also speak Lithuanian and English a little
No 12 Alexandra	Vilnius	Female	Appr. 80	H	Retiree	Strong European identity through “European” education, values and life style; calls herself “European”	Lithuania	Russia and Lithuania	Europe	Cultural organisation	Russian, Lithuanian - Speaks Lithuanian so well that when she read a text in her school somebody said: “Lietuvaitė” German, understands Polish, some English

4 MAIN FINDINGS OF EXPERT INTERVIEWS (ENRI-EXI)

Monika Frėjutė-Rakauskienė

4.1 Brief description of people interviewed and which districts/settlements they came from

The interviews were conducted in accordance to the methodological guidelines developed by the ENRI-EAST team and described in the project manual²⁶.

Within the Russian group, the A group expert is a voluntary adviser of the Lithuanian Premier Minister. The expert also represents the Russian cultural NGO. The expert has a higher education. She is from Vilnius.

Other two experts from Russian ethnic group in Lithuania were questioned according to the B type of questionnaire as they represent the Russian NGOs in Lithuania. One of the interviewed experts participates in the activities of *Russian Cultural Centre*, she also represents *Lithuanian and Russian Collaboration Charity and Support Fund of Jurgis Baltrušaitis*. The expert has a higher education. She is from Vilnius.

The third expert leads the activities of a Russian NGO and at the same time she participates in the political activities as some time ago she was the member of Russian political party. The expert has the higher education. She is from Vilnius.

It is important to notice, that all of mentioned Russian experts are of the Russian origin themselves.

4.2 Organisation they represent and how it is organized

The interviewed expert (interview No) 1 represents two organizations: *The charity and support foundation of Lithuanians and Russians cooperation of Jurgis Baltrušaitis* and *Russian Cultural Centre*.

The foundation is a non-profit organization established in 2001 in Vilnius. The main aim of the organization is to foster mutual Lithuanian and Russian collaboration in different fields (education, culture, health insurance, tourism, logistic, economics, self-government):

“<...> So the foundation was established as an organization which should contribute to the establishment of the relations between Lithuania and Russia through culture, through some kind of humanitarian projects. So it was established at the moment when Valdas Adamkus was the only one and by the way the last president who was visiting Moscow. Our foundation was established according to the formula which had existed earlier. There are two such foundations: “Mickevich”, which is led now by G.D. and “Shevchenki”. Two foundations had already been established and every from these foundations, “Mickevich” and “Shevchenki”, has own mirror funds. It means a fund which is named exactly the same and has the same activities in Poland and Ukraine. And when our foundation was being established, there was such idea that we could come to Moscow, we could present our program, what we want, and the same foundation could be established in

²⁶ See „Enri-Exi: Expert Interviews Manual, 2010”, available at: <http://www.enri-east.net/work-packages/wp5/en/>.

Moscow. But through all these ten years nothing similar has happened. <...> We started from publishing books in two languages. We have such publications in which the poets from the silver age are in Russian as well as in Lithuanian languages. <...> So we always search for some projects which could be interesting in Lithuania as well as in Russia. And so that they, how to say it, would bring together the nations; because the things with such nature are very touching. When, for instance, a Lithuanian actress comes who decides to do it by herself, to read and to perform and shows that in the Museum of Cvetajevaja, of course everyone is honored by that, everybody loves that poetess, they know and remember her and publish something. So these basically were our projects. We never resort to organization, because as I said I am the only one working there. There are the members of the board: Daujotyte, Marcinkevicius, Sondeckis, Tapinas and Donatas Banionis, the chairmen. <...> Our task was to show for Lithuania the best from Russia. And to show Lithuanian culture as its interaction with Russians, who writes about whom, what books are published by whom. So we have made a lot during ten years and we helped a lot for the exiles because our Lithuanian exiles are nevertheless Russian-speakers.<...> My task was very clear: young people and primarily – Lithuanians. Of course when we were making some events we had our close friends coming from Russian Cultural Center.<...>. (Expert interview No 1).

Russian Cultural Centre is a cultural public organization established in 1988 in Vilnius. The main Assembly of RCC elects the board of 11 members. The RCC board elects the director. The RCC aims to represent the Russian culture in Lithuania. The RCC organizes the cultural events (concerts, book presentations, exhibitions, theatre spectacles, etc.) in Lithuania.

<...> Well, how was it being established? Very simply. According to the principle “Are you for independence (Lithuanian independence - interviewer’s remark) or not?” And that’s it. At that time it was the basic question, the society was very much politicized. <...> And at that time it was really a minority. A little group of people. We were very few. <...> Conservators were loving us and caring about us, the minorities, from the very beginning. But besides that they can speak about Russia different nasty things. But these things are separated. “We will reproach Russia in every ways but we will not tolerate any harm to our Russians”. And everybody was saying “If something here is going worsen for me or something happens, the first one to whom I’ll call will be V. Lanzbergis. Whatever he says about Russia, he will intercede us.” Well, and conservators gave us all these premises in Boksto street, further they gave us this shop “Russian Book”. So to say, they gave it not because we were supporting the independence but just because they are not afraid to be blamed for pro-Russianness. <...>” (Expert interview No 1).

<...> It was the only one and organized as an alternative... for the powers which were striving to leave Lithuania within the borders of the Soviet Union. That’s why for a long while Russian Cultural Center for Russian diaspora was some kind of, well, having special position, as the people who were striving for integration and not for opposite. So. It has already disappeared with time and there is no such separation now. Now somehow the view towards Russian diaspora is just general, without separation. <...>” (Expert interview No 2).

<...>: M... All right. And what is the role of Russian Culture Center today among Russian ethnical minority?

R: I can explain it very clearly. We decided to resign since last year we had elected a new leader. We had raised this man here, in our place. He came already with ideas but basically he was a member of the board and now it has mainly become a youth organization. I mean, if we do something there then very rarely. Our time has passed. The 21st century has begun and we have to give the way to young people. It is the only one Russian organization which has raised a replacement. <...> Because all our Russian organizations are very age-dependent and basically I know that they will be dying with the deaths of the people who were establishing them, who carry... Because nobody ever... <...> And young people don’t go after them because this pastime is not for young people, such kind of clubby role. So. And we have gone now through such way and I believe that it is very right way. I am very happy about that. <...>” (Expert interview No 1).

The interviewed expert (Expert interview No 2) also represents two organizations: *Council for Coordination of Lithuanian Russians public organizations* and *Russian Cultural centre*.

The Council is a cultural public organisation established in 1995 in Vilnius. It has been working with Russian social organizations in Lithuania. And it concerns such matters as their self-organization, questions of national self-conscience, educational and cultural matters of Russian minority in Lithuania.

“<...> coordinative council of Russian social organizations in Lithuania which was established as far back as 1995. Right now it is fifteen years old. And this organization was born at the same time as political organization, as the Unity of Lithuanian Russians, the party. So. Which will also mark its fifteen years. And, in general, the tasks which are being set, they were almost the same everywhere, as far as it is national and cultural peculiarity and its preservation. Only by different means. If basically we make it in practical way, then the party does it in the political level by striving for somehow getting some kind of positions in the laws, in attitudes of administration towards existence of national minorities and particularly Russian diaspora.<...>” (Expert interview No 2).

The interviewed expert (interview No 3) represents two organizations: Slavonic Grace Foundation and Council of National Communities.

Slavonic Grace Foundation is a cultural Russian public organization established in 1996 in Vilnius. The foundation works with different groups (pensioners, veterans of World War II, invalids and youth) of the Slavonic ethnic group in Lithuania (Russian, Byelorussians, and Ukrainians). They organize different types of cultural events and mainly coordinate work with the institutions in Russian Federation, etc.

“<...>The main tasks and goals of this organization are the maintenance of Russian culture, social vulnerability of the Russian population, and we work with Slavic ethnic group, mostly Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, and perhaps that's all. Such is the group. We work with pensioners, veterans of war, invalids. It's one direction. Another direction is culture and talented youth. We sustain collectives of elderly people. Together with political societies we protect Russian schools, sustain Russian schools, organize courses for the improvement of qualification, and provide supplementary methodical literature. Well, we have a field of sports. We take part in international matches of our countrymen where we support the State of Lithuania, support the city of Moscow, and we work actively with young people. Such are our directions. The level of our competence, it as if reached certain stage, 15 years, our organization is developed enough, steady active people, everybody is with higher education, the experience of work is wide, international ties are wide. <...> because there are about one hundred organizations in the Russian community. Our organization is leading. We are as some consolidating element, the coordinating council of big organizations in order to prosecute international projects in some better way.<...>” (Expert interview No 3).

The organization also has a jurist who can speak Russian and this is very important. According to the expert:

“<...> As for elderly people, they can't get juristic support in their native language. Such a barrier stands. There are no structures giving a possibility to get juristic help in their native language. A psychiatrist and jurist must speak native language, therefore we took upon ourselves this function. We have a jurist. <...>” (Expert interview No 3).

The expert is a member of the *Council of National Communities* and represents the Russian ethnic group.

“<...>: Huh... And is it possible to say that your organization improves the situation or status of Russian or some other Slavic group in Lithuania?”

R: Yes. Of course. I enter the Russian Community Council which has elected me to the Council for National Minorities. I represent the interest of this community at the Council for National Minorities. We always raise questions connected, let's say, with education, with legislation. Legislation, as you know, presently the law on national minorities doesn't hold true. It was good, presently it doesn't work, and we find ourselves as if outside the framework of juristic field. Nevertheless questions connected with education, with the status of Russian school, the content of education at Russian school, let's say, the learning of the native language, learning of the state language. Well, let's say, these problems exist and therefore we meet the Seimas position and opposition, <Švietimo> (the educational) committee with the help of the Council for National Minorities and solve these questions. A dialogue. <...>" (Expert interview No 3).

4.3 Main issues associated with Russian minority in the country of residence

The interviews in A and B groups of experts on Russian minority group in Lithuania present the overview of ethnic minority situation and state policy towards the Russians and other ethnic minorities in the country. These interviews give an overview of the main laws and regulations related to ethnic minorities in Lithuania. The experts pointed that currently there is no law which regulates the everyday life of ethnic minorities in Lithuania. The experts mentioned that the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad was closed a year ago and the main functions of the Department were undertaken by the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture.

"<...> That we don't have the Department of National Minorities. Well, what can I say. It is purely material... I feel that the Department of National Minorities is absent. National minorities here... Well, for instance my radio program. Actually they were never helping me with anything, only were reporting for Europe with the help of my programs. But the salary is given to me by the Lithuanian Radio. So. The Ministry of Culture has been writing till now. "Why do you write in your reports for Europe that we have such promise..." But they have never been supporting us by any means, they were only criticizing us. <...>" (Expert interview No 1).

"<...> It means, today we are in such situation when the most significant law is missing... the law about national minorities... (pause – interviewer's remark). The law was active almost twenty years. Not almost but exactly... from 1989 and just because of pure accident or because of... how to say it... well, indisposition probably from the side of Seimas' members towards again touching those problems, its working was not extended. Now it has become a problem - the year is over and during it we were living without this law and we see that many from administration in the Ministry of culture as well as in Seimas... they... there is no solid opinion on the need of this law. And if it is needed, then what it is now... how it exists today... actually the appearance of this law was being prepared, after five years... eight years another project again was prepared which wasn't approved. Later another project was prepared which wasn't approved. Now there are also some projects. Now the Ministry of Culture which owns national minorities has again prepared a project... already the concept of a new law.<...>" (Expert interview No 2).

The Expert (interview No 2) noticed that because of the absence of the Law on National Minorities there are no clear definition of national minorities in Lithuania

"<...> And we can see against the background of what is happening, we see that the necessity of recognition... the review of the definition "national minorities of Lithuania" is needed. Because in this case there will be Lebanese's as well as Arabians and Indians... everyone who will be here will be considered as national minorities of Lithuania. Like it or not – the government must decide. In such case if everything will stay as it was before, and now the committee of national minorities in Lithuania consists... at the moment it consists only from five minorities which are traditional and all the rest eighteen – they are nontraditional and they temporize over the votes. And in course of time, if there is even more national minorities and then, the voice of traditional minorities in the

committee of national minorities will be just not... even now we have problems because of that. <...>” (Expert interview No 2).

The Expert (Expert interview No 3) mentioned that the Project of Law on National Minorities is being prepared and the representatives of minorities groups participate in the process:

“<...>The new law, a project, is prepared. And we take part. We have a group of specialists from national minorities all-round in Lithuania, they take part in creation of this law. I think the law will be accepted and all our proposals will be taken into account, then everything will be simpler.<...>” (Expert interview No 3).

Questions of education were named by the experts as the main issues important for the Russians in Lithuania.

The experts (interview No 1 and interview No 3) also complain about the educational level in the secondary schools with Russian language. They say that the level of the state language teaching in these schools is very low and there is a lack of professional staff:

“<...> The system of education, of course, is organized from top. I work with schools and know that the content of education is entirely unsatisfactory. Because the level of the state language teaching is very low. We lack professional staff. <...>” (Expert interview No 3).

“<...> There is no organization which could supervise namely the education. Education is a big problem which concerns children, pedagogues ...<...>” (Expert interview No 1).

According to the experts (interview No 1 and interview No 3) the new Law on Education that presupposes teaching most of subjects in national language is not relevant since the teachers who teach in the secondary schools with the Russian language of instruction are not ready for the changes.

“<...> The only one law which concerns me now is about education; when the teaching of many subjects is in national language. It is crazy because teachers are not ready. <...>” (Expert interview No 1).

“<...> At Russian schools. There’s the lack of staff, lack of teachers. The level of teaching the Russian language falls down as well, because the content of education is wrong, because connections between subjects are absent, they study works of literature and don’t connect them with historical events. It means it’s useless in the sphere of education. Then language once more. First of all language. Language is an obstacle to communication. A man who doesn’t know language is reserved, he locks in himself. And thirdly, the mass media, informational space shrinks. The broadcast of news in Russian is closed. The cable one. The first Baltic channel promises, they broadcast news in Russian, but it’s pulled away from general context. <...>”. (Expert interview No 3).

It is important to notice that, according to the expert, there are disagreement in the position of Polish community and Russian community regarding the usage of Lithuanian language in secondary schools with Russian and Polish language of instruction:

“<...> After some years the law about the national language was approved and the contradiction among this law (Law on national Minorities – interviewer’s remark) and the law about national language appeared. And this contradiction was existing all those years. Now the main conflict in Polish community is based on this contradiction. Russians don’t have this contradiction because that even in the usage of Lithuanian language in Russian schools is much wider in educational process than in a Polish school. But Russian community doesn’t bring it as a subject of dispute, although it defends the right to decide by one-self in which language to teach and what amount of subjects should be given to pupils in a school. And it is somehow put depending on school committee, it is a will of pupils and their parents. In a Polish school it is a political position. And because of that we don’t match, and because of that we... in this case a total dislike exist and the absence of any...

how to say it... contacts. It is because that Polish parties and Polish social organizations don't like such conformist position of Russian community and Belarusian as well. I mean, yes, we want that the education in Russian language would remain. But we totally don't put the question that there should be only it, I mean without Lithuanian language, that only leaving Lithuanian language and Lithuanian literature. As the Poles want it. At this point we have a disagreement. <...>" (Expert interview No 2).

The second issue that was named by experts is the lack of funding and unclear sponsorship for the projects of ethnic minorities' organizations

The expert (interview No 1) complains that besides the fact that there is a lack of funding for projects of Russian minority organizations, the support mainly goes only for Russian ethnical folklore projects, but not for Russian culture of classics, for example.

"<...> Another thing is our authority, what it supports... I can see such hidden tendency. It is likely related with the idea what the Russian culture is. I mean the city authorities and also the authorities of the country. And it is funny that they support what Russians accept, I mean ethnical folklore things. So to say Russians are related with "sarafan, matryoshka, Pokrovsky bells". <...> But this culture is deeply alien for me. I have never danced in sarafan and even my grandma, I don't even speak about my mom; she also has never danced in sarafan. And all these "raziuli raspberry, all these bagels and etc..." It is clear that for the city and for the authorities it is pleasant that Russians are like that <...>" (Expert interview No 1).

As the expert (interview No 2) noticed, in general there is unclear sponsorship of ethnic organizations in Lithuania and The Ministry of Culture can only provide the finances related to culture:

"<...> Social organizations have been always dependent on programs which are implemented by the government through... <...> The Ministry of Culture can adopt only what is related to a culture. And everything what is related to education, the whole system of ethnical education on the level of Sunday-schools, it is hanging in the air and nobody funds it at the moment. That's why this point brings a concern because Ministry of Culture hasn't adopted it.<...> Well, actually, of course, most of attention is being paid to Russian diaspora in Lithuania. But it shouldn't be viewed separately without Polish diaspora, without Belarusian diaspora. Since somehow in a quantitative sense they are the most significant diasporas, and in the field of cultural and educational problems they are also united because they both have an education in national language, what is remained from soviet times and exists till now. I mean secondary schools. And also it somehow concerns problems which exist in such schools. The second field which unites is of course preservation of cultural heritage. Because it is general, not considering that Poles are a western-Slavic group and Russians and Belarusians are an eastern-Slavic group... nevertheless we have the same problem of preservation of cultural heritage as a mechanism. That's why somehow we have to solve those problems all three of us, doesn't matter we wish it or not. <...>" (Expert interview No 2).

"<...> No. It depends on the level of abilities and one's competence to write projects. You can write the project for fifty thousand. If you motivate that the project is necessary for Lithuania, that all this... The government lends support in large sums only for the structures that are large <|staigos> (institutions) that tackle many ethnic groups. Let's say, those that have their budget already, wages, accommodation. <...>" (Expert interview No 3).

The social integration of older generation of Russian origin is problematic in the sphere of work in Lithuania:

"<...> Yes. The elderly generation, who were originally against it, they were feeling that nothing is going to happen and many of them have lost their jobs. I saw a very sad case. It was a military-industrial complex. Very smart young people who had come there they were the leaders of the laboratories. I saw them as the people who were keeping an eye on gas boilers. He came to me; it was obvious in the very beginning that he was very intelligent. I say: "Where did you work?" "Ah,

I... in the Institute of Electrography". There was such man in Antakalnis. "And you?" "I am a taxi-driver, I was working in "Fives" factory, in the institute". Yes. But generally these people were not disorientated. They were using their brains. Some went into business. There are such cases.<...>" (Expert interview No 1).

"<...>The only one social aspect which exists today is that older generation knows badly the language. And because of that the older generation influences minds of younger generation. On the other hand we are in the context of the process where Lithuanian republic is pointed towards homogenous construction of the republic. We can observe that (pause) developmental system of all communal relations, it is somehow covered by such priority of Lithuanian identity. And even that some laws... and for instance, the law about double citizenship, it is built namely on that identity, I mean on not accepting other nationalities although they could have some kind of equivalent variant in getting double citizenship. It conveys that inside of the republic itself is a tendency which somehow little bit divides citizens on the national principle as well.<...>" (Expert interview No 2).

"<...> I always consider that all these social matters have no national shape. The economic situation in our country doesn't influence in principle, it's always the same for everybody, however I have read studies that discrimination exists in the labour market, in professional education, it exists to some extent, but it's related perhaps to other things, perhaps it intersects corruption. But the fact that young people's ignorance of language, young people don't know language. <...>" (Expert interview No 3).

The experts of Russian group interviewed by B type of questionnaire reflect not only on the Russian NGO situation in Lithuania, but also on the situation of Russian political organizations in Lithuania.

The expert (interview No 3) suggests that there is no political representation of Russian group in national and EU institutions:

"<...>So ten years ago we were a closed ethnic group. At present this group is opening in the main. It is opening. Some fifty per cent of leaders of non-governmental organizations don't speak language. That is to say, we uphold contacts. Ten years ago we didn't work with the authorities. We were in somewhat closed condition. At present such contact exists. We have our representatives in the authorities. At least in the local authorities. As for the Seimas, there're no representatives of the Russian community here. Maybe it's to the good. We work very actively with Poles. <...> We have two political parties. One of them is the Union of the Russians in Lithuania, sometime we all were in it and believed it strongly. It brought discredit on itself. When it wasn't in power, it declared things in one way. When it came to power, it began making use for personal interests. <...>" (Expert interview No 3).

The interviewed experts also talked of some issues related to some tensions (not conflicts) between the ethnic minority groups and within some ethnic minority groups.

"<...> Obvious tensions exist between Polish community and so to say (pause) and the attitude towards Polish community from the side of majority. Yes. So. It is natural that it is based on the recent past, on interwar twenty's when Vilnius region was the property of Poland. And this even intensify the tension. For Russian community the tension was in 90's. In 2000's, I could say, it is almost gone. Because in those 90's... the first part... one half passed though with a sign "Russians and occupants" – it was the same. So. And starting from the moment when the Soviet army was pulled out of Lithuania, it was in 1993. So starting from that moment the tension has weakened. Now only the tension on the level Lithuania - Russia exists. That Lithuania sees the danger in Russia and consequently it originates some kind of inner relations there... It is possible to see the danger in any Russian person... it is possible to see a spy in any Russian and etc. It is not nice. <...>" (Expert interview No 2).

The expert (interview No 1) noticed that there is a “new” type of tensions between Russians and Lithuanians and related it with Russian chauvinism:

“<...> I think that yes. I think that this new tension is related with the shift of generations. And besides that the new Lithuanian generation is great. It absolutely doesn't have this bias, “nusistatymo” (“bias” in English – interviewer's remark). Yes. They know “Yes, Russians are occupants”. But me personally, I am their friend. They don't have anything against me. I speak with them specially. They don't have this “acid look”. And for example these people need to hear everything all over again, they understand that it was ancient, ancient history. 1940... a horror. If I was living in 1991 then I am already a monster for them. People don't live so much. <...> But what I am afraid of now, I have to say it, that formerly there were no Russian nationalists. I mean, there were no but now I can see them.<...> This was such Russian chauvinism. I suspect that this Russian chauvinism is being warmed up in every way by the Embassy. All those young people against terror, I have bad attitude towards it. Somehow they were not implementing Lithuanian project for Russian money. I suppose that these are purely nominal things. But it is possible that it is an answer to Lithuanian nationalism, as soon as our skinheads go, and among them are Russians as well, and they shout “Lietuva lietuviams” (“Lithuania is for Lithuanians” in Lithuanian – interviewer's remark). Then the group of fellows arise. Somebody is also manipulating them. And it is clear who... I think that it is not without the participation of Russia.<...>” (Expert interview No 1).

Expert (interview No 2) says that there are some tensions between the ethnic groups, mainly Russians and Poles:

“<...>Between ethnical groups themselves are particular tensions between Russians and the Poles and their understanding about the problems of national minorities. So to say, it is visible through the attitudes of parties. <...>” (Expert interview No 2).

Expert (interview No 3) says that there are some problems of mass media in Russian language:

“<...> The broadcast of news in Russian is closed. The cable one. The first Baltic channel promises, they broadcast news in Russian, but it's pulled away from general context. There isn't a single serious analytic political programme. Of course it's very bad, I feel it especially before the election. People get confused. And what's more... And newspapers. Newspapers are there. Three republican newspapers, “Kurjer”, “Obzor” and “Ekspres nedeli” – weekly newspapers, therefore all information is late. The newspaper “Republic” doesn't give serious analytic material either. It comes out that non-governmental organizations can't influence the community as they have no tribune for discussions, analysis and so on.<...>” (Expert interview No 3).

4.4 Relationship to mother country

Main Russian community official relationships to their mother country are kept via the Russian Federation *Compatriots program* that attains different evaluations from interviewed experts:

The expert (interview No 1) thinks that the program of Compatriots in Lithuania has an “ideological” base:

<...> Oh! It is very clear position. Completely. Firstly, I have never considered myself a compatriot. What is compatriot? Basically it is a person... as a card of a Pole. There everything is clear because the ethnical inclusion is very straight there. For instance, I would never take such card. I am in no shape a compatriot, and such policy is led completely clearly; it supports only those who love Russia, who are faithful, who lick the foot, who are always ready and etc. <...> And the Embassy shows very clearly that “I love N, I love I love N, I love N, but I don't love N. She associates with Lithuanians”. Yes. And so if there the battle for money goes... after all basically everything is founded on that. The Embassy, of course, will give for N, N and N for any activities. It is just obvious “I love that one and this one I don't love...” And so respectively, yes. It is cultural invasion. I would

suggest not being afraid of it because when there is no taste, there is no... And our taste differs. This imperial power is tasteless, it is not fine thing. We are nevertheless Lithuanians and all are Russians of Lithuania and we are educated in totally different culture. <...> But nobody expects something different, and the compatriots are these who: "Russia, you are my native land, you are my country". Well, for me it is strange. I don't know. <...>" (Expert interview No 1).

Expert (interview No 2) emphasized that this mentioned program is controlled by Russian authorities. The main problem with this program, according to expert, is that the Russian Federation got an unusual view toward compatriots:

"<...> R: So to say, every nation has its own programme such approved position on collaboration with its fellow-countrymen. For the Poles it goes through "Polonia". And for the Russians it goes through such system under the government's commission for working with compatriots abroad. It is controlled by the Russian authorities. This commission has own funding, has own programs and it does them in all countries and where compatriots are living. <...> Because that Russia got a totally new view towards compatriots. If formerly, in 90's, these who had stayed in former republics of the Soviet Union, so now this view has totally changed. For it (Russia – interviewer's remark) the compatriots are firstly those who are citizens of Russia and they live in those countries, everywhere, wherever they are living, in USA or in Lithuania. So. And only after them go compatriots who are based on cultural there... (pause) on the mentality, based on cultural belonging they can call themselves the compatriots; they work in social organizations, they are related with Russian culture, with education, with some kind of social matters. But they are somehow pushed to aside. So to say – the time has changed the situation. In the beginning it was... everybody who had stayed outside the Soviet Union, now it is totally different. That's why this governmental commission spends money basically dividing them for all countries in the world where live Russian compatriots. Of course, there are priorities. Some kind of, it defines itself. For example, we still don't have the Moscow House built. Because that now we are not the priority (smiling – interviewer's remark). We don't have such amount of compatriots and Russian citizens who could be interesting for Russia. Besides that, the funding for some programs is going. It goes through the embassy and through the fund "Russian world". It is established with the purpose to fund programs for Russian compatriots. And the new law, which was approved by Russia, it defined clearly who is who and to whom it belongs. That's why it appears that today in Lithuania those programs are being implemented and funded which are immediately related with Russia itself and not with compatriots who live here. <...>" (Expert interview No 2).

The interviewed expert (Interview No 3) mentioned four directions of Russian Community relations to their historical motherland. First direction through the Russian embassy and governmental commission, the second through the municipal structures, third direction through the independent international foundations and organizations and fourth - work with compatriots living in other countries.

"<...>We have as if three directions. The first one is implemented through the Russian embassy and governmental commission. The special governmental commission for countrymen matters is created, the legislative base as the law towards countrymen exists. It's the first direction of non-governmental organizations' work. The second direction is through municipal structures. There go mostly Moscow and Saint Petersburg. It's directly through mayors of cities. Kaliningrad to some extent. Well, let's say, other cities in other countries. The third direction is with as if independent international foundations and organizations. Let's say, I have Nikita Mikhalkov's foundation, Yuri Dolgorukov's foundation. It's the third direction. The fourth direction, it's, let's say, our work with compatriots living in other countries. <...>" (Expert interview No 3).

4.5 Relationship (if any) to European events and organizations

The interviewed expert (interview No 2) does not see any European initiative. The named reason – European Union understand the term “social integration” differently than we understand. The term of “social integration” is likely spread on emigrants but not on ethnic minorities’ autochthons as it is mostly in Lithuanian case.

“<...> I: <...> So what do you think, do these European initiatives play any role? Different projects there... well, the ones which talk about social integration of ethnical communal groups...

R: I think that none.

I: None.

R: I think that none because the understanding of “social integration” for Europe is totally not the same as we have “social integration”. Their social integration is likely spread on emigrants. We practically don’t have them. They have already appeared... I am telling... we already have Lebanese community, there live many Chinese who are, by the way, self-dependent... they don’t ask any help and they will not. So. We have Azerbaijanis, there Uzbeks, Armenians. Yes? Should we speak about the need to integrate them, no, we don’t need it, because they are the people who appeared here either because of business or (pause) marriage. I mean that they got married Lithuanian people and they don’t have problems. They have another problem, the problem is to go up the social steps and to take the position which they were taking in their places. <...>” (Expert interview No 2).

Expert (interview No 3) thinks that European initiatives are positive factor for the initiation of some project and in principle for talking about ethnic minorities’ situation, but the problem is that in Lithuania these European Union “norms” related to ethnic minorities do not function properly.

“<...> I: Huh... Then one more question. What is the influence, if there’s any, of the policy of the European Union and the expansion of the European Union on the situation of the Russian ethnic group in Lithuania?

R: Well. What... when we prepare projects and laws, let’s say, on national minorities. We take international laws as a base. European laws as if go without saying and enables to use, so to say, a wide circle of communication. So now we prepare the training on the work with European commissions. We want our public workers—the younger ones—learn working with Europe, and of course, there are many aspects that we put in here. All this opened for us the way to Europe. It’s not bad at all. It’s entirely different <požiūris> (attitude) to this very problem. <...> But to put it frankly, our public workers entirely fail to control the situation related to juridical base of the European Union, because the structure which could disseminate it doesn’t exist. They dance and sing, but there are several serious organizations that... always take laws of the European Union as the base. Theoretically and practically, since we drive around Europe a lot, I see how people live, how laws are used in other countries of the European Union. <...>” (Expert interview No 3).

5 MAIN FINDINGS OF WEB-ANALYSIS (ENRI-BLOG)

Hans-Georg Heinrich / Olga Alekseeva

5.1 Methodology

ENRI-East is an interdisciplinary project which employs different methodological approaches. In the framework of the project, Content Analysis of Internet Resources uses internet websites attributable to ethnic minorities in order to analyse the identity-related cultural, social and political activity of minorities. The study analyses the situation of twelve minorities: Russians in Latvia and Lithuania, Ukrainians in Poland and Hungary, Belarusians in Poland and Lithuania, Poles in Belarus, Ukraine and Lithuania, Hungarians in Ukraine, Hungarians in Slovakia, and Slovaks in Hungary. Lithuanians in Russia, who were polled in the ENRI survey, were excluded due to linguistic problems. Instead, Ukrainians in Hungary were included.

Internet can be assumed to provide valid sources of information, because it is a modern and flexible means of communication. Analyzing the presence of minorities in the internet, the study can be expected to yield insights into actual concepts of identity. The internet research helps to understand not only special opinions and media activities of minorities, but also how the concept of ethnic identity evolves within new media like internet. Internet provides a forum for the democratic exchange of information, a free and unrestricted domain to escape the limits of political participation in real politics. The World Wide Web can be the communication medium of groups which are politically underrepresented. Among flows of information in the internet, such new patterns of social communication are observable as forums, live journals, or blogs that have an authentic nature and help to restore the public discourse in the most objective way.

The data base of the content analysis consists of online resources attributable to ethnic minorities, such as periodicals, organisations, blogs, forums, personal websites, and commentaries to articles. Collection of empirical resources from the internet has been carried out in two steps: selection of online resources and selection of text fragments within the online resources. Internet resources were identified by employing search engines like www.google.com for different languages and countries using key-words combinations, or checking websites which contain catalogues of resources like <http://kamunikat.org/>. Individual text fragments within a resource were selected for processing according to the criterion of theoretical relevance.

The research discovered a large number of different resources of ethnic minorities. In the study, 154 online resources were randomly identified, from which 350 text fragments²⁷ were collected and analyzed. Qualitative and quantitative content analysis of the text fragments was conducted using *simstat/wordstat6.2.1*. The data analysis consisted of the description of a resource or a text fragment according to formal criteria like “title”, “author”, or “intention”, as well as according to the content of text fragments. The former data were ordered and coded in a *simstat* data base. The data of the qualitative content analysis were generated by assigning single cases (usually combination of words or parts of sentences) to categories (keywords) which constituted the *wordstat*

²⁷ The notion “text fragment” in this study indicates a unit of analysis in the *simstat/wordstat* program. These can be single texts like articles 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.

dictionary. On the basis of simstat/wordstat data, research results were generated in form of figures which in turn have been qualitatively interpreted.

During the analysis, 69 categories could be created. 8 categories among them belong to the main categories: “cultural heritage”, “images of Europe”, “history”, “cultural encounter”, “minority rights”, “style”, “politics”, and “socio-economic situation”. These main categories include further categories (sub-categories). The following data presentation describes however only those categories, which represent the majority of coded cases within text fragments, measured in %. All other categories, which cover less than 5% of cases were left out in the presented study.

5.2 Description of internet resources

The landscape of resources of *Russian minorities 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 resources containing articles/blogs 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. 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 auditorium 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 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 Kazachstan. 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 begins to threaten minorities and seems to represent mainstream European tendencies, especially in the face of the tragic events in Norway. “*Litovski Kur’er*” links the readers to the issues in the neighbor countries like the official “Belarus Segodnya”, or the Russian tabloid “Komsomolskaya Pravda”.

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.

5.3 Results of content analysis of internet resources

5.3.1 Dictionary

The highest frequency in the text fragments attributable to the Russians in Lithuania have the following categories (keywords), here in the alphabetic order:

Civil Activity

The 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 deliberative 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.

Community

The category “community” means in a general sense the communication between different ethnic groups and nations as the cross-border activity between neighbor countries or the activities of cooperation in the framework of a national state.

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 the narratives about national poets, writers, musicians and scientists.

Discrimination

“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.

Ethnic and National Conflict

“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 result of nationalism. Conflict between neighbor nations, for example between Lithuania and Russia, can arise because of different views on history. 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 ethnic minority by financing national schools, like in the case of the Belarusian minorities in Poland, or the rejection of the Russian minorities to go through the process of naturalization in Latvia.

EU Negative

The category “EU negative” reflects negative attitudes and criticism of the ethnic minorities in Eastern European countries directed towards the idea and politics of the European Union. Negative EU attitudes can be often an indirect reaction on the dissatisfaction of the minorities with the politics of their host country and with their own socio-economic situation.

Host Country Critical

The category “host country critical” represents the views of an ethnic minority on the socio-political situation in the host country. Especially critical views shall be considered, how the members of an ethnic community position themselves towards official politics. According to such perception modes, the image and political views of an ethnic minority can be identified and the self-awareness as social group closely observed. The majority of ethnic groups share position of criticism towards the host country concerning the discrimination of their rights.

Language

“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.

Minority Rights

The category “minority rights” refers to the political aspects of identity, to the protection of the rights of an ethnicity. This category indicates how well the minority rights are 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.

Multiculturalism

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 the multiculturalism can be different, from the negative to positive one. One of the forms of multiculturalism on the level of the individual behavior is tolerance.

Nationalism

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” provides a more or less solution to this problem as it points only at existing conflict without looking for those who is guilty in this conflict.

Patriotism

The term “patriotism” runs like a red thread through all national discourses. Patriotism has an idealistic nature: with patriotism are particular emotions 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.

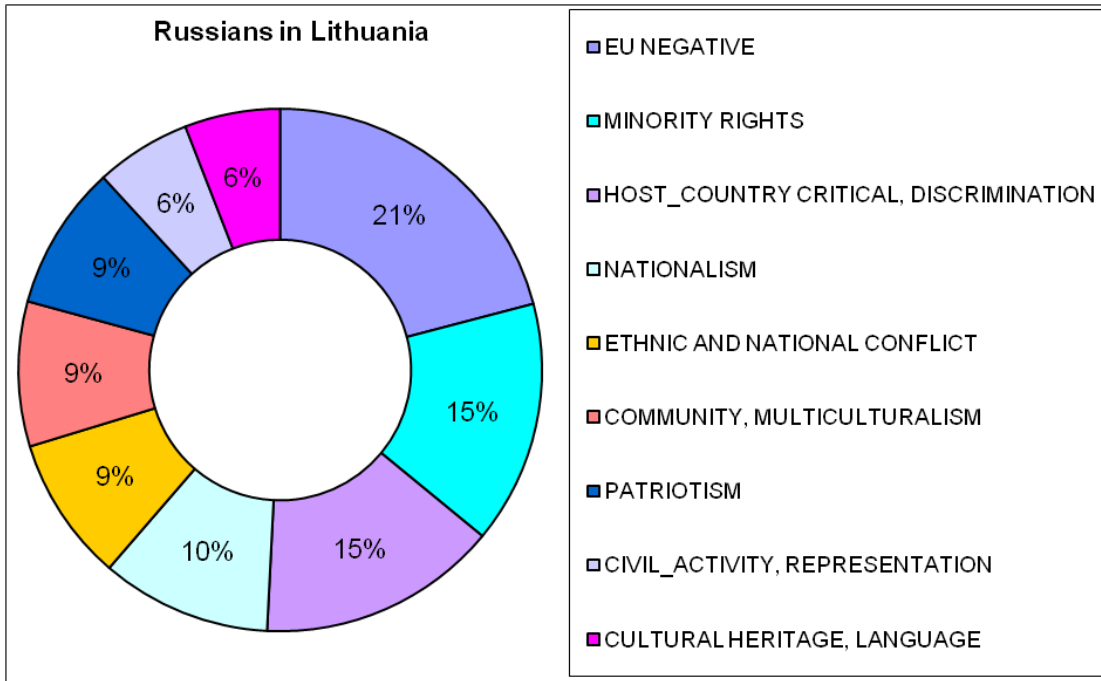
Representation

“Representation” 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.

5.3.2 Practical Realization

Figure 1 demonstrates keywords/categories distribution according to the % of coded cases for the Russian minorities in Lithuania.

Figure 1: Keyword Frequency, % of Cases



According to Figure 1, the majority of the analyzed cases for the Russians in Lithuania can be assigned to the categories describing the legal situation of the Russian minorities in Lithuania, such as “minority rights” and “host country critical”/“discrimination”. Attitudes to the European Union are to the higher degree influenced by the opinions of minorities on their social, political and economic situation.

As follows from the online resources, Russians 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, 15%). Also many parents associate better integration of their children in the Lithuanian society and better carrier chances with the Lithuanian language.

Apart from the persistence of the problems with cultural rights, the Russians 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 20% of cases.

Tendencies of minorities discrimination which implicate ethnic-national conflict exemplifies 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.
Translation from Russian: Настоящая русофобия началась в 1993-94 годах, в полных попытках отделить себя и свою собственную историю от всего русского, скорее даже нелитовского и как следствие этого люди старались показать себя титульной нацией так, что даже поляки стали переделывать фамилии на литовский лад.²⁸
- 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.
Translation from Russian: 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».²⁹

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, 15%). The Lithuanian society has avoided political instabilities 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, 6%). 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 the lack of 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, the Soviet history is a battleground for political controversies between Lithuania and Russia, which enhances nationalistic feelings on both sides (NATIONALISM, 11%). Russian media point at the image of Russia as enemy regime which tries to control 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, 9%).

²⁸ Letchik (nickname) (2010) 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>.

²⁹ Union of Russians of Lithuania (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>.

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.

Translation from Russian: 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 - дремучесть и удел недалеких, неграмотных людей.³⁰

In parallel, the representatives of the Russian ethnic minority share the positive attitude towards the host and mother country and they are interested in the creating of the constructive idea of 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 demonstrate PATRIOTISM (9%) while paying a big attention to preserving of tradition. Russian minorities share the opinion that CULTURAL HERITAGE and LANGUAGE (6%) shape 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.

Translation from Russian: Хорошая тенденция!!!! Мы не должны забывать свои корни и то, что нас всех связывает. Подобные мероприятия возрождают духовный путь патриотизма, который был практически полностью подавлен советской властью.³¹

The interview with the descendant of the Russian reformer Stolypin, N. Sluchevski³², on the website of the Russian Cultural Center suggests that there are deep cultural and historical roots between Russia and Lithuania. The personalities like Stolypin demonstrate that both countries and their people have close connections and deep historical roots. N. Sluchevski expresses his regret concerning the abolishment of peasantry tradition to work on land in Russia, 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.

³⁰ Spok (nickname) (2009) “Не хотят избавляться от синдрома жертвы” (Don’t want to get rid of the victim’s syndrome) (author Listopad, E.), Litovski Kur’er (posting to the article), 21 Mai, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.kurier.lt/?r=13&a=2486&c&p=3&c>.

³¹ Horss (nickname) (2010) 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), posting in periodical Obzor, 11 July, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://obzor.lt/news/n734.html>.

³² Yasinskaya, T. (without date) «Калнабарже – поруганная колыбель столыпинских реформ» (Kalnabyarzhe – the lost cradle of the Stolypin reforms), Interview with Sluchevski, N., Russian Cultural Center, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.rkc.lt/news/kalnaberze/>.

Translation from Russian: 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.

Translation from Russian: 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.

Translation from Russian: 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.

6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Research conclusions

There were 219,789 Russians in Lithuania in 2001 and they made 6.3 per cent of total Lithuanian population (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:13). As the Population Census 2001 revealed, 89 per cent of Russians (196,042) considered Russian language as their native language, 6 per cent (13,954) considered Lithuanian language as their native language, 389 – Polish, 91 - Ukrainian (Statistics Lithuania 2002b:74).

The majority of Russians in Lithuania are concentrated in Vilnius county (98,790), Visaginas town (15,491), Kaunas county (26,304) and Klaipėda county (44,082) (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:192-193).

Among 219,789 Russians in Lithuania in 2001, 45.7 per cent (100,658) registered as Orthodox, 10 per cent (21,807) as Roman Catholics, 11 per cent (24,969) as Old Believers, 24 per cent (53,678) noted that they do not belong to any religious confession (Statistics Lithuania 2002b:204).

6.1.1 The Results of ENRI-VIS

According to the survey data, 5.6 per cent of the Russians speak Lithuanian most often at home. Among the rear cases of other languages (1.5 per cent), Polish or Polish and Russian were mentioned.

Based on the survey's data it is possible to conclude that among the Lithuanian Russians, self-identification first of all is based on the categories related to social status, including occupation, social class, that could be defined as attained through social participation in social environment and labour market, and followed by categories such age, gender and to far less extent, ethnicity or geographical dimensions.

The Lithuanian Russians tend to give more importance to the facts of being born, have been lived for most of one's years and having a citizenship of the receiving country for the being a true representative of a dominant ethnicity and far less importance of the sending country for being a representative of an ethnic minority.

The respondents of the survey have maintained that it is of highly importance for them to use the media in Russian language and to give school education for their children in minority language. According to the survey data, majority of the Lithuanian Russians can take advantages of these opportunities. The great majority of the Russian sample has an opportunity to read newspapers and magazines in the Russian language, issued in Lithuania (95 per cent), and to give school education for their children in Russian language (87.9 per cent). Also, most Russians can watch TV programs of the Lithuania TV channels in Russian language (75 per cent) and listen to the radio programs of the Lithuania radio stations in Russian language (75.1 per cent).

Although the majority of the Lithuanian Russians could be defined as belonging to a certain religion or religious denomination, most of them are relatively rear practitioners. 14.7 per cent of the respondents never practice religion. More than half respondents (55 per cent) practice religion several times a year or rarer and one quarter of the respondents (27.6 per cent) practice their religion once a month or more often apart from funerals, christenings and weddings.

While considering the European Union, most part of Russians surveyed (42.4 per cent) has a neutral image of the EU, followed by a significant share of those having a very positive or fairly positive – 33.1 per cent. Those who have very negative or rather negative image of the EU comprise 15.4 per cent of the sample.

Still, the majority of the Russians surveyed (56.1 per cent) maintains that Lithuania benefits a lot or rather benefits from being a member of the EU. Over one fourth (28.1 per cent) of Russians maintain negative attitudes towards Lithuania's benefits from the EU and think that the country has no benefits at all or rather does not have benefits. Worth noticing that 13.8 per cent of the sample did not have an opinion with regard to the Lithuania's benefit from being a member of the EU.

The respondents were asked to assess their situation after joining the European Union. Most of Russian respondents maintain that both situation for their ethnic groups in making political decisions and recognition of culture of the ethnic group is much the same after the joining the EU – 57.2 and 60.9 per cent, correspondingly. In similar parts, the respondents maintain that situation has become much better or rather better in these areas (16.3 and 16.4 per cent, correspondingly) or that it has worsened – 12.0 and 7.8 per cent, correspondingly. Worth noticing that every seventh Russian respondent did not have an opinion regarding possible changes of participation in the political decisions or recognition of culture of his or her ethnic minority group after joining the EU (14.3 and 14.7 per cent, correspondingly).

The data analysis enables to conclude that the 'euro-optimists' tend to identify more benefits and positive changes in minority situation regarding their political participation and recognition of culture.

While analysing the survey data on fears about the future of Europe and the European Union, it is obvious that the Lithuanian Russians are mostly afraid of an increase in drug trafficking and international organized crime (77.6 per cent) and the loss of social benefits (70.5 per cent). Nearly half of Russians feel afraid of more difficulties for ethnic and national minorities (51.6 per cent) and the loss of Russian identity and culture (48.8 per cent); however, significant shares of respondents do not have certain fears (39.7 and 45.6 per cent, correspondingly). One third of the Russians (35.2 per cent) spell out their fair concerning the loss of the Lithuanian national identity and culture, while one tenth of the sample (10.1 per cent) has no opinion with regard to this issue.

6.1.2 The Results of ENRI-BIO

Speaking about the ethnic identities of interviewed respondents from Russian group in Lithuania it could be stated that ethnicity is not defined geographically (i.e. place (country) they are born), but is related with culture, language. It is noticeable, that the respondents who attended or attend the secondary schools with Russian language of instruction in Lithuania identify more with Russian language or culture than those who attended or attend other type of schools.

Most interviewed respondents, including those who were not born in Lithuania, define Lithuania as their homeland. It is also noticeable that most of interviewed Russian respondents who define Lithuania as their homeland, do not identify themselves with the whole country but with a particular place they live (most of them are from Vilnius). Also, it is a tendency that interviewed respondents from younger (interview No 10, No 11) and middle (interview No 8) generation who were born in Lithuania, identify more with Lithuania, than with Russia.

Most interviewed respondents have difficulties in identifying with Europe. For most of them Europe associates not with the European countries and people, their mentality, common culture,

but with the European Union as organization/institution and politics of European Union. Only some of the interviewed respondents have emphasized that difference. Differently from the informants who represent the older generation, the informants from youngest generation more easily depict themselves as Europeans or identify with Europe or European Union. The interviewed respondents of younger age are more euro-enthusiastic and mention new possibilities that Europe could offer to them: possibilities to study, to live in the countries of European Union, possibilities to do your career in these countries. It is noticeable, that the respondents who represent the older generation are more Eurosceptic towards the European Union than the younger ones. Those who participated in the military actions of the Second World War or survived during the War, put the European Union and Russian federation in opposition. They found offensive the fact that the countries that were in antifascist coalition during the Second World War (for example, France and Great Britain) and Germany are in one Union, but the Russian Federation that geographically also considered Europe, is excluded from this Union.

It is problematic to make any generalizations on the regional identity of the interviewed respondents. Each respondent named different region that is important for him/her. The interviewed respondents identify with Russia, Byelorussia or other territories inhabited by Slavs (Ukraine and Poland). The regions respondents identify with are diverse and commonly these places were important during some period of their lives: for example, the respondents were studying there. Only one interviewed respondent from the oldest generation without any doubts named Europe as the region he identifies with. This could be explained by the fact that a respondent is a citizen of Belgium and France. The interviewed respondents from the youngest generation (Interview No 9, No 10, and No 11) also identify with the European region, with the countries of West Europe. They mention opportunities to study and do your career. Anyway, besides identification with the European region, they identify also with Russia as they introduce themselves as Russian speakers.

Almost all respondents interviewed participate in the activities of some ethnic cultural organization. It could be stated that in the activities of ethnic minority organizations participate respondents from all generations.

Nobody of interviewed respondents said that they have experienced some tensions or conflicts on ethnic base among Lithuanians and Russians in Lithuania. However, some of interviewed respondents think that they were discriminated in everyday life. The respondents from older generation or those who do not speak Lithuanian language mentioned some embarrassing situations related with the use of Lithuanian language in everyday life (i.e. remarks that they still do not speak Lithuanian language, etc.) Anyway no one of them thinks that they have been discriminated on that base.

6.1.3 The Results of ENRI-EXI

According to the interviewed experts, the main issue concerning the ethnic minorities in Lithuania is that currently there is no law which gives the definition of „ethnic minorities group“ and regulates the everyday life of ethnic minorities in Lithuania. The experts mentioned that the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad was closed in 2009 and the main functions of the Department were undertaken by the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture. According to the experts, the liquidation/reorganization of the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanian Living Abroad had negative consequences for the situation of ethnic minorities' Sunday schools in Lithuania because formerly these schools were under supervision of the department.

The experts also complained about educational level in the secondary schools with Russian language of instruction.

It is important to notice that, according to the expert, there are disagreements in the positions of Polish community and Russian community regarding importance of the Lithuanian language in secondary schools of ethnic minorities. The Russians generally do not oppose the usage of Lithuanian language in Russian schools because Lithuanian language is used much more wider in educational process.

According to the expert, there is a lack of funding and unclear sponsorship for the projects of ethnic minorities' organizations. The expert (interview No 1) complains that besides the fact that there is a lack of funding for projects of Russian minority organizations, the support mainly goes only for Russian ethnic folklore projects, but not Russian culture of classics. The expert (interview No 2) also noticed that speaking about the funding in general, there is unclear sponsorship of ethnic social organizations in Lithuania and The Ministry of Culture supports the cultural (not social or other kind) projects of ethnic minorities.

The interviewed expert (Interview No 3) discerned four directions of Russian Community relations with their historical motherland. According to the expert, the first direction is through the Russian embassy and governmental commission (Russian Federation *Compatriots program*), the second through the municipal structures, third direction through the independent international foundations and organizations and fourth - work with compatriots living in other countries.

Russian Federation *Compatriots program* gained different evaluations from interviewed experts. The expert (interview No 1) emphasized that the program of Compatriots in Lithuania has an "ideological" base, as definition of the compatriot is not clear and mainly encompasses those who are "loyal" to Russian Federation. Expert (interview No 2) said that the program is controlled by Russian authorities. The main problem with this program, according to expert, is that the Russian Federation got an unusual view toward compatriots. If formerly, in 1990's, the compatriots were those who stayed in former republics of the Soviet Union, now the compatriots are firstly those who are citizens of Russia and live in other countries (Expert interview No 2).

The experts noticed that the Russian community in Lithuania, differently from Polish community in Lithuania, are less consolidated and even marginalized (on the issues of marginalization of Russian group in Lithuania see Kasatkina, Leoncikas 2003). The experts noticed that participation of Russian ethnic group in social and political life in Lithuania is not visible. According to the experts (Expert interview No 3), fifty per cent of leaders of non-governmental organizations don't speak Lithuanian language and this fact is a barrier to uphold contacts with other state institutions, Lithuanian organizations and to have representatives at local and national authorities.

The interviewed experts of Russian group in Lithuania reflect not only on the Russian NGO situation in Lithuania, but also on the situation of Russian political organizations in Lithuania. There are mainly two active political parties of Russians in Lithuania (*Lithuanian Russian Union and Russian Alliance*). According to the experts (interview No 3), the *Lithuanian Russian Union's* leaders should have more competencies (the competences in Lithuanian and Russian languages, the competence in legislative base) so that they could represent properly the interests of Russian community.

According to the interviewed experts, the members of older generation of Russians face some problems of social integration. This is especially evident in the sphere of work (Expert interview No 1): many highly qualified workers of a soviet military-industrial complex lost their jobs when

Lithuania regained independency and now work as less qualified works (i.e. taxi drivers, gas boilers keepers or own their private business). The other barrier to successful participation at the job market named by expert is poor or no command of Lithuanian language (Expert interview No 2). Some experts pointed out (Expert interview No 3) that all these aspects have no ethnic shape, however the expert thinks that discrimination to some extent exists in the labour market and in professional education.

6.2 Practical recommendations

The research conducted in Lithuania encompasses quantitative and qualitative surveys. The research data is revealing of different aspects of Russian minority situation in Lithuania and presents perspectives of different members of Russian group and the experts of this group. The initial data analysis is presented in the report and raises a number of questions to be further investigated. Some basic practical recommendations can be drawn at this stage.

6.2.1 Recommendations for civil society organizations

Despite there is a great number of civil society organizations of Russian ethnic minority in Lithuania and a political party that aims to represent the Russian minority in Lithuania, the Russian ethnic group in Lithuania is not well organized. Most of the organizations are mainly oriented to cultural activities and insufficiently communicate among themselves and with other ethnic minority organizations. The Russian organizations in Lithuania carry the work of highest importance in fostering and disseminating the cultures of ethnic minorities. It is of highest importance that in their work they seek for interethnic communication, promotion of communication between titular nation and ethnic minorities. Cooperation between ethnic minority organizations is also of key importance in achieving or promoting certain legal or policy developments favorable for ethnic minorities.

6.2.2 Recommendations for governmental bodies and officials at local, regional, national and supra-national levels

The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania guarantees the state support for national communities. From the 1990s until late 2009 the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanian Living Abroad under the Government of Republic of Lithuania was responsible for communication with national minorities and the implementation of various social and cultural programmes oriented to and/or developed by national minorities. At the end of 2009 this Department was closed and its functions were taken over by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Culture, and the Ministry of Education and Science. The experts interviewed pointed that due to this reorganization the state attention to the needs of ethnic minorities has decreased. The economic crisis started in 2008 and it also affected state's possibilities to provide support for the needs of ethnic minorities organizations. The experts claim that the funding of ethnic NGO in Lithuania in general has unclear sponsorship, i.e. there is no clear funding criteria system for the evaluation of projects of ethnic minorities' organization. The reconstructions of previous level of the state support for ethnic minority organizations, for the needs of ethnic minorities and the clear sponsorship of ethnic minorities organizations is essential in guaranteeing the development of ethnic communities in Lithuania.

Also, according to the experts, the liquidation/reorganization of the Department had negative consequences for the situation of ethnic minorities' Sunday schools in Lithuania because formerly these schools were under supervision of the department.

The experts also were complained about the educational level in the secondary schools with Russian language of instruction (the state language teaching in these schools is very low and there is a lack of professional staff). The amendments of the Law on Education should consider the mentioned issues.

The absence of the Law on National Minorities also has influence the status of ethnic minorities in the state as there is no definition of national minorities in Lithuania.

6.2.3 Suggestions for future research and follow-up studies

The follow up studies should focus on the development of ethnic minority situation, interethnic communication, minority-majority communication in Lithuania. For comparative reasons it were of highest importance to conduct research not only among the groups of ethnic minorities, but among titular-Lithuanian population as well. The perspectives on ethnic situation, ethnic communications should come from “both sides”, i.e. from ethnic minority and titular nation.

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