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OCCUPATIONAL
REPRESENTATION
AND ETHNIC
DISCRIMINATION
IN LATVIA

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SUMMARY

Since the beginning of European political thought, public life has been based on the principle that all human beings are equal before the law. In modern times this principle has been elaborated and confirmed in various international human rights instruments. The EU has recently paid special attention to issues relating to equal treatment and on 29 June 2000 passed directive 2000/43/EC (Race Directive) aimed at combating discrimination based on ethnic origin in the economic and social spheres. This study on ethnic parity in the labour market and the connection between occupational representation and ethnic discrimination is the first step towards implementation of the Race Directive in Latvia.

The main focus of this study is direct and indirect discrimination on grounds of ethnicity in Latvia. Given the multicultural and multiethnic nature of Latvia's society, the issue of ethnic discrimination is important in terms of both domestic and foreign policy. Discrimination results in economic disadvantage, fosters mutual distrust, and promotes feelings of insecurity and psychological tension, which can not only have harmful results at the individual level, but also seriously endanger a country's development and security. Moreover, the failure of a state to combat discrimination can lead to distrust of government by those who are targets of unequal treatment. Consequently, one might argue that discrimination on grounds of ethnicity is eventually harmful to state security.

This report is based on statistical data obtained from surveying Latvia's district and city local governments, ministries, several large state enterprises, institutions of higher learning, schools and nineteen private companies. Representatives of the aforementioned institutions responded to a questionnaire sent to them on the ethnic proportions of their employees, hiring procedures and employee relations. Interviews, additional analyses and quantitative surveys were also used.

Data on occupational proportionality do not suggest the existence of widespread discrimination on the basis of ethnicity in Latvia. Moreover, the welfare of the ethnic minorities (hereinafter, minorities) is comparable to that of the majority, which is not the case in societies where discrimination on grounds of ethnicity is frequently observed. However, there is an obvious lack of ethnic parity in certain institutions and sectors.

The main reasons for the lack of ethnic parity are weak involvement of ethnic minorities in the process of the state's renewal and the consequent lack of representation in newly created institutions, persistent poor knowledge of Latvian among minorities, lack of motivation to acquire citizenship, scepticism concerning the work of state institutions as a whole and low salaries of civil servants, patterns of ethnic self-segregation, especially among ethnic Latvians, but also among the minorities, a lack of open hiring procedures, a lack of education on ethnic discrimination and human rights in society, unbalanced and often incongruous information in the mass media and separate communication networks which operate in different languages. This study offers a number of policy recommendations to improve the existing situation.

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INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Since ancient Greek and Roman times public life has been based on the principle, rarely fully implemented, that all human beings are equal before the law and have the right to equal protection by the law. In modern times this principle has been elaborated and confirmed in various international and regional human rights instruments. According to this principle the implementation of human rights must be ensured regardless of race, sex, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, descent, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.¹

In other words, people have the right to live in the world today without being discriminated against. In this case, discrimination is considered a situation where due to the aforementioned characteristics a person receives less favourable treatment than has been given or would have been given to someone else in a comparable situation. Discrimination can also be of an indirect nature if due to a seemingly neutral condition, criterion or practice a person ends up in a particularly unfavourable situation in comparison with other persons due to the aforementioned characteristics. However, this is not the case if this condition, criterion or practice has an objective justification, pursues a legitimate goal and if the means used to reach it are proportionate and necessary in a democratic society.²

This study focuses on ethnic and racial discrimination. Ethnic origin and race have often served as grounds for real or perceived discrimination, which has then often led to conflict, even violence.³ In contemporary Europe, the prime targets of intolerance and

¹ See Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 2; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Article 2, Paragraph 2; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 2, Paragraph 1; International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Article 1, Paragraph 1; European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Article 14.

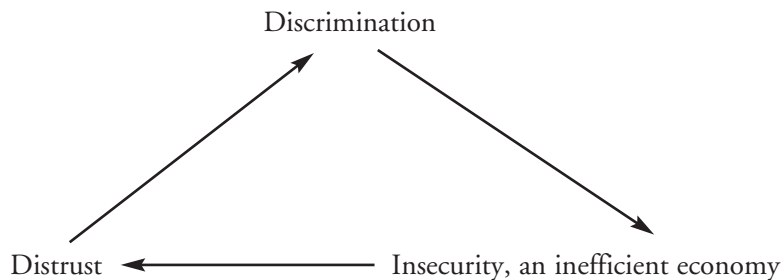
² The definition from the EU Race Directive was used as a basis for this definition of discrimination. See Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000, Implementing the Principle of Equal Treatment Between Persons Irrespective of Racial or Ethnic Origin, *Official Journal L* 180 (19/07/2000), p. 22.

³ Gurr, Ted Robert. *Minorities At Risk. A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993), pp. 34–61.

discrimination have been Roma, immigrants, asylum-seekers and refugees.⁴ Xenophobia has recently led to a growth in voter support for right-wing political parties in Austria, Belgium, Netherlands, France, Romania and Denmark. Given the multicultural and multiethnic nature of Latvia's society, the issue of ethnic discrimination is important in terms of both domestic and foreign policy.

Discrimination results in economic disadvantage, fosters mutual distrust, and promotes feelings of insecurity and psychological tension, which can not only have harmful results at the individual level, but also seriously endanger a country's development and security. Moreover, the failure of a state to combat discrimination can lead to distrust of government by those who are targets of unequal treatment. Discrimination, mutual distrust and insecurity are interdependent, mutually reinforcing factors that function within society in a unified scheme (see Diagram 1).

Diagram 1. Interdependence between discrimination, distrust and security



Occupational representation: a critical indicator of ethnic discrimination

Various ethnic groups are never fully proportionally represented in all social spheres. Disproportions can derive from a variety of factors. Frequently, disproportions stem from self-segregation reinforced by factors such as language, traditions or separate communication networks.⁵ However, disproportions may also be the outcome of direct or

⁴ See Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, High Commissioner on National Minorities, *Report on the Situation of Roma and Sinti in the OSCE Area* (The Hague: OSCE, 2000); and European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, *Diversity and Equality for Europe, Annual Report 2000* (Vienna: EUMC, 2001).

⁵ See Schelling, Thomas C. *Micromotives and Macrobehaviour* (New York: Norton & Company, 1978).

indirect discrimination. Even if discrimination is more perceived than real, it can increase social tension and pave the way towards ethnic conflict. One first step towards ascertaining the existence of discrimination, in the absence of direct evidence, is investigating the proportionality of the representation of various ethnic groups in government institutions and the private sector.

If various ethnic groups are equally and proportionately represented in government institutions and if their level of welfare is similar, then the likelihood of discrimination based on ethnic origin is small. On the other hand, if there are obvious disproportions in representation, the reasons must be investigated and efforts must be made to ameliorate the situation. A disproportion may be the result of discrimination just as much as it may be the cause. Lacking a more or less proportionate division of labour, the representatives of less favourably positioned groups may believe that discrimination exists.⁶ As a result, socio-economic stratification may become even more magnified, thereby making ethnic origin an economic or social category that can eventually lead to ethnic conflict. One can say that research on the ethnic division of labour is the first step towards ascertaining the existence of discrimination and potential of ethnic conflict within the society.

Anti-discrimination, occupational representation and the European Union

As Latvia moves toward becoming a member of the European Union, Latvia's legislation will need to be harmonised with the *acquis communautaire*. The EU has recently paid special attention to combating discrimination based on ethnic origin in the economic and social spheres. On June 29 2000, the 2000/43/EC directive was passed, thereby "implementing the principle of equal treatment among individuals regardless of race or ethnic origin." The Race Directive must be fully implemented in the member countries of the European Union by 2003. As far as the EU candidate countries are concerned, the directive is part of the *acquis communautaire* and, thus, will also be obligatory for new member states, including Latvia. A first step towards increasing awareness of discrimination and implementing the Race Directive is an examination of ethnic parity in the labour market.

In a sense, ascertaining the reasons for ethnic parity or disproportions and the link with discrimination serves as a point of departure in co-ordinating Latvia's domestic and foreign policy activities. The preclusion of disproportion and discrimination render a

⁶ Brass, Paul R. "Elite Competition and Nation-Formation," in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Laitin, David D. "The National Uprisings in the Soviet Union," *World Politics*, Vol. 44, 1, pp. 139–177.

country safer, more stable and more prosperous from the inside while the external benefit is an improved image of the country as a stable place to invest and a law-based state that observes human rights.

Methodology

This report is based on statistical data obtained from surveying Latvia's district and city local governments, ministries, several large state enterprises, institutions of higher learning, schools and nineteen private companies.⁷ Representatives of the aforementioned institutions responded to a questionnaire sent to them on the ethnic proportions of their employees, hiring procedures and employee relations. Additional analyses and quantitative surveys were also used.⁸

Based on the information obtained, data was compiled on the ethnic origin and proportions of employees at state institutions and enterprises. In order to provide a clearer overview of these proportions, in many cases the "employment proportionality index" was calculated. This is the relation of the proportion of permanent residents of a certain ethnic group to the proportion of employees of a certain ethnic group working at a certain state agency or business. In order to obtain a deeper understanding of the situation, interviews were conducted with ethnic minority employees at state agencies and private businesses. The anonymity of the persons interviewed and the private businesses involved has been guaranteed.

The conclusion examines the various factors fostering or hindering ethnic proportional representation in the aforementioned sectors and agencies. Particular attention will be

⁷ The data derive from responses received to written requests sent in 2001 to state institutions, municipal governments, state enterprises and private companies to provide information about the ethnic origin of persons employed or elected. Data are available from 23 local governments and 5 of the largest cities, almost all government ministries, the largest state enterprises (in terms of persons employed), 17 of 60 private companies addressed, and 19 institutions of higher learning. Private companies were asked to provide supplementary answers on attitudes of employers and employees towards ethnically mixed staff and on whether ethnicity influenced the employee's choice of employer or employee. Private companies were also asked about the ethnic origin of management. Private companies were guaranteed confidentiality. Subsequently, the results obtained from the information requests were analysed and discussed in interviews with minority employees in state institutions and in business and with other experts.

⁸ See the sociological surveys by Baltic Data House, "Ceļā uz pilsonisku sabiedrību" (Riga: Baltijas Datu nams, 1997/1998); and the Baltic Social Science Institute, "Ceļā uz pilsonisku sabiedrību 2000.–2001." (Riga: Baltijas Sociālo zinātņu institūts, Naturalizācijas pārvalde, 2001); and Rose, Richard. *New Baltic Barometer IV: A Survey Study* (Glasgow: Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, 2000).

paid to the link between equal treatment of members of various ethnic groups and the development and existence of ethnic disproportions among the employees of various state and public institutions.

Ethnic proportions of Latvia's population and citizenry

In order to ascertain the ethnic proportions of the employees of state and local government agencies, state-owned enterprises and private businesses, it is first necessary to ascertain the ethnic proportions of the population and citizenry. According to data from the Department of Citizenship and Migration Affairs, 2,349,468 people were registered in Latvia in July 2001. If the 30,747 foreigners legally residing in Latvia are subtracted from this sum, we end up with 2,318,721, of whom 1,783,974 are Latvian citizens.⁹ The ethnic proportions of Latvia's permanent residents and citizens are shown in percentages in Table 1.¹⁰

Table 1. Permanent residents and citizens by ethnic origin, July 2001

Ethnic origin	Percentage of ethnic group among citizenry	Percentage of ethnic group among permanent residents
Latvians	76.3	58.8
Russians	17.4	28.8
Belarussians	1.3	4.0
Poles	2.2	2.5
Ukrainians	0.4	2.5
Lithuanians	0.9	1.4
Jews	0.3	0.4
Others	0.9	1.4

Source: Department of Citizenship and Migration Affairs, 2001.

⁹ Homepage of the Naturalisation Board <http://www.np.gov.lv/fakti>

¹⁰ Analysts of Latvia's ethnic politics often do not differentiate between citizens and non-citizens, as non-citizens enjoy many socio-economic rights unavailable to permanent resident aliens elsewhere. However, such an approach can also be misleading when studying ethnic proportionality, as non-citizens cannot be elected to parliament or local government, or join the civil service. Thus, in such cases, the proportionality index should be calculated using the ethnic breakdown of the citizenry. However, when examining ethnicity in the private sector or academia, the appropriate comparison is the population as a whole since citizenship is not a factor in employment in these sectors.

Ethnic origin in this data set, which shows the ethnic proportions of both the citizenry and the entire population, is determined according to the ethnicity entry in passports. When discussing the representative proportionality of different ethnic groups, one must remember that in some types of work, e.g., the civil service, only citizens can be employed, while other types of work are accessible to persons without Latvian citizenship. As shown by the table, only four ethnic groups among the citizenry exceed the 1% mark – Latvians, Russians, Poles and Belarussians. The two largest ethnic groups among the citizenry are the Latvians (76.3%) and the Russians (17.4%), and the Latvians comprise the absolute majority of all citizens of Latvia.

Among permanent residents six ethnic groups are of a ratio higher than 1%. Latvians comprise almost 60% and Russians comprise almost 30% of the total population. Taking into account the proportional indicators of these ethnic groups, this study will further focus on the representation of the five largest ethnic groups in state institutions and businesses.

ETHNIC PROPORTIONS IN THE STATE SECTOR AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Ethnic proportions in Latvia's local governments and their administrations

As local governments are closest to the grass roots in a democracy, examining ethnic proportions at this level is particularly important. This chapter will review ethnic representation in Latvia's local governments. First, the ethnic composition of each municipality's population and citizens will be ascertained, and then the weight of minority employees in the administration and representative institutions will be calculated. Table 2 below reflects the ethnic proportions of the populations and citizenry of Latvia's districts and cities.

Table 2. Proportions of minority residents and citizens in districts
and cities

Districts and Cities	Russians		Belarussians		Ukrainians		Poles	
	% of total population	% of citizens	% of total population	% of citizens	% of total population	% of citizens	% of total population	% of citizens
Aizkraukle	14.2	7.4	2.5	0.6	1.4	0.2	1.3	0.7
Alūksne	13.4	9.2	0.4	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.3	0.2
Balvi	19.1	14.9	0.6	0.2	0.7	0.1	0.3	0.2
Bauska	11.2	4.2	3.8	0.8	2.0	0.2	1.5	0.7
Cēsis	9.2	3.7	1.5	0.3	0.9	0.1	1.0	0.6
Daugavpils	37.8	28.2	6.4	2.2	1.2	0.2	11.7	9.4
City of Daugavpils	54.7	36.3	8.6	2.2	1.7	0.4	3.8	0.2
Gulbene	11.3	7.2	1.0	0.3	0.8	0.1	0.7	0.5
Jēkabpils	22.4	14.3	2.8	0.6	1.1	0.1	2.3	1.1
Jelgava	18.4	8.1	7.2	1.1	1.8	0.2	2.2	0.9
City of Jelgava	30.3	11.0	6.0	1.1	2.8	0.4	2.0	0.9
Krāslava	24.1	18.1	17.7	10.9	1.0	0.1	6.6	4.4

Districts and Cities	Russians		Belarussians		Ukrainians		Poles	
	% of total population	% of citizens	% of total population	% of citizens	% of total population	% of citizens	% of total population	% of citizens
Liepāja	3.2	1.1	0.7	0.2	1.0	0.1	0.3	0.2
City of Liepāja	33.4	7.0	3.7	0.5	5.3	0.6	1.2	0.8
Limbaži	6.3	3.2	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.8	0.5
Ludza	35.7	28.1	3.9	2.9	1.2	0.2	1.0	0.9
Madona	8.7	5.1	1.2	0.4	0.7	0.1	0.5	0.2
Ogre	22.9	14.8	2.8	0.7	1.3	0.2	1.3	0.8
Preiļi	26.8	22.5	1.5	0.5	0.8	0.1	1.7	1.5
Rēzekne	38.8	35.0	1.1	0.3	0.6	0.1	1.2	1.0
City of Rēzekne	49.5	40.0	1.6	0.6	1.2	0.3	2.6	2.4
Riga	24.3	9.7	4.1	0.8	2.5	0.3	1.7	0.9
City of Riga	42.9	16.2	4.6	1.0	3.9	0.5	2.0	1.4
Saldus	5.2	2.0	1.4	0.4	1.1	0.2	0.5	0.3
Tukums	7.9	3.4	1.7	0.1	1.2	0.2	0.8	0.5
Valka	12.5	4.1	2.2	0.5	1.3	0.2	0.7	0.4
Valmiera	10.8	4.4	2.0	0.5	1.0	0.2	0.8	0.5
Ventspils	4.7	1.5	1.0	0.2	1.5	0.2	0.4	0.3

In the 23 districts and 5 cities reviewed, in 5 districts and 3 cities the proportion of Russians, Latvia's largest minority, is more than 15% of the citizenry. Of the other ethnic groups only the proportion of Belarussians exceeds 15% in one locale – the Krāslava district. The ratio of other minorities in the reviewed districts and cities usually does not exceed a few percent. In nine of Latvia's districts the proportion of Russians, Latvia's largest minority, does not exceed 5%. In fourteen districts the proportion of the small minorities does not comprise even 1% of all citizens. As a significant portion of the members of these ethnic groups has not yet acquired Latvian citizenship, the proportion of minorities among the entire population is much larger than among the citizenry. In the 28 districts and cities that were reviewed, the proportion of Russians among the permanent residents exceeds 15% in fifteen districts and cities.

20 out of Latvia's 26 districts responded to the questionnaires concerning the ethnic origin of the members of the district council and administration. Of the cities surveyed, 22 responded. Table 3 contains data concerning the ethnic composition of the district councils and administrations, and Table 4 reflects the ethnic composition of city councils and administrations. In comparing these proportions it is essential to remember that only citizens can be elected to local governments, but persons without citizenship theoretically can be employed in the administration. However, in reality, employees without citizenship are rare in the administration.

Table 3. Proportions of district council and administration employees by ethnic origin (%)

District	Latvians		Russians		Ukrainians		Belarussians		Poles		Others	
	Coun- cil	Admin- istra- tion	Coun- cil	Admin- istra- tion	Coun- cil	Admin- istra- tion	Coun- cil	Admin- istra- tion	Coun- cil	Admin- istra- tion	Coun- cil	Admin- istra- tion
Bauska	100	88	–	8	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–
Daugavpils	69	58	19	18	4	2	–	10	8	12	–	–
Dobele	100	100	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gulbene	93	94	7	3	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–
Jēkabpils	100	96	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Krāslava	96	78	4	11	–	–	–	3	–	8	–	–
Kuldīga	100	100	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Liepāja	90	100	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–
Limbaži	100	91	–	9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ludza	79	71	21	20	–	7	–	2	–	–	–	–
Ogre	100	94	–	–	–	3	–	3	–	–	–	–
Preiļi	100	100	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Rēzekne	NA	75	NA	23	NA	2	NA	–	NA	–	NA	–
Rīga	96	93	4	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Saldus	NA	96	NA	2	NA	–	NA	–	NA	–	NA	2
Talsi	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Tukums	100	90	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	5	–	–
Valka	95	100	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	–
Valmiera	100	97	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ventspils	100	100	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

NA – not available.

Upon reviewing the ethnic proportions of district administrations and elected district representatives, one can see that, as a whole, Latvians dominate as the absolute majority in the makeup of Latvia's district councils and administrations. Out of twenty districts, in ten district councils only ethnic Latvians were elected. In four of those districts, administrations are mono-ethnically Latvian as well. Overall, six districts have no minority employees in local administration. At the same time, in six districts where only ethnic Latvians have been elected to the councils, the administrations are multi-ethnic. Upon compiling the data concerning 20 district councils and administrations, one can see that of all elected council representatives 6 percent are minorities. In the administrations, minorities comprise 12 percent.

Thus, one can conclude that:

- First, minorities are proportionately less represented in district councils and administrations than their proportions in these districts, both among permanent residents and citizens.
- Second, based on this data, one cannot say that the elected body influences the ethnic makeup of its administration, as the ratio of minorities represented in the administrations is double that of the ratio of minorities represented in the councils.

One of the primary reasons for the comparatively low representation of minorities in local government councils and administrations is the lack of citizenship and Latvian language knowledge among minorities. Surveys and interviews suggest that language knowledge is a decisive factor determining the ability to obtain employment. At the municipal level, it is likely that selection is oriented toward qualified personnel who know the Latvian language. In the following table it is possible to take a closer look at the ethnic proportions in local government administrations.

Table 4. Ethnic origin of city council and administration employees (%)

District	Latvians		Russians		Ukrainians		Belarussians		Poles		Others	
	Council	Administration	Council	Administration	Council	Administration	Council	Administration	Council	Administration	Council	Administration
Aizkraukle	82	89	–	–	–	–	–	4	18	7	–	–
Alūksne	100	92	–	4	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–
Balvi	82	94	18	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3
Bauska	73	82	18	4	–	–	–	–	9	–	–	14
Cēsis	100	75	–	25	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Daugavpils	59	25	27	25	–	25	7	–	–	25	7	–
Gulbene	82	97	18	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Jelgava	93	86	7	6	–	1	–	3	–	2	–	2
Krāslava	64	79	27	9	–	–	–	3	9	9	–	–
Liepāja	NA	95	NA	1	NA	–	NA	2	NA	1	NA	1
Limbaži	100	100	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ludza	55	91	36	9	–	–	–	–	9	–	–	–
Madona	100	84	–	12	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–
Ogre	73	86	18	10	–	2	–	–	–	–	9	2
Preiļi	82	81	18	13	–	–	–	–	–	6	–	–

District	Latvians		Russians		Ukrainians		Belarussians		Poles		Others	
	Coun- cil	Admin- istra- tion	Coun- cil	Admin- istra- tion	Coun- cil	Admin- istra- tion	Coun- cil	Admin- istra- tion	Coun- cil	Admin- istra- tion	Coun- cil	Admin- istra- tion
Rēzekne	78	75	22	24	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Rīga	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Saldus	100	100	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tukums	100	98	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Valka	100	90	–	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Valmiera	100	92	–	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Ventspils	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

NA – not available.

Upon reviewing data from 22 cities, one concludes that, as in the districts, ethnic Latvians dominate elected city councils and administrations. In 8 of the cities surveyed, no minority representatives were elected to the city councils. Two cities supplied no information concerning the ethnic origin of their representatives. No minorities work in two city administrations, while minorities are among the employees of 20 city administrations. Representatives of more than one minority work in most of these city administrations. All in all, minority representatives make up 12.3% in city councils and 11% in administrations. When comparing data on districts and cities, one can say that minority proportions in Latvia's district councils and administrations are more favourable to minorities than in the cities. In comparison to the number of elected deputies, minority representatives are represented significantly more in the district administrations.

In order to have a clearer overview of minority participation in local government and administration, I offer a look at the ethnic composition of each district and city, thereafter calculating the *proportionality index*. Tables 5 and 6 provide calculations of the percentage of minority representatives who are included in the reviewed local government councils and administrations. Cities and nearby districts are combined to provide a composite picture of the given locale.

Table 5. Minority representation in composite city and district councils and administrations (%)

District, City	Russians		Belarussians		Ukrainians		Poles	
	Council	Admin- istration	Council	Admin- istration	Council	Admin- istration	Council	Admin- istration
Aizkraukle*	–	–	–	4	–	–	18	7
Alūksne*	–	4	–	–	–	4	–	–
Balvi*	18	3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bauska	9	6	–	–	–	–	4.5	2
Cēsis*	–	12.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Daugavpils	19	18	–	10	4	2	8	12
City of Daugavpils	27	25	7	–	–	25	–	25
Gulbene	12.5	3	–	–	–	–	–	1.5
Jēkabpils**	–	2	–	–	–	2	–	–
Jelgava*	7	6	–	3	–	1	–	2
Krāslava	15.5	10	–	3	–	–	4.5	8.5
Liepāja	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
City of Liepāja	NA	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	1
Limbaži	–	4.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ludza	28.5	14.5	–	1	–	3.5	4.5	–
Madona*	–	12	–	2	–	–	–	2
Ogre	9	5	–	1.5	–	2.5	–	–
Preiļi	9	6.5	–	–	–	–	–	3
Rēzekne	NA	23	NA	–	NA	2	NA	–
City of Rēzekne	22	24	–	–	–	–	–	1
Rīga	4	7	–	–	–	–	–	–
City of Rīga	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Saldus	NA	2	NA	–	NA	–	NA	–
Tukums	–	1	–	–	–	2.5	–	2.5
Valka	–	5	–	–	–	–	2.5	–
Valmiera	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ventspils	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

* Data submitted only on cities.

** Data submitted only on districts.

NA – not available.

Table 6. Proportionality indices in city and district councils* and administrations** (cities and districts combined, except for the six largest cities)

District, City	Russians		Belarussians		Ukrainians		Poles	
	Council	Admin- istration	Council	Admin- istration	Council	Admin- istration	Council	Admin- istration
Aizkraukle	–	–	–	1.6/6.6	–	–	13.8	5.3/10
Alūksne	–	0.3/0.4	–	–	–	4/10	–	–
Balvi	1.20	0.2/0.2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bauska	2.10	0.5/1.4	–	–	–	–	6.4	1.3/2.8
Cēsis	–	1.3/3.3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Daugavpils	0.70	0.5/0.6	–	1.5/4.5	20	1.6/10	0.8	1/1.2
City of Daugavpils	0.70	0.4/0.7	3.2	–	–	15/63	–	6.5/12
Gulbene	1.70	0.2/0.4	–	–	–	–	–	2.1/3
City of Jelgava	0.60	0.2/0.5	–	0.5/2.7	–	0.3/2.5	–	1/ 2.2
Jēkabpils	–	0.1/0.1	–	–	–	1.8/20	–	–
Krāslava	0.85	0.4/0.5	–	0.1/0.3	–	–	1	1.3/2
Liepāja	6.30	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
City of Liepāja	NA	0.0/0.1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.8/1.2
Limbaži	–	0.7/1.4	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ludza	1	0.4/0.5	–	0.3/0.3	–	2.9/18	5	–
Madona	–	1.3/2.3	–	1.6/5	–	–	–	4/10
Ogre	0.60	0.2/0.3	–	0.5/2.1	–	1.9/13	–	–
Preiļi	0.40	0.2/0.3	–	–	–	–	–	1.7/2
Rēzekne	NA	0.6/0.6	–	–	–	–	–	2.5/3
City of Rēzekne	0.60	0.5/0.6	–	–	–	–	–	0.4/0.4
Rīga	0.40	0.3/0.7	–	–	–	–	–	–
Saldus	NA	0.4/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tukums	–	0.2/0.3	–	–	–	2/13	–	3.1/5
Valka	–	0.4/1.2	–	–	–	–	6.2	–
Valmiera	–	0.5/1.1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ventspils	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

* In relation to citizens.

** In relation to permanent residents.

NA – not available.

As a whole, minority representation among council members and administrations is proportionately smaller than the presence of these ethnic groups in the local population.

Upon reviewing the ethnic representation proportionality index in the surveyed districts and cities, the first conclusion is that minority representation is very uneven and disproportionate. In other words, in many districts several minorities are not represented in the councils or the administration. At the same time, there are many councils and administrations where a certain minority's representation exceeds by several times the proportion of this ethnic group among the given district's citizenry or even its entire population. This, for instance, is the case in Limbaži, where out of all minorities only Russians are represented in the administration. When comparing representation in the administration with the ratio of this ethnic group in the district and the city in relation to Russians who are Latvian citizens, representation in the administration is 40% greater than the ratio among the district's citizenry. If the proportionality index is calculated in relation to Russians who are permanent residents, representation in the administration is 30% smaller than this group's ratio among the entire population. In the district and city of Madona, when looked at together, three of the four largest minorities are represented. In relation to the sum total of citizens, Russians are represented 2.3 times more, Belarussians 5 times, and Poles 10 times more than the ratio of these ethnic groups in this specific district. If the relation is calculated based on the sum total of permanent residents instead of citizens, the ratio of ethnic Russians in the local governments is 30% greater, the ratio of Belarussians is 60% greater and the ratio of Poles is 400% greater.

Concerning the Russian minority's proportionality index in Latvia's districts and cities when looked at together, out of 22 districts and cities, there are 6 administrations where Russians are represented more than their proportion among the citizens of the districts in question. On the other hand, in 16 districts one can observe the opposite situation – Russian representation in the administrations is less than their corresponding ratio. Of the 26 district and city administrations that were reviewed, ethnic Russians do not work in 3 administrations. Concerning Russian minority representation in elected councils, the proportionality index is greater than 1 in 5 councils. This means that representation in the council is greater than the ratio in the concrete district. At the same time, in 8 councils the proportionality index is less than 1. In this case, ethnic Russians are elected to the council less than this group's ratio in the district. Ethnic Russians have not been elected to 10 councils.

Concerning the other minorities, the situation is as follows: Latvian citizens of Belarussian descent do not work in 18 administrations and have not been elected to 23 councils of the 24 that were reviewed. Their proportionality is less than the ratio of

citizens in 2 districts, but the proportionality index is greater than one in 5 districts and cities. In these cases, representation is between 2.1 and 6.6 greater than the ethnic group's ratio in the corresponding local government.

Ukrainian representation is greater than their ratio in 8 administrations. In these local governments Ukrainian representation is from 10 to 63 times greater than the ratio of Latvian citizens of Ukrainian descent in the given local community. Taking into account the rather small size of the Ukrainian minority, Ukrainians are over-represented in all administrations where they are present. No Ukrainians work in 17 local governments. In the 25 local governments that were reviewed, an ethnic Ukrainian has been elected only to one (Daugavpils).

In 12 local government administrations, Poles are represented proportionately more than their ratio among the district's citizens. In one district they are represented less, and no ethnic Poles are employed in 13 local governments. Representatives of the Polish ethnic group have been elected to 6 councils, and in 5 of these they are represented more than their ratio among the population of the district.

From the viewpoint of political-administrative representation, representatives of the Polish minority seem to be best integrated into society. In other words, in 12 local governments members of the Polish minority are represented proportionately more than their ratio among the population. The Ukrainians have this sort of representation in 8 locations, the Russians – in 6, and the Belarussians – in 5 administrations. Considering that numerically the Russians are the largest minority, one can say that this minority has the smallest representation. To a certain extent, this could be explained by the fact that a large part of the representatives of the Polish and Belarussian minorities who live in the rural districts have lived in these municipalities historically for a very long time. On the other hand, the ratio of Russians and Ukrainians rapidly increased only following Latvia's occupation during World War II. However, one must point out that in Latgale, a region that historically has been inhabited by minorities, representation of the Polish minority is very pronounced, while representation of the Russian minority is not. In Latgale there are 5 districts where Polish representation in the local government administration exceeds the ratio of this minority in the district. One of the reasons for this pronounced Polish representation could be the Polish representatives' command of the Latvian language, which is superior to that of the Russian minority's knowledge of Latvian. Russian employment in the administrations does not exceed the ratio of this minority in any of the reviewed districts. In only 2 of Latgale's districts is Russian representation in the elected institutions proportionate or greater than the ratio of Russians among the district's citizens. At the same time, the comparatively small Polish minority has the same situation in 2 of Latgale's districts.

All in all, Poles are comparatively well represented in Latgale (5) and Vidzeme (3), Ukrainians are well represented in Latgale (4), Belarussians in Vidzeme (3) and Russians in Vidzeme (4).¹¹

In conclusion, one must note that minority employment in district administrations and elected representation in the councils very often is disproportionate to the corresponding minority's ratio in the given district. In some cases representation is greater than this ratio, but in most cases it is smaller or does not exist at all. Low minority representation has a negative impact on the consolidation of democracy because local government is closer to the grass roots and should attract the greatest interest from the public. If minority representation is lacking here, then mistrust of these institutions will be difficult to overcome.

Ethnic proportions in the ministries

The effective operation of state institutions depends on the level of public trust they enjoy. In a multiethnic state, the trust of persons belonging to various ethnic groups in state institutions is often influenced by the representation of individuals from these groups in these institutions. If a minority is not represented in state institutions, individuals from this group often form the opinion that the state is not taking care of them, and that the interests of their group's members are not being taken into account. Also, they may possibly form the opinion that they are being discriminated against in comparison to representatives of other groups living in the country. Thus, this chapter will examine the ethnic proportions of employees at Latvia's ministries, courts and other state institutions.

Out of all ethnic groups, ethnic Latvians have the highest employment rate in organisations that are funded by the state budget. 35% of ethnic Latvians and 21% of ethnic Russians work in these organisations, which also include the ministries.¹² Concerning administration, during the past ten years the ratio of ethnic Latvians has increased in comparison to the Soviet period, when the administrations were dominated by minority employees due to the policy of sovietization and Russification.¹³

¹¹ The districts mentioned have a proportionality index of 1 or greater.

¹² Rose, Richard. *New Baltic Barometer IV: A Survey Study* (Glasgow: Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, 2000), p. 5.

¹³ According to the 1989 census, there were only 31.5% Latvians employed in the administration in Latvia. Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, 1989. *gada tautas skaitīšanas rezultāti Latvijā* (Riga: Latvijas Valsts statistikas komiteja, 1992).

10 ministries, which presently have 1,673 employees, were reviewed over the course of this study. 92% or 1,542 employees are Latvian according to their ethnic origin, and 8% are minorities (see Table 7).

Table 7. Ethnic proportionality in Latvia's government ministries

Ethnic origin	Proportion among citizens (%)	Proportion in the ministries (%)	Proportionality index
Latvians	76.3	92.10	1.20
Russians	17.4	5.70	0.32
Belarussians	1.3	0.30	0.23
Poles	2.2	0.65	0.29
Ukrainians	0.4	0.17	0.42
Lithuanians	0.9	0.23	0.25
Jews	0.3	0.10	0.33
Others	0.9	0.60	0.66

When viewing the ministries as a whole, one can see that minorities are employed more seldom than one would expect given their share of the citizenry. Russians are represented in the ministries by 68% less than in the citizenry. The other minorities are also proportionately employed more seldom in the ministries than ethnic Latvians. Of the most visible minorities, the Ukrainians are proportionately represented the most, by 58% less than their ratio among Latvian citizens. Taking into account that the ratio of minority citizens in Latvia continues to rise as a result of naturalisation, the proportionality index for minorities may continue to decrease if there is no significant increase in the number of minority candidates for jobs in the ministries. This means that in order to achieve more or less proportional representation in the upcoming years, state agencies should pay more attention to hiring minorities in these institutions.

At the given moment, the average proportionality index for minority employment in the ministries is 0.35. This means that minorities are employed by 65% less than their ratio among the citizenry. If we take a look at the situation in the ministries individually, the situation is as follows (see Table 8).

Table 8. Minority representation in the different ministries*

Ministry of	Minority proportion (%)	Proportionality index
Finance	12.3	0.51
Economics	14.0	0.59
Defence	6.2	0.26
Foreign Affairs	4.0	0.17
Interior	28.3	1.19
Education and Science	5.7	0.24
Culture	NA	NA
Agriculture	NA	NA
Welfare	1.8	0.08
Transport	8.3	0.35
Justice	5.6	0.24
Environmental Protection and Regional Development	2.4	0.10

* "Minority" here means the total of all minorities taken together.

NA – not available.

Upon reviewing the data on minority representation in various ministries, one sees that only at the Ministry of the Interior does the ratio exceed the share of minority citizens in Latvia by 19%.¹⁴ In comparison with the average employment proportionality index at the ministries, in two ministries it is larger than the average (0.35). This is the case in the Ministry of Finance (0.45) and the Ministry of Economics (0.51). The smallest minority representation can be observed in the Ministry of Welfare (0.06) and the Ministry of the Environmental Protection and Regional Development (0.08), i.e. three persons belonging to minorities work in each of these ministries. The average proportionality index of minority employees in the ministries is 0.37, meaning that employees of minority ethnic origin are employed by 63% less than employees of majority ethnic origin.

Minority ratios in courts, the Prison Administration and the State Police

Over the course of this study, data was also compiled on 35 courts, including 5 regional courts. Altogether 307 judges work in these courts, of which 23 judges are of minority descent. Out of these 23 judges, 18 are Russian, 3 are Polish and 2 are Belarussian. Minority judges make up 7.49% of all judges, and the proportionality index in relation

¹⁴ Proportionality index 1.19.

to their ratio among the population is 0.31. Here, one must note that this means that there is an entire series of courts where no minority judges are employed. One must note that this disproportion in Latvia's courts has existed since the Soviet period, when ethnic Latvian judges predominated. Thus, one can say that ethnic disproportions in this realm have persisted.

In the Prison Administration and the State Police, one can observe the same ethnic profile that existed during the Soviet regime. The only difference is that the prevailing ethnic groups among the employed persons are completely different than in the courts. Minorities are employed significantly more in the Prison Administration and the police than in Latvia's local governments, ministries and courts. 2,228 persons are employed in the Prison Administration (see Table 9).

Table 9. Number of Prison Administration employees according to ethnic origin

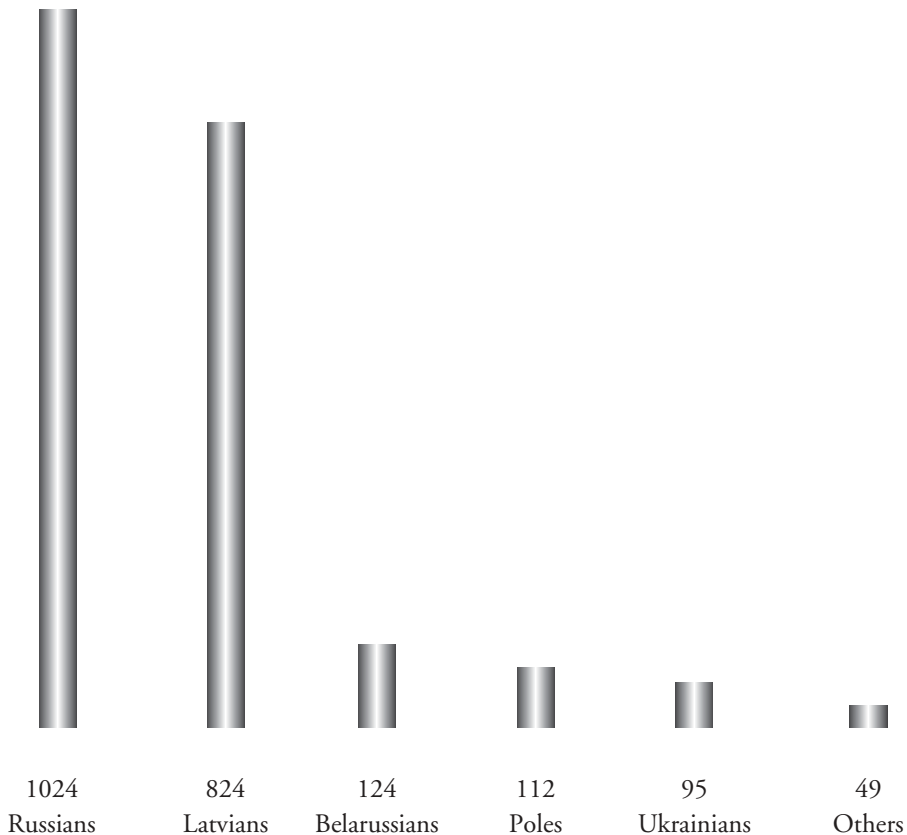


Table 10. Proportionality index of ethnic groups working in the Prison Administration

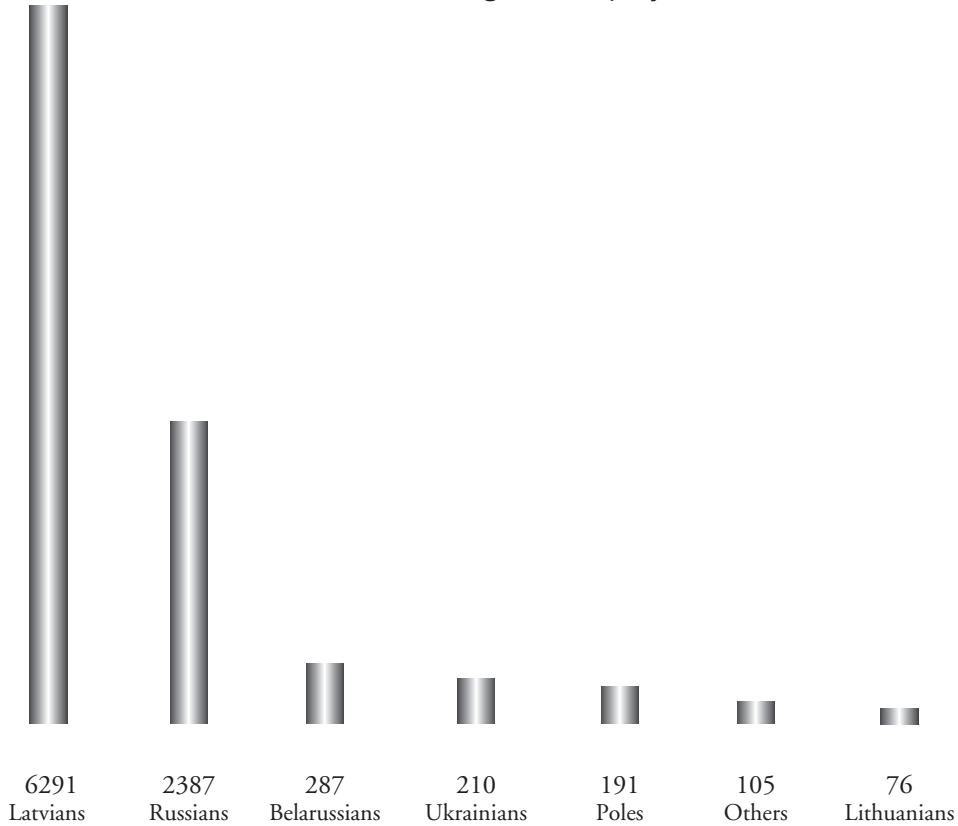
Ethnic group	Proportion in the workplace (%)	Proportionality index
Latvians	36.9	0.48
Russians	45.9	2.63
Belarussians	5.5	4.23
Poles	5.0	2.27
Ukrainians	4.2	10.50
Others	2.1	2.33

The table above shows that in the Prison Administration the proportion of minorities is significantly higher than the proportion of these minorities among the citizenry. At the same time, the proportion of ethnic Latvians is 52% smaller than their proportion among the citizenry. The Ukrainians are the best-represented minority in the Administration. The proportion of Ukrainian employees exceeds this group's proportion among the citizenry by 10 times. The proportion of Poles and Russians is more than 2 times greater and the proportion of Belarussians is 4 times greater than the corresponding group's share among the citizenry.

The large proportion of minorities in the Prison Administration stems from two causes. First, prior to the reestablishment of Latvia's independence, a very small proportion of ethnic Latvians worked in institutions linked to the Soviet security apparatus. While many Latvians could not pass background checks, such institutions were also not popular as potential employers among Latvians. To a large extent, during the Soviet period the Russian language determined the selection of potential employees. From a present-day perspective, the Prison Administration is still a fairly attractive place in terms of employee social guarantees and still has not lost its appeal among minorities. At the same time, it has not gained in prestige among ethnic Latvians. It must be noted that the Prison Administration has inherited a large portion of its employees from former Soviet times, as those who did not want to lose their jobs applied for Latvian citizenship. The combined proportionality index in terms of minority representation in the Prison Administration is 2.66.

A rather similar situation can be observed in the Latvian State Police, where 3,245 employees out of 9,547 belong to ethnic minorities (see Table 11).

Table 11. Ethnic origin of employees at the State Police



During the Soviet period, working for the police was considered prestigious among Russians and many other minorities, while Latvians again were deterred because of the background checks and language requirements.¹⁵ Just as in the Prison Administration, police employees had certain social guarantees. Over the last ten years, the number of ethnic Latvians employed in the police has almost doubled, probably due to circumstances involving Latvian independence and the newly-founded Police Academy, where instruction takes place in the Latvian language and only citizens may pursue study. However, minorities are still a large portion of the police force, having either retained jobs there or joined the police over the past ten years. From Table 12 one can see that the ratio of ethnic Latvian employees in the police is 14% smaller than their ratio in the citizenry.

¹⁵ Statistics show that during the 1980s no more than 35% of all Soviet militia workers who worked on Latvian territory were ethnically Latvian. See Pabriks, Artis; Purs, Aldis. *Latvia. The Challenges of Change* (London, New York: Routledge, 2001); Smith, David J.; Pabriks, Artis; Purs Aldis; Lane, Thomas. *The Baltic States. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania* (London, New York: Routledge, 2002).

Table 12. Ratio of minorities employed in the State Police and their proportionality index

Ethnic group	Ratio in the workplace (%)	Proportionality index
Latvians	65.8	0.86
Russians	25.0	1.43
Belarussians	3.0	2.30
Ukrainians	2.1	5.25
Poles	2.0	0.90
Lithuanians	0.7	0.77
Others	1.1	0.91

At the same time, the ratio of Russians, the largest minority, exceeds the ratio of ethnic Russians who are citizens by 43%. The ratio of Ukrainians and Belarussians in the Latvian police is also noteworthy. All in all, the minority proportionality index in the police is 1.44. This means that in comparison to their ratio among the population, minorities in the police are hired 44% more.

Minority employment in state enterprises

While assessing minority integration into the state administration can provide insights about equality of treatment within government, it is important to investigate minority integration into the broader labour market as well. Insofar as state enterprises employ a significant number of people, examination of the labour market will begin with the largest companies in this sector of the economy. According to information provided by the Ministry of Economics, in 2001 29% of the labour force worked in state enterprises, and the share of GDP generated by these companies was 32%. This chapter examines four of the largest state-owned companies: the Latvian Railway Company, the Latvian Shipping Company, Lattelekom and Latvian Post.

The Latvian Railway Company

The Latvian Railway Company is one of the largest and most important state-controlled Latvian enterprises, which historically has had a multinational work force. The company is very important for the economy and it is growing. During the years under Soviet rule this enterprise was considered militarily important. Thus, security considerations were important in employment, meaning that ethnic Latvians were denied access.

Moreover, as an all-Union enterprise controlled from Moscow, the chief language of communication there was Russian, not Latvian. This, to a certain extent, limited the employment of Latvians. The statistics compiled in this report show that the ethnic origin of the employees is still largely determined by the proportions that took shape during the Soviet period, when minority workers dominated in the transport sector.¹⁶ Out of 15,504 employees working for the Latvian Railway Company as of 1 April 2001, 11,058 or 71.1% were minority employees.

A look at Table 13 offers a more precise picture of minority employment. Here it must be mentioned that in contrast to the previous analysis of employees in administration, where calculations were made based on ratios of citizens, the proportionality index in these enterprises will be calculated based on the ethnic origin of Latvia's entire population. Citizenship does not influence the possibility of obtaining employment in a state enterprise.

Table 13. The largest ethnic groups employed by the Latvian Railway Company and their proportionality indices

Ethnic group	Ratio in the LRC (%)	PI
Latvians	28.9	0.49
Russians	51.6	1.79
Belarussians	8.4	2.10
Ukrainians	3.7	1.48
Poles	5.0	2.00
Others	2.4	1.70

The table shows that all minorities are well represented among the employees of the Latvian Railway Company. Proportionately, Belarussians, Poles and Russians are best represented. The combined minority proportionality index for the Latvian Railroad is 1.72. This means that the ratio of minority employees at the Latvian Railway Company in relation to the ratio of the ethnic groups who reside in Latvia is 72% greater. The ratio of ethnic Latvians is 51% smaller.

¹⁶ According to the 1989 census, minorities made up 63% of all persons working in transportation. See Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, *1989. gada tautas skaitīšanas rezultāti Latvijā. Statistikas biļetens, II daļa* (Riga: Latvijas Valsts statistikas komiteja, 1991), p. 46.

The Latvian Shipping Company

The Latvian Shipping Company is one of the largest state enterprises that will be privatised in the near future. Thus, the data on employee numbers and their ethnic origin that will be reviewed in this section provide an important point of departure. The statistics obtained on Latvian Shipping are split into three parts:

- The Latvian Shipping parent company;
- The Latvian Shipping subsidiary companies;
- The Latvian Shipping fleet.

The first two involve primarily administration, while the latter involves ship crews. In 2001, 220 persons worked for the Latvian Shipping parent company, of which 114 employees or 51.8% were ethnically Latvian and the rest were minority employees.

Table 14. Ethnic makeup of the Latvian Shipping parent company's employees and their proportionality indices

Ethnic origin	Ratio (%)	Proportionality index
Latvians	51.8	0.88
Russians	35.9	1.24
Belarusians	4.0	1.00
Ukrainians	5.0	2.00
Poles	0.9	0.36
Others	2.2	0.68

Upon reviewing the minority proportions of the Latvian Shipping parent company's work force, one can see that all the largest minorities except the Poles are employed proportionately to their share in the population. Or, more often, their ratio in the shipping company's administration exceeds their ratio in Latvia's population. Thus, Russians employed at Latvian Shipping exceed their ratio in Latvia's population by 24%, and the Ukrainians exceed this ratio by twice their share in the population. The proportionality index of minorities employed at the company is 1.15, which means that their ratio in the company is 15% greater than their ratio in society.

Concerning Latvian Shipping subsidiary companies, 116 out of 196 employees, or 59.1% of the work force in these companies, belong to minorities.

Table 15. Ethnic origin of the employees of the Latvian Shipping subsidiary companies and their proportionality indices

Ethnic origin	Ratio (%)	Proportionality index
Latvians	40.9	0.69
Russians	48.4	1.68
Belarussians	7.1	1.77
Ukrainians	8.1	3.24
Poles	2.0	0.80
Others	1.0	0.71

Upon examining the ethnic origin of the employees of the Latvian Shipping subsidiary companies, one can see that the proportionality index is in favour of the following minorities: Ukrainians, Belarussians and Russians. The ratio of Russians employed by these companies is 68% greater than this minority's ratio in the Latvian population, the ratio of Ukrainian employees is more than 3 times greater, and the ratio of Belarussians in these companies exceeds their ratio in society by 77%. The combined minority proportionality index in the Latvian Shipping subsidiary companies is 1.43. This means that the ratio of minorities in these companies exceeds the ratio of these ethnic groups in society by 43%.

As far as the Latvian Shipping fleet is concerned, no data on individual minorities has been obtained due to the fact that new contracts are signed with the seamen every year. Altogether, in 2001 the Latvian Shipping fleet, in which minorities made up about 1,600 or 80% of personnel, employed approximately 2,000 persons. According to these figures, the proportionality index working for the Latvian Shipping fleet is 1.94, if the ratio of minorities among the Latvian population is taken as a basis. In other words, minorities are employed in the fleet 94% more than their ratio among the population.

Lattelekom

The company Lattelekom was established in January 1994 and it is the largest telecommunications company in Latvia. In 2001 the company had 4,399 employees, of which 34% or 1,503 were minorities. Table 16 shows the ratios of different ethnic groups among Lattelekom employees, and also the proportionality indices of the minorities who work in this company.

Table 16. Ethnic ratios of Lattelekom employees and proportionality indices

Ethnic origin	Ratio (%)	Proportionality index
Latvians	66.0	1.12
Russians	25.2	0.87
Belarussians	3.3	0.83
Ukrainians	1.8	0.72
Poles	1.8	0.72
Others	2.0	0.62

The table shows that the ratio of ethnic Latvian employees in the company only slightly exceeds the ratio of Latvians in the entire population, and the ratio of minorities is somewhat smaller. The proportionality index of the minorities employed by Lattelekom is 0.82. This means that minorities at the company are employed 18% less than ethnic Latvians.

Latvian Post

In 2001 the state enterprise Latvian Post had 7,012 employees, of which 1,975 or 28.1% were ethnic minorities.

Table 17. Ethnic origin of employees at Latvian Post and proportionality indices

Ethnic origin	Ratio (%)	Proportionality index
Latvians	71.80	1.22
Russians	19.50	0.68
Belarussians	3.10	0.80
Ukrainians	1.25	0.50
Poles	2.00	0.80
Others	2.30	0.70

The table shows that a fairly large number of persons of minority origin work at the company, although in comparison to their ratio in Latvia's entire population their representation in the company is smaller. The minority employee proportionality

index at Latvian Post is 0.68. This means that at this company minority employees are represented 32% less than their presence in society.

Upon reviewing all of the aforementioned companies one must conclude that the situation concerning minority employment is not clear across the board. In companies like the Latvian Railway and Latvian Shipping minority employees dominate, while Lattelekom and Latvian Post employ somewhat more ethnic Latvians. Other types of statistical data also indicate that at state enterprises and former state enterprises that have been recently privatised, minorities are a larger part of the work force than ethnic Latvians (31% and 26%, respectively). Minorities are more often employed in manufacturing, transportation and communications, trade, the army and the police.¹⁷

All in all, one can say that minorities are well represented in state enterprises. This relatively large representation partly has to do with the fact that minorities were traditionally employed in these sectors even before the reestablishment of independence. The situation has not changed radically in the last 10 years.

The minority education system

The quality and accessibility of educational opportunities are important factors that determine a person's position in society and the job market. If persons belonging to minorities have obtained a good education and learned the official language, they have greater opportunities to become involved in state administration and state-run entrepreneurial companies, thereby increasing representative proportionality in these agencies.

Table 18 portrays the ethnic origin of employees and students at 20 state and private institutions of higher learning. From some of the schools, data was obtained only concerning employees. Also, no data was available on the employees and students at the University of Latvia, which is the largest university in Latvia.

¹⁷ Rose, Richard. *New Baltic Barometer IV: A Survey Study* (Glasgow: Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, 2000), p. 6.

Table 18. Ethnic origin of employees and students at higher institutions of learning and proportionality indices in relation to the population as a whole

Institution of higher learning	Status	Proportion of minorities among staff (%)	PI in relation to the population	Proportion of minorities in the student body (%)	PI in relation to the population
J. Vītols Latvian Academy of Music	State	11.4	0.28	6.7	0.16
Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Christian Academy	Private	13.0	0.32		
Latvian Maritime Academy	State	21.0	0.51	40.0	0.97
Latvian Academy of Art	State	4.0	0.10		
Latvian Police Academy	State	–		14.0	0.34
Latvian Academy of Sports Education	State	23.5	0.57		
Liepāja Academy of Pedagogy	State	11.9	0.29		
Riga Institute of Aeronautics	Private	85.0	2.06	84.0	2.04
Riga School of Economics	State	0			
Riga Teacher Training and Educational Management Academy	Private	8.5	0.20		
Riga Technical University	State	30	0.73		
Vidzeme University College	State	0		1.6	0.04
Latvian University of Agriculture	State	14.9	0.36	8.0	0.19
Latvian Academy of Culture	State	17.0	0.41		
Riga International School of Economics and Business Administration	Private	–			
Latvian Academy of Medicine	State	16.2	0.39		
Institute of Transportation and Communications	Private	91.0	2.20	83.7	2.03
RIMPAK Livonija	Private	49	1.19		
Daugavpils Pedagogical University	State	54.5	1.32		
School of Banking	Private	25.0	0.60		

The table shows that in most institutions of higher learning minority employees and students are not dominant. One exception is the Daugavpils Pedagogical University, which is a state institution of higher learning located in Daugavpils, a city populated largely by ethnic minorities. Three private institutions of higher learning are the other exceptions. These are RIMPAK Livonija, the Institute of Transportation and Communications and the Riga Institute of Aeronautics. In the latter two institutions of higher learning the ratio of minority employees exceeds 85%. From a proportionality viewpoint in relation to Latvia's entire population, minority employees and students at these institutions of higher learning are represented at least 2 times more than their ratio in Latvian society, regardless of citizenship. One possible conclusion could be that an ethnic division of economic labour may persist in the future, especially in the transportation sector, because mostly minority specialists will be trained. Thus, in this sector we could speak of a certain trend towards segregation.

As opposed to private institutions of higher learning, ethnic minorities at state institutions of higher learning are employed proportionately less. As far as students are concerned, one exception is the Maritime Academy, where minorities and ethnic Latvians are represented proportionately and in accordance with their ratio among the population.

Concerning teaching staff at Latvian state institutions of higher learning, interviews indicate¹⁸ that minorities have been less represented in the faculties of these institutions of higher learning since the Soviet period. In other words, even after the occupation of Latvia in 1940 and during the post-war period, institutions of higher learning retained an ethnically Latvian professorship. The USSR educational system was conservative and staff changes took place at a slow rate. Ideological control over institutions of higher learning was achieved by using existing staff. Technically important sectors were an exception. Here the language of instruction was changed from Latvian to Russian, and there was a more rapid turnover of staff. Pre-war specialists were replaced by persons who were loyal to the regime, and who had a good knowledge of Russian, or who were native speakers. The results of this policy can also be observed in the data collected for this study. The Riga Technical University and strategic sectors such as aeronautics, transportation, communications and navigation have the largest minority ratio among their employees. Over the past ten years, radical changes have taken place in education for the naval professions. The Maritime Academy has begun to provide instruction in the Latvian language, as was the case before Latvia was annexed by the USSR. The ratio of ethnic Latvians teaching and studying there has increased over the past ten years.

Concerning the ratio of minority students at institutions of higher learning, it was only possible to collect information on a few institutions. Still, based on the available data, it

¹⁸ Interview with Prof. Pēteris Cimdiņš, rector of the Vidzeme University College.

is possible to conclude that the ratio of minority students is greater at private universities and at institutions of higher learning linked to professions that used to be dominated by the Russian language. At state and regional institutions of higher learning, e.g., the Vidzeme University College, the ratio of minority students is smaller than their ratio among the population.

Furthermore, one can say that for historical reasons the minority ratio at private institutions of higher learning is relatively larger than at state universities for four reasons:

- several private institutions of higher learning are oriented toward minority students (RIMPAK Livonija, the Baltic Russian Institute);
- several private institutions of higher learning use Russian in addition to Latvian;
- for some students, a more comfortable environment is one in which they can hear their native language and where the culture is familiar;
- the examinations at some of the departments of state institutions of higher learning are not always culturally neutral, i.e. students that have studied in Latvian before will have an easier time passing them.¹⁹

Regarding future changes in student numbers, one could say that potential students will choose state institutions of higher learning more and more as their knowledge of Latvian improves. The choices of some graduates of secondary schools where instruction takes place in Russian were reviewed over the course of this study in a selective manner. For instance, 64% or 167 out of 259 graduates of the Riga Purvciems Secondary School who enrolled in Latvia's institutions of higher learning between 1999 and 2001 enrolled in state institutions of higher learning. The most popular state institutions of higher learning are the University of Latvia, the Riga Technical University, the Police Academy and the Maritime Academy. As of 1994, 21 graduates of Limbaži Secondary School No. 2 have enrolled in institutions of higher learning. Only 7 graduates (33%) chose private institutions of higher learning.

1999/2000 data concerning the choice of graduates from schools where instruction takes place in Russian in the city of Rēzekne show that the school of choice is the regional Rēzekne School of Higher Education, which is a state institution of higher learning where instruction takes place in Latvian. 40 of the 110 graduates who finished secondary schools where instruction takes place in Russian at the end of the 1999/2000

¹⁹ For instance, in entrance examinations at the University of Latvia, Faculty of Law at the end of the 1990s, students were required to have knowledge of Latvian folklore and other subjects not directly linked to law.

school year are students at the Rēzekne School of Higher Education.²⁰ Next comes the Riga Technical University and the Business Institute, which is a private institution. 24 graduates enrolled in this school. Among the schools chosen were also the University of Latvia²¹ and the Baltic Russian Institute, where studies were begun by 7 and 15 new students, respectively, from the Russian schools in Rēzekne. Here, it should be mentioned that a large part of subjects are taught in Russian only at the latter institution of higher learning. Approximately 60% of the graduates of Rēzekne Russian schools choose to continue their studies at state institutions of higher learning.

A selective look at the data obtained regarding the choice of institutions of higher learning of graduates from Rēzekne, Riga and Limbaži leads to the conclusion that graduates of schools where instruction takes place in Russian do not display special interest in private institutions of higher learning. This means that the new students consider their own knowledge of Latvian good enough to continue studies in Latvian. Thus, after reviewing the choices of these graduates, one can say that the number of new Russian specialists who are competitive and who have a good knowledge of Latvian will increase in Latvia's job market. The state administration will be able to employ a larger number of persons belonging to minorities, under the condition that discrimination based on ethnic origin does not take place in the hiring process. From the viewpoint of ethnic conflict theory, increased involvement of minorities in state institutions would avert doubts concerning the state's unequal treatment of representatives of various ethnic groups.

²⁰ Rēzeknes pilsētas izglītības pārvalde. *Gadagrāmata. 2001* (Rēzekne Board of Education. *Yearbook 2001*), pp. 48–49.

²¹ Also, the Riga Humanistic Institute and the Institute of International Relations.

ETHNIC PROPORTIONS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

If minority representation in state and local government institutions is one indicator of minority integration in the polity, minority representation in the economy and business can be used as an indicator of minority integration in the economy. Therefore, it is essential to ascertain whether ethnic origin in some way influences or determines a person's opportunities in business and the job market as a whole. Thus, in this subchapter I will review minority proportions at large private businesses and discuss the significance of ethnic origin in the job market, which includes the want ads.

Minority employees at Latvia's largest private companies

Concerning private companies in Latvia, one could say that many have an ethnically mixed work force, but a significant number are mono-ethnic. Information has been compiled in Table 19 regarding 17 companies that are among the 100 largest taxpayers in Latvia.

Table 19. Minorities at private companies

Company	Proportion of minority employees (%)	Proportion of minorities in management (5–7 persons) (%)	Is ethnic origin important in the hiring process?	Is ethnic origin important when choosing a job?
1.	35	50	Attention is paid to knowledge of Latvian	Potential employees frequently take note of this
2.	0	0	Attention is paid to this because the clientele is mostly mono-ethnic	–

Company	Proportion of minority employees (%)	Proportion of minorities in management (5–7 persons) (%)	Is ethnic origin important in the hiring process?	Is ethnic origin important when choosing a job?
3.	16	33	Attention is paid to professionalism and knowledge of Latvian	–
4.	2	0	–	–
5.	3	0	–	–
6.	36	33	No	Many pay no attention to this
7.	12	0	Language	No
8.	62	29	Professional qualities, personality are important, nationality has no significance	People consider the work and the salary
9.	60	Very mixed	Nationality has no significance	
10.	26	0	Language abilities, must know both	Language abilities determine selection and the desire to learn Latvian when working in a Latvian group of employees
11.	0	0	Must know Latvian	People do not choose a workplace where all employees belong to a nationality different than that of the applicant
12.	60	57	No attention is paid to nationality	Choices have been made based on the ethnic make-up of the employees
13.	0	0	Must know the language	Profit, work conditions are important
14.	67	–	–	–
15.	66	40	Not taken into account, there have been no conflicts	The company thinks that it is not taken into account, due to unemployment, etc.
16.	39	33	Attention is paid to language, not nationality	If the company has 20–30 employees, ethnic origin plays a role; if the company is bigger, it does not
17.	14	29	Must know the language	Potential employees take note of who works there

The table shows the following trends. Out of 17 private companies that are among the 100 largest taxpayers, 5 have a larger than proportionate share of minorities among their employees. Regarding the ethnic origin of the leading 5–7 persons at these companies, there are no completely precise data, but at no less than two of the companies this group is dominated by minorities, and at the rest their ratio is one third or more. The proportion of minorities in the management of one of the companies is larger than the proportion of minorities among all the company's employees.

Ethnic Latvians are dominant among the employees of eight companies, i.e., the ratio of minority employees at these companies is less than 20%. Three companies have no minority employees whatsoever. At the remaining four companies the ratio of minorities among employees is between 20% and 40%. One can conclude that minorities are well represented in private business. To a certain extent, this conclusion is also confirmed by other data, which indicate that at new private companies minorities (37%) are employed somewhat more than ethnic Latvians (29%).²²

Concerning the leading personnel in the companies reviewed, at 8 of the companies minorities are not among the leading 5–7 employees. Seven of the surveyed companies stressed that a good knowledge of Latvian is important for potential employees. One company stated that employees must have a good knowledge of Latvian and Russian. Five companies said that the ethnic origin of potential employees is not important. Instead, there is an overriding interest in professional growth and salaries. During the surveys and interviews, several interlocutors suggested that in small companies with up to 30 employees there is a greater interest among employees and employers concerning language or the ethnic environment, but in larger companies this is less important.

16 out of 17 companies answered the question on whether ethnic origin is important when selecting employees or a work environment. Only one company stated that they take notice of the ethnic origin of potential employees, as “they work in a mono-ethnic environment and members of other ethnic groups would have a hard time feeling at home in this environment.” Such views suggest a high likelihood of direct or indirect discrimination by this company in its hiring practices. Six companies stated that potential employees take interest in what language their potential future colleagues speak and want to know which ethnic groups are already represented among the employees.

The following can be stated based on this limited survey:

- First, there is a significant proportion of minorities in the private sector and there are many companies with mixed staff, including ethnically mixed management in large companies.

²² Rose, Richard. *New Baltic Barometer IV: A Survey Study* (Glasgow: Centre for the Study of Public Policy. University of Strathclyde, 2000), p. 5.

- Second, there are also many companies that are mono-ethnic. There are many cases when the job seekers and possibly also employers focus on ethnic origin, which is often closely linked to a person's native language.
- Third, lack of Latvian language skills is an important factor that hinders the formation of a multiethnic work force and definitely limits job opportunities for part of the population. According to survey data from 2000, 22% of all citizens whose native language is not Latvian and 38% of non-citizens whose native language is not Latvian could not work in a job requiring Latvian language knowledge. Similarly, 30% of all citizens whose native language is not Latvian and 28% of non-citizens whose native language is not Latvian would have problems working in a job which required speaking in Latvian. According to the survey only 43% of citizens whose native language is not Latvian and 23% of non-citizens whose native language is not Latvian find that their knowledge of Latvian language would not narrow their choice of jobs.²³

Ethnic origin and the job market

When speaking of potential ethnic discrimination in the job market, it is essential to ascertain in what way Latvia's population finds new work and whether ethnic origin plays any role in the process. According to data from the Baltic Barometer, 58% of minorities and 44% of ethnic Latvians have found work owing to informal connections.²⁴ Taking into account that friendship and personal relations in Latvia's society are largely based on language, which is a source of identification, one can say that minorities and ethnic Latvians, when they need to find work, often see an opportunity to get a job through informal connections. Taking into account that friendship and close relations often exist within the confines of a group that speaks the same language, in most cases the search for work also takes place within the confines of one ethnic and/or linguistic group. As a result, a whole chain of companies develops in which the composition of the company's personnel is formed depending on ethnic, or in this case, linguistic affiliation. This fact was also confirmed through the interviews that were conducted during the course of the study. One interview subject stated that "many small companies hire people based on the principle of personal acquaintance."

²³ Baltic Social Science Institute. "Ceļā uz pilsonisku sabiedrību 2000.–2001." (Riga: Baltijas Sociālo zinātņu institūts, Naturalizācijas pārvalde, 2001), p. 99.

²⁴ Rose, Richard. *New Baltic Barometer IV: A Survey Study* (Glasgow: Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, 2000), p. 8.

The existing situation demonstrates that work forces are often formed based on a common language. Thus, the language that is used among employees and informal connections together have a strong influence on a person's choice of work. To a certain extent, this statement is also confirmed by the aforementioned Baltic Barometer study. According to the survey, 73%, i.e., the majority of ethnic Latvians work in a group of employees where the language used at work is Latvian. 48% of persons belonging to minorities work in groups of employees where the language spoken at work is Russian. Only 13% of minority employees and 3% of ethnic Latvians work in places where the language spoken at work is not their native language.²⁵

While many seek and obtain work through informal connections, one must not forget the institutionalised job market, which includes the Unemployment Office. In this regard, in order to discuss the role of discrimination, it is important to ascertain whether want ads directly or indirectly reflect or indicate the desired ethnic origin of potential employees. Each of the 5 divisions of the Riga Unemployment Office has approximately 250–300 want ads on its bulletin board. An examination of these ads reveals that most do not contain any personal indications of an ethnic nature that could be interpreted directly or indirectly as discriminatory. Still, about 1.8% of the ads mentioned the necessary sex or age of the job candidate.²⁶

However, in previous years, some ads contained information stating that the potential candidate must belong to a certain ethnic group or that knowledge of Latvian must be on a native speaker's level. Both indications could be interpreted as discriminatory.

Ethnic origin, proportionality, justice and discrimination

An analysis of the data in this study on the employment of various ethnic groups in state and local government institutions, the educational system, and state-run and private businesses reveals that there are many places where various ethnic groups are not proportionally represented. The data compiled shows that as far as the economic situation is concerned, minorities and non-citizens are not necessarily less advantaged compared to ethnic Latvian majority.

In order to talk about the existence of ethnic discrimination in Latvia based on a study of proportional employment of minorities and representation in state institutions, it is

²⁵ Rose, Richard. *New Baltic Barometer IV: A Survey Study* (Glasgow: Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, 2000), p. 8.

²⁶ Sorokin, Vladislav. "Rinok truda: Vakansija iz pod poli." *Večernaja Riga*. October 22, 2001.

first necessary to ascertain the link between proportionality and political fairness or justice. Furthermore, in order to ascertain this link it is important to define justice. When speaking of ethnic discrimination, *the definition of justice could be equality of opportunities*. For instance if the opportunities for minority employment in public agencies are equal but, nevertheless, certain groups prefer to work in the private sector, it is not discrimination if they follow their preference. At the same time, there may be an overriding public interest in having public employees broadly representative of the population at large. This is particularly true in sensitive public responsibilities such as in the courts, the police, and the school system.

As far as the distribution of rights and access to power is concerned, supporters of equal opportunities believe that all citizens must have equal access to these social and political benefits. In this sense, *only circumstances that are significant and important in the concrete case* can determine which persons will receive which privileges.²⁷ For instance, when applying to a university, ideally, persons in a privileged situation are persons with a higher intellect. These are persons who have done better in their entrance exams or who have been more successful in their studies at school. Since absolute equality cannot be achieved, securing equal opportunities should be considered fair and within the realm of political feasibility. Justice is a political principle that demands equal treatment of all persons, regardless of their ethnic origin. In this way direct possibilities of discrimination in society are averted. Concerning the battle against indirect discrimination, justice is connected with the equal opportunity doctrine as far as equal opportunities do not position any specific group in an unfavourable position without considerable justification. This conclusion results from harmonising principles of equal opportunity with the definitions of discrimination in the 2000/EC/43 European Union directive.

Thus, it must be ascertained whether and to what extent disproportions in minority employment in state institutions and businesses are influenced by the unjust treatment of not guaranteeing equal opportunities. If disproportion has arisen as a result of unequal political treatment that has no objective justification, it is possible to speak of discrimination. On the other hand, if the disproportion has no connection to justice and equal treatment, one cannot speak of discrimination, as differences in parity within themselves do not prove the existence of discrimination.

In this regard, based on accessible data and the interviews, it is fair to say that differences in the representation of various ethnic groups in Latvian institutions and enterprises have several sources:

²⁷ Scruton, Roger. *A Dictionary of Political Thought* (Pan Books in association with The Macmillan Press, 1983), p. 150.

- Firstly, one must mention history and the legacy of the ethnic division of labour under Soviet rule. During the period of Soviet rule in Latvia, a whole series of disproportions arose in the area of ethnic representation. State structures linked to security employed far fewer ethnic Latvians and many more persons belonging to minorities, particularly Russians. The representation of ethnic Latvians also declined in all-Union enterprises, e.g., transportation, communications, aviation, the railroad and shipping. Basically, this derived from the regime's concerns regarding employee political loyalty to the Soviet regime and also because of the Russian language, which predominated in these sectors. A look at the situation today shows that the proportion of ethnic Latvians in almost all of the aforementioned sectors has increased, though minorities are still very well represented, if not dominant.

- Secondly, one must mention the so-called *revolutionary syndrome*, as well as the language and citizenship factor. As the Republic of Latvia was re-established at the beginning of the 1990s, the new regime radically changed or created from scratch a whole series of state institutions. Here, one must mention the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and others. In these institutions, employees were first and foremost chosen among people who at that time supported Latvia's independence. It must also be mentioned that, often, job vacancies in these institutions were not filled through formal competitions, but on the basis of informal connections and personal recommendations. Furthermore, at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s there were radical changes in language and citizenship legislation. From a minority viewpoint, both factors had a negative impact on employment opportunities in state institutions. New employees were basically Latvian citizens and people who had sufficient knowledge of Latvian. According to survey research, lack of Latvian knowledge restricts the job opportunities of a significant share of minority representatives. Concerning elected institutions, e.g., local governments, here also many persons belonging to minorities were unable to participate effectively because they did not know the official language and had not obtained citizenship. As a result, at the beginning of and in the middle of the 1990s, the proportion of minorities in the aforementioned institutions became disproportionate in comparison with their proportion in the population. Interviews with minority employees at state institutions also confirm that failure to learn the official language and retirement among existing minority employees led to decreases in minority employees at state institutions during the transition period. Still, persons interviewed also said that in many institutions employees who were not citizens and did not know the language were permitted to remain on the job for a long time and allowed to resolve these problems.

- Thirdly, disproportionately small minority representation in state institutions is probably linked to alienation from state institutions, which manifests itself as a lack of desire to become involved in these institutions. It should also be mentioned that

the majority of state institutions still do not offer competitive salaries and their overall level of social prestige is low. As a result, there are proportionately fewer minority job applicants in state institutions than from ethnic Latvians (see Table 20).

Table 20. Proportions of job applicants and those who were given the job in 2001

Ministry of	Total	Applicants				Those who were given the job			
		Latv.	%	Min.	%	Latv.	%	Min.	%
Finance	316	259	82	57	18	27	90	3	10
Justice	52	NA	NA	NA	NA	12	100	–	–
Education and Science	117	NA	NA	NA	NA	26	93	2	7
Environmental Protection and Regional Development	114	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Interior	12	11	92	1	8	1	100	0	0
Foreign Affairs	296	NA	NA	NA	NA	36	–	3	–
Transport	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Defence	150	NA	NA	NA	NA	24	92.3	2	7.7

NA – not available.

As it is problematic to obtain data from all of the ministries, the table is incomplete. Still, it is clear that the number of minority applicants is considerably smaller than their proportion in the citizenry or the population as a whole. Furthermore, while few minority applicants applied for jobs, even fewer were hired. According to minority respondents interviewed in state institutions, the applicant's level of professionalism and knowledge of Latvian determine job selection. Another possible factor limiting the number of minority applicants is that want ads for vacancies at state institutions appear only in the Latvian-language print media, which is not read by most members of minority groups.

- Fourthly, another reason for the small proportion of minorities working in state institutions is undoubtedly a certain level of self-segregation, similar to that in parts of the private sector. Furthermore, the formalism of the job application process and reliance on personal connections are both factors that support self-segregation. As mentioned above, informal connections play a large role in the selection of new

employees. Interviews with persons of minority origin who hold important positions at state institutions provide a contradictory picture. Some say that in about 30% of cases the hiring process is a formality, but others say that most hiring processes are objective and applicants are people who were previously unknown. One is led to the hypothesis that in those institutions where the job application process is more of a formality, the work environment is more mono-ethnic. Surveys suggest that Russians are more open to contact with Latvians than vice versa. The results of a 1997 and 1998 survey suggest that Latvians feel far greater ethnic distance from Russians than vice versa.²⁸ This means that due to personal motives, in informal hiring processes, ethnic Latvians will probably rarely recommend persons belonging to minorities for jobs among their group of colleagues. Concerning minorities, one must note that the surveys and interviews suggest a number of factors that possibly confine and alienate minorities from ethnic Latvians and work in state institutions: language ability, fear of not fitting in with colleagues, scepticism toward state institutions, and dominant personal connections in private business. The result is the emergence of psychological alienation, which promotes social alienation, which in turn can lead to increasing self-segregation of ethnic groups in the labour market.

²⁸ Baltic Data House sociological survey. "Ceļā uz pilsonisku sabiedrību" (Riga: Baltijas Datu nams, 1997/1998), pp. 91–92.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Data on occupational proportionality do not suggest the existence of widespread discrimination on the basis of ethnicity in Latvia. Moreover, the welfare of minorities is comparable to that of the majority, which is not the case in societies where discrimination on ethnic basis is frequently observed.²⁹ However, there is an obvious lack of ethnic parity in certain institutions and sectors. While surveys suggest that some people perceive the existence of discrimination³⁰, and a few instances of unequal treatment were discovered, most of the disparities highlighted stem from 1) the legacy of the Soviet ethnic division of economic labour, 2) the indirect consequences of citizenship and language policy, which are not discriminatory per se, and 3) self-segregation on the part of both the majority and the minorities.

As a whole, in elected local government institutions and administrations minority persons are poorly and unevenly represented. In other words, there are many local governments that have no minority representatives at all, although sometimes the representation of long-established minorities exceeds the corresponding minority ratio among the population by several times. The representation of minorities in most state institutions, including ministries, is also less than their representation among the population. Exceptions include the Ministry of the Interior, the Prison Administration and the police. Regarding state-owned enterprises, one can say that minority persons are quite well represented there. In many companies, like the Latvian Shipping and the Latvian Railway Company, their representation exceeds the mean. As far as educational institutions and small private companies are concerned, here one can observe the self-segregation of various ethnic groups. In other words, minorities are employed more in private educational establishments. On the other hand, the division of ethnic groups in

²⁹ See Āslands, Ādne (Aasland, A.). *Etniskā piederība un nabadzība Latvijā (Ethnicity and poverty in Latvia)* (Riga: Latvijas Republikas Labklājības ministrija, Apvienoto Nāciju attīstības programma, 2000).

³⁰ See the unpublished survey on human rights commissioned by the National Human Rights Office and carried out by the Baltic Data House, "Cilvēktiesības (Human Rights)" (Riga: Baltijas Datums, 2000).

large private companies is often proportional, or the representation of minorities exceeds their representation in society.

When speaking of the consequences and reasons for disproportional employment, one must note that a lack of parity at state and local government institutions promotes an increase in distrust of state institutions among less-represented or non-represented groups. As a result, members of these groups form the opinion that the treatment of less-represented groups is unjust. This, in turn, hinders the consolidation of democratic institutions and public participation. Here are the main reasons for the lack of ethnic parity observed in this study:

- weak involvement of minorities in the process of the state's renewal and the consequent lack of representation in newly created institutions;
- persistent poor knowledge of Latvian;
- lack of motivation to acquire citizenship;
- scepticism concerning the work of state institutions as a whole and low salaries of civil servants;
- patterns of ethnic self-segregation, especially among ethnic Latvians, but also among minorities;
- a lack of open hiring procedures;
- a lack of education on ethnic discrimination and human rights in society;
- unbalanced and often incongruous information in the mass media and separate communication networks which operate in different languages.

Policy recommendations

Due to the fact that minority employees are a distinctly small group in state institutions, including ministries, local government administration and the courts, it would be desirable to alleviate this disproportion. In this regard:

- A series of measures should be drafted to introduce potential employers to the characteristics of discrimination and ways of preventing it in the labour market. In this regard, it would be desirable to hold a series of seminars that would acquaint civil servants and private businesses with anti-discrimination legislation and requirements. The following target groups should be mentioned:

- 1) staff in government and municipal offices involved with hiring;
 - 2) staff at the National Employment Service;
 - 3) staff at the National Labour Inspectorate;
 - 4) staff at the National Human Rights Office;
 - 5) representatives of professional business associations, such as the Chamber of Commerce;
 - 6) representatives of key non-governmental organisations, including trade unions;
 - 7) representatives of educational establishments, particularly those involved in hiring;
 - 8) representatives of the media.
- From a public awareness perspective, there must be a greater understanding of direct or indirect discrimination and its negative consequences for the individual, society and the country as a whole.
 - In order to increase the involvement of the minorities in the work of state institutions, it would be desirable to place want ads not only in the Latvian press, but also in the Russian-language print media.
 - At the National Employment Service, it would be advisable to guarantee the openness, accessibility and transparency of information concerning the form and content of job offers, in order to prevent the appearance of information that in some way would be discriminatory on the basis of ethnic origin.
 - Due to vivid memories among the bulk of the Latvian population about Soviet policies of Russification and forced migration, it would be undesirable to implement positive discrimination or affirmative action aimed at increasing the proportionality of minority persons in administrative agencies. In the longer perspective this may have a negative psychological impact on members of various ethnic groups and facilitate ethnic tension. It would also lead applicants to think that ethnicity, not professionalism is the main criteria.
 - Monitoring of representation and potential discrimination in state and local government and in business should be continued. The formality of the hiring procedure for new employees plays a certain role in the reproduction of mono-ethnic groups of employees. Thus, an important factor in the aversion of potential discrimination is the organisation of open and objective hiring procedures.
 - A government institution should be created or an existing institution (e.g., the National Human Rights Office) should be tasked with investigating discrimination issues, providing advisory services, and assisting targets in seeking remedies.

APPENDIX

Table 1. The distribution of district council members according to ethnic origin (20 districts were reviewed)

Total	Men	Women	Latvians	Russians	Lithuanians	Estonians	Ukrainians	Poles	Belarussians
361	236	125	321	15	1	0	1	3	0

Table 2. Ethnic origin of district administration employees

Total	Men	Women	Latvians	Russians	Lithuanians	Estonians	Ukrainians	Poles	Belarussians
648	213	435	545	46	0	2	8	11	8

Table 3. Ethnic origin of city council representatives

Total	Men	Women	Latvians	Russians	Lithuanians	Estonians	Ukrainians	Poles	Belarussians	Germans
288	222	66	254	24	1	0	0	7	1	1

Table 4. Ethnic origin of city administration employees

Total	Men	Women	Latvians	Russians	Lithuanians	Estonians	Ukrainians	Poles	Belarussians	Germans
1161	308	853	1049	76	7	0	4	14	8	3

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