

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

Series of project research reports

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

Belarus
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Research Report #8

**The Polish Minority
in Lithuania**

Authors:

Arvydas Matulionis | Vida Beresnevičiūtė
Tadas Leončikas | Monika Frėjutė-Rakauskienė
Kristina Šliavaitė | Irena Šutinienė
Viktorija Žilinskaitė | Hans-Georg Heinrich
Olga Alekseeva

Lietuvos socialinių tyrimų centras
Lithuanian Social Research Centre

Series Editors:

Hans-Georg Heinrich | Alexander Chvorostov

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About the ENRI-East research project (www.enri-east.net)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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INSTITUT FÜR HÖHERE STUDIEN
INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES
Vienna

www.ihs.ac.at

The series of ENRI-East research reports (www.enri-east.net/project-results)

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

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

Summarizing and generalizing reports

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

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

(edited by respective team leaders)

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

Series of empirical survey reports:

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

Disclaimer:

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

ENRI-East research consortium and project details

ENRI-East Principle Investigator

Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich (University of Vienna and ICEUR, Austria)

ENRI-East Project Coordinator

Dr. Alexander Chvorostov
and the CEASS-Center team
at the Institute for Advanced Studies Austria)
www.ihs.ac.at/ceass/



ENRI-East Project Partners

(Full details on and project partners and contacts can be found at <http://www.enri-east.net/consortium/project-partners/en/>)

- TARKI Research Institute Inc. (Hungary) (Team Leader Prof. Endre Sik)
- University of Aberdeen (UK) (Team Leader Prof. Claire Wallace)
- Osteuropa Institut Regensburg (Germany) (Team Leader Dr. Barbara Dietz)
- Lithuanian Social Research Centre (Vilnius, Lithuania) (Team Leader Prof. Arvydas Matulionis)
- Moscow State University (Russia) (Team Leader Prof. Sergei Tumanov)
- Belarusian State University (Belarus) (Team Leader Prof. David Rotman)
- East-Ukrainian Foundation for Social Research (Ukraine) (Team Leader Prof. Vil Bakirov)
- University of St. Cyril and Methodius (Slovakia) (Team Leader Prof. Ladislav Macháček)
- Oxford XXI (UK) (Team Leader Dr. Lyudmila Nurse)
- Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Lublin (Poland) (Team Leader Prof. Konrad Zieliński)

Third parties and consultants contributed to the ENRI-East project:

- Sociological agency FOCUS, Slovakia (Dr. Sylvia Šumšalová, Dr. Ivan Dianiška)
- Sociological agency GfK Polonia (Dr. Beata Steczowicz)
- Robert B. Zajonc Institute for Social Studies, Warsaw University (team led by Prof. Renata Siemienka)

ENRI-East International Advisory Board:

- Prof. Christian Haerpfer (Chair), University of Aberdeen
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- Prof. James Scott, Joensuu Karelina University, Finland
- Prof. Renata Siemienka, Warsaw University
- Prof. Stephen White, University of Glasgow

Project Website:

www.enri-east.net

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The report is composed of seven main parts: contextual report, ENRI-VIS Results, ENRI-BIOG Results, ENRI-EXI Results, Enri-Music, Conclusions, Executive Summary.

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

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

The third part presents overview of ENRI-BIOG fieldwork results. It presents the brief description of the people interviewed and the main facts of their live stories. The report presents quotations and primary analysis of the interviews having in mind the main questions – European identity, national identity (relationship to country of residence and mother country), regional identity, civic participation and ethnic organisation.

The fourth part presents overview of ENRI-EXI results. Three experts of the issues related with this minority were interviewed in Lithuania and in this part the primary analysis of the interviews is presented. The analysis is made in accordance to the following questions: main issues associated with that minority in the country of residence, relationship to mother country, relationship to European events and organisations.

The fifth part presents results of Web-Analysis (ENRI-BLOG).

The sixth part analysis results of survey on relation between music and identity.

Abstract

The study analyses identity of Lithuanian Poles. ENRI-VIS data analyses language, spoken at home, closeness to different groups and regions, including local and European dimensions, the concept of being truly Polish, being proud of being the Lithuanian Polish and Polish, opportunity to preserve Polish folk customs, traditions, culture and to speak Polish in everyday life, opportunity to have the Polish representatives in the parliament and to read newspapers and magazines in Polish, media use, feeling of tensions between ethnic groups in Lithuania, discrimination experiences.

The results of ENRI-BIOG in a great part confirm the results of ENRI-VIS. They show the great importance of local territory - Vilnius and Vilnius region - for national and ethnic identity of Lithuanian Poles and for their relationship to Lithuania. Regional and national identity sometimes overlap. Ties to Poland are more symbolic, it is perceived as cultural. The other characteristic feature of Polish identity is importance of Catholicism, especially for representants of older generation – for some of them it was, besides the language, the main practice of national identity during soviet time, many of them are actively involved in religious organisations and parish activities. Discrimination or intolerance was not experienced by absolute majority of respondents personally, but many of them reflect issues that are represented as connected to discrimination in the political discourse of last years.

ENRI-EXI: Three interviews with the representatives of key organizations were conducted in Lithuania. Two of them with Polish minority experts in Lithuania were conducted with the policy analysts at the state (governmental) institution level and one of them at the national NGO level. The first expert is the advisor on the ethno-political questions for the Minister of Culture. The second expert is an advisor for the Lithuanian Premier Minister and the third expert is the representative of the public organization *Lithuanian Polish Alliance*. The report provides overview of expert's considerations on Polish minority situation in Lithuania.

ENRI-Music data show that Lithuanian Poles have strong identity through the preferred music.

Summary of the study

ENRI-VIS. The majority of the Lithuanian Poles speak Polish most often at home. More than one tenth of the Polish respondents indicated that they speak Polish and Lithuanian most often at home. Also, 13.2 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles use other languages at home, among which Russian or Polish and Russian, Belarussian are most often mentioned.

Regarding closeness to different groups and regions, including local and European dimensions, the answers of the Lithuanian Poles indicate several tendencies. The majority of the Lithuanian Poles feel very close or rather close to the local environment as 89.3 per cent maintain their closeness to the settlement where they live, 83.1 per cent – to Lithuania and 80.8 per cent – to the Lithuanian Poles. The other dimensions of closeness received far more deliberate attention of the Lithuanian Poles as 42.9 per cent feel close to Poland (including the answers very close and rather close), with 55.2 per cent of those who do not feel close to Poland. Also, the majority of the Lithuanian Poles feel a big distance from the Baltic country region (79.1 per cent say they are 'rather not close' or 'not close at all'), Eastern Europe (78.8 per cent) and Europe (71.3 per cent).

While considering the concept of being truly Polish, the majority of the Lithuanian Poles tend to distinguish four the most important components: ability to speak Polish (94.6 per cent), the feeling being Polish (93.8 per cent), having Polish ancestry (90.6 per cent) and being Catholic (87.4 per cent). With regard to importance of the respect the political institutions and laws of Poland in defining a truly Pole, the opinions of the Lithuanian Poles tend to distribute rather evenly: 44.4 per cent maintain its importance and 49.4 per cent maintain that it is unimportant. A significant share of the Poles surveyed do not consider such factors as being have lived in Poland for most of one's life, having been born in Poland or being a citizen of Poland as significant factors for being a Polish as majority maintain that these are rather not important or not important at all (77.4 per cent, 75.5 per cent, and 72.5 per cent, correspondingly).

Most Lithuanian Poles are very proud or proud of being the Lithuanian Polish (85.6 per cent) and being Polish (83.2 per cent). While considering their proud of being Lithuanians, the Poles surveyed have dispersed opinions: nearly half of respondents (46.9 per cent) maintain that this question is not applicable to them, 6.8 per cent refused to answer this question. 25.1 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles are not proud at all or rather not proud being Lithuanian, while 16.7 per cent have an opposite positive attitudes. While considering their feelings towards being representatives of the Baltic country region, Eastern Europe or Europe, the respondents tend to have no clear opinion, however, they are rather proud of being European (48.7 per cent chose 'very proud', 'rather proud') and Baltic country region (47.7 per cent, correspondingly) than being Eastern European (37 per cent 'not proud at all or rather not proud').

The great majority of the Lithuanian Poles maintains that an opportunity to preserve Polish folk customs, traditions, culture (93.7 per cent), an opportunity to speak Polish in everyday life (87.8

per cent), an opportunity to have the Polish representatives in the parliament (80.1 per cent), an opportunity to read newspapers and magazines in Polish (77.9 per cent), an opportunity for their children to study the ethnic history and culture of Poles (76.8 per cent) and an opportunity for their children to get education in Polish (68.9 per cent) are of great importance.

While analysing the data on social trust, most Lithuanian Poles tend to express their higher trust to different social groups than the institutions. The majority of the Poles surveyed trust the Lithuanian Poles (73.4 per cent, including answers 'trust them completely', 'rather trust them'), Poles (69.5 per cent), people in general (67.7 per cent) and Lithuanians (60.8 per cent).

Regarding the different institutions, most Lithuanian Poles tend to distrust them. The Lithuanian Parliament and the Lithuanian Government are the most distrusted institutions: correspondingly, 84.9 and 77.3 per cent of respondents indicate that they rather do not trust them or do not trust them at all. Majority of Poles do not trust the courts in Lithuania (60.3 per cent), Lithuanian media (59.4 per cent) and the police in Lithuania (57.9 per cent).

While analysing the survey data on respondents' interest in politics, the Poles surveyed express their relatively high interest in all areas of politics as the majority is interested in politics of Lithuania – 61.8 per cent ('very interested' and 'rather interested') and politics about Poles living in Lithuania – 57.4 per cent. Concerning the politics in Poland, more Lithuanian Poles tend to express rather their limited or no interest (59.6 per cent) than interest (39.9 per cent).

Regarding the image of the EU, most of the respondents (36.4 per cent) maintain having a neutral image, while 27.9 per cent of the Poles surveyed have a very or fairly positive image, and 17.6 per cent – a fairly negative or very negative image. Nearly every sixth respondent (16.2 per cent) has no opinion with regard to the EU image. Although most of the Poles surveyed (44.8 per cent) think that Lithuania benefits a lot or rather benefits from being a member of the EU, 25.4 per cent of the sample maintains negative attitudes towards Lithuania's benefits from the EU (choosing the answers "rather does not benefit and does not benefit at all), also, a similar share (26.3 per cent) has no opinion concerning the benefits from being a member of the European Union.

The findings of ENRI-BIOG in a great part confirm the main tendencies revealed in ENRI-VIS. The results show the great importance of regional identity and of Catholicism for national/ethnic identity of Lithuanian Poles.. National and regional/local identity are intertwined and sometimes overlap. Regional and local belonging to Vilnius or Vilnius region for most of the respondents is on the first place among territorial belongings, belonging to Lithuania - on the second one Lithuania is considered a "Native land" by most of respondents, some of them also define Vilnius region as "Native land". Catholicism also is imagined as important feature of "Polishness", especially by older generation. Some older people with lower education describe Catholicism as the main expression of their ethnicity during Soviet time.

Relationship to the mother country of respondents is weaker than to Lithuania (as shown by the results of ENRI-VIS as well). The relationship to Poland is more conceptualized by respondents with higher education level and mostly constructed through cultural/ ethnic belonging and through connections with people - relatives, friends living in Poland, also via the experience of communication with mother country. Relationship to Poland is merely symbolic: even the respondents that associate themselves with Poland, do not intend to change their living place to Poland. The "card of Pole" – a document certifying belonging to Polish people that is distributed by some Polish organizations in regions that former belonged to Poland – is perceived as relict of former territorial claims and condemned as expression of disloyalty to Lithuania.

Regional identity of Poles in Lithuania, as mentioned above, is a very strong one. For some of them only regional belonging matters. Belonging to Vilnius region is constructed using a lot of various resources: emotional ties to place, belonging to family and community networks, work and everyday life networks, parish life, regional cultural and religious traditions, family “roots”, etc. On the other hand, regional identity is not so strong for younger people. Regional belonging for younger respondents is not separable from belonging to Lithuania, while for older generations Lithuania and Vilnius region are different notions.

The opinions concerning to Europe and European identity are dispersed. European identity is not relevant for all respondents. The relevance of European identity for informants is partly connected to their education level. For less educated people (secondary school and lower) European identity is quite irrelevant: they perceive Europe and European integration as the issues that do not concern their local life at all; this also is partly connected to strong local and regional belonging and local involvement of their everyday life. The respondents with higher education have opinions about Europe, but not for all of them belonging to Europe is important; some of them Europeaness understand as some cultural similarity with other Europeans rather than self-identity. However, some respondents with higher education demonstrate quite strong European identity, belonging to Europe and EU is important for them. They stress historical belonging of Lithuania and Poland to Europe and for them is important the main content of the „idea of Europe“ - values of freedom, humanity and democracy, Christian tradition, European culture, etc. Belonging to Europe means for them realisation of the values of freedom and collaboration, European citizenship and equal rights with other Europeans, freedom of traveling, etc. But European identity for all of them is less important than regional, national and civic identity. The negative opinions concerning EU as the danger for sovereignty of national states and cultural unification are expressed in the interviews as well.

The most popular way of civic participation is voting in elections, only some of the respondents did not vote in a great part of elections. Most of them vote for ethnic parties or left wing parties. Young people have different attitudes towards voting, some of them ask their parents, other have feeling that Polish parties better know Polish problems, although they would not vote for Polish politicians just because they are Polish, if they are not competent enough. The popular way to participate in non political organisations is participation in religious organisations and parish activities and cultural-ethnic organizations as well.

Discrimination or intolerance was not experienced by absolute majority of respondents personally, but many of them reflect issues that are represented as connected to discrimination in the political discourse of last years: the issue of the way of writing Polish surnames, the issues of language usage at schools (the law about teaching some subjects in Lithuanian language in minority language schools was being prepared in the period when interviews were conducted), etc. People notice and criticize intolerance on political level as coming into play from both – Lithuanian and Polish - sides. The education policy is criticized as not considering specific needs of national minorities. Ethnic conflict as hidden and shown through childs speech (indirect negative attitudes of childs parents) was told by respondent of middle age group.

ENRI-EXI: The interviews were conducted in accordance to the methodological guidelines developed by the ENRI-EAST team and described in the project manual. The first expert is the advisor for the Minister of Culture. The second expert is an advisor for the Lithuanian Premier Minister and the third expert is the representative of the public organization *Lithuanian Polish Alliance*. The report provides overview of expert's considerations on polish minority situation in Lithuania. These interviews give an overview of the main laws and regulations related to ethnic

minorities in Lithuania. The experts pointed that currently there is no law which regulates the everyday life of ethnic minorities in Lithuania. The experts point to the situation that the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad was closed a year ago and the main functions of the Department were undertaken by the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture. The experts named the main issues associated with Polish minority in the Lithuania as the secondary education and some amendments on the Law of Education (by experts named as the urgent issue) that extent the use of Lithuanian language in the secondary schools with ethnic minority language. It was named that the relations between national institutions and ethnic minority groups or their NGO are not sufficient, it was criticised the state support mechanism for the organizations. Also experts sees the ethnic tensions between the ethnic groups and majority that could be inspired both by the minorities' and majority's nationalistic organizations. The report also overviews the situation of the political representation of Polish ethnic minority, the Polish people relation to mother country and relationship to European events and organizations.

ENRI-Music: Most interviewed children from Polish school declared being of Polish nationality. 14 % of schoolchildren from Russian school declared being of Polish nationality. Polish is not mother tongue for all the children declaring Polish identity. Even less of them speak Polish at home.

The first music heard by children from Polish school was Polish folksongs, religious music, Polish songs written for children and Russian Pop. The place where the music was heard was mainly home and playschool / kindergarten. The music was sung by parents or grandparents, on the radio and TV. Most of them felt happy hearing it. Polish songs written for children are the favourite piece they listened to or played/sung. The biggest part of them would take Polish songs written for children to desert island. Folk dance is favourite for one third of children.

The first heard music by parents was lullabies and Religious, heard at home, school and Church or other place of worship. It was sung by parents or grandparents or heard on TV. Their favourite piece they have listened to was Russian classical or Polish pop. Their favourite piece they have sung was Polish folksong or religious. To desert island they would take Polish pop, classical music, Polish folksongs, foreign pop or religious music. Their favourite dance is classic, disco and folk.

The first heard music by grandparents was lullabies, Polish folksong and Religious, heard at home, Church or other place of worship and school. It was sung by parents or grandparents, sung at church or heard on the radio. Their favourite piece they have listened to was religious, Polish folksongs or Polish songs written for children. Their favourite piece they have sung was Polish folksong or religious. To desert island they would take religious music, Polish pop or Polish folksong. Their favourite dance is classic or folk.

During the focus group interview the greatest ethnic identity was Koliady (Polish Christmas songs).

Summary of practical recommendations

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

It is of highest importance that civil society organizations seek for interethnic communication, promotion of communication between different ethnic groups, between titular nation and ethnic minorities.

The interviewed civil organization leaders mentioned such urgent questions as the use of Polish language in the public signs in the places populated densely by the Poles, the language of the inscription of the Polish surnames in the personal identity documents, and the new amendments to the Law of Education. Different parties should consult with the research data in developing their policies and strategies. The highest level of sensitivity and sensibility should be demonstrated in developing the laws that affect broad spectrum of population.

1 POLES IN LITHUANIA: A BACKGROUND OVERVIEW

Vida Beresnevičiūtė / Tadas Leončikas / Arvydas Matulionis / Kristina Šliavaite

1.1 Lithuanian majority and Polish minority relations

1.1.1 Historical overview

Poland is Lithuania's southwest neighbour and the two countries have had long history of cultural, political, economic relations. In 1569 the Lublin union was signed between the countries and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was established.¹ At the end of the 18th century the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria and the major territory of contemporary Lithuania became part of Russia with part of its gentry polonized (Šapoka (1936) 1989). We must also mention the role of Catholic church in polonizing local Lithuanian population: the Polish language was the main language of Catholic church and the historians mention the fights among Lithuanians and Poles in Lithuania over the language of masses in the churches at the beginning of the 20th century (Šapoka (1936) 1989: 526-531). At the beginning of the 20th century the national revival movement started in Lithuania and in 1918 the independent Republic of Lithuania was established. In 1923 the Poles were the second most numerous ethnic minority group in Lithuania after Jews and numbered up to 65,600 people (Lietuvos statistikos departamentas 1992 cited in Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:40).

There was a deep crisis in Polish-Lithuanian relations at the beginning of the 20th century when Vilnius and the Vilnius area became part of Poland. In 1939 Vilnius was returned to Lithuania by the Soviets, but soon afterwards Lithuania was occupied by the Soviet Union.² The Poles in Lithuania were concentrated mainly in the Vilnius area, i.e. in the eastern part of Lithuania (Statistics Lithuania 2002a). Due to common history, intensive relations, common medieval state, Poles and Lithuanians are proud of a number of historical figures, prominent cultural leaders, historical places that are important for both nations and serve as important symbols in national identity and national history construction.

Vilnius is a town which historically has been important for both nations and its architecture, historical heritage illustrate the periods of the history of both nations. Tours to Vilnius are very popular among Polish tourists and one of the sights that are usually visited is the cemetery of Rasos where the heart of Polish interwar leader Józef Piłsudski is buried. We may say that the name of J.Piłsudski evokes different emotions for Poles and Lithuanians. J.Piłsudski was interwar Poland's leader, but Lithuanians first of all relate this historical figure with the fights for Vilnius and Vilnius area and its loss by Lithuania in 1920.³

¹ On the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth see for example Šapoka (1936/1989), Bumblauskas 2007, etc.

² On the history of Vilnius and Vilnius area at the beginning of the 20th century see, for example, Arūnas Gumuliauskas, "Dar kartą Vilniaus klausimu", Istorija. Mokslo darbai. 70 tomas, available at: http://www.istorijoszurnalas.lt/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=119&Itemid=57 (accessed on 2011.05.05)

³ see for example, Eglė Samoškaitė (2010) "V.Landsbergis: J.Piłsudski lietuviams – nelaimės ir žalos figūra" // Delfi.lt. 2010.08.16, available at: <http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/vlandsbergis-jpilsudski-lietuviams--nelaimes-ir-zalos-figura.d?id=35499437> (accessed on 05.05.2011)

A number of widely known writers, poets, musicians were nurtured in the culture of both nations – Lithuanian and Polish – and both nations consider them as members of their national community. One of the best known example is the 19th century poet Adam Mickewich, who was born in Lithuania, but writes in Polish language, therefore he is considered an important figure in the literature of Poles and Lithuanians.

After the break-down of the Soviet block, Lithuania became an independent country. In 1994 the countries signed the Treaty between the Republic of Poland and the Republic of Lithuania on friendly relations and good-neighbourly cooperation. The articles 13, 14, 15 of this Treaty define the Lithuanian ethnic minority in Poland and the Polish ethnic minority in Lithuania and guarantee a number of rights to these ethnic minorities.⁴

1.1.2 Political overview

The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania adopted in 1992 guarantees a number of rights to the ethnic minorities in Lithuania. The Article No.37 guarantees the right to the members of national communities to nourish their language, culture and customs. The Article No.45 grants the right to the ethnic communities to manage independently their national culture issues, education, charity. State support for the national communities is guaranteed.⁵

In 1995 the Law on the State Language of the Republic of Lithuania was introduced which regulates the use of the state language (Lithuanian language) in establishments, enterprises and organizations, courts, transactions, official events, education and culture, names, signs and information.⁶ Article No.1 states that “other laws of the Republic of Lithuania and legal acts adopted by the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania shall guarantee the right of persons, belonging to ethnic communities, to foster their language, culture and customs”⁷. There was some conflict between the Law on the State Language and the Law on National Minorities on the regulation of the use of minority languages and the state language in governmental and other state institutions in areas populated densely by the ethnic minorities (Kasatkina, Kadziauskas, Sliavaite 2006: 368). The Law on National Minorities ceased to exist at the beginning of 2010 and currently new project of the Law on National Minorities is in the process of preparation.

In 2004 Lithuania and Poland, together with a number of other states, joined the EU. In general, Lithuania and Poland could be characterized as neighbors with extensive relations and cooperation in different spheres. Poland, however, recently expressed its concern regarding some amendments in educational system of Lithuania.⁸

⁴ Lietuvos Respublikos ir Lenkijos Respublikos sutartis "Dėl draugiškų santykių ir gero kaimyninio bendradarbiavimo", available at <http://www.urm.lt/index.php?-1232661239> (accessed on 08.04.2010)

⁵ Lietuvos Respublikos Konstitucija. Available at: http://www3.lrs.lt/home/Konstitucija/Konstitucija.htm#II_SKIRSNIS_ŽMOGUS_IR_VALSTYBĖ, (accessed on 08.04.2010).

⁶ The Republic of Lithuania law on the State Language, available at: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter2/dokpaieska.showdoc_e?p_id=21941 (accessed on 2010-04-08)

⁷ The Republic of Lithuania law on the State Language, available at: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter2/dokpaieska.showdoc_e?p_id=21941 (accessed on 2010-04-08)

⁸ BNS. 2010. Lietuva gavo Lenkijos notą dėl švietimo // Delfi.lt, 2010.12.17, available at: <http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/lietuva-gavo-lenkijos-nota-del-svietimo.d?id=39821145> (accessed on 29.01.2011)

The main issues that raise debates on the situation of Poles in Lithuania are questions related with the use of minority language in public signs and identity documents, and the situation of Polish schools in Lithuania. In May 2009 the Association “Wspólnota Polska” in collaboration with the Union of Poles in Lithuania and the Association of Teachers of Polish Schools in Lithuania issued a report entitled “The Observance of Polish Minority Rights in Lithuania”. The report expressed concern regarding the situation of the Polish minority in Lithuania and referred mainly to the education system in Lithuania, the public use of the minority language and the absence of regulations concerning the spelling of Polish names in personal identity documents. It also claimed that there are a number of restrictions on electoral and land-ownership rights in the Vilnius area for the Polish national minority. The report claimed that state support for national minorities was unfairly allocated, i.e. that the main portion of financial support is allocated to Lithuanian emigrants (The Association “Wspólnota Polska”...2009). In 2009 the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad under the Government of Republic of Lithuania disseminated a public answer to the concerns expressed in the report. This answer stated that there are doubts because of the objectivity of the mentioned report and described as incorrect a number of facts presented in it.⁹ So different actors have different opinions on the situation of Polish minority in Lithuania.

The issues of spelling family names in the original Polish spelling in Lithuanian passports and of the language of public signs in the areas densely populated by Poles have been debated in the public sphere. In 2009 the Constitutional Court came to the decision that original language spelling can be used for names and family names in some parts of Lithuanian passport.¹⁰ However, in April 2010 the Seimas (Lithuanian Parliament) rejected this law¹¹ and the issue is still pending. The use of public street signs in two languages – Lithuanian and Polish – in the areas populated densely by the Polish people is treated as coming against the Law on the State Language and municipal authorities are required to replace the signs into the state language (Kasatkina, Kadziauskas, Sliavaite 2006:370-371).

Mr. Valdemar Tomaševski, the president of the political party *The Electoral Action of Poles*, was elected to the European Parliament in 2009. In 2009, V. Tomaševski submitted a complaint to the President of European Commission José Manuel Barroso regarding the Polish situation in Lithuania. He mainly complained of the restrictions on using the Polish language in the municipal institutions and in the public signs in the regions populated mainly by the Poles.¹² The complaint raised political debates in Lithuania, but did not have any direct influence on Polish situation there.

⁹ Tautinių mažumų ir išeivijos departamentas prie Lietuvos respublikos Vyriausybės „Apie lenkų tautinės mažumos padėtį Lietuvoje“, available at: <http://www.aina.lt/nuomones/komentarai/8650-apie-lenku-tautines-mazumos-padeti-lietu...> (accessed on 31.03.2010)

¹⁰ Alfa.lt, Constitutional court's decision on foreign surnames, Poles dissatisfied, available at http://www.alfa.lt/straipsnis/10298583/?Constitutional.courts.decision.on.foreign.surnames..Poles.dissatisfied=2009-11-09_10-47 (accessed on 08.04.2010)

¹¹ Digrytė Eglė (2010) “Seimas pasirinko saugoti lietuvių kalbą, o ne žmonių pavardes”, available at: <http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/seimas-pasirinko-saugoti-lietuviu-kalba-o-ne-zmoniu-pavardes.d?id=30849935> (accessed on 08.04.2010)

¹² Zebra.lt/BNS (2009.09.08) „J.M.Barosso – V.Tomaševskio skundas dėl lenkų padėties Lietuvoje“, available at: <http://www.zebra.lt/lt/naujienos/lietuva/j-m-barosso-v-tomasevskio-skundas-del-lenku-padeties-lietuvoje-171386.html> (accessed on 08.04.2010)

In March 2011 the Lithuanian Parliament adopted a new Law on Education according to which starting from the new academic year the number of lessons taught in the Lithuanian language in national minority elementary and secondary schools is going to increase.¹³ This law has raised a lot of dissatisfaction among the Polish ethnic community.

1.2 Demographic overview

1.2.1 The 2001 census

The Population Census 2001 registered 234,989 Poles in Lithuania and this made 6.7 per cent of the total population (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:190-193). Historically the majority of Poles (92 per cent) live in the Vilnius county (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:192).

The census did not include data on mixed marriages in Polish group in Lithuania. However, Lithuanian sociologists Natalija Kasatkina and Tadas Leončikas, who conducted survey among a few ethnic groups in Lithuania in 2001-2002, argue that “it was among Poles that we saw the highest rate of ethnic Lithuanians among the relatives” (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003: 227).

1.2.2 Polish language usage

According to the Population Census 2001, Poles’ division according to the mother tongue is as follows: 187,918 (80 per cent) consider Polish as their mother tongue, 17,233 (7.3 per cent) consider Lithuanian as their mother tongue, 22,439 (9.5 per cent) consider Russian and 1,040 consider Belarusian language as their mother tongue (Statistics Lithuania 2002b:74).

1.2.3 Age Structure

The 2001 census data reveal that 23.6% of Poles are under 20 years old and within the Polish group, 15.1 per cent are older than 65 years old (Department of Statistics data cited in Leončikas 2007: 149). In comparison with other ethnic groups in Lithuania the Poles have relatively high number of youth under 20 years old (Leončikas 2007:37).

1.2.4 Geographic Distribution

The Population Census 2001 revealed that there are 234,989 Poles in Lithuania and this made 6.7 per cent of the total population (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:192). The majority of Poles (216,012) live in the Vilnius county where they make up 25 per cent of the total population (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:192).

1.2.5 Religious denomination

According to the Population Census 2001, the majority of Poles in Lithuania (93 per cent) are Roman Catholics. There are 1,429 Poles who practice Orthodoxy (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:204). The researchers note the importance of religion for Polish population (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:226-227).

¹³ Samoškaitė E. “Tautinių mažumų mokyklose Lietuvos istorija, geografija bus dėstoma lietuviškai” // in DELFI (2011.03.17), available at: <http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/tautiniu-mazumu-mokyklose-lietuvos-istorija-ge...> (accessed on 01.09.11)

1.2.6 Education

The rights of national minorities to receive public and state supported pre-school and general education in their native languages is guaranteed by a number of laws, such as the Law on Education¹⁴, the Law on National Minorities¹⁵, the Provisions for the Education of National Minorities¹⁶. The number of schools has been decreasing in Lithuania and consequently the number of schools with the Polish language of instruction is decreasing as well. This can be illustrated by the following statistics.

For example, on the 1st September 2003, there were 2,151 schools of general education (*bendrojo lavinimo mokyklos*)¹⁷ in Lithuania. On the 1st September 2011 there were 1,310 such schools.¹⁸ On the 1st September 2003, there were 75 schools of general education which provided education in Polish and 52 in a combination of Languages (for example, Lithuanian-Polish, Polish-Russian, Lithuanian-Polish-Russian).¹⁹ However, in 2011 there were 49 schools of general education with teaching in Polish and 41 with teaching in a combination of languages²⁰.

In March 2011 the Lithuanian Parliament adopted a new Law on Education according to which since the new academic year the number of lessons taught in Lithuanian language in elementary and secondary schools of national minorities is going to increase²¹. This Law raised great concern among Lithuanian Poles and dissatisfaction of Poland.

There is wide possibility to study Polish philology at the university level in Lithuania. There is a Department of Polish Philology and Didactics at the Faculty of Philology at Vilnius Pedagogical University. There is a Center of Polish Studies at the Faculty of Philology at Vilnius University. There is a branch of the Polish University of Białystok in Vilnius, however it is not widely known in the Lithuanian society.

1.2.7 Employment

According to the Census 2001, among Poles, 4.6% work as legislators, senior officers and managers (for comparison - 8.6% Lithuanians), 8.5% Poles work as specialists (15.8% Lithuanians), 13.6% work in service sphere and trade (11.1% of Lithuanians), 18.1% as qualified workers and

¹⁴ Švietimo įstatymas (Law on Education), No. I-1489, of 25 June 1991; last amended on 21 January 2010, available at: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter2/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=279441&p_query=&p_tr2= (accessed on 12.04.2010)

¹⁵ Tautinių mažumų įstatymas (Law on National Minorities), Law No. XI-3412 of 23 November 1989; An English translation available at: <http://www3.lrs.lt/c-bin/eng/preps2?Condition1=21840&Condition2=> (accessed on 12.04.2010)

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

¹⁷ The concept „bendrojo lavinimo mokyklos“ which is translated as „schools of general education“ includes primary, lower secondary and upper secondary education.

¹⁸ Source: Švietimo įstaigų kaita pagal mokymo kalbas (4-9 k.), LR Švietimo ir mokslo ministerija, available at: http://www.aikos.smm.lt/aikos/Statistika/kaitlr4_9.html (accessed on 2011-09-07)

¹⁹ Source: Švietimo įstaigų kaita pagal mokymo kalbas (4-9 k.), LR Švietimo ir mokslo ministerija, available at: http://www.aikos.smm.lt/aikos/Statistika/kaitlr4_9.html (accessed on 2011-09-07)

²⁰ Source: Švietimo įstaigų kaita pagal mokymo kalbas (4-9 k.), LR Švietimo ir mokslo ministerija, available at: http://www.aikos.smm.lt/aikos/Statistika/kaitlr4_9.html (accessed on 2011-09-07)

²¹ Samoškaitė E. „Tautinių mažumų mokyklose Lietuvos istorija, geografija bus dėstoma lietuviškai“ // in DELFI (2011.03.17), available at: <http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/tautiniu-mazumu-mokyklose-liuvos-istorija-ge...> (accessed on 01.09.11)

craftsmen (13.3% Lithuanians), etc. (data provided by the Department of Statistics cited in Beresnevičiūtė 2005:141).

Lithuanian sociologists Natalija Kasatkina and Tadas Leončikas conducted a survey among Lithuanian ethnic groups in 2001-2002 and found out that 56% of their Polish respondents noted that command of the Lithuanian language is one of the most important preconditions in order to get a good job (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:111). However, the authors argue that these attitudes can be interpreted in a number of ways Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:111).

The importance of the state language command in the job market is further supported by other research. In March-June 2006, the Institute of Labour and Social Research conducted a sociological survey of 606 unemployed people of ethnic minorities in Šalčininkai and Vilnius areas. The majority of respondents were Poles. One of the reasons of long-term unemployment mentioned by the respondents was the lack of Lithuanian language command.²²

1.3 Polish self-organisation in Lithuania

1.3.1 Political Organisation

The Polish minority could be described as an active and well mobilized ethnic group in Lithuania. The most influential Polish political party is *The Electoral Action of Poles*. It gains its biggest support in the districts which are inhabited mainly by the Polish minority; the Vilnius district and the Šalčininkai district.²³ In 2008-2012 Seimas of the Lithuanian Republic there are 3 members of Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania.²⁴ The president of this party, V.Tomaševski, was elected to the Seimas of Lithuania and later he was elected to the European Parliament.

1.3.2 Civil society organization

The Polish minority in Lithuania is well organized. There are many Polish organizations and it is impossible to make a comprehensive overview of these organizations. Some of them could be characterized as cultural, others as religious, etc. The biggest and most influential Polish organization in Lithuania is The Union of Poles in Lithuania (Lietuvos lenkų sąjunga/Związek Polaków na Litwie) which unites thousands of Poles in different places of Lithuania²⁵.

1.3.3 Arts and culture

There are many Polish organizations focusing on different cultural activities. The “House of Polish Culture in Vilnius” is to be mentioned as one of the most important of Polish organizations functioning in Lithuania. It defines its main focus as the organization of cultural events and

²² Summary of the research, Tautinių mažumų atstovų integracijos į darbo rinką galimybių tyrimas, 23.02.2007, available in Lithuanian at: http://www.tmid.lt/index.php?page_id=62&action=spausdinti&news_id=466 (accessed on 13.10.2007)

²³ Lietuvos lenkų rinkimų akcija, History, available at: http://www.awpl.lt/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=55&Itemid=55&lang=en, (accessed on 08.04.2010).

²⁴ Seimo nariai, available at: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter/w5_show?p_r=6113&p_k=1 (accessed on 08.04.2010).

²⁵ Związek Polaków na Litwie, available at: www.zpl.lt (accessed on 29.01.2011)

names its priorities as “cultural education, promotion of Polish literature and art in Vilnius area, support for local artists and cultural initiatives”.²⁶

In 1995 the Institute of Poland (Lenkijos institutas) was founded in Vilnius. Such Institutes work in other countries of the world as well and their mission is defined as promulgation of the Polish culture, history, heritage and fostering cooperation between countries in different spheres²⁷.

The Polish folklore festivals and clubs are popular in the areas populated densely by Poles in Lithuania, like Šalčininkai area²⁸, Vilnius area²⁹. There are some art galleries related with the Polish community in Lithuania, like Znad Wilii Polish Art Gallery (Znad Wilii Lenkų meno galerija) which was founded by private initiatives in Vilnius in 1995³⁰.

One of the most important events for the Poles in Lithuania is the World's Day of the Poles (Pasaulio lenkų diena) which is celebrated at the beginning of May and attracts wide interest of local Polish population.³¹

1.3.4 Religious observation

The sociologists Natalija Kasatkina and Tadas Leončikas note that religious identity is important for Poles in Lithuania (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003:226-227). The majority of Poles are Catholics (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:204). Since most of the Polish population are concentrated in Vilnius and the Vilnius area (Statistics Lithuania 2002a), it is not surprising that in the most churches of Vilnius the Mass is held in both languages – Lithuanian and Polish. There is one church in historical area of Vilnius – the Church of Saint Soul (Šventosios Dvasios) – which is considered Polish and where the Mass is held only in the Polish language.³²

1.3.5 Publishing and the press

The daily newspaper *Kurjer Wilenski* and the weekly newspaper *Tygodnik Wilenszczyzny* are popular among the Polish population in Lithuania. These newspapers have their internet sites.³³ There are some other Polish minority internet portals in Lithuania (like “Wilnoteka”³⁴, for example) that follow up all the key events important for Polish population and are important means in mobilization of Polish group.

²⁶ The House of Polish Culture in Vilnius, available at: <http://www.polskidom.lt/index.php/en/about-us.html> (accessed on 15.04.2010)

²⁷ Lenkijos institutas Vilniuje, <http://www.lenkukultura.lt/lt/apie-mus>

²⁸ Šalčininkų rajono savivaldybė, Kultūra, available at: <http://195.182.90.36/nemunas/en/sal/lt/ku.htm> (accessed on 17.01.2010)

²⁹ Vilniaus rajono turizmo informacijos centras, available at: <http://www.vilniausrtic.lt/?Element=ViewArticle&TopicID=61&ArticleID=94&Lang=LT> (accessed on 17.01.2010)

³⁰ Znad Wilii lenkų meno galerija, <http://www.culture.lt/galleries/vilzna.htm>

³¹ Elta (2010) Lietuvos lenkai minės pasaulio lenkų dieną, available at: http://www.elta.lt/zinute_pr.php?inf_id=1191939 (accessed on 17.01.2011)

³² Vilniaus arkivyskupija. Abėcėlinis parapijų sąrašas, available at: <http://vilnius.lcn.lt/parapijos/abecelinis/> (accessed on 17.01.2011)

³³ Kurjer Wilenski - <http://kurierwilenski.lt/>, Tygodnik Wilenszczyzny - <http://www.tygodnik.lt/201103/>

³⁴ Wilnoteka, available at: <http://www.wilnoteka.lt/pl> (accessed on 26.01.2011)

1.3.6 Polish minority media

The Polish radio channel in Lithuania is *Radio Znad Wilii*. There is also a daily Polish programme on public radio. A public TV station broadcasts a programme in Polish language “Vilniaus albumas” (The album of Vilnius) once per week.

1.4 Overview of existing surveys

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

There are a number of surveys on different aspects of ethnic minority situation in Lithuania. Sociologists Natalija Kasatkina and Tadas Leončikas (2003) conducted a survey among a few ethnic groups in Lithuania in 2001-2002 and focused on the questions of social adaptation of different ethnic groups in Lithuania. The authors concluded that the Poles in Lithuania are well consolidated and the authors review the opinion that the Poles in Lithuania express separation from the rest of society (Kasatkina, Leončikas 2003: 226-227). The sociologists investigated different aspects of social situation of ethnic groups in Lithuanian society and Poles were one of the groups included in their analysis. The researchers analyzed the issues of social integration (Beresnevičiūtė 2005), processes of assimilation (Leončikas 2007).

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

Vida Beresnevičiūtė

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

- Instrument: The survey used a questionnaire translated into Polish (38.1 per cent), Lithuanian (38.4 per cent) and Russian (18.1 per cent) languages.
- Survey Sample: 821 Poles living in Lithuania.
- Sampling: For the sampling, two methods were applied: random route sampling classic (369 respondents reached) and random root focused enumeration (452 respondents reached).
- Survey geography: The survey took place in the Vilnius County and covered six municipalities.
- Time: Fieldwork: 15 November 2009 – 15 February 2010.
- Survey agency: Lithuanian Social Research Centre.

Socio-demographic profile of the respondents

		N	%
Gender	Female	554	67.5
	Male	267	32.5
Total		821	100.0
Age groups	Up to 29	105	12.8
	30-49 years old	256	31.2
	50 year old and elder	453	55.2
	NA	7	0.9
Total		821	100.0
Education	No qualifications	27	3.3
	Primary	115	14.0
	Basic with vocational training	69	8.4
	Secondary	205	25.0
	Secondary with vocational training	222	27.0
	Higher (Bachelor degree)	119	14.5
	Higher (Master degree, post graduate degree)	60	7.3
	NA	4	0.5
Total		821	100.0
Occupation	Working full-time (40 hours a week)	268	32.6
	Working part-time (8-30 hours a week)	50	6.1
	Casual/temporary work	18	2.2
	Housewife/keeping house	12	1.5
	Unemployed	94	11.4
	Retired/disabled	325	39.6
	Full-time student at school/college	21	2.6
	Temporary leave (sick leave, maternity leave)	23	2.8
	Other	5	0.6
	Refusal	5	0.6
Total		821	100.0

Socio-demographic profile of the respondents (continued)

			N	%
Marital Status	Single		96	11.7
	Cohabiting/living with partner		34	4.1
	Married		455	55.4
	Divorced		55	6.7
	Widowed		177	21.6
	DK		1	0.1
	Refusal		3	0.3
Total			821	100.0
Average net monthly income	Up to 800 LTL*		353	43.0
	801-1250 LTL		185	22.5
	1251-2000 LTL		108	13.2
	2001 LTL and more		44	5.7
	No income		58	7.1
	NA		73	8.9
Total			821	100.0
Place of residence	Rural	Salcininku reg.	120	14.6
		Sirvintu reg.	8	1.0
		Svencioniu reg	34	4.1
		Traku reg.	46	5.6
		Vilniaus reg.	202	24.6
	Urban	Vilnius city	411	50.1
Total			821	100.0

* 1EUR=3.4528 LTL

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

2.2 Ethnicity and ethnic identity, national identity

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

2.2.1 Language usage

First of all, the ethnic minorities' respondents were asked what language they speak most often at home. The majority of the Lithuanian Poles (69.8 per cent) speak Polish most often at home. More than one tenth of the Polish respondents (11.7 per cent) indicated that they speak Polish and Lithuanian most often at home. According to the survey data, 4.9 per cent of the Poles speak Lithuanian most often at home. Also, 13.2 per cent of the Lithuanians Poles use other languages at home, among which Russian or Polish and Russian, Belarussian are most often mentioned.

Among those who mentioned either Lithuanian and Polish or Lithuanian as most often spoken language at home, representatives of younger (27 per cent) and middle (47 per cent) generations

with higher education prevail and comprise the majority of the group. Also, these are the residence of the urban areas, i.e. the capital city which is of multi-ethnic composition. (See Table 1.)

2.2.2 Closeness

The respondents were asked about their closeness to different groups and regions, including local and European dimensions. The answers of the Lithuanian Poles indicate several tendencies. The majority of the Lithuanian Poles fell very close or rather close to the local environment as 89.3 per cent maintain their closeness to the settlement where they live, 83.1 per cent – to Lithuania and 80.8 per cent – to the Lithuanian Poles. The other dimensions of closeness received far more deliberate attention of the Lithuanian Poles as 42.9 per cent feel close to Poland (including the answers very close and rather close), with 55.2 per cent of those who do not feel close to Poland. Also, the majority of the Lithuanian Poles feel a big distance from the Baltic country region (79.1 per cent say they are ‘rather not close’ or ‘not close at all’), Eastern Europe (78.8 per cent) and Europe (71.3 per cent). (See Table 2)

2.2.3 Self-categorisation

Trying to identify the components of self-identification, the respondents were asked to define the categories, which are the most important in thinking about him/her selves by defining the three most important categories. While generalising the data on the first category chosen by the respondents, the distributions are as follows: one fourth of the Lithuanian Poles (23.9 per cent) mentioned their current (or previous) occupation, closely followed by their ethnicity – the being a Lithuanian Pole (21.8 per cent) and then followed by the categories such as gender (12.8 per cent), age (11.7 per cent) and religion (11.1 per cent). While considering the set of the second importance of the categories in self definition, the ethnic dimension comes to surface as 20.2 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles mention it, followed by the religion (15.6 per cent) and the coming from the settlement that one lives (12.4 per cent). The set of the third choice of the respondents is rather scattered but includes the aforementioned categories, among which the coming from the settlement that one lives (17.7 per cent), their current (or previous) occupation (11.2 per cent), their religion and the being a Lithuanian Pole (10 per cent, each). (See Table 3). When analysing aggregated choices, it is obvious that ethnicity is one of the most important categories of self-identification among the Lithuanian Poles, including other categories such as religion, geographical settlement and occupation.

2.2.4 Concept of nation

The questionnaire included the questions that aim at disclosing the respondents’ opinion on what things are important for being truly Pole or truly Lithuanian. While considering the concept of being truly Polish, the majority of the Lithuanian Poles tend to distinguish four the most important components: ability to speak Polish (94.6 per cent), the feeling being Polish (93.8 per cent), having Polish ancestry (90.6 per cent) and being Catholic (87.4 per cent). With regard to importance of the respect the political institutions and laws of Poland in defining a truly Pole, the opinions of the Lithuanian Poles tend to distribute rather evenly: 44.4 per cent maintain its importance and 49.4 per cent maintain that it is unimportant. A significant share of the Poles surveyed do not consider such factors as being have lived in Poland for most of one’s life, having been born in Poland or being a citizen of Poland as significant factors for being a Polish as majority maintain that these are rather not important or not important at all (77.4 per cent, 75.5 per cent, and 72.5 per cent, correspondingly). (See Table 4).

While considering the components that are important for being truly Lithuanian, several issues could be considered. Firstly, all the things listed are treated to be very important or rather important for being a truly Lithuanian by the Poles surveyed, while in defining a true Pole some differentiation of the aspects listed is applied. The most important to which the majority of the sample tend to give priority in defining a true Lithuanian are the following things: ability to speak Lithuanian (83.3 per cent), respect the Lithuanian political institutions and laws (76.6 per cent), the feeling being Lithuanian (72.7 per cent), being Catholic (69 per cent) and having Lithuanian ancestry (68.6 per cent). More than half of the Lithuanian Poles (59.8 per cent) tend to ascribe great importance to having citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania, being had lived in Lithuania for most of one's life (52.5 per cent) and having been born in Lithuania (50.5 per cent) for being Lithuanian. (See Table 5).

2.2.5 Ethnic pride and ethnic status

The answers to the question on the level of proud of being member of certain ethnicity related group, most Lithuanian Poles are very proud or proud of being the Lithuanian Polish (85.6 per cent) and being Polish (83.2 per cent). While considering their proud of being Lithuanians, the Poles surveyed have dispersed opinions: nearly half of respondents (46.9 per cent) maintain that this question is not applicable to them, 6.8 per cent refused to answer this question. 25.1 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles are not proud at all or rather not proud being Lithuanian, while 16.7 per cent have an opposite positive attitudes. While considering their feelings towards being representatives of the Baltic country region, Eastern Europe or Europe, the respondents tend to have no clear opinion, however, they are rather proud of being European (48.7 per cent chose 'very proud', 'rather proud') and Baltic country region (47.7 per cent, correspondingly) than being Eastern European (37 per cent 'not proud at all or rather not proud'). (See Table 6).

The answers to the aforementioned questions correspond to the description of one's ethnic status. The majority of the respondents maintain that their ethnic status is best described by a formula 'I'm Lithuanian Pole' – 66.1 per cent. Every fifth (21.3 per cent) Lithuanian Polish gives priority to the statement 'I'm Polish' and only 6.1 14.1 per cent chose the statement 'I'm Lithuanian with Polish descent'. Only 1 per cent of the Polish sample defines their ethnic status as being Lithuanians. (See Table 7).

2.2.6 General assimilation strategy

The respondents were asked to express their opinion regarding the situation of ethnic minority groups and Poles in particular. The Lithuanian Poles nearly unanimously agree with a statement that 'It is better if Poles preserve their own customs and traditions' – 93.5 per cent strongly agree or rather agree. Concerning the statement 'It is better if Poles adapt and blend into the larger society', the opinions of the Lithuanian Poles are contradictory: half of respondents (51.8 per cent) tend to agree and 39 per cent – disagree with it. The data analysis show that rural residents tend to agree with the statement that Poles should adapt and blend into the larger society in a lesser degree than the urban as 36.9 per cent of urban Polish population and 67.1 per cent of rural population strongly agree or rather agree with the statement. (See table 10).

2.2.7 Educational and cultural aspects of identity

The respondents were asked to express their opinion on different statements related to the opportunities for their children education, to speak minority language in everyday life, opportunities to read newspapers and magazines in Polish and have the representatives in the parliament. In gen-

eral, all the opportunities listed in the questionnaire seem to be of a high significance to the Lithuanian Poles as the majority of respondents qualify them as very important or rather important. The great majority of the Lithuanian Poles maintains that an opportunity to preserve Polish folk customs, traditions, culture (93.7 per cent), an opportunity to speak Polish in everyday life (87.8 per cent), an opportunity to have the Polish representatives in the parliament (80.1 per cent), an opportunity to read newspapers and magazines in Polish (77.9 per cent), an opportunity for their children to study the ethnic history and culture of Poles (76.8 per cent) and an opportunity for their children to get education in Polish (68.9 per cent) are of great importance. (See Table 11).

The majority of the sample of the Lithuanian Poles surveyed has obtained primary education (65.9 per cent) in Polish. The secondary education in Polish language obtained 47.6 per cent of the Poles. The share who studied in Polish at the institutions of higher education is only 8.9 per cent. (See Table 12.) The data analysis shows that primary and secondary education in Polish language is a little bit more widespread among the rural population which might be explained by a concentrated residence and closer access to educational establishments.

The respondents of the survey have maintained that it is of highly importance for them to use the media in Polish language and to give school education for their children in minority language. According to the survey data, majority of the Lithuanian Poles can take advantages of these opportunities. The great majority of the Polish sample has an opportunity to read newspapers and magazines in the Polish language, issued in Lithuania (88.2 per cent), and to give school education for their children in Polish language (86.8 per cent). Also, most Poles can watch TV programs of the Lithuania TV channels in Polish language (85.1 per cent) and listen to the radio programs of the Lithuania radio stations in Polish language (84.2 per cent). (See Table 13)

2.2.8 Media usage

Several more detailed questions were provided to respondents concerning their usage of printed or electronic newspapers, television, radio and websites. Among the media resources, television is most widely used in terms of different programs. The second most widely use media source is the listening to the radio, followed by reading the printed newspapers and browsing the internet sources. The majority of Polish respondents admire the Lithuania's programs at most as they (64.7 per cent) watch them regularly / often. Half of respondents (54 per cent) watch the Poland's programs on regular basis, and 27 per cent watch programs prepared by the Lithuanian Poles. A quite different pattern could be observed in the practices of listening to the radio: more respondents use the sources produced by the Lithuanian Poles (42.5 per cent) than Lithuanian (37.3 per cent) or the Poland's radio programs (35.7 per cent). In case of the printed media, the greatest preference is given to the Lithuanian printed or electronic newspapers (34 per cent) and the printed media produced by the Lithuanian Poles (32.8 per cent). Only 22 per cent read Poland's printed media on regular basis. In case of internet, 30.2 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles browse the Lithuanian websites regularly, 17 per cent browse the Poland's sources on regular basis and 9.7 per cent use the internet content produced by the Lithuanian Poles. (See Table 14, Table 15).

2.2.9 Religious denomination and practice

The survey data show that the great majority of Poles surveyed (94.6 per cent) defined themselves as the Roman Catholics. Only 3 per cent of the Polish sample consider themselves as not belonging to a denomination. (See Table 21).

Also, the data shows that the Poles are active members of the religious community: apart from funerals, christenings and wedding, 39.6 per cent practice religion once a week or more often,

21.9 per cent – once a month, and 34.5 per cent – once or twice a year. (See Table 22). Among the more frequent Polish practitioners of their religion, senior women comprise the great majority.

2.3 Family, households, employment and related ethnic aspects

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

2.3.1 Household composition

Most of respondents live in small households, as one fifth of the sample (21.1 per cent) lives alone, i.e. a respondent is the only member of the household; in this case, the majority is comprised by seniors (50 years old and elder) and women, living in urban areas. According to the answers of the Lithuanian Poles, 28.5 per cent of their households are comprised of two persons, 18.5 per cent of the respondents' households consists of three persons. 16.8 per cent of the Polish respondents live in the households that consist of four persons, and 14.9 per cent – five or more persons. (See Table 31)

While analysing the relationship of respondent's household other members with him/her, most often the oldest household member is respondents' spouse (63.6 per cent), parent (15.9 per cent), or other relative. While defining ethnicity of the household's oldest member, the respondents tend to choose between the Lithuanian Pole (47 per cent) and the Pole (30 per cent), and the Lithuanian (12.4 per cent) most often. In most cases, the second (and the third) oldest member of the household is a child (64 per cent), who in terms of ethnicity is defined as the Lithuanian Pole (49 per cent), the Pole (33 per cent), or the Lithuanian (13 per cent). Among the Polish respondents, the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania dominates (97.6 per cent), the same corresponds their family members. (See Table 32) 16.8 per cent of respondents indicate that in their households children of 7-15 years old live (in most cases - 1 child), in the households of 12.3 per cent respondents, there are children under 6 years old.

As most of the surveyed Lithuanian Poles define themselves as Lithuanian Poles, they tend to define their family members in the same way. The survey data enable to conclude that the households of the Lithuanian Poles tend to bear a monoethnic nature. Based on preliminary estimations of different questions (the ethnicity of a spouse, ethnicity of other household members, language used at home, etc.), it is possible to presume that approximately less than one fifth of respondents' households have Lithuanians or other minority members.

By their marital status, 55.4 per cent of the Polish respondents are married, 4.1 per cent live with a partner or cohabitate. A significant share of respondents declare being widowed (21.6 per cent) or divorced (6.7 per cent). 11.7 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles are single. (See Table 53) While asked about the number of the children, most of the Polish respondents (39.0 per cent) indicated that they have two children all in all. One fifth of the Polish respondents (21.6 per cent) has the only child. 9.1 per cent of the Poles surveyed have three children. Only 3.8 per cent of the Poles have four or more children. One fifth of the Polish respondents (20.8 per cent) do not have children. (See Table 39)

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

2.3.2 Ethnic descent

While asked about their parents ethnicity, 49.4 per cent of respondents named that their father and 47.8 per cent that their mother were Poles, with a corresponding shares of 38.0 and 39.5 per cent – the Lithuanian Poles. 5.8 per cent of respondents' fathers and 5.3 per cent of mothers were Lithuanians.

The majority of the Polish respondents' parents were citizens of Lithuania – 76.3 per cent mothers and 78.0 per cent fathers, the rests' parents were either citizens of Poland (6.4 per cent mother and 7.3 per cent father) or of other citizenship (7.6 and 8.0 per cent, correspondingly). (See Table 40)

The great majority of the Lithuanian Poles surveyed (87.6 per cent) are born in Lithuania, 10.1 per cent – in Belarus. (See Table 37) Also, 97.6 per cent of the respondents are citizens of Lithuania. (See Table 33)

2.3.3 Languages spoken

Respondents were asked about the languages they speak. The majority of the Poles questioned declared their knowledge of Polish (98.7 per cent), Russian (97 per cent) and Lithuanian (82.5 per cent) languages. Out of those who do not know Lithuanian (N=142), the majority (92.3 per cent) is comprised by the Polish seniors (50 years old and elder), mostly retired persons, having the lowest levels of education. Data of this survey once again proves tendencies identified by earlier surveys that non-knowledge of the state language is related only to elder minority population. The Census 2001 data recorded that 31.0 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles did not know Lithuanian language.

Among the foreign languages, English was the most often mentioned – 16.9 per cent of the Polish respondents maintain speaking English; 18.6 per cent speak Polish, 11.6 per cent – German, 1.9 per cent - French. Majority of the surveyed respondents are able to Belarussian. (See Table 44)

2.3.4 Education, occupation and professional activity

By the level of the education achieved, similar shares of the Lithuanian Poles surveyed have attained secondary (25 per cent) or secondary with vocational training (27 per cent) levels of education. Basic education with vocational training is achieved by 8.4 per cent of the respondents. One fifth of the Polish sample has attained higher education, including 14.5 per cent of those having bachelor degree and 7.3 per cent – master degree. 14 per cent of the sample have primary education.

The majority of the Poles questioned (47.2 per cent), indicated they have been in education for 11–15 years. According to the answers of one fifth of the sample (20 per cent), the respondents' education lasted from five to ten years and similar share's – for more than sixteen years (18.8 per cent), while one tenth (9.5 per cent) of the Poles surveyed were in education up to four years. (See Table 43)

The Polish minority significantly under-performs the national average in terms of educational attainment rates. Only half as many pupils per 1,000 inhabitants complete higher education compared with the Lithuanian majority. However, caution should again be exercised in interpreting the figures. A considerable proportion of the Polish population lives in rural areas where educa-

tional attainment rates particularly at higher education level are significantly lower than average compared with urban areas.

While generalising the data on the respondents' social status, more than half (57.9 per cent) of the Polish sample is inactive regarding the labour market and 40.9 per cent - involved in the labour market. Among the unemployed, the retired/disabled Poles dominate and comprise nearly one third (39.6 per cent) of the total sample. 2.6 per cent of the sample is comprised of full time students, 1.5 per cent identified themselves as housewives/keeping house, 2.8 per cent indicated being on a temporary leave (sick leave, maternity leave). (See Table 45)

Unemployed people comprise 11.4 per cent of the total Polish sample. While considering the time of the survey, the general unemployment level was quite similar (e.g. in 2009, 13.7 per cent and in the 1st Q of 2010, - 18.1 per cent³⁵). Also, as among the general population, unemployment is little bit higher among the Polish men (14.2 per cent) than women (10.1 per cent). Out of the unemployed, two thirds of the respondents live in rural areas.

32.6 per cent of the Poles surveyed were working full-time (or 40 hours a week). 6.1 per cent of the Poles were working part-time (8-30 hours a week), 2.2 per cent had some casual/temporary work.

Employed or those who have been employed are nearly evenly distributed between those who work in profit-making private firms and companies (49.6 per cent) and those who work in central government, local government or other state institutions and organisations (45.8 per cent). As a significant share of the sample lives in rural areas, 7.5 per cent of the Polish respondents indicate working in agricultural associations or cooperatives. The other options available were chosen very rarely. (See Table 46)

While describing the current or last employment, the answers of the Polish respondents distributed in the following sequence: most of the Lithuanian Poles work as employees in manual (47.6 per cent) and non-manual (34.4 per cent) and occupations. (See Table 47)

With regard to occupation, most of the respondents (25.5 per cent) named the occupations that could be defined as elementary occupations and craft and related trade workers (18.2 per cent). Approximately one tenth of the Polish sample works or used to work as plant and machine operators (9.1 per cent) and service and sale workers (11.5 per cent). The occupational status is related to relatively lower levels of education among the Polish minority. Correspondingly, only 14.1 per cent of the respondents define their occupation as professionals, 4.8 per cent – as managers. (See Table 48).

The respondents were asked whether they have ever been unemployed for a period more than three months. The survey data imply that every second Pole - 49.5 per cent - has been unemployed for a period more than three months. (See Table 49). No socio-demographic characteristics of the Polish respondents have significant influence to the unemployment experience.

2.3.5 Assessment of the social standing

While subjectively assessing their social standing in the 10 point scale, the Polish respondents tend to place them to middle social standing – 63.1 per cent have chosen the middle points of the scale (while marking from 4 to 7). One third (31.7 per cent) of respondents identified themselves

³⁵ Statistics Lithuania, <http://www.stat.gov.lt/lt/news/view?id=8931&PHPSESSID=6637564967bf8f20a2bb3c3d763cb>

to the low social standing (while marking one of the first three (from 1 to 3) points of the scale). Only 3.2 per cent of the representatives of Polish sample identified him/herself with the higher social standing (while marking one of the last three (from 8 to 10) points of the scale). (See Table 50) While analysing the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents regarding their assessment of the social standing, statistically significant differences can be observed concerning the age, average income and education as mainly senior Polish respondents, living in rural areas and receiving the lowest income (up to 800 LTL per month) tend to ascribe them to the lower levels of the social scale. While among those who ascribe themselves to the medium levels of the social scale, respondents with higher educational attainments and higher income prevail.

2.3.6 Average monthly income and household's articles

While analysing the data on average monthly income of the Poles surveyed, nearly half of the sample (43.0 per cent) is concentrated among those receiving the lowest income (up to 800 LTL, which is an official minimum wage; equivalent to ~230EUR). While over one fifth of the sample (22.5 per cent) on average receives 801–1,250 LTL, 13.2 per cent – 1,250-2,000 LTL per month. (See Table 51)

The analysis of the employed Poles who have indicated exact sums of their average income (N=206) shows that the average salary is 1,154.04 LTL which is lower to the average net salary, which in 1st Q of 2010 was 1,583.9 LTL³⁶. This is related to the occupations that prevail among the Lithuanian Poles, i.e. the employees in manual occupations. While analysing the quartiles of the salary indicated, they are distributed in the following way: 800.00 LTL, 1,000.00 LTL and 1,500.00 LTL, which once again indicates relatively lower income level.

Along with the question on average net monthly income, the respondents were asked about certain things (property) in their household. In general, most of the households of the Polish respondents have the most common household articles. The great majority (97.1 per cent) of the households have a coloured television, while one fourth (24.4 per cent) has two coloured televisions. Also, most (63.5 per cent) of the households represented by the Polish respondents have an automatic washing machine. Nearly half of the households are equipped with personal computer or notebook (48.0 per cent) and internet access at home (44.2 per cent). The computer is more common among respondents who are employed (they consist 59.7 per cent of all having a computer or a laptop), more often living in urban (55.4 per cent, correspondingly) areas and middle age (30-49 years old, 45.5 per cent). Half of the respondents' households (50.7 per cent own a car 4 years old or older. Also, more than one third (38.2 per cent) of respondents own a HIFI. Least popular household articles are the dishwashers, which are available in 7.3 per cent of respondents' households, also 12.1 per cent of the respondents indicated they have a summerhouse. The Lithuanian ENRI-VIS questionnaire included a question on the ownership of the housing in which a respondent lives. The majority of respondents (85.6 per cent) indicate that they themselves or anybody from their household are owners of the housing they live in. (See Table 52)

³⁶ Statistics Lithuania,

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

2.4 Xenophobia, conflicts, discrimination

2.4.1 Social tension

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

Most part of Polish respondents (48.6 per cent) tends to identify tensions between poor and rich people first of all, a similar part (40.8 per cent) maintains that there is some tension between poor and rich people. With regard to tensions between old and young people, majority of respondents (55.8 per cent) maintain that there is some tension, while 23.6 per cent – no tension. (See Table 18)

Considering manifestations of ethnic tension, a certain distribution of opinions could be observed. Nearly half of respondents (46.8 per cent) maintain that there is some tension between Poles and Lithuanians in Lithuania, and 10.4 per cent – there is a lot of tension. However, 40.7 per cent maintains that there is no tension. Most part (41 per cent) of Poles surveyed thinks that there is some tension between Russians and Lithuanians, while nearly one fifth (19.3 per cent) have no opinion concerning this. Also, about one tenth (11.2 per cent) of Poles maintain that there is a lot of tension between Russians and Lithuanians.

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

According to the opinion of half of Polish respondents (51.6 per cent), there is no tension between different religious groups in Lithuania. Also, 14 per cent of respondents do not have opinion concerning religious tensions, while a quarter of Poles (25.5 per cent) maintain that there is some tension between different religious groups.

The results of the analysis of the questions on social distance towards different groups correspond to the aforesaid data. Comparing the data on social closeness or distance towards five ethnic groups, the Lithuanian Poles tend to be very close to Poles as the great majority (97 per cent) accept all the relationships with Poles. With regard to Lithuanians, Russians and Belarusians, although the general attitude is very positive, the closer relationship such as family membership or friendship is accepted with a slight less enthusiasm: approximately 93 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles accept Lithuanians, 93 per cent accept Russians and 92 per cent Belarusians as ones living in the same settlement, as working colleagues and as neighbours in their street, while in case of family membership, the level of acceptance reaches 77 per cent, 80 per cent and 77 per cent, correspondingly. The case of Roma discloses the most differentiated social distance with regard to different social relationships. The attitudes of the Lithuanian Poles towards the Roma are explicitly negative as most part of the sample does not accept them as ones living in the same settlement (55.4 per cent), their working colleagues (58.7 per cent) or their neighbour in the same street (61.3 per cent). Majority of the Lithuanian Poles surveyed would like to escape the Roma as a friend (68.2 per cent) or family member (81.7 per cent). (See Table 17)

2.5 Friendship and communication

The respondents were asked to identify an approximate number of their friends. Over one fourth of respondents (29.5 per cent) said they had from 5 to 10 friends, one fourth (24.8 per cent) had had eleven or more friends. Approximately one fifth (18.1 per cent) of the Polish respondents indicated they had up to 4 friends. 3.5 per cent of respondents indicated that they have no friends at all. Most of respondents (45.4 per cent) maintain that most of their friends come from various ethnic/nationality groups, while 36.9 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles estimate that most of their friends are Lithuanian Poles, and 4 per cent – Poles. Only 8.3 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles estimate that most of their friends are Lithuanians. (See Table 59, 60)

In the survey questionnaire, the respondents were asked if they have relatives, friends or other acquaintances or business partners living in Poland. Most of respondents (73.1 per cent) maintain that they have relatives. Over one fourth of the sample (29.6 per cent) maintain having friends and only 9 per cent – other acquaintances or business partners in Poland. (See Table 55) Although the share of contacts with other acquaintances or business partners is much smaller in comparison with other groups, the contacts are more intensive than with other groups discussed – more than half of these respondents have frequent internet based contacts or contacts per telephone.

Concerning the ways of communication, in case of relatives, telephone / SMS is the most wide spread mean as most part of those having relatives in Poland contact them by phone at least once a month or more frequent (17.5 per cent) or at least one or several times a year (25.0 per cent). Personal meetings with relatives comprise second most frequent contacts as 13.2 per cent use them at least once a month or more frequent and 16.7 per cent at least one or several times a year. Internet based contacts are less widespread mean for communication with relatives in Poland as one fourth (24 per cent) of the respondents use them at least once a month or more frequent (11.2 per cent) and at least one or several times a year (12.8 per cent). Mail is least popular mean of communication with relatives in Poland, but still nearly half (49.4 per cent) use it. (See Table 56a)

In case of friends, telephone / SMS and internet based contacts are the most wide spread mean as half of those having friends in Russia contact them by phone or internet at least once a month or more frequent (21.3 per cent and 20.8 per cent, correspondingly) or at least one or several times a year (28.5 per cent and 14.2 per cent, correspondingly). Personal meetings with friends are not often but most part of the Russian respondents (41.6 per cent) make it once in several years and a quarter (27.7 per cent) more often.

2.6 Experiences of discrimination

According to the survey data, 13.2 per cent of Polish respondents indicated that in the past 12 months they have personally felt discriminated against or harassed in Lithuania on the basis of one or more of the following grounds: ethnic or national origin, gender, age or religion. (In total, 159 cases of experienced discrimination or harassment were reported in the survey data). (See Table 19)

Among the grounds listed, ethnic or national origin was most frequently mentioned: 10.6 per cent of the Poles have felt discriminated against or harassed on the grounds of ethnic origin in the last 12 months. 5.1 per cent of respondents indicate experienced discrimination or harassment on the ground of age, 2.7 per cent – on gender. The cases of discrimination or harassment are more often indicated by women, respondents with the highest levels of education and at the moment unemployed persons.

Among the sectors of society, in which the respondents felt discriminated against or harassed because of their ethnicity in this period, the area of employment was most often mentioned. Of the Poles who reported ethnic discrimination in the survey (N=87), 25 respondents indicated the case 'at work' and 33 specified 'when looking for a job', 26 – 'in the health care system', 21 – 'in shops', 18 – 'on the street', 15 – 'on public transportation'. The data prompts that one respondent has indicated experienced discrimination in several areas. (See Table 20)

2.7 Social and political capital, participation, attitudes towards EU

2.7.1 Social trust

While analysing the data on social trust, most Lithuanian Poles tend to express their higher trust to different social groups than the institutions. The majority of the Poles surveyed trust the Lithuanian Poles (73.4 per cent, including answers 'trust them completely', 'rather trust them'), Poles (69.5 per cent), people in general (67.7 per cent) and Lithuanians (60.8 per cent). (See Table 8)

Regarding the different institutions, most Lithuanian Poles tend to distrust them. The Lithuanian Parliament and the Lithuanian Government are the most distrusted institutions: correspondingly, 84.9 and 77.3 per cent of respondents indicate that they rather do not trust them or do not trust them at all. Majority of Poles do not trust the courts in Lithuania (60.3 per cent), Lithuanian media (59.4 per cent) and the police in Lithuania (57.9 per cent). (See Table 9)

The data disclose that the general positive level of confidence is higher among the Lithuanian Poles having the highest levels of educational attainments. Other social demographic characteristics do not have statistically significant correlations with the levels of trust.

2.7.2 Politics

While analysing the survey data on respondents' interest in politics, the Poles surveyed express their relatively high interest in all areas of politics as the majority is interested in politics of Lithuania – 61.8 per cent ('very interested' and 'rather interested') and politics about Poles living in Lithuania – 57.4 per cent. Concerning the politics in Poland, more Lithuanian Poles tend to express rather their limited or no interest (59.6 per cent) than interest (39.9 per cent). (See Table 23)

When analysing the statistically significant differences among various socio-demographic groups it was noticed that men declare being more interested in the politics of Lithuania (very interested and rather interested 74.1 per cent of the Polish men in comparison to 56 per cent of women), politics of Poland (48.9 per cent and 35.9 per cent, correspondingly) and politics about Poles living in Lithuania (68.5 per cent and 52.2 per cent, correspondingly).

Concerning the level of interest in politics of Poland, the youngest respondents express the lowest level of interest in the issue as those who are interested comprise 19.1 per cent in the group of the Polish respondents up to 29 years old (while in the middle age group and among the seniors these shares comprise up to 42 per cent). Also, the same tendencies are observed with regard to politics about Poles living in Lithuania: among the youngest Polish respondents, 37.2 per cent indicate being interested in the issue, while among the middle age group (30-49 years old) this share reaches 65.2 per cent, and among the seniors (50 years old and elder) – 58.1 per cent. Also, the residents of rural areas tend to express relatively higher interest in politics than the urban residents: in case of the politics about Poles living in Lithuania, these shares comprise 52.3 per cent and 62.2 per cent, correspondingly.

The voting of the Lithuanian Poles in the last elections is high: majority of the sample surveyed voted in the elections to the parliament in 2008 (75.4 per cent) and in the European Parliament Elections in Lithuania (69.3 per cent). Only 1 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles identified them as non-eligible to vote in both elections. (See Table 24)

In both elections, more than half of the Lithuanian Polish sample supported the Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action (56.7 per cent and 56.6 per cent, correspondingly). Other political parties received less than 5 or 3 per cent of the voters' support. The Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action could be defined as a regional political party that receives support in the areas densely populated by the Polish population such as Vilnius region and Vilnius county. It has representatives in the Lithuanian parliament and local municipalities. (See Table 24a, 24b)

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

2.7.3 Attitudes towards European Union

While considering issues related to the European Union, the Lithuanian Poles have disperse opinions. Regarding the image of the EU, most of the respondents (36.4 per cent) maintain having a neutral image, while 27.9 per cent of the Poles surveyed have a very or fairly positive image, and 17.6 per cent – a fairly negative or very negative image. Nearly every sixth respondent (16.2 per cent) has no opinion with regard to the EU image. (See Table 25)

Although most of the Poles surveyed (44.8 per cent) think that Lithuania benefits a lot or rather benefits from being a member of the EU, 25.4 per cent of the sample maintains negative attitudes towards Lithuania's benefits from the EU (choosing the answers "rather does not benefit and does not benefit at all), also, a similar share (26.3 per cent) has no opinion concerning the benefits from being a member of the European Union. (See Table 26)

Both with regard to image of the EU and benefits of Lithuania from being EU member, positive attitudes tend to prevail among younger, better educated and employed respondents relatively more often.

The respondents were asked to assess their situation after joining the European Union. Most of Polish respondents maintain that both situation for their ethnic groups in making political decisions and recognition of culture of the ethnic group is much the same after the joining the EU – 44.3 and 47.7 per cent, correspondingly. In similar parts, the respondents maintain that situation has become much better or rather better in these areas (18.8 and 19.4 per cent, correspondingly) or that it has worsened – 18.0 and 13.7 per cent, correspondingly. Worth noticing that every sixth Polish respondent did not have an opinion regarding possible changes of participation in the political decisions or recognition of culture of his or her ethnic minority group after joining the EU (16.3 and 16.7 per cent, correspondingly). (See Table 27)

The data analysis enables to conclude that the 'euro-optimists' tend to identify more benefits and positive changes in minority situation regarding their political participation and recognition of culture. For example, among those Lithuanian Poles who think that Lithuania has benefited from being the EU member, 32.9 per cent maintain that the situation with regard to participation of political decisions has improved, 45.7 per cent maintain that it remained the same and 10.1 per cent – it became worse (while among those who do not identify the benefits, the corresponding shares are as follows 7.9 per cent, 46.6 per cent and 31.7 per cent). Concerning the recognition of the Polish culture, the opinions of those on behalf of benefits are dispersed as follows: 33.1 per

cent, 47.8 per cent and 7.3 per cent (while among the sceptics of benefits – 8.1 per cent, 54.8 per cent, and 24 per cent, correspondingly).

While analysing the survey data on fears about the future of Europe and the European Union, it is obvious that the Lithuanian Poles are mostly afraid of an increase in drug trafficking and international organized crime (75.2 per cent) and the loss of social benefits (62.7 per cent). A larger share of the Lithuanian Poles are afraid of more difficulties for ethnic and national minorities (44.2 per cent) than not afraid of it (32 per cent); however, 22.7 per cent do not have opinion with regard to the latter. The contrary tendency observed regarding the possible loss of Lithuanian national identity and culture: more Poles are not afraid (43 per cent) than afraid (36.7 per cent) of it. In similar shares the Lithuanian Poles are afraid and are not afraid in the possible loss of Polish identity and culture (41.3 per cent and 43 per cent, correspondingly). (See Table 28)

2.7.4 Migrational attitudes

The data of the minority survey concerning the migrational attitudes of the Lithuanians Poles provide with several observations. The respondents were asked whether they would take an opportunity to leave Lithuania and move for another country one either alone or with their whole family and a good deal of monetary and social support. The data results show that in general, the Lithuanian Poles have quite strong sedentary attitudes.

More than half of the Poles surveyed (55.8 per cent) provided the interviewers with negative answers that they would never leave. A little bit less than a quarter of respondents (22.7 per cent) said they would definitely leave, while 12.2 per cent expressed their doubts saying that they perhaps would leave. (See Table 29) While comparing different social demographical groups of the sample, greatest differences are observed among the age groups. Among those, who have any intentions to leave the country, representatives of the youngest group comprise 24.1 per cent, the middle aged – 44.8 per cent, and the seniors – 29.7 per cent. The positive migrational attitudes are more often among the Polish respondents living in urban areas and those involved in the labour market (60.1 per cent and 54.2 per cent, correspondingly, of those who would definitely leave or have some doubts).

Those who have expressed their willingness to leave Lithuania, were asked which country they would prefer. Most often Polish respondents (N=74) mentioned Poland (25.6 per cent) and the United Kingdom (14.5 per cent). 16.6 per cent of those who have some migrational intentions could not name any specific country. Other countries were named quite rarely, e.g. in similar shares the Lithuanian Poles mentioned Norway, the United States (5.2 per cent, each), Russia (4.8 per cent), Belarus (4.2 per cent) or Spain (3.8 per cent). (See Table 30)

2.7.5 Participation in voluntary organisations

The questionnaire included several question on membership in voluntary organisations. The data analysis shows that one third of the Polish sample (30.8 percent) takes part in one or several voluntary organisations. In terms of activity, most respondents indicate being inactive members. The most significant independent variable with regard to participation in voluntary organisations is the respondents' education and nearly one third (30.1 per cent) of the members of the NGOs, have the highest educational attainments – university degree. Other sociodemographic characteristics correspond to the distributions of the general sample.

The most popular voluntary organisations among the Lithuanian Poles are the church or religious organizations, in which 11.4 per cent of respondents indicate inactive and 8.8 per cent – active

membership. Participation and membership in other voluntary organisations is much lower than in church or religious organisations. One tenth (10.1 per cent) of the Polish sample declares its membership in organisation of the representatives for Lithuanian Poles, where 5.6 per cent define themselves as active and 4.5 per cent – inactive members. (See Table 57) Although the numbers of participant of both types of organisations are low, among the representatives of the organisation for Lithuanian Poles, the majority is comprised by employed persons, those having higher educational attainments and middle age or seniors. In case of the church or religious organisations, residents of rural areas and those inactive in labour market prevail.

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

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

2.8 Annex: Tables

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

	Frequency	Percent
Polish	573	69.8
Polish and Lithuanian	96	11.7
Lithuanian	40	4.9
Other languages	108	13.2
DK	1	0.1
NA	3	0.4
Total	821	100

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

	Very close		Rather close		Rather not close		Not close at all		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
How close do you feel to Lithuanian Poles?	335	40.8	328	40.0	122	14.9	25	3.0	8	1.0	1	0.1	821	100
How close do you feel to settlement where you live?	422	51.4	311	37.9	74	9.0	9	1.1	2	0.2			821	100
How close do you feel to Lithuania?	371	45.2	311	37.9	105	12.8	22	2.7	6	0.7	3	0.4	821	100
How close do you feel to Poland?	99	12.1	253	30.8	271	33.0	182	22.2	9	1.1	3	0.4	821	100
How close do you feel to Baltic country region?	17	2.1	123	15.0	279	34.0	370	45.1	18	2.2	8	1.0	821	100
How close do you feel to Eastern Europe?	21	2.6	111	13.5	275	33.5	372	45.3	25	3.0	10	1.2	821	100
How close do you feel to Europe?	31	3.8	147	17.9	265	32.3	320	39.0	42	5.1	9	1.1	821	100

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

	The most important		The second important		The third important	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
My current (previous) occupation	196	23.9	68	8.3	92	11.2
My gender (that is, being a man/woman)	105	12.8	65	7.9	59	7.2
My age group (that is, young, middle age, old)	96	11.7	79	9.6	65	7.9
My religion (or being agnostic or atheist)	91	11.1	128	15.6	84	10.2
Being a Lithuanian Pole	179	21.8	166	20.2	87	10.6
My social class (that is upper, middle, lower, working, or similar categories)	31	3.8	48	5.8	48	5.8
Coming from the settlement you live	43	5.2	102	12.4	145	17.7
My preferred political party, group or movement	2	0.2	4	0.5	77	9.4
Being European	9	1.1	32	3.9	43	5.2
To be a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania	34	4.1	45	5.5	65	7.9
98 – DK	24	2.9	34	4.1	46	5.6
99 – Refusal	2	0.2	2	0.2	2	0.2

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

	Very important		Rather important		Rather not important		Not important at all		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. to have been born in Poland	51	6.2	123	15.0	286	34.8	334	40.7	18	2.2	5	0.6	821	100
b. to have Poland's citizenship	56	6.8	143	17.4	315	38.4	280	34.1	19	2.3	5	0.6	821	100
c. to have lived in Poland for most of one's life	44	5.4	111	13.5	304	37.0	332	40.4	17	2.1	7	0.9	821	100
d. to be able to speak Polish	599	73.0	177	21.6	26	3.2	11	1.3	4	0.5	2	0.2	821	100
e. to be an Orthodox	514	62.6	204	24.8	66	8.0	24	2.9	6	0.7	2	0.2	821	100
f. to respect Poland's political institutions and laws	117	14.3	247	30.1	225	27.4	181	22.0	38	4.6	8	1.0	821	100
g. to feel Polish	575	70.0	195	23.8	26	3.2	10	1.2	10	1.2	2	0.2	821	100
h. to have Polish ancestry	508	61.9	236	28.7	50	6.1	13	1.6	7	.9	2	0.2	821	100

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

	Very important		Rather important		Rather not important		Not important at all		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. to have been born in Lithuania	180	21.9	235	28.6	186	22.7	148	18	32	3.9	31	3.8	821	100
b. to have Lithuanian citizenship	247	30.1	244	29.7	178	21.7	79	9.6	34	4.1	30	3.7	821	100
c. to have lived in Lithuania for most of one's life	201	24.5	230	28	220	26.8	91	11.1	34	4.1	32	3.9	821	100
d. to be able to speak Lithuanian	476	58	208	25.3	48	5.8	23	2.8	29	3.5	31	3.8	821	100
e. to be a Catholic	334	40.7	232	28.3	123	15	53	6.5	34	4.1	31	3.8	821	100
f. to respect Lithuanian political institutions and laws	276	33.6	353	43	92	11.2	17	2.1	39	4.8	33	4	821	100
g. to feel Lithuanian	417	50.8	180	21.9	90	11	55	6.7	38	4.6	35	4.3	821	100
h. to have Lithuanian ancestry	337	41	227	27.6	107	13	73	8.9	38	4.6	33	4	821	100

Table 6. How proud are you of being

	Very proud		Rather proud		Rather not proud		Not proud at all		Not applicable		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Polish	449	54.7	234	28.5	51	6.2	16	1.9	36	4.4	22	2.7	5	0.6	821	100
Lithuanian	27	3.3	110	13.4	108	13.2	98	11.9	385	46.9	23	2.8	33	4.0	821	100
Lithuanian Pole	419	51.0	284	34.6	52	6.3	14	1.7	12	1.5	25	3.0	7	0.9	821	100
Baltic country region	111	13.5	281	34.2	188	22.9	96	11.7	21	2.6	94	11.4	18	2.2	821	100
Eastern European	68	8.3	236	28.7	218	26.6	128	15.6	21	2.6	112	13.6	23	2.8	821	100
European	97	11.8	303	36.9	163	19.9	114	13.9	15	1.8	97	11.8	20	2.4	821	100

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

	N	%
I'm Pole	175	21.3
I'm Lithuanian Pole	543	66.1
I'm Lithuanian with Polish descent	50	6.1
I'm Lithuanian	8	1.0
DK, NA	13	0.6
Total	789	100

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

	Trust them completely		Rather trust them		Rather do not trust them		Do not trust them at all		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
People in general	146	17.8	410	49.9	166	20.2	74	9.0	16	1.9	9	1.1	821	100
Lithuanian Poles	154	18.8	448	54.6	130	15.8	66	8.0	18	2.2	5	0.6	821	100
Lithuanians	108	13.2	391	47.6	215	26.2	75	9.1	24	2.9	7	0.9	821	100
Poles	138	16.8	433	52.7	141	17.2	66	8.0	35	4.3	7	0.9	821	100

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

	Trust them completely		Rather trust them		Rather do not trust them		Do not trust them at all		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. Lithuanian parliament	16	1.9	63	7.7	269	32.8	428	52.1	31	3.8	13	1.6	821	100
b. Lithuanian media	26	3.2	250	30.5	264	32.2	225	27.4	46	5.6	9	1.1	821	100
c. The police in Lithuania	30	3.7	236	28.7	252	30.7	223	27.2	69	8.4	10	1.2	821	100
d. Lithuanian government	15	1.8	103	12.5	273	33.3	361	44	51	6.2	17	2.1	821	100
e. The courts in Lithuania	14	1.7	166	20.2	217	26.4	278	33.9	134	16.3	12	1.5	821	100

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

	Strongly agree		Rather agree		Rather do not agree		Do not agree at all		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. It is better if Lithuanian Poles adapt and blend into the larger society	142	17,3	283	34,5	169	20,6	151	18,4	57	6,9	15	1,8	821	100
b. It is better if Lithuanian Poles adapt preserve their own customs and traditions	547	66,6	221	26,9	22	2,7	5	0,6	16	1,9	7	0,9	821	100

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

	Very important		Rather important		Rather not important		Not important at all		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. An opportunity for your children to get education in Polish language	346	42.1	220	26.8	164	20.0	64	7.8	14	1.7	13	1.6
b. An opportunity for your children to study the ethnic history and culture of Lithuanian Poles	345	42.0	286	34.8	108	13.2	50	6.1	17	2.1	15	1.8
c. An opportunity to read newspapers and magazines in the Polish language	375	45.7	264	32.2	134	16.3	38	4.6	6	0.7	4	0.5
d. An opportunity to speak Polish language in everyday life	469	57.1	252	30.7	75	9.1	16	1.9	6	0.7	3	0.4
e. An opportunity to preserve Polish folk customs, traditions, culture	553	67.4	216	26.3	35	4.3	4	0.5	10	1.2	3	0.4
f. An opportunity to have the representatives of your nationality in Lithuanian parliament	433	52.7	225	27.4	97	11.8	43	5.2	19	2.3	4	0.5

Table 12. Have you obtained education in Polish language?

	Yes		No		No answer		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. In primary education	518	65.9	264	33.6	4	0.5	786	100
b. In secondary education	369	47.6	387	49.9	20	2.6	776	100
c. In higher education or professional training	60	8.9	575	84.9	42	6.2	677	100

Table 13. Do you have an opportunity ...

	Yes		No		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. to watch TV programs of the Lithuanian TV channels in Polish language	699	85.1	110	13.4	8	1	1	0.1
b. to listen to the radio programs of the Lithuanian radio stations in Polish language	691	84.2	109	13.3	15	1.8	2	0.2
c. to read newspapers and magazines in the Polish language, issued in Lithuania	724	88.2	79	9.6	13	1.6	2	0.2
d. To give school education for your children in Polish language	713	86.8	60	7.3	27	3.3	16	1.9

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

	Regularly /Often		Rarely		Never, but I have such an opportunity		Never, but I do not have such an opportunity		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lithuanian newspapers	279	34.0	288	35.1	164	20.0	86	10.5	2	0.2	2	0.2
Poland's newspapers	181	22.0	313	38.1	148	18.0	175	21.3	2	0.2	1	0.1
Lithuanian Polish newspapers	269	32.8	312	38.0	170	20.7	62	7.6	6	.7	2	.2

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

	Regularly /Often		Rarely		Never, but I have such an opportunity		Never, but I do not have such an opportunity		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
TV:												
Lithuanian programs	531	64.7	218	26.6	61	7.4	10	1.2			1	0.1
Poland's programs	443	54.0	284	34.6	71	8.6	22	2.7			1	0.1
Lithuanian Polish programs	222	27.0	328	40.0	133	16.2	65	7.9	66	8.0	5	0.6
Radio												
Lithuanian programs	306	37.3	272	33.1	158	19.2	73	8.9	4	0.5	4	0.5
Poland's programs	293	35.7	213	25.9	121	14.7	176	21.4	8	1.0	4	0.5
Lithuanian Polish programs	349	42.5	216	26.3	133	16.2	96	11.7	18	2.2	3	0.4
Websites												
Lithuanian websites	248	30.2	74	9.0	80	9.7	280	34.1	6	0.7	8	1.0
Poland's websites	140	17.1	124	15.1	128	15.6	288	35.1	7	0.9	8	1.0
Lithuanian Polish websites	80	9.7	109	13.3	159	19.4	301	36.7	33	4.0	9	1.1

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

	17.1 Lithuanian										17.2 Pole									
	Yes		No		DK		Refusal		Total		Yes		No		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. as a family member?	632	77	164	20	7	0.9	7	0.9	821	100	795	96.8	6	0.7	7	0.9	4	0.5	821	100
b. as a friend?	712	86.7	82	10	7	0.9	7	0.9	821	100	794	96.7	6	0.7	7	0.9	4	0.5	821	100
c. as a neighbour on your street?	759	92.4	35	4.3	7	0.9	7	0.9	821	100	792	96.5	6	0.7	7	0.9	4	0.5	821	100
d. as a working colleague?	758	92.3	37	4.5	7	0.9	7	0.9	821	100	794	96.7	4	0.5	7	0.9	4	0.5	821	100
e. as one living in the same settlement?	773	94.2	21	2.6	7	0.9	7	0.9	821	100	793	96.6	4	0.5	7	0.9	4	0.5	821	100

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

	17.3 Russian										17.4 Belarussian									
	Yes		No		DK		Refusal		Total		Yes		No		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. as a family member?	653	80	136	17	12	1.5	9	1.1	821	100	628	77	157	19	13	1.6	10	1.2	821	100
b. as a friend?	747	91	41	5	12	1.5	9	1.1	821	100	725	88	59	7.2	13	1.6	10	1.2	821	100
c. as a neighbour on your street?	766	93	20	2.4	12	1.5	9	1.1	821	100	751	92	31	3.8	13	1.6	10	1.2	821	100
d. as a working colleague?	766	93	20	2.4	12	1.5	9	1.1	821	100	752	92	30	3.7	13	1.6	10	1.2	821	100
e. as one living in the same settlement?	765	93	21	2.6	12	1.5	9	1.1	821	100	757	92	25	3	13	1.6	10	1.2	821	100

	17.5 Roma									
	Yes		No		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. as a family member?	102	12.4	671	81.7	26	3.2	22	2.7	821	100
b. as a friend?	209	25.5	560	68.2	29	3.5	23	2.8	821	100
c. as a neighbour on your street?	264	32.2	503	61.3	30	3.7	24	2.9	821	100
d. as a working colleague?	286	34.8	482	58.7	29	3.5	24	2.9	821	100
e. as one living in the same settlement?	314	38.2	455	55.4	28	3.4	24	2.9	821	100

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

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

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

	Yes		No		DK	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ethnic or national origin	87	10.6	720	87.7	6	0.7
Gender	22	2.7	778	94.8	8	1
Age	42	5.1	762	92.8	5	0.6
Religion	8	1	792	96.5	8	1

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

	Yes		No		Not applicable		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. At school/university	13	1.6	28	3.4	743	90.5			37	4.5	821	100
b. At work	25	3.0	26	3.2	739	90.0			31	3.8	821	100
c. in the health care system	26	3.2	28	3.4	734	89.4	1	0.1	32	3.9	821	100
d. By the court	10	1.2	35	4.3	738	89.9	1	0.1	37	4.5	821	100
e. By the police	6	0.7	39	4.8	736	89.6	1	0.1	39	4.8	821	100
f. At church	7	0.9	38	4.6	738	89.9			38	4.6	821	100
g. when looking for a job	33	4.0	19	2.3	737	89.8	1	0.1	31	3.8	821	100
h. In restaurants, bars, pubs, or discos	5	0.6	38	4.6	738	89.9	1	0.1	39	4.8	821	100
i. On the street	18	2.2	34	4.1	734	89.4			35	4.3	821	100
j. By neighbours	10	1.2	37	4.5	734	89.4	1	0.1	39	4.8	821	100
k. In shops	21	2.6	27	3.3	734	89.4	1	0.1	38	4.6	821	100
l. On public transportation	15	1.8	33	4.0	735	89.5			38	4.6	821	100

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

	N	%
Roman Catholic	777	94.6
Protestant	1	0.1
Orthodox	8	1.0
Buddhist	1	0.1
Other	1	0.1
Do not belong to a denomination	25	3.0
Old believers	2	0.2
DK	2	0.2
Refusal	4	0.5
Total	821	100

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

	N	%
Every day	23	2.8
Several times a week	35	4.3
Once a week	267	32.5
Once a month	180	21.9
Several times a year	233	28.4
Once a year or less often	50	6.1
Never	24	2.9
DK	1	0.1
Refusal	8	1.0
Total	821	100
Total	608	100

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

	Very inter- ested		Rather inter- ested		Rather not interested		Not interested at all		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. Lithuania	192	23.4	315	38.4	186	22.7	122	14.9	1	0.1	3	0.4
b. Poland	81	9.9	246	30.0	298	36.3	189	23.0	3	0.4	3	0.4
c. related to the Lithua- nian Poles	149	18.1	323	39.3	203	24.7	138	16.8	5	0.6	3	0.4

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

	Yes		No, but eligible to vote		No, not eligible		Can't remember		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a) Lithuanian Parliament elections (2008)	619	75.4	174	21.2	9	1.1	10	1.2	9	1.1
b) European Parliament elections in Lithuania	569	69.3	209	25.5	12	1.5	22	2.7	9	1.1

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

	N	%
Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action	345	56.7
Party "Justice and Order"	25	4.1
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	21	3.5
Homeland Union - Lithuanian Christian Democrats	16	2.6
The Coalition "Labour party+Youth"	11	1.8
Liberals Movement of the Republic of Lithuania	1	0.2
Liberal and Centre Union	8	1.3
Rising Nation Party	1	0.2
Other	3	0.5
Do not know, do not remember	99	16.3
No answer	78	12.8
Total	608	100

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

	N	%
Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action	322	56.6
Party "Justice and Order"	26	4.6
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	16	2.8
Homeland Union - Lithuanian Christian Democrats	16	2.8
Labour Party	11	1.9
Liberals Movement of the Republic of Lithuania	4	0.7
Other	1	0.2
Do not know, do not remember	95	16.7
No answer	78	13.7
Total	569	100

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

	N	%
Very positive	43	5.2
Fairly positive	186	22.7
Neutral	299	36.4
Fairly negative	108	13.2
Very negative	36	4.4
DK	133	16.2
Refusal	16	1.9
Total	821	100

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

	N	%
Benefits a lot	68	8.3
Rather benefits	300	36.5
Rather does not benefits	120	14.6
Does not benefit at all	88	10.7
DK	216	26.3
Refusal	29	3.5
Total	821	100

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

	Much better		Rather better		Much the same		Rather worse		Much worse		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. Your ethnic minority group has a say in making political decisions	16	1.9	139	16.9	364	44.3	120	14.6	28	3.4	134	16.3	20	2.4	821	100
b. Recognition of culture of your ethnic minority group	22	2.7	137	16.7	392	47.7	86	10.5	26	3.2	137	16.7	20	2.4	821	100

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

	Afraid of it		Not afraid of it		DK		Refusal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. The loss of Lithuanian Polish identity and culture	339	41.3	353	43	120	14.6	9	1.1	821	100
b. An increase in drug trafficking and international organized crime	617	75.2	97	12	101	12.3	6	0.7	821	100
c. The loss of social benefits	515	62.7	158	19	142	17.3	6	0.7	821	100
d. The loss of Lithuanian national identity and culture	301	36.7	347	42	159	19.4	13	1.6	821	100
e. More difficulties for ethnic and national minorities	363	44.2	262	32	186	22.7	9	1.1	821	100

Table 29. If you had an opportunity to leave your country and move for another one either alone or with your whole family and a good deal of monetary and social support, would you go?

	N	%
Yes, I would definitely leave	186	22.7
Yes, perhaps I would leave	100	12.2
No, I would never leave	458	55.8
DK	70	8.5
Refusal	7	0.8
Total	821	100

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

	N	%
Poland	74	25.6
United Kingdom	42	14.5
Norway	15	5.2
United States of America	15	5.2
Other	14	4.8
Russia	14	4.8
Belarus	12	4.2
Spain	11	3.8
Ireland	8	2.8
Italy	7	2.4
Canada	6	2.1
France	5	1.7
Germany	5	1.7
Sweden	4	1.4
Switzerland	3	1.0
Denmark	3	1.0
Netherlands	2	0.7
Finland	1	0.3
DK	48	16.6
Total	289	100

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

	Total		Persons 16 years old and elder		Children of 7-15 years old		Children under 6 years old	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	-	-			681	82.9	718	87.5
1	173	21.1	185	22.5	110	13.4	85	10.4
2	234	28.5	304	37.0	26	3.2	16	1.9
3	152	18.5	154	18.8	2	0.2	-	-
4	138	16.8	115	14.0	-	-	-	-
5	72	8.8	43	5.2	-	-	-	-
6	36	4.4	11	1.3	-	-	-	-
7	8	1.0	4	0.5	-	-	-	-
8	2	0.2	1	0.1	-	-	-	-
9	1	0.1	1	0.1				
10	3	0.4	1	0.1				
NA	2	0.2	2	0.2	2	0.2	2	0.2
	821	100	821	100	821	100	821	100

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

	Senior (N=640)	Second oldest (N=408)	Third oldest (N=256)
Male	54.9	51.0	52
Female	45.1	49.0	48
Up to 29 years old	12.5	59.4	82.0
30-49 years old	35.6	26.9	16.0
50 years old and elder	52.0	13.7	2.0
Spouse	63.6	8.3	8.2
Son, daughter	14.1	64.5	63.7
Father/mother	15.9	12.7	1.6
Lithuanian Pole	47	49	48
Pole	30	33	36
Lithuanian	12.4	13	13
Other	11	5	1.2

Table 33. Respondent's citizenship

	N	%
Lithuania	801	97.6
Poland	3	0.4
No citizenship	2	0.2
Other country	1	0.1
NA	1	0.1
Refusal	13	1.6
Total	821	100

Table 37. Country of birth

	N	%
Lithuania	719	87.6
Belarussia	83	10.1
Poland	6	0.7
Russia	6	0.7
Other	2	0.2
Refusal	5	0.6
Total	821	100

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

	N	%
Up to 20 years	5	5.4
21-50 years	60	64.5
51 years or longer	28	30.1
Total	93	100,0

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

	N	%
No children	171	20.8
1	177	21.6
2	320	39.0
3	75	9.1
4 and more	32	3.8
DK	2	0.2
Refusal	44	5.4
Total	821	100

Table 40. Parents' ethnicity and citizenship

	ETHNICITY					CITIZENSHIP			
	Father		Mother			Father		Mother	
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%
Lithuanian	46	5.8	42	5.3		607	76.3	617	78.0
Pole / Polands'	394	49.4	380	47.8		58	7.3	51	6.4
Lithuanian Pole	303	38.0	314	39.5					
Other / double	45	5.6	53	6.7		64	8.0	60	7.6
DK	4	0.5	2	0.3		55	6.9	53	6.7
Refusal	6	0.8	4	0.5		12	1.5	10	1.3
Total	798	100	795	100		796	100	791	100

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

	N	%
Up to 4 years	77	9,5
5-10 years	166	20,4
11-15 years	383	47,2
16 years or longer	153	18,8
DK	22	2,7
Refusal	20	2,4
Total	821	100

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

	N	%
Lithuanian	677	82.5
Russian	796	97.0
Polish	810	98.7
English	139	16.9
French	16	1.9
Italian	3	0.4
Spanish	1	0.1
German	95	11.6
Other (Belarrussian)	787	95.6

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

	N	%
Working full-time (40 hours a week)	268	32.6
Working part-time (8-30 hours a week)	50	6.1
Casual/temporary work	18	2.2
Housewife/keeping house	12	1.5
Unemployed	94	11.4
Retired/disabled	325	39.6
Full-time student at school/college	21	2.6
Temporary leave (sick leave, maternity leave)	23	2.8
Other	5	0.6
Refusal	5	0.6
Total	821	100

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

	N	%
profit-making private firm or company	277	34.6
non-profit making private organization (charity, pressure group)	10	1.3
central government, local government, or other state organization (incl. health service, education, police, fire brigade, etc.)	174	21.8
self-employed	21	2.6
State establishment	192	24.0
worker's co-operative	15	1.9
agricultural association/co-op	60	7.5
joint venture	8	1.0
private farm	16	2.0
never worked (house-wife)	7	0.9
DK	2	0.3
Refusal	18	2.3
Total	800	100

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

	N	%
Self-employed farmer	10	1.2
Self-employed professional	26	3.2
self-employed in business/trade	25	3.1
employee in non-manual occupation	278	34.4
employee in manual occupation	385	47.6
helps out, assists in family business	11	1.4
Other	1	0.1
DK	12	1.5
Refusal	61	7.5
Total	809	100

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

	Frequency	Percent
Managers	38	4.8
Professionals	112	14.1
Technicians and associate professionals	13	1.6
Clerical support workers	66	8.3
Service and sales workers	91	11.5
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	19	2.4
Craft and related trades workers	144	18.2
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	72	9.1
Elementary occupations	202	25.5
DK	4	0.5
Refusal	32	4.0

	Frequency	Percent
Managers	38	4.8
Professionals	112	14.1
Technicians and associate professionals	13	1.6
Clerical support workers	66	8.3
Service and sales workers	91	11.5
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	19	2.4
Craft and related trades workers	144	18.2
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	72	9.1
Elementary occupations	202	25.5
DK	4	0.5
Refusal	32	4.0
Total	793	100

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

	N	%
Yes	406	49.5
No	392	47.7
DK	5	0.6
Refusal	18	2.2
Total	821	100

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

	N	%
1	87	10,6
2	68	8,3
3	105	12,8
4	144	17,5
5	231	28,1
6	90	11,0
7	53	6,5
8	20	2,4
9	3	0,4
10	3	0,4
DK	10	1,2
Refusal	7	0,8
Total	821	100

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

	N	%
Up to 800 LTL*	353	43.0
801-1250 LTL	185	22.5
1251-2000 LTL	108	13.2
2001 LTL and more	44	5.7
No income	58	7.1
NA	73	8.9
Total	821	100

1EUR=3.4528 LTL

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

	N	%	How many
automatic washing machine	516	63.5	
HIFI	307	38.2	
coloured television	797	97.1	2 TV N=200, 3-5 TV N=59
Any cars 4 years old or older	416	50.7	2 cars N=64, 3 cars N=10
Any cars younger than 4 years old	35	4.2	
Personal computer or notebook	394	48.0	2 PC N=41, 3 PC N=8
Dish washer	60	7.3	
Dacha, summer house	99	12.1	
Internet-access at home	363	44.2	
Are you or anybody from the household an owner of the housing you live in	703	85.6	

Table 53. What is your marital status?

	N	%
Single	96	11.7
Cohabiting/living with partner	34	4.1
Married	455	55.4
Divorced	55	6.7
Widowed	177	21.6
DK	1	0.1
Refusal	3	0.3
	821	100

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

	N	%
No primary	13	2.6
Primary	42	8.6
Basic with vocational training	49	10.0
Secondary	139	28.3
Secondary with vocational training	144	29.3
Higher (Bachelor degree)	62	12.6
Higher (Master degree, post graduate degree)	39	7.9
Refusal	3	0.6
Total	491	100

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

	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
Relatives	600	73.1	221	26.9
Friends	243	29.	578	70.
Other acquaintances or business partners	74	9.0	747	91.0

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

	at least once a month of more frequently		not every month, but at least one or several times a year		less frequently (once in several years)		no contacts at all in this way		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Per telephone /SMS (N=496)	87	17.5	124	25.0	111	22.4	141	28.4	9	1.8	24	4.8
Mail (N=484)	38	7.9	91	18.8	110	22.7	204	42.1	4	0.8	37	0.8
Internet based contacts, such as Emailing chats, skype, Facebook, etc. (N=454)	51	11.2	58	12.8	33	7.3	255	56.2	7	1.5	50	11.0
Personal meetings, face-to face (N=509)	67	13.2	85	16.7	181	35.6	152	29.9	5	1.0	19	3.7

Table 56b. How frequently do you contact your friends living in Poland?

	at least once a month of more frequently		not every month, but at least one or several times a year		less frequently (once in several years)		no contacts at all in this way		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Per telephone /SMS (N=207)	44	21.3	59	28.5	53	25.6	36	17.4	2	1.0	13	6.3
Mail (N=194)	15	7.7	31	16.0	48	24.7	79	40.7	2	1.0	19	9.8
Internet based contacts, such as Emailing chats, skype, Facebook, etc. (N=197)	41	20.8	28	14.2	19	9.6	83	42.1	5	2.5	21	10.7
Personal meetings, face-to face	20	9.9	36	17.8	84	41.6	50	24.8	3	1.5	9	4.5

(N=202)												
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Table 56c. How frequently do you contact your other acquaintances or business partners living in Poland

	at least once a month or more frequently		not every month, but at least one or several times a year		less frequently (once in several years)		no contacts at all in this way		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Per telephone /SMS (N=71)	25	35.2	20	28.2	12	16.9	8	11.3	1	1.4	5	7.0
Mail (N=63)	3	4.8	13	20.6	12	19.0	25	39.7	10	15.9	-	-
Internet based contacts, such as Emailing chats, skype, Facebook, etc. (N=67)	26	38.8	10	14.9	3	4.5	17	25.4	11	16.4	-	-
Personal meetings, face-to face (N=63)	9	14.3	18	28.6	26	41.3	5	7.9	1	1.6	4	6.3

Table 57. Membership in voluntary organizations

	Active member		Inactive member		Don't belong		DK		Refusal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Church or religious organization	72	8.8	94	11.4	650	79.2			5	0.6
Sport or recreational organization	16	1.9	26	3.2	774	94.3			5	0.6
Art, music or educational organization	20	2.4	23	2.8	774	94.3			4	0.5
Labour Union	7	0.9	24	2.9	781	95.1			9	1.1
Representatives for Lithuanian Poles	46	5.6	37	4.5	731	89.0			7	0.9
Political party	10	1.2	11	1.3	792	96.5			8	1.0

Table 58. Description of members of the organization

	The majority of the members are Poles		There are a few Poles		Except yourself, there aren't any Poles members		DK	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Church or religious organization (N=145)	79	54.5	37	25.5	2	1.4	27	18.6
Sport or recreational organization (N=31)	10	32.3	13	41.9	3	9.7	5	16.1
Art, music or educational organization (N=30)	12	40.0	13	43.3	2	6.7	3	10.0
Labour Union (N=22)	4	18.2	14	63.6	1	4.5	3	13.6
Representatives for Lithuanian Poles (N=67)	61	91.0	3	4.5	1	1.5	2	3.0
Political party (N=14)	11	78.6	3	21.4				

Table 59. Approximate number of friends

	N	%
No friends	29	3.5
1–4	149	18.1
5–10	242	29.5
11 and more	204	24.8
DK	150	18.3
Refusal	47	5.7
Total	821	100

Table 60. Which statement describes your friends the most?

	N	%
most of my friends are Lithuanian Poles	277	36.9
most of my friends are Lithuanians	62	8.3
most of my friends are Poles	30	4.0
most of my friends are of other origin/nationality	27	3.6
my friends come from various ethnic/nationality groups	341	45.4
DK	9	1.2
Refusal	5	0.7
Total	751	100.0

3 MAIN FINDINGS OF BIOGRAPHICAL INTERVIEWS (ENRI-BIO)

Irena Šutinienė / Viktorija Žilinskaitė

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

The people interviewed³⁷ come from Vilnius and Vilnius district not far from Vilnius.

Agata³⁸, 63 years, Andrzej 43 and Jan 75 until now live in small towns and villages around Vilnius, Renata, 20 in prestigious suburb of Vilnius, formally part of Vilnius district municipality, other live in Vilnius. Most of them have relatives in Vilnius region or in Byelorussia. Lithuanian Poles live for a long time (more than one hundred years) in compact area around Vilnius (Wilenszczyzna, Vilnija); in 1920-1939 this area together with some areas of contemporary Byelorussia and Ukraine belonged to Poland, and memories of this belonging have impact on identity of some Poles until now. Some of them, like Jan, 75, and parents of Andrzej, 43 come to the place they are living now during Soviet time from contemporary Belarus and until now have relatives in Belarus. Polish people compose majority in the villages' and towns' communities around Vilnius. The older generation is represented by pensioners - Agata – former employee of local council, later – secretary at school in village where she lives, Stanislav, former teacher and school principal in Vilnius, Jan – formerly railway worker and Helena – former (part time- until now) tourist guide. The case of Helena is a special one; she felt confused during the interview as it evoked memories of traumatic experience of post-war repressions that resulted in the death of her father and grandfather and mental illness of mother; this experience has enormous impact on her life. 43 years old Andrzej represents very variegated biography – he began to learn and to work as a pilot, later studied abroad politology and history, worked as a journalist and adviser in the government, etc., now is actively involved in cultural activities of Polish ethnic organisations. 24 years old grandson of Jan represents biography of worker with secondary education who doesn't care very much about ethnic traditions of his grandparents, but constructs Polish identity via family roots and birthplace.

Not caring of ethnic traditions and Russification is represented by Roland, 46. Like his parents, he went to Russian school. Like his parents, he went to Russian school. Roland (46) is service worker in two budgetary institutions. He cannot speak Polish, and has very poor knowledge of Polish language, although his identity is "Polish". He does not speak Polish even visiting his relatives in villages, where his parents were born and spent their childhood.

Young respondents - Roland, 21, Katazyna, 17 and Renata, 20, - went or are going to Polish schools. Roland (21) and Renata (20) are students of prestigious specialities – economics and psychology, Katazyna is good school student and is intending to study psychology. Roland (21) and Renata are from upper middle class Polish families. Both families are quite known in Lithuania due to profession participation in media (work in media or represent talk in media about their work). Katazyna is from a middle class family. Roland (21) and Katazyna have siblings. Older

³⁷ The interviews were conducted in accordance to the methodological guidelines developed by the ENRI-EAST team and described in the project manual. See "Manual for Qualitative Biographical In-Depth Interviews" available at: <http://www.enri-east.net/work-packages/wp5/en/>.

³⁸ All names of the respondents are changed.

brother of Katazyna went to a Russian school. Sister and cousins of Roland (21) went to Polish schools.

Elona, 36, married to Lithuanian, is high quality healthcare system employee, businesswoman. Elona went to Polish school. To her daughter she and her Lithuanian husband talk depending on the language the little girl uses while addressing to parents. Elona went and is sending her daughter to the same school her parents went to.

Aldona – media content creator – went to Polish school after her brother learning difficulties in Lithuanian school which he graduated. Aldona was in her media agency while it was attacked by soviet troops during January 1991 struggles for the Independence of Lithuania. Aldona is single. Her brother is married to Lithuanian girl from a small town in Northern Lithuania. The niece and nephew speak perfect Lithuanian and Polish languages. Their nationalities in the passports they have chosen in respect to parents – one of them – Polish, the other – Lithuanian.

3.2 European identity

The relevance of European identity for informants is partly connected to their education level. For less educated people (secondary school and lower) European identity is quite irrelevant: they perceive European identity and European integration as the issue that does not concern their local life at all: this also is partly connected to strong regional identity and the involvement into local life. The interviews of Jan, Piotr and Agata demonstrate it: „What... Means nothing.<...> What means... Europe, Europe – are they separate people, are they better? No, the same. The same. (Jan, 75).” Relationship to Europe is considered only in economic terms on the level of country („Lithuania must belong somewhere”) and he thinks that economic connections to Russia would be more convenient as Russia has more natural resources. Similar attitude expresses Helena, questions concerning EU perceiving as "politics" that does not concern local life in any way: in her words, "I think it doesn't matter"(Agata, 63). For 24 year old Piotr European identity also doesn't matter, as he feels standards of everyday life in Lithuania remote from Europe; „Well, because for us it is far away from Europe, from its culture<...>their level of life, of course, salary". (Piotr, 24).

The respondents with higher education demonstrate strong European identity. All of them stress historical belonging of Lithuania and Poland to Europe: „There was Europe for always, there was Europe" (Helena, 64). Helena stresses the "Europeanness" of Vilnius by stressing multicultural tradition and tolerance tradition of this city. Stanislav expresses the popular during Soviet time symbolical opposition between Europe as „West" (civilisation, democracy, centre of cultural standards, etc) and „East" („uncivilised", remote, totalitarian), symbolised by Russia and Soviet Union. For both respondents is important the main content of the „idea of Europe" - values of freedom, humanity and democracy, Christian tradition, European culture, architecture, etc. Belonging to Europe for them means realisation of freedom and collaboration, European citizenship and freedom of travelling, etc.:

“It means to me that in general according my convictions, that this freedom we talk about, because now in Europe exist such things that are called freedom–freedom for everything<...> but freedom is related to truth, it means that I have entire freedom trying to live right, so it corresponds to me of course, and those creators of the European Union, huh, had exactly the attitude that people would not be separated by frontiers somehow ah, divided somehow, so it's very important to me, that I'm a valuable citizen of Europe, eh, I value that I have freedom of moving, freedom of communication, I can settle wherever I

like, I can try to get job. I value very much that, well... That eh (*a pause*) I should like those values, which we had in Europe at the very beginning, those Christian values would be recognized first of all, they were, now this it's different, but I think sooner or later we return to our Christian roots". (Andrzej, 43)

Feeling of having the same rights as other European citizens (not as second-class European citizens) is more important for older generation:

Well, you know, a lot...How do I say, when we entered the European Union, I then felt that I can go around Europe and I don't need to show my passport, well I am European and there is some kind of pride, well some kind of respect for me, so I am the same as they are. Well, maybe less money in the wallet, but no, no one checks me, whether I am some kind of beast and the passport is the real document. (Stanislaw, 70).

Respondents also express critical attitudes towards Europeanisation as unification, danger for sovereignty of nation states:

"I'm convinced, because now various standpoints and attitudes exist as to what that further integration should be, the expansion of integration of Europe. Huh, for example, some say that in general in the future national states should disappear and the so-called regions should exist, just this way. I don't like the idea, to my mind, it should be, as it is said in Polish, <"Europa ojczyzn">, well, it means Europe of motherlands, it means that we integrate at the certain level, all the same national governments, our sovereignty should be preserved, because all that same community is created and exists for ages, well, with its territory and, well, culture and well, too great danger will arise if we'll give, well, for example, the whole power to some other place, eh, where they will solve instead of us for the things that we should determine by ourselves" (Andrzej, 43).

Europeaness is defined through cultural differences from the cultures outside Europe and similarities inside:

I: And Europe as such?

R: Europe? Aaa... There are Europeans (*laughing*). Well yes. With Europe it is clear, I feel European. Because I say, when I look at American culture from a side it is not very acceptable. I am European. (Katazyna, 17).

By no way this greater similarity is understood as "European culture". One can even notice doubt in the possibility "European culture" as such :

I: ... what do you think, is collective European culture possible or maybe there are many ethnical cultures which differ?

R: There are ethnical cultures which differ. (Elona, 36).

I: I would like to ask you, can you depict me your relation with Europe generally? You mentioned that, aa, there is no united European culture, but still, whether you perceive yourself as citizen of Europe or you perceive yourself more as citizen of different nations...

R: Here are different nations. (Elona, 36).

R: ... I don't think that Europe has one culture as continent and that Europe is one culture, which occurs as language, faith or...I think that there are many cultures. And catholic such as Italians and Poles differ. They have the same traditions, church is also the same, but the expression of traditions differs. (Aldona, 43).

R: ... I could go somewhere in Europe, but there is actually a totally different culture, there is other way of thinking... (Roland, 46).

Future development of Europe is imagined through similarities of contemporary culture and inner communication and trade within Europe:

I: I would like to ask, what you think about Europe in general, is a solid united Europe possible?

R: I think that mm yes it is possible, because like to Lithuania all these shows with dances came. I think this comes from the West, this culture as well. For example many people study Spanish language now. I do not know from where and how, but it is happening and...And, I say Japan language, it is totally bizarre to me. That from Asia it all comes as well. But I believe, that...it could be solid, because Europe it is communicating among each other, there is import, export... trading and so on...But I still think that it should remain, those should remain. Cultural traditions in every country are unique, because...because otherwise I do not know (laughing) it will be the second America. (Katazyna, 17).

One can notice that respondent has negative attitudes towards the unification of cultures of Europe. Negative attitudes towards unification is shared by other informants too:

R: There are a lot of different cultures in Europe. And it is really very good, because I am for every country having its own culture, and for not having Euro in all the Europe (*laughs*). Money denotes one's own, well, value of the nation – well, we know we have symbols, so to speak. But it is for certain that it's possible for all the different nations to live friendly, they were sharing their values, cooperated, that's a fact. But is it possible in today's world – I really don't know. I wish, I believe that it is possible, but not now (*laughs*). Only not yet. (Renata, 20).

Expression of negative attitudes was in interview with Elona. Answering question “...what do you think about Europe generally, about European Union?” she states:

R: There is nothing good these days (a laughing – interviewer's remark). (Elona, 36).

Unification term goes with term of living in peace together – it is needed with no doubt, but there are doubts named by informants regarding the possibility of living in peace together.

I: ... is there a possibility to talk about the European identity, or Europe is a mix of different cultures that are more similar to each other than with Asian or African cultures. Or is it more a political endeavour? How do you feel about Europe?

R: I personally think it's all about politics. Even if there are some similarities, people are scattered into different states and then they create some communities and they actively participate... So it could be said that it's all about politics. There is no European solidarity and I don't know if it's possible. (Roland, 21).

On the other hand, European culture is seen as making bad influence on communication. Seeking for reasons, why schoolchildren do not greet school visitors, that mainly are parents of other schoolchildren, respondent answers:

R: Why they don't... Well, in my opinion, it's perhaps European, European thinking. Well, maybe not the thinking, but European culture. (Elona, 36).

European identity maybe seen through possibilities, people get there:

I: Tell me please if you would need to place yourself in some sort of a scale – place you live, your city, a district in a city, a region, a state, maybe Eastern Europe and the whole world. Where would you place yourself?

R: Mm... Exactly now, I would place myself in Europe... (Roland, 21).

I: In Europe.

R: Yes. It is easy to observe that possibilities are much bigger and you can travel all over Europe when you want and how you want it. And behind the borders of Europe there are problems. You need to get visa and so on. This is what influences my opinion and if I would need to place myself somewhere, I would identify myself with Europe and not with the whole world. (Roland, 21).

In general one can see variety of understandings about European culture in its relation to other cultures:

R: Mhm. There are such opinions that, ee, Islam is a threat to Europe, because many Turkish people live in Germany. Mm, Tur, I think Turkey should firstly prove that they are well-meant, and there wouldn't be any threat from their side until they won't solve issues with Kurds. However, it's not pleasant thing from their side. Well, if they did such things with the nation from neighbourhood, I don't know their tendencies here. Germany has many problems with Turkish people and Muslims. (Aldona, 43).

I: And now the Europe is expanding there are talks about Turkey entering the EU, what do you think about it?

R: I don't have anything against it. But I also understand all these Germans and French because the biggest number of Turks will end there... after the borders will be open. But if I would object, so – no. If there are possibilities to expand, so why not. One more big state where we could go, just the level differs there. And if I am not mistaken, they try to get into the EU for ten or fifteen years already. (Roland, 21).

In the hierarchy of territorial identities the European identity is never dominating; Even in case when identity with Europe was expressed, its domination was not confirmed by other statements about identity of the respondent and these statements sometimes were contradictory:

I: Tell me, aa, when a person perceive himself coming from the region where he lives, the city, the country, the continent, Europe, the world. Where would you put yourself in such scale? Vilnius, Lithuania, Europe...

R: Europe. Yes. (Aldona, 43).

I: Europe. Europe. But if you talk about yourself, you perceive yourself as Pole...

R: Ee. Pole from Vilnius, yes. (Aldona, 43).

I: Pole from Vilnius.

R: Vilnius, yes. I identified with Vilnius. For example, when I used to go to the internship somewhere, or longer journey, after a couple of days, ee, I almost wanted to cry. I couldn't even work in Poland, I used to go there to work in the radio, but I had no inspiration, I was constantly unhappy, after some time I got used to that place, where I was, but it's very hard for me without Vilnius. So first of all is Vilnius, and then Europe. (Aldona, 43).

3.3 National identity – relationship to the country of residence.

Two specific features are characteristic for national/ethnic identity of Lithuanian Poles: the great importance of regional identity and of Catholicism. Some older people with lower education describe Catholicism as the main expression of their ethnicity during Soviet time: for example, mother and sister of 75 old Jan during Soviet period every Sunday went and prayed at the door of closed by „bolsheviks” Catholic church in Byelorussia. Jan also keeps the prayer-book of his grandmother and prays even in the workplace. His Catholic identity overlaps with national one and the former is more important.

Culture of Poland...without Catholicism is...All this because, you know, the baptism, christening, a thousand years ago, when Poland were baptized, in fact, here is the point from where we can already see not the wild people, but...And in the literature, and everywhere, and everywhere.(“Stanislaw “, 70).

For most of respondents belonging to Lithuania is on the second place after regional (Vilnius or Vilnius region) one. Lithuania is considered a “Native land” by most of respondents. Characteristic feature of relationship to Lithuania is its expression via regional /local belonging, ties with people and places where respondents lived; according to the words of one respondent,” the Poles, wherever they live, they are tied to their land”:

“Lithuania as the country is my birthplace, I not only have a passport, but I have the inner passport, I am and I was a citizen of Lithuania and this will not change. Well, you know, there are very beautiful places, of course, all around Lithuania, and I admire it, but well, when you have no friend or relatives, no one, well you drove once and that’s it. <...> The location where I was living, having some kind of business.” (Stanislaw ,70).

“My real motherland is here near Vilnius, there’s my motherland, I’m born in Lithuania, I’m a Pole in Lithuania, it means my motherland is Lithuania, though Poles say also <ma-cierz>, it means my, huh, my native land, such little one is here, this Vilnius. Another country, well, so to say, my ethnic inclusion, because I’m a Pole, so it’s closest, where my, part of my family is.”(Andrzej, 43)

Some of the respondents put hierarchy of identities into the concentric circle with the local identity in the centre of it. This is illustrated in the following fragment of the interview - respondent prefers local belonging to country, Lithuania to Poland, etc.:

“It seems for me that I have a few homelands, so to speak. First one is probably the home of my parents. This is where my roots are from. Then, perhaps, that place where I was born, where I went to school. To look deeper, then you go to Vilnius and most of my friend live here...so again, this is some kind of territory, Lithuania <...> But if I go further, I am proud that I am from Lithuania. I was in Turkey, and Denmark, and Vilnius is here... I know language, I respect the traditions of the people, although it is different, but also, and well, and, and that apparently the homeland is so defined, but ee ... How can I tell you, that the Poles, wherever they live, they are tied to their land. Yes, the cultural homeland exists, the roots of that culture, the larger culture... There is also micro-culture of the region. If anyone had asked me to choose where to live, here or there, I would stay here, all my life is here.(Stanislaw, 70).

Lithuania is considered as a “Native land” by 24 old Piotr, 75 years old Jan, Agata and others as well. For some people also anti-Soviet and Catholic identity matters when identifying with contemporary Lithuania: “We live well with the Lithuanians, and that’s all, what’s more.<...>Better is that religion is free. Religion is free, we are not afraid of anything, we are like at home. Like at home, it means.<...> In Soviet time we couldn’t, they pursued us” (Jan, 75).

Lithuania is seen through family, kinship and friendship ties. When deciding to leave or to stay in Lithuania the primary social ties are one of the main motives, in distance one could not come immediately: “For example if there is something wrong, I would not run to my mother, because... on the other hand it does not matter as people travel further and now flying with a plane is the same as going by bus” (Katazyna, 17).

3.4 National identity - relationship to mother country

In all cases belonging to mother country is weaker than to Lithuania – country of residence or to locality of residence („Lithuania is the first, then Poland is the second.” (Stanislav, 70). The relationship to Poland is more conceptualized by respondents with higher education level and mostly constructed through cultural/ ethnic belonging (Poland perceiving as „cultural homeland”, „cultural roots”) and through connections with people - relatives, friends living in Poland, also via the experience of communication with mother country:

“I have a lot of friends. I had, we used to communicate much, they helped us, and we carried the children and so on. You know, well how to say (a pause – interviewer’s remark)...Well, there is a large area of the country, and I am very close to it, that language, culture, traditions, but it’s hard to say for me that there, this is my land.” (Stanislav, 70).
 “My connection with Poland is also very (a pause) emotional and close, because, as I have said, I lived in Warsaw five years, some of my closest persons lived there, well, now they are dead, my father’s brother lived in Warsaw, he died two years ago, but but my huh uncle lived in Warsaw and of course some more relatives who had to leave Vilnius after the war, so... Well, of course I have many colleagues there <...> So the second would be Poland (Andrzej 43)

All the respondents prefer living in Lithuania over Poland: “No, never... My two sisters live in Poland... Once we had a conversation about this, but I said no. Well, as I live in this country...so I belong to it” (Agata, 63). Some of the respondents feel they have any relationship to Poland or, like Piotr, emotionally feel Poland as an alien country, and prefer Lithuania: “Well, there are some relatives who have departed but I wouldn’t live there. Somehow it is alien and that’s it. I don’t know. Here and that’s it.” (Piotr, 24). Jan even does not want to visit Poland. „There is nobody, there is no need, it doesn’t matter that in Poland. There is no need to go” (Jan, 75)

The “card of Pole” – a document certifying belonging to Polish people that is distributed by some Polish organizations in regions that former belonged to Poland – is perceived as a relict of former territorial claims and condemned as expression of disloyalty to Lithuania:

“Personally I don’t look too well to the card of Pole. If I am a citizen of the country, you think I will write some kind of card of another country? It is somehow disrespectful to Lithuania, if I am the citizen of Lithuania, so why I need the card? <...> There is no need, no, no to feed people dates from the past. What was in the past, what was then, that must be forgotten.” (Stanislav, 70)

Although there are possibilities for students to get scholarship in Poland, Renata, 20 did not even try to search for it. Roland, 21 associates himself with Poland, he tried to enter university in Poland, but Poland is not place of residence of his visions:

I: And if we talk about the future, when a person is young, he wants to travel, to study in different places. Tell me please when you will be older, where would you like to live? What do you think?

R: I would like to live where I am the most successful (laughing). I don’t know at the moment; I planned to study a bit after my studies and to work a bit in different countries. Then maybe I would get a broader view. I don’t know at the moment. Maybe in England. English language is very good there after all and I would not have any problems because of the language at least. (Roland, 21)

Relationship to Poland is merely symbolic, even the respondents that associate themselves with Poland do not intend to change their residence place to Poland:

- I: We try to depict a map here, can you mark that country or territory with what you are associated the most?
 R: Of course, I am associated with Poland the most.
 I: With Poland.
 R: Well, I am associated or something is associated with Lithuania?
 I: You are associated.
 R: Well, then with Poland.
 I: And what would you put in the second place?
 R: Well, that would be Lithuania.
 I: ...wider territory or separately. Lithuania. What would you put in third place?
 R: Russia. Mhm.
 I: Russia. Why Russia?
 R: There are more opportunities (a pause – interviewer's remark). It's only because of them.
 I: For example, if we compared that opportunities in France, United Kingdom and in Russia, there would be less?
 R: Opportunities, I would say "yes".
 I: Mhm. What opportunities you had in mind those of work or those of living?
 R: Ee, those of work. And well, I do not know, but if you want to achieve something, I would say, you should live in Russia.
 I: Mhm. Why? It's because of that Russia is a big country or other...
 R: Because it's a big country. (Elona, 36)

3.5 Regional identity

As mentioned above, regional identity of Poles in Lithuania is a very strong one. Some of the respondents (Jan, Helena, partly Agata) Vilnius and Vilnius region perceive as their homeland. For some of them only regional belonging matters:

- "I don't know, it doesn't matter to me. And to Poland, and to Lithuania, it doesn't matter. to Vilnius region" (Jan, 75).
 I. And what kind of region is your homeland? R: Vilnius! (Helena, 64).

Connection to the region and country they have born is considered as characteristic feature of Polish identity:

- "Well, somehow really as a man grows older, some sentiment coming from the childhood, even for the place I live, my settlement, so I personally say, these Americans say those who receive job go away without any problems. To my mind it is somewhat strange<..>. And in our country it is somehow settled that we were born here, all the family is here, relatives, well, now some part go somewhere away, nevertheless in their heart they feel as though here's the best place for me". (Andrzej, 43).

Belonging to Vilnius region is connected to belonging to locality – the village or city people live as well as to place they were born. It is constructed by many ways and using a lot of various resources: emotional ties to place, belonging to family and community networks, work and everyday life networks, parish life, regional cultural and religious traditions, family "roots", etc. These different resources are revealed in the following interview fragments:

So what...as I have been living here since a birth (*smiling*), it seems that I like everything what we have here (Agata, 64).

"I do not know my roots, but graves of my grandparent are at the Rossa Cemetery and there is a grave of father. I have been a resident of Vilnius for 250 years, sometimes people call me a nationalist of Vilnius. There is no so beautiful nature like in Vilnius and there is no so beautiful town like Vilnius.<...>. It is my grandparents, my forefathers and my.(Helena, 64).

"Nonetheless, you travel all over the Soviet Union, when you come, come to Vilnius, all your body becomes very relaxed and you want after your trips to say someone, who you met on the station or airport, these words: "Hello, I have returned at home" <...> Well these are Vilnius and Vilnius region – the main.<...> There is a house in my homeland, my cousin still lives there. There is a well, which we have always been visiting, we were drinking the water, with that water I was rinsed first time in my life.(Stanislav, 70)

"I would live in Vilnius. I was born here, here is somehow already, here are all our roots, somehow". (Piotr, 24).

Vilnius region geographically includes region where Polish population predominates until now, it includes birthplaces of the family and the places where relatives live. As many people came from region that nowadays belong to Byelorussia, people identify themselves with these areas as well, but they identify with this region as former Polish area, not contemporary Byelorussia:

"Well, how it is... There are a lot of Poles around there, a lot. There are many Poles. The majority of citizens are Poles. Vilnius region.<...>. No, there wasn't Belarus, there was Poland. Pobierezin, Pobierezin is Polish country. Grodno, Bresk are also Polish. <...> History, means. (pause) The churches and families speak only in Polish"(Jan, 75).

The relationship to Vilnius region is mostly constructed via traditions, feasts, while to locality (village, town) people live – via everyday life and social networks. Traditions are reconstructed after Soviet time even by younger people:

Well, Vilnius and it's traditions...we always go to all these performances, how to say, eee...well...we also celebrate holidays, we are going to these concerts <..> well, such Vilnius traditions Well, when I was working at the common council, so I know this district well, because we had different trips at that times... such trips, how to say, demonstrative, that we were going, for example, somewhere to Niemenchina and we were looking at territory of Niemenchina, at different cultural values...Then we were going to Czarny Bór, were was that common council. So I know this district...I...my Vilnius.

I: But you feel being belong to this district, do not you?

R: Well, yes, yes...I, as it is saying, I have born here, have lived here and I still live here...And I do not want to move out – to go to another place.(Agata, 63)

„Well, perhaps tradition is old, but it was freshened when the land, at the time of independence, was regained<...> then we celebrate Mardi Grass, commonly we all together, then before that, we call it <Andrzejki>, so ah, eh, before... actually organize such, well, just a ball year by year, it can be said. Well. So that's that. As for that reviving, at the Soviet times was just, even there was no public communication among Poles as a community, there were no feasts because it was not allowed, even no association, in general no context, that is no possibility to celebrate or in general to express something our own or to foster something national. There were schools, but never, of course feasts were, such as, you know, those of komsomolists and the like.<...>if we talk about traditions, so we actually celebrate national some celebrations. So perhaps the first of it, the 11th of November, so

it's the Independence day, national Polish feast, and the 3rd of May, so we gather together, we have a club there, eh, well, some concerts most often are there, in Naujoji Vilnia". (Andrzej, 43)

On the other hand, regional identity is not so strong for younger people. For Elona (36), regional identity was just expressed through place of living (case further described in "7. Ethnic conflict and discrimination experiences" section). Kinship and family, friends that could be ties to region, are associated with Lithuania by young respondents (Katazyna, 17, Renata, 20, cases mentioned in "3. National identity – relationship to the country of residence" section). Identifications with Vilnius region is rather characteristic for older people.

The younger ones rather understand themselves as Polish inhabitants of Vilnius region with mixed culture, but this region is very special to Polish people, living in Poland or other countries:

R: So that is why they are different, because for example we also performed this year in Norway the Polish people living there welcomed us. So they felt such a nostalgia because some of them have some connections to Vilnius, because when you think, all the world is really mixed, so I do not know whether there really are pure Lithuanians or pure Polish people, because really now I can be convinced that I am pure Pole but I really do not know and for this we would need to look into each history. (Katazyna, 17)

The older respondents imagine Vilnius region as citadel of true Polishness. They think Polish language of Vilnius region is more true and correct than Polish language in Poland, especially Warsaw:

I: Mhm. You want to say that language in Poland is less correct?

R: No, well, how to say (a pause – interviewer's remark)...Ee, People from Vilnius talk in Lithuanian differently from people who live in Utena, Dzūkija, Žemaitija and so on. The same thing is here. It used to be land of Poles, and here was a capital, right? And, and...People from Warszawa begun to use shorter words. Well, I mean...We say "mama", and they say "maaama". I mean, they shorten the words. This is why. Of course, we have many languages, maybe that's why we don't talk in correct language, as we should do. But people say that tutejsza (a jargon – interviewer's remark) or prostemu (a jargon – interviewer's remark), well we are tutejszy, and po prostemu is more common for Byelorussians. Ee, Polish language. (Elona, 36)

Regional belonging for younger respondents is not separable from belonging to Lithuania, they perceive Vilnius region only as part of Lithuania. The older respondents make clear difference between Vilnius region and other regions of the country.

3.6 Civic participation and ethnic organization

The most popular way of civic participation is voting in elections, only some of them (Piotr, Helena) did not vote in a great part of elections. Most of them vote for ethnic parties or left wing parties (socialdemocrats, etc.). Agata is a member of an ethnic party, and works in local department of it as administrative worker, organizer of elections, etc. This participation she perceives as follow-up of her former work in local council. Ethnic party means for her as well as other supporters of them representation of local/Polish interests. Piotr participates in non-ethnic left wing party and this membership, according to him, was not chosen freely – he was asked to participate by a head of the office he is working and joined it in order not to lose a job.

More educated people (Andrzej, Stanislav) approve ethnic parties as representatives of the ethnic groups' interests, which other parties do not represent:

„You know what, there wouldn't be any of them if other parties fairly... represent. <...> . The large parties do not know... For example, you have a toothache, but I can't tell you how badly, where it hurts how it hurts. They do not know where the problem is, you see.” (Stanislav, 70).

Some respondents do not accept ethnic parties: “Polish party? No, no. What for... Everything is OK there. No, there is no sense. What for? What for? (Jan, 75).

The popular way to participate in non political organisations is participation in religious organisations and parish activities and cultural-ethnic organisations as well. Jan sings in catholic churches, Agata belongs to a council of the church. Some people participate in ethnic organizations, especially people living in villages and small town communities near to Vilnius. Polish people not belonging to organizations participate willingly in local and regional cultural events as well.

One is the Association of Poles, as I have told, and another is church, well, it did change<...> well, it was oppressed at the Soviet times, , but nevertheless was that, well, the authority didn't supported it, and those who wished to do some work, well, some official, they went secretly to church, in general it was complicated. Now our parish is very is of great vitality due to our anew opened church and priests are very good, so young people gather there, independently of their nationality, youth's feasts are organized, some camps as well, priests go there, and trips to Vilnius. It freshens that (Andrzej, 43).

Andrzej (43 years) is actively involved in ethnic cultural organizations on local and national level and organizes many cultural events that reconstruct Polish ethnic traditions; in this reconstruction they also use the cultural traditions from other parts of Poland; he also participates in religious-charity organization Quo vadis:

“Well, somehow I take part, as far as it is possible, in the social life of Polish community, I belong there to Polish, the Association of Poles in Lithuania, I don't belong to any party, I'm apolitical, though I advise politicians, but I am not (laughs) a member of any party.. By my speciality politology. So that's that, well, there in NN (a small village not far from Vilnius) is that, the circle of the Association of Poles in Lithuania, so we have there, if we talk about traditions, so we actually celebrate always national, eh some eh celebrations. <...> I was in the main board during the former term of office, a member of the main board of Poles in Lithuania... So of course there are eh feasts of the very village community, they are popular enough there, eh, completion feast in the board, so that's now<...> we take part on the spot or we go to the place where the region arranges it, that is our district elders go there” I participate<...> there is such QuoVadis community, it's an organization of “Caritas”, which, well, we don't carry out any wide activity, but we just help people, for the purpose of some religious character, we invite, for example, some interesting people to recollection<...> the purpose of the organization is exactly eh huh, well, to help others and to spread some values, we disseminate literature, we translate and disseminate a little, such is it's nature (Andrzej, 43).

Younger people have different attitudes towards voting, starting from asking their parents:

I: And when you're choosing, because everyone doesn't have enough time to read all the programs, but let's say it's a short one. Is it important, well, that when you choose to vote, this person would be Polish, so that...

R: At the beginning I actually either read or ask my father and mother what it's all about, who they are. For example, what they are offering, what did they achieve, so later... And later, well, I see about these nationalities, who comprises what, and so on. But it is less important. I, so to speak, want him to, well, that his ideas would be good. That he would do something, not only sit, you know. Well, his activity is the most important, his work and his ideas. (Renata, 20).

Going to feeling that Polish parties better know Polish problems, although they would not vote for Polish politicians just because they are Polish, if they are not competent enough:

I: When you choose political party or individual candidate, is it important that he would be Polish? Or that political party would associate itself with Polishness?

R: This is important. But if there is a possibility to give votes for Polish people, so I would not choose all the Polish, but just those Polish people whom I know... and whom I find normal and competent. And if to be honest then yes. It means a lot and these preferences they are important... (Roland, 21)

3.7 Ethnic conflict and discrimination experiences.

In general, absolute majority of respondents didn't experience discrimination or intolerance personally, in their everyday life (except Piotr, who had a Lithuanian teacher at school, who, in Piotr's opinion, didn't like Polish and Russian students), but many of them reflect issues that are represented as connected to discrimination in the political discourse of last years: the issue of the way of writing Polish surnames, using Polish language as subsidiary in the areas where Polish inhabitants predominate, the issues of language usage at schools (the law about teaching some subjects in Lithuanian language in minority language schools was being prepared in the period when interviews were conducted), etc. People notice and criticize intolerance on political level as coming into play from both – Lithuanian and Polish - sides. The education policy is criticized as not considering specific needs of national minorities. Typical fragments of interviews exemplify these tendencies:

"No, I haven't, [experienced], I'm a tolerant person and I try to exit the situation diplomatically, without explaining anything... No, in the ordinary life, if there was something, now everyone buzz about it, and I live in the area of collective gardens, well, I don't know any case, I think I am respected and I have great respect for them. <...> But, you know, I do not like the case of education, I mean, that force. There is some tendency with education, I would say, that we should reduce, teach more Lithuanian language. And the people, they agree<...> We are told that you are learning Lithuanian poorly. So give us then more hours to teach Lithuanian language.<...> But, just imagine, for example, a child entered... lots of children from Polish families. He hasn't ever heard not a single song, not a single tale, he hasn't ever read about Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Fredro, Moniuszko, what kind of person is he? (Stanislaw, 70).

"So the general context, as I say, in NN (a small village not far from Vilnius) my mother's best friend Lithuanian lives near, and I have really very many good acquaintances among Lithuanians, and I live comfortably and everything is a success. But part of politicians, I think, from both sides, but more from the predominating side, try to thrust on that pattern of integration which we consider not, just not good.<...> convention of the European Council, <...> and the eleventh clause there is, well, it allows minorities use besides the state language, where they are majority, or just live compactly, to use their national language as subsidiary" (Andrzej, 43).

The relicts of memory of interwar conflict concerning territories that in 1920-1939 belonged to Poland are criticised as conflict and irrelevant for present:

Poland has its own malady. They have very strong sentiments, for example, they declare their own right to those areas, which once belonged to them. Of course there is also the intolerance from that side, on the other hand, when it is being written that you are Pole, what the Poles here with<...>well the capital, Pilsudski, no Pilsudski, Zeligowski, well there were some conflicts.<...> Pilsudski was then, well, it's about the time to remind Germans about Hitler. <...> Well, it is not possible to live as you know like there in Georgia, three hundred years ago, some girl was kidnapped then and...(Stanislaw, 70).

Some respondents also notice intolerance in the Internet comments and in activities of some organisations. Piotr remembers confrontation between Russian and Lithuanian students at school that remained as a relict from Soviet time: "Somehow even such Lithuanians who were as nationalists, they were more with Polish but were somehow against Russians so to say." (Piotr, 24). Some people mentioned bureaucratic difficulties they encounter when regaining property.

Ethnic conflict as hidden and shown through child's speech (indirect negative attitudes of child's parents) was told by respondent of middle age group:

R: Well, I think that it's parents' fault. Parents influence their children and they talk things even they do not understand what they are talking. In my opinion, if we live in Vilnius, we must know three languages. There are many Lithuanians, Russians and Poles and we can't ignore this fact.

I: Mhm. You said that parents influence their children, put the words in their mouth, can you give me an example?

R: Mhm. For example, I heard it from a child. My daughter [the name of respondent's daughter] attends Polish school but used to go to Lithuanian kindergarten. I remember one case when I was speaking with my daughter in Polish and one girl who was four years old came closer to us and asked which language we were speaking. I answered her that we were speaking in Polish. She told us to go to Poland. And I asked her from where her parents come. She said that they were from other city of Lithuania. I suggested that her parents should go to live there, not us. (Elona, 36)

Other respondents just have heard about it, but did not experience it themselves or seen such things directly:

R: I met one Lithuanian who says – in some market or somewhere he met an old lady. And he says – Jesus, this old lady could learn already. She has been living in Lithuania for so long and doesn't know Lithuanian. Well, still, she is an old lady. I'd understand this, if the youngsters were not speaking Lithuanian while living in Lithuania. But some old lady, what can you do. Well, forgive her, you've bought these cucumbers and everything's fine. I'm a bit saddened by such relationships, although there's less and less of such things. Well, as far as I've personally heard. (Renata, 20)

3.8 Summary Matrix

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

Respondent	Place of residence	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	European identity	National identity (residence)	National identity (mother country)	Regional identity	Organisation	Languages
en_full_pl(lt)_01 "Roland"	Vilnius	Male	46	Secondary	service worker in two budgetary institutions	none	Living place	none	none	none	Russian, poor Polish and weak Lithuanian
en_full_pl(lt)_02 "Katazyna"	Vilnius	Female	17	Secondary	schoolgirl	none	Family and kinship ties	Interesting to visit	none	none	Polish, Lithuanian, English
en_full_pl(lt)_03 "Renata"	Vilnius district, (prestigious suburb of Vilnius)	Female	20	Student at university	university student	none	Family and kinship ties	Interesting to visit	none	none	Polish, Lithuanian, English
en_full_pl(lt)_04 "Elona"	Vilnius	Female	36	High-school collage	high quality health-care system employee, business-woman	none	Family line living place	none	Family line living place	none	Polish, Russian, Lithuanian, English while travelling
en_full_pl(lt)_05 "Roland"	Vilnius	Male	21	Student at university	university student	none	none	Better place to study	none	none	Polish, Lithuanian, English
en_full_pl(lt)_06 "Aldona"	Vilnius	Female	43	University	media content creator	none	Living place, patriotic motherland	none	none	none	Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, english
en_full_pl(lt)_09 "Stanislaw"	Vilnius	Male	70	University	Pensioner, formerly teacher and principal	Identifies through European citizenship and values	Homeland, citizenship, connections via regional identity	"Cultural homeland", "cultural roots"	Very strong, connected to birthplace and Vilnius	None	Polish at home in public places - situationally -Polish, Lithuanian or Russian
en_full_pl(LT)_07 "Helena"	Vilnius	Female	64	University	Pensioner, former tourist guide	Identifies with Europe stressing historical belonging of Lithuania and Poland to Europe	Identifies via Vilnius identity and citizenship ("Lithuanian of Polish origin")	Week identity via culture and common history	Strongly identifies to Vilnius through family history, landscape and heritage	None	
en_full_pl(LT)_12 "Agata"	Village in Vilnius district	Female	63	Secondary school	Pensioner, formerly secretary at school	Not relevant	Identifies through regional and local identity	Ethnic homeland, ties with relatives in Poland	Strongly identifies to Vilnius region, via Polish ethnic traditions and local life experience	Member of ethnic party, member of council of the church	Polish – at home, Polish, Russian, - in public

Respondent	Place of residence	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	European identity	National identity (residence)	National identity (mother country)	Regional identity	Organisation	Languages
en_full_pl(LT)_08 "Andrzej"	Village in Vilnius district	Male	43	University	Deputy adviser, political scientist	Strongly identifies with European values, citizenship, travels a lot, studied in European countries	"A Pole in Lithuania" Lithuania as motherland, native country	Cultural ties, emotional ties to relatives and friends	Very strong through emotional ties to birthplace and family as well as involvement into local community	Member of Association of Poles in Lithuania and religious/charity organisation Quo vadis	Polish at home, Polish, Lithuanian – at work
en_full_pl(LT)_10 "Piotr"	The garden-plot near to Vilnius	Male	24	Secondary school	Trolleybus driver	Not strong, even not relevant	Native land, "roots" in region	Alien country, in spite of some relatives living there	Strong emotional ties to birthplace -Vilnius and family "roots" in Vilnius region	Member of left wing political party	Polish at home, Polish, Russian – in public places, Russian, Lithuanian – at work
en_full_pl(LT)_11 "Jan"	Vilnius	Male	75	Secondary school, 2 years at Railway-school	Pensioner	Not relevant	Identifies through regional and Catholic identity	Family ties with relatives, no personal relationship	Strongly identifies with Vilnius region including Polish areas in Belarus where he was born	Participates in church choir	Polish –at home, Polish, Russian, Lithuanian - in public places

4 MAIN FINDINGS OF EXPERT INTERVIEWS (ENRI-EXI)³⁹

Monika Frėjutė-Rakauskienė

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

Two experts from A category and one from B category were chosen for interviews on the Polish minority group. The Polish minority representatives raise a number of acute issues related with the Lithuanian ethnic policy, therefore it was questioned the representatives of the state (governmental) institutions/organizations that participate in the formation of ethno-policy in Lithuania.

The first expert is the representative of the Council of National Communities in the House of National Communities which aims to preserve cultural and ethnic peculiarities of national minorities in Lithuania. He also is acquainted with the situation of ethnic minorities on political level. The expert has a higher education and he is from Vilnius.

The second expert is an advisor for the Lithuanian Premier Minister. He has a higher education and he is from Vilnius.

The third expert, who was questioned by the B type of questionnaire, is the representative of the *Lithuanian Polish Alliance*. He has a higher education and is from Vilnius.

4.2 Organisation they represent and how it is organised

The interviewed expert (interview No 1) represents *The Council of National Communities in the House of National Communities*. The Public Institution the House of National Communities – is a non-profit seeking organization established in Vilnius, Lithuania in 2000. The other interviewed expert (interview No 2) represents the Government of the Republic of Lithuania because he works as an adviser to the Lithuanian Premier Minister.

The last interviewed expert (interview No 3) represents the Lithuanian Pole Alliance (*Związek Polaków na Litwie*). LPA is a public organization established in 1990. The biggest by its members (around 11 thousand) cultural Pole NGO in Lithuania (has 15 subdivisions in different district and cities of Lithuania). The expert says:

“<...>the members of the organisation, i.e. members of Lithuanian Polish Union are citizens of the Republic of Lithuania with the Polish ancestry who were born in Lithuania. Documents of our organisation do not prohibit citizens of other countries to be members of this organisation, for example, Poland; we also have some members from other countries, however, the biggest part of the organisation is comprised of Lithuanian Polish people. All our activities target this ethnic group – Polish ethnic group. There are various activities taking place in the organisation and our organisation operates since 1989. Constituent assembly took place on 15-16 of April. Organisation was then established and started its activities.<...>” (Expert interview No 3).

The main direction of organization activities are culture and education:

³⁹ The interviews were conducted in accordance to the methodological guidelines developed by the ENRI-EAST team and described in the project manual. See „Enri-Exi: Expert Interviews Manual, 2010”, available at: <http://www.enri-east.net/work-packages/wp5/en/>.

"<...> The main and most essential aims were defined two decades ago and many of them are still valid today. Talking about the promotion of education and culture, if we take culture into consideration – there are various cultural events organised in various formats, cultural events all over Lithuania where Lithuanian Polish Union has its branches, and there are fifteen branches all over Lithuania, the last one was established in Kaunas region; there are also branches established in Vilnius area – Vilnius region, Šalčininkai region, of course the city of Vilnius, Trakų region, Švenčionių region, Širvintų region, there are also branches in the town of Visaginas, Zarasų region, Druskininkai, Varėna region, Kaunas and Kaunas region. The last ones opened in Kėdainiai region, Šilutės region and Klaipėda. So if we talk about cultural events, they take place in almost all of those locations mentioned. From the events of smaller scale such as exhibitions or vernissages to the bigger international festivals. One of the areas – education with the aim to safeguard the network of schools, to provide teachers who work in Polish schools with a possibility to build their capacities, we organise courses, facilitate international cooperation. There is a goal to promote cooperation with partners between the establishments through projects taking place inside and outside the country and especially in Poland and other states as Lithuanian Polish Union is a member of European Polish Association Union, which has its seat in Sweden and which brings together main Polish organisations from European countries; culture and education are important areas linked to the question of the promotion of preservation of identity in order for Polish national minority not to be assimilated with the majority but in order to promote integration, to prevent the gap between Lithuanian and Polish people as they live in one state and in order for the citizens with the Polish ancestry of the Republic of Lithuania to have a possibility to adapt to the environment. <...>" (Expert interview No 3).

According to the expert (interview No 3), their organization make differences between the terms "integration" and "assimilation" and are against the process of "assimilation":

"<...> We clearly differentiate integration from assimilation, we call them by their real name and if someone wants to assimilate so of course we react painfully, sometimes drastically using various means and sometimes we just smile. <...>" (Expert interview No 3).

The organization also promotes young people initiatives:

"<...> There is also work being done with youth, promotion of youth initiatives, there is an increase in the number of European projects – young people are very keen to participate in the projects of international cooperation, youth exchange programmes and so on. One thing from these tendencies is the preservation of monumental elements; <...>" (Expert interview No 3).

The organization has own media –newspaper and website:

"<...>We also promote our activities in media; from the year our organization was established we publish a weekly. Weekly "Naša gazeta", is published each Thursday, main achievements of the organisation are presented, other activities and events as well. We also use internet space of course. Last year we have established our television; it is internet television that includes reporting from various events, on various trends...<...>" (Expert interview No 3).

The organization cooperates with other organization:

"<...> R: We always cooperated and were open to other organisations, with autochthonous minorities, who live here for long time, centuries, as well as with other minorities. <...>

We have also cooperated with other organisations, such as Russian minority organisations, because there are a lot of them and the minority is quite numerous. Representatives of the Lithuanian Polish Union are also members of National Communities Council; these representatives are from the Lithuanian Polish Union because in the general meeting of the Lithuanian Polish organisations that took place two years ago in 2009 and was organised by the Department of National Minorities and Emigration, that is now reorganised, thanks God, representatives from the Lithuanian Polish Union were elected to this Council. <...>” (Expert interview No 3).

The demographical situation of organization:

“<...> In general I could say that there are around 3000 young people under 26. And around 7000 or over 6000 because it is not full 7000 are elderly people. <...>” (Expert interview No 3).

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

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

“<...> therefore, ten years ago an idea was born that this law needs to be renewed or that we need to prepare a new edition of this law but... it is a pity... that the last leadership at the National Minorities and Emigration Department represented by mister N...when it was known for over a year that the Department will be eliminated and the affairs of the foreign-born Lithuanians will be transferred to the Foreign Affairs Ministry and the affairs of Lithuanian national minorities – to the Ministry of Culture. Absolutely nothing was done in order to transfer the functions properly, I mean, everything was being postponed until the last minute and then the jobs were changed; when 2010 arrived, there was no one to take over and it was decided that it would be the Ministry of Culture but the National Minorities and Emigration Department was eliminated... Nothing was done as a preparation for that and I simply do not understand that... The same can be said about the law. During a year it was possible to initiate... if not a new specialised institution then at least the drafting of a new law, everything... but it happened that the old law was not valid from 2010 and there was no new law and only now a concept of a new is prepared and it is a time consuming process and now we have the answers from all institutions... everything moved forward and... we hope that it will be finished very soon as in principle all the questions are answered in this concept; now we will have to crystallise the essence in this concept.... <...>” (Expert interview No 1).

“<...> I: And what do you think, did the absence of the Law on National Minorities for a year made any negative or positive influence, in general that...

R: Well, we should look in several aspects. First of all, in the international aspect, of course, it isn't good when the law doesn't exist, because Lithuania has certain obligations to put to practice the convention, usually inner juristic acts define more exactly and regulate those general provisions of the convention. <...>as for the inner situation, did the absence of the law influence in any real way the situation of national minorities in Lithuania –

I should say, it didn't. The situation is stable, it is as it was before, of course, because of the general economic crisis the support for national communities is not the same as it was during previous years, but all the principles are observed – those that were in force in our law on national minorities and in convention, all those principles are observed inside the country, and I don't think that national minorities feel some special, some change in the absence of law, as a matter of fact, no changes take place. There's another feature: some juristic acts are prepared and national minorities evaluate with certain anxiety the changes that are supposed to be in them, I mean the changes in the law of education, the suppositional changes of provisions, in the opinion of Polish national minority and Russian national minority, if these changes would be consolidated as the norm of law, the upbringing or possibilities of education in the language of minorities would be significantly restricted, such as they were up to now – so they would be more restricted. <...>" (Expert interview No 2).

Based on the information gained it is possible to conclude that there are different opinions and perspectives on different questions within the Polish group, however, these differences are not crucial and the Polish group is well mobilized and united. Currently the most acute questions for the Polish minority group in Lithuania are the use of the Polish language in the public signs in the places populated densely by the Poles in Lithuania, and the language of the Polish surnames in the personal identity documents. These questions raise political debates.

"<...> At the moment there is no special law. Some things that are important to the national minorities are included in other legal acts of course; this can be said about the law on National Language where it was an obvious collision about its public usage, I mean, its utilisation in public inscriptions, in the areas that are inhabited by national minorities, their mother-tongue and we are trying this in the new draft of a law that we prepared, that the working group I am heading prepared... We believe that it would be purposeful to legalise... We estimated, we propose, I mean, to define that when there are 33.3 percent in a certain place, there could be inscription in a local language besides the national one.<...>" (Expert interview No 1).

The other urgent issues are related with the secondary education and some amendments on the Law of Education. These amendments extent the use of Lithuanian language in the secondary schools with ethnic minority language.

"<...> Talking about the system of education, the question is quite sensitive. The goal is that the existing situation and development of the education system would stay the same; as we know legislator is debating the new legal act on education that many people and not only from national minorities disapprove; this new law aims to implement innovations that there will not be any secondary schools only gymnasiums. There are discussions about the numbers; there are also discussions about the complexes of classes. There are many people as well from Lithuanian schools who are unhappy about the new law and if it would be adopted it would be a mischief; <...> There is a need for innovations in this area but no so drastic, not such innovations that would put teachers into conflicts, this is not a good way; legislator and its product - a law has to serve a human being and if one listens to that then it will be much better. <...> In this situation the law on national minorities stands out because there is a need to implement the provisions of this Convention into Lithuanian legal system. It would define concretely how these provisions would be implemented as the Convention foresees the possibility to use the bilingualism in a sense that it could be used in the topographic notes or in the names of the streets or anywhere else where the

state decides as the Convention does not specify the places where it should be applied, it has a very broad description only that in the places inhabited densely with ethnic minorities; the law would have to define how it would be implemented. It will be one of the legal acts, the main document dedicated to the national minorities. <...>”(Expert interview No 3).

Interviewed expert (interview No 2) noticed that there are problems in Eastern Lithuania related to the social integration of Polish minority – the people living there have poor Lithuanian language command, the level of education is low. Also the expert notices that in eastern Lithuania there are problems with the restitution of the property.

“<...>Well, part of them is here in East Lithuania, hardly speaks Lithuanian, it is a consequence of lack of general education in this region, nobody, not many pay attention to it, but the general level of education in these regions, so partial investigations and information show that the level of general education is a good deal lower in separate national groups than in the main masses of population, well, it is a second-rate consequence. It is changing because young people, they already integrate linguistically much better. It's only a question of time, when this problem will disappear, as for other things – certain tensions exist. There is one aspect – the restitution of property in Vilnius and its surroundings, it is land, other property as well, buildings. So it is the economic base, it is the factor that strengthens social integration, or on the contrary, makes it more difficult. If this group is culturally disposed for seclusion, then the economic base, stable economic situation maintain their attitudes to seclusion, but if this group is open enough and willing to integrate with – then the economic base is useful to more rapid integration as well. <...> especially in village communities – problems of social integration – are going on as for education – some fight for one kind of schools, some fight for different kind. They draw pupils to their own school – and at once conflict situations affect their general situation and social integration and people's relations – of course they squint at each other in offices, medical institutions and so on. <...> No, I don't think there are any serious problems, problems are in the labour market, those people who don't know the state language meet with a certain problem. They can't, the spectrum of their possibilities is narrower. It is on the one hand, and on the other, there are some signals, and earlier there were as well, I don't know now because I don't meet with it directly. People used to come for job. They say, well, you know, your surname sounds somewhat wrong, they say it straight. <...>” (Expert interview No 2).

Relations between national institutions and ethnic minority groups or their NGO are not sufficient:

“<...> There is a need for more organic approach as now the promises are not kept and then this establishment of Premier Minister Commission as a compensation measure that includes representatives from several ministries and national minorities looks like a sham Commission. There was one meeting during a year. It is not like National Communities Council that gathers regularly and shakes a bit the air of the communities; in fact this is still not enough although we need to thank for their work. The same can be said about public sector as apart from several persons <...>. I would like to thank to these particular persons but as long as there would not be those who would have resources in their hands – human, financial, technical and other, so we it will be a fight with mills. <...>” (Expert interview No 1).

The interviewed expert (interview No 1) criticised the state support mechanism for the organizations:

“<...>I could say on the contrary that up until now this support is too depolitized as it was not taken into consideration what this organisation is, what people this organisation unite, who the leaders are, whether they are loyal. It is not a secret that there are a lot of “Jedinstvininkai”, KGB officers and soviet military; there is a need for differentiation in order to sustain nationality, national culture but as well to become the integral citizens of Lithuania; <...> If the application was filled in correctly then it had a chance to be successful... those who evaluated took a bureaucratic approach and looked if the application is filled correctly, those applications used to get funding most often.<...>” (Expert interview No 1).

According to the interviewed experts last year (2010) there was no financial support to organizations of ethnic minorities, but hopefully it will be in the future:

“<...> So... The other thing is that these are the times of crisis and last year the Ministry of Culture was not capable at all to provide any financial support as the main aim was to keep those public institutions like for example National Communities House as the multicultural centre in Kaunas or Roma people Centre in Kirtimu gypsy encampment; in the case these places would be closed, people would have to walk away and it would be much more expensive to establish them from the beginning. This year as the new management in the Ministry managed to obtain more money, it almost doubled; it used to be 600 thousand and a bit and now there is one million and a bit, so there is a difference; naturally the projects of national minorities organisations will be funded as much as the possibilities allow. (Expert interview No 1).

According to another interviewed expert (interview No 2) the Lithuanian state support the ethnic minorities education in their native languages:

“<...> I can just say sonorously that the segment of education in the languages of minorities is the financial contribution to support it, because it is expensive, something is added to this education, it would be cheaper if it would go on in the state language. It is one of the most significant contributions in respect of financial support for national communities. <...>” (Expert interview No 2).

4.4 Ethnic tensions and conflicts between majority and minorities

According the interviewed expert (interview No 2) there are tensions between the ethnic groups and majority:

“<...> Well, you know, conflicts, it's difficult to talk about conflicts, but tensions are obvious, especially in the Vilnius region, there are incidents elsewhere, well, tensions arise especially at the time of election campaigns, then they start escalate, consolidate their electorate in various ways, and the “national card” is used as well. It is obvious, but in general the situation is stable, we can't come up to the Balkans and the like. <...> Yes, you read the press too, you know that historically we can talk about the conflicts between the Lithuanians and Poles, Lithuanians and Russians, in essence such inveterate conflicts between groups are absent. These are the main conflicts, maybe the main is with Poles, it's motivated historically, the argumentation is always historical, at present some elements manifesting in today's life add to it. <...> New stereotypes cover the historical ones, that ideology was intended to consolidate, to consolidate against something, Poles were the nearest neighbors, so the consolidation was against them, no matter we would fail to get

back that Vilnius, for there were neither physical nor any other possibility to get it back. So we could consolidate under this cover, well, these elements exist.<...>” (Expert interview No 2).

According to the interviewed expert (interview No 1) there were some conflicts inspired by the foreign forces during the times of well known historical cataclysms:

“<...>either from the “red” from the East or from the “brown” from the West; there is xenophobia in the blood of many people. It is not a secret that if you look at the article in the internet where Jews are mentioned. That’s all! There is a gale of various swearwords and so on and so on. The same can be said about Polish people <...>” (Expert interview No 1).

4.5 The Political representation of Polish Minority

It should be mentioned that the main political party of the Polish ethnic group in Lithuania – The Electoral Action of Lithuanian’s Poles. Currently this political party is the only political party that represents Polish minority in Lithuania and is supported mainly by the local Poles. Mr V.Tomaševski is the leader of this party. He was elected to the European Parliament and is very active in debating the Lithuanian Polish minority questions.

“<...> As for the participation of minorities in political life, it is obvious they are the same citizens and they all can participate. So to say, whether such party is necessary, so we can’t discuss their existence. They are, they exist because they are supported, and the support is really obvious. This support always is on the limit of 4 per cent – it is an unquestioned matter. So they represent some interests of those people, well, the interests not always are concurrent with the interest of others, therefore arises that opposite and interests collide, especially during election campaigns. <...>” (Expert interview No 2).

Interviewed expert (interview No 1) thinks that political representation of ethnic minorities is not desirable:

“<...> I don't think it is desired. Political representation cannot be on the basis of ethnicity. There are possibilities for people to participate in elections, in the lives of political parties and to vote for them; but the establishment of political parties on the basis of ethnicity is destabilising factor harmful to the civil society. It really doesn't matter if the party is from the national majority like there are "Young Lithuanians", "National Union", Party of National Progress, I even don't talk about such creations like N. creation or about the Electoral Action of Poles or the Russian Union of the ex-alliance of N. Lithuanian national minorities, or now working Klaipeda N. Russian alliance. When there is unification, then does it mean that there can be different policy regarding medicine or agriculture, social policy, it these policies can be Polish or Russian? This is total nonsense. <...>”(Expert interview No 1).

Interviewed expert (interview No 2) thinks that in general all organizations according the ethnic line do not lead to the process of integration but separation:

“<...>And on the whole, if you grazed that question, I think it is bad in Lithuania these already existing NGOs are homogeneous in national respect, so it's bad, people from various groups should participate in them just as well, they should be active and communicate with each other. I always say, you minorities do wrong while creating some defensive organizations, you must be together with all nationwide organizations and work together, search for decisions and so on, but they never listen. <...>” (Expert interview No 2).

The interviewed expert (interview No 3) who represents the Polish ethnic minority organization thinks that these ethnic minorities' political parties in Lithuania are not formed on the basis of ethnicity:

"<...> There is a word Polish in their title and therefore the majority of political scientists and individual politicians want to see or present to themselves and to others that this is a political force formed on a basis of national minorities and it can not have or grasp other interests. And this is not the case as how would it be possible to rule Vilnius region if this political force would only care about the interests of national minorities and it would not solve neither economical questions, neither the questions of education, culture nor social issues, etc. This is not the case. Vilnius region is leading in the utilisation of the EU support so it means that it all functions like a mechanism – so there is a word Polish in the title and the majority of members are Polish people – so this of course creates some sort of illusions. This political force was never trying to deny that it works in defending the interests of Polish people, this was never hidden, but it was never said that they limited themselves to that only – this is not the case. So as I am saying, it would not function, there would not be the mechanism – the functioning of this party on the basis of ethnicity only to put it in quotation-marks is not bad as it is only a distinctive feature. Liberals... you could say the same about social democrats, so if they are social democrats, they would never create some kind of market...<...>" (Expert interview No 3).

The interviewed expert (interview No 3) who represents the Polish minority organization complains that Lithuanian politicians do not listen to the voice of minorities:

"<...> R: Lithuanian politicians in general do not want to listen to the expectations of the numerous national minorities, for example Polish or Russian, and I could prove that with an example; this example is from the conference or meeting that was initiated last year by the chairman of the Parliament to address the question of education. It was initiated in order to debate the draft law with Polish community. <...> The worst is that after two hours of discussions, and of course the chairman of the Parliament did not participate for these two hours and just came to greet us and left the chairman of the committee instead, and this is not bad, but the worst is that after two hours of discussions with the chairman of the committee he said that we understood everything but we would do like we thought to do because this would be the best for you (laughing). <...> (Expert interview No 3).

4.6 Relationship to mother country

According the interviewed expert (interview No 3) the Senate of the Republic of Poland is a main institution that takes care of the Polish people living outside:

"<...> As I already mentioned during this conversation, the senate of the Republic of Poland is a protector of the Polish people living outside the Republic of Poland. We have rather close political relations with the political parties in the Polish Senate. And we get the support through the Senate. Today this forms only a part of the support, as we also have European projects that form a fair amount in the account of organisation's budget. So there is support from the Republic of Poland. It will be in the future, this is how Polish politicians declare – that it will not decrease, it can increase of course; however we understand that this financial support can be stopped and the thing is that we are ready for that, we are ready for the termination of the support from another state. This support exists, as the Republic of Poland very clearly supports Polish national minority in Lithuania. We

would like to establish such system that Poland has and in such case we will not need support from Poland. <...>” (Expert interview No 3).

Interviewed expert (interview No 2) thinks that the support from Poland makes influence on the improvement of the situation of Polish ethnic minority in the country:

“<...>If we talk that Poland supporting steps of Poles to preserve their identity and so on, promotes the creation of more favourable situation, general background for minorities in the state, so it makes influence undoubtedly. I agree with it, yes, yes. So to say, Russians don't make such influence. And what is more, I should say they even are not interested to make influence this way. So they try more through business, through banks, through the supply of raw materials. <...>” (Expert interview No 2).

4.7 Relationship (if any) to European events and organisations

Interviewed expert (interview No 1) thinks that the EU impact on the integration of ethnic groups in Lithuania has influence in a limited sense:

“<...> In a limited sense, yes. One can find positive examples. One can find anything and I mean in general sense, not only institutional activities; there is a practice of inter-ethnic cohabitation in the old Europe, this is positive and one can point to that <...> They sign all these international documents that concern protection of persons with other nationalities, race, language. This impact is positive <...> (Expert interview No 1).

The other interviewed expert (interview No 2) thinks that EU influence is very little:

“<...> There were very few of them. And real influence was very little. Almost none. And the influence and importance of these projects is that the message is given, that such projects exist, such possibility and something really exist. It's the main function of these projects, because in the concrete not such money and such human resources are needed in order to change the situation. And I think such external projects will not change the situation. Only Lithuania itself can't change the situation using its resources and possibilities and forming its policy and culture, and other things <...> I think, minimum. Minimum, because it's like that. Russians keep at a distance from this state, most organizations are oriented to Russia, Poles are oriented to Poland as well, because they get significant support from there. But it's different with the distance. The regional identity is important here. For example, Poles say about these Poles from, <Krajove, Krajowce>. It's such regionalism, it is not that they identify themselves with some vision, some historical image. There are some rudiments of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, of the common republic of Lithuania–Poland. So it is. <...>” (Expert interview No 2).

The last interviewed expert (interview No 3) thinks that EU has the influence through its documents:

“<...> R: Yes. It influenced with its documents as well as its European spirit as some things are not prescribed by the legal acts, for example the usage of mother tongue in some areas that are densely inhabited or where traditionally some kind of minority lives. There is no official EU document as to how many percents there have to be in one place. It should be allowed from 15 percent, from 30 percent or maybe from 50 percent. Convention is silent about it, but there is general European practice as this practice is sometimes <...> So when speaking about positive or negative influence, so apart from the main documents, that are adopted and ratified by the States, Member States can also use the practice of another states; there was a nice history in the relations between Poland and Lithu-

ania, but sometimes it was interpreted heavily and sometimes very sharply, there are other examples in the EU <...>" (Expert interview No 3).

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

Hans-Georg Heinrich / Olga Alekseeva

5.1 Methodology

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

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

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

The research discovered a large number of different resources of ethnic minorities. In the study, 154 online resources were randomly identified, from which 350 text fragments⁴⁰ were collected and analyzed. Qualitative and quantitative content analysis of the text fragments was conducted using *simstat/wordstat6.2.1*. The data analysis consisted of the description of a resource or a text fragment according to formal criteria like “title”, “author”, or “intention”, as well as according to the content of text fragments. The former data were ordered and coded in a *simstat* data base. The data of the qualitative content analysis were generated by assigning single cases (usually combination of words or parts of sentences) to categories (keywords) which constituted the *wordstat*

⁴⁰ The notion “text fragment” in this study indicates a unit of analysis in the *simstat/wordstat* program. These can be single texts like articles from websites of periodicals, blogs or organisations without postings of readers or with readers’ postings. Apart from that, a “text fragment” can be called a number of single short texts under particular title as represented by dialogues on internet forums.

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

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

5.2 Description of internet resources

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

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

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

The foundation “*Zbiory Wileńskie*” (<http://www.nasz-czas.lt/>) started in Vilnius in 2003. The organization is devoted to the collection, research and publication of information connected with the history of the region of Vilnius, especially of the 20th century and with the post war history. Apart from the photo material depicting architecture and historical sites of the Vilnius region, it figures reports about historical events, famous personalities, news from the historical research, discussion material and bibliographical data. Apart from the Polish, it uses the Lithuanian and Belarusian languages and reports about the life of respected minorities and multicultural history. The *Union of Poles in Lithuania* (<http://www.zpl.lt/aktualnosci>) was founded in Vilnius to protect and represent the Polish minority in Lithuania which is among the biggest minorities in the country (6.7% or 235-300 000 people). The Union of Poles was founded in 1990 and has 11 thousand members. Apart from the protection of the ethnic rights, the organization implements educational and cultural programs and supports Polish initiatives, socio-cultural as well as economic. The Union issues its own periodical “*Nasza Gazeta*”. The website of the Union publishes reports about mutual initiatives of the Polish community as well as the process of dialogue and criticism in concern of the rights of Polish minorities.

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

5.3 Results of content analysis of internet resources

5.3.1 Dictionary

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

Civil Activity

The category “civil activity” refers to political engagement and involvement of the representatives of ethnic minorities in non-governmental organizations and unions regarding different socio-political matters and human rights issues. This category examines the development of deliberative democracy and the ability of the members of ethnic minorities to influence the political process concerning the matters of their own community and to take part in the negotiation process at the local and regional level of governance.

Community

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

Criticism Representatives

The category “criticism representatives” stands in context of the term “communication” which denotes the relationship between the members of the same ethnic minority. It can be a relation of partnership as well as a relation of conflict and criticism, especially based on different political interests.

Discrimination

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

Ethnic and National Conflict

“Ethnic and national conflict” indicates ideological and political tensions between the mother country and the host country of an ethnic minority, conflicts between the host nation and the minority, especially as result of nationalism. Conflict between neighbor nations, for example between Lithuania and Russia, can arise because of different views on history. This category can also refer to ethnic minorities who lack the knowledge of the language of the host country, and to the refusal of ethnic minorities to learn such language. An example of the ethnic and national conflict can be the rejection of the representatives of the host country to support an ethnic minority by financing national schools, like in the case of the Belarusian minorities in Poland, or the rejection of the Russian minorities to go through the process of naturalization in Latvia.

Host Country Critical

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

Imperial politics

“Imperial politics” denote the occupation of ethnic territory by an imperial regime, acts of violence and discrimination towards the local population, acts of vandalism against culture, destruction of memorial buildings, art and architecture.

Minority rights

The category “minority rights” refers to the political aspects of identity, to the protection of the rights of an ethnicity. This category indicates how well the minority rights are protected in the host country and which minority rights are factually implemented. This category describes positive legal innovations to support the development of the ethnic community and to preserve its independence. The category “minority rights” covers the issues about the normative understanding what the ethnic rights should be.

Native Country Critical

The relation to the mother country can have different aspects. On the one hand, the minority can be closely connected to the mother country and receive a positive support from it. On the other hand, this relation can be an alienated one when the minority criticizes the native country for its politics. The representatives of minorities, who understand themselves as part of the national opposition in their mother country like the Belarusians in Poland, demonstrate critical attitudes if human rights in the mother country are violated.

Personalities

The category “personalities” refers to remarkable personalities from culture, politics, and civil life, who are closely connected with the idea of national renaissance and have shaped the profile of the national identity. Personalities, who marked the history of the national idea formation, belong to “national heroes” and their biographies constitute the part of the national history.

Representation

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

Tolerance

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

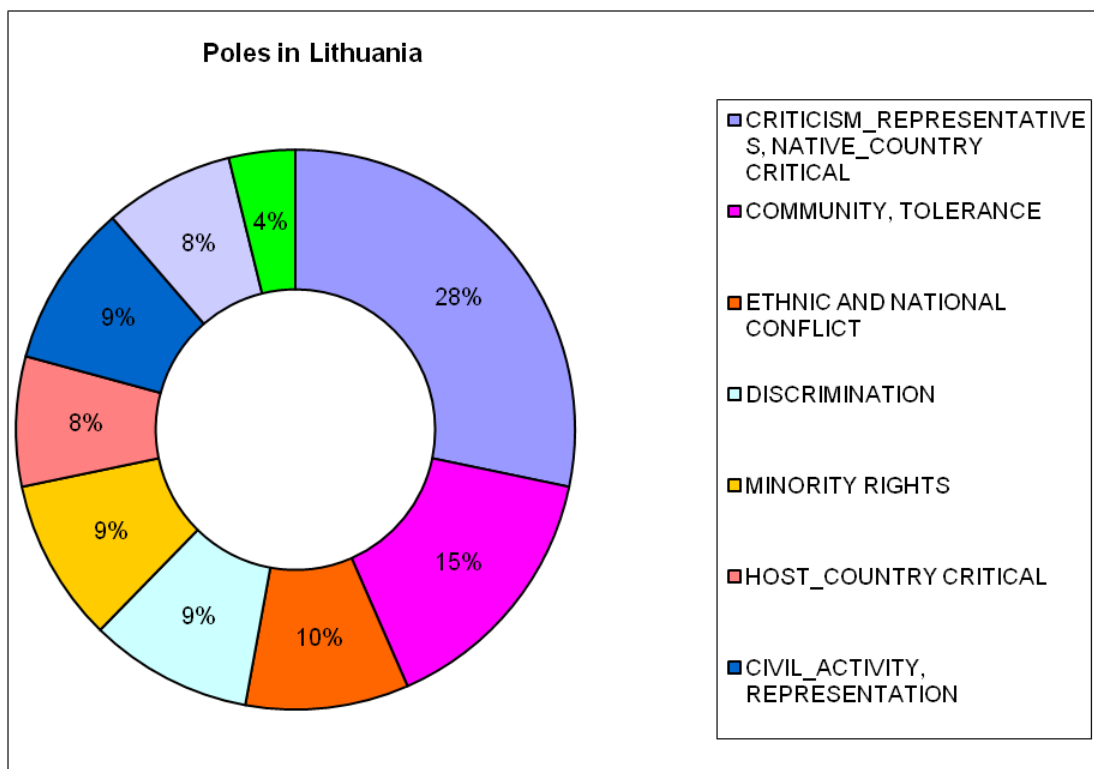
War Genocide

Historical traumas “war” or “genocide” is one of the central categories of ethnic/national identity. Historical traumas experienced by the representatives of ethnic minorities in the host countries are, on the one hand, the subject of the consolidation of ethnicity – around the mutual collective victim discourse – and the subject of the conflict between the minority and the host country on the other.

5.3.2 Practical Realization

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

Figure 1: Keyword Frequency, % of Cases



As far as the sources of the Poles in Lithuania are concerned, the majority of themes in these resources (29%) could cover the categories CRITICISM REPRESENTATIVES and NATIVE COUNTRY CRITICAL. Representatives of the Polish minorities in Lithuania express criticism towards some Polish political elites who, in their opinion, develop a nationalist stance and provoke conflicts between two neighboring country Lithuania and Poland (ETHNIC AND NATIONAL CONFLICT, 9%). They argue, that some Polish politicians have conservative political culture and, being educated in the Soviet times, retain old ideology, although the political climate in Europe has changed. In the conditions of the European Union with no borders, the Polish government introduces the so-called “card of Poles”, a document which shall foster the feeling of belonging to the Polish nation and strengthen the Polish national identity. As follows from the critical reviews of the ethnic Poles in Lithuania, the nationalistic policy provokes conflicts between two neighbor countries and spreads ethnic hatred in the Polish population in Lithuania who regard Lithuania as their home country. The letter is true especially for the elderly generation which went through the war and post-war period.

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

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

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

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

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

Translation from Polish: Temat mniejszości narodowych jest tematem bardzo skomplikowanym i emocjonalnym, między innymi dlatego jest tak trudno znaleźć dlań wspólny mianownik.⁴¹

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

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

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

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

Translation from Polish: Na Litwie tak się stało, że rolę lidera wśród mniejszości pełnić wypadło Polakom - ludności autochtonicznej i licznie najliczniejszej.⁴²

⁴¹ Cytacka, R. (2008) “Międzynarodowa konferencja OBWE o mniejszościach narodowych. Dwa poglądy na ten sam problem” (International OSCE-conference about ethnic minorities. Two visions on the same problem), Tygodnik Wilenszczyzny (periodical) (24), internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.tygodnik.lt/200824/>.

6 A CASE STUDY ON MUSIC AND IDENTITY

Arvydas Matulionis / Viktorija Žilinskaitė

6.1 Introduction

This part summarises results and completion of the field work in pilot study Cultural Identities and Music in Lithuania, which involved Lithuanian, Polish and Russian communities in Vilnius.

6.2 Training and field work planning

The instruments were updated by extension of music instruments list by local ethnographic instruments and types of additional training schools, providing musical education. The updated questionnaires were translated.

The trainings of the Lithuanian qualitative pilot study team took place in Vilnius on 30 April, 1 and 2 May 2010 at Conference hall of Ratonda Hotel during ENRI-East Steering Committee Meeting (4th plenary, 29 April - 03 May 2010).

Dr Lyudmila Nurse conducted this training session which was attended by:

- Prof. Arvydas Virgilijus Matulionis, Lithuanian team leader
- dr. Viktorija Žilinskaitė, researcher and focus group moderator
- Rūta Sližytė, musicologist and focus group moderator

The online questionnaire website was designed by Tom Houston and was then tested and passed as being fully operational prior to being used.

6.3 Brief overview of the area of the study

The Cultural Identities and Music survey was conducted in Vilnius.

Vilnius was first mentioned in 1323 in the Letters of Grand Duke Gediminas inviting Germans and members of the Jewish community to settle in the capital city. In 1387 Vilnius was granted Magdeburg rights.

After the establishment of Almae Academia et Universitas Vilmensis Societatis Jesu (now – Vilnius University) in 1579 Vilnius became one of the most important scientific and cultural centers of the region and the most notable scientific centre of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth formed by the Union of Lublin in 1569. City attracted migrants, besides Lithuanian language, there were spoken Polish, Ruthenian, Russian, Old Slavonic, Latin, German, Yiddish, Hebrew and Turkic languages.

For the first time Vilnius was occupied during the Russo-Polish War (1654-1667) in August 8th, 1655.

The Russian Empire, the Habsburg Empire, and the Kingdom of Prussia divided territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In April 1795, Vilnius was annexed by the Russian Empire

⁴² (Without author) (2009) “Zdobyliśmy Europę!” (We won Europe!), *Union of Poles in Lithuania*, 11 June, internet WWW-Site at URL: <http://www.zpl.lt/aktualnosci/20090611/zdobylimy-europe>.

and became the capital of the Vilna Governorate. After Uprising in 1863 use of the Polish and Lithuanian languages were forbidden.

During World War I, Vilnius was occupied by the Germany from 1915 until 1918.

The Act of Independence of Lithuania was issued on February 16th, 1918.

Vilnius and its surroundings were occupied by the Polish Army on October 9th, 1920 and designated as a separate state. On February 20th, 1922 Vilnius was annexed by Poland. During the occupation of Vilnius, Kaunas was the temporary capital of Lithuania.

On September 19th, 1939, Vilnius was occupied by the Soviet Union. The German Army captured Vilnius on June 24th, 1941. Vilnius was taken from the Germans by the Soviet Army and the Polish Armia Krajowa in July 1944. Vilnius was incorporated into the Soviet Union as the capital of the Lithuanian SSR.

Restoration of independent Republic of Lithuania was declared on March 11th, 1990. As a result the Soviet Union sent in troops and on January 13th, 1991 attacked the State Radio and Television Building and the Vilnius TV Tower, killing at least fourteen civilians and seriously injuring 700 more. The Soviet Union finally recognised Lithuanian independence in August 1991.

Vilnius was selected as a 2009 European Capital of Culture.

Like other countries that experienced change of powers and were under occupational totalitarian regimes cityscapes of Lithuanian towns, especially capital Vilnius, experienced destruction of Lithuanian monuments and erection of symbols of occupational powers. After restoration of Lithuanian Independence Lithuanian capital, as well as other cities and towns, is going through processes of re-Lithuanisation.

6.3.1 Community Identity

Vilnius is Lithuanian capital with population is over half million inhabitants (548 835⁴³), composing about 16 % of Lithuanian population. Vilnius, as a capital city, attracts inhabitants from other parts of Lithuania. As all capital cities it has the highest concentration of non title population⁴⁴. The biggest ethnic minority in Vilnius is Polish, the second – Russian⁴⁵.

The research, conducted by Institute for Social Research during participation in INTAS project No 1000006-8441 “Organizing and Representing Post-Communist Nations: the Role of Capital Cities” shows identity of Vilnius inhabitants through their attitudes towards the monuments. The most important monuments according the inhabitants of Vilnius may be enumerated is the sequence: Gediminas (ca. 1275–1341, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, founder of Vilnius as capital of Lithuania), Mindaugas (ca. 1200–1263, the Grand Duke of Lithuania and the King of Lithuania), The Three Crosses (Golgotha Monument, built in 1916, destroyed by order of the Soviet authorities in 1950, rebuilt in 1989 in their original place on the Hill of Three Crosses in Kalnu

⁴³ Department of Statistics to the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, downloaded May 31, 2010 from <http://www.stat.gov.lt>.

⁴⁴ According 2001 population census in Vilnius there were 57.5 % of Lithuanians compared to 83.5 % nationwide. Department of Statistics to the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, downloaded May 31, 2010 from <http://www.stat.gov.lt>.

⁴⁵ According 2001 population census Polish community constituted 18.9 %, Russian – 14.0 %, Byelorussian – 4.1 %, Ukrainian – 1.3 %, Jewish – 0.5 % of Vilnius inhabitants. Department of Statistics to the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, downloaded May 31, 2010 from <http://www.stat.gov.lt>.

Park), A. Mickevičius (1798–1855, poet, writing in Polish language stressed that his fatherland is Lithuania).

6.3.2 Schools

The changes described in previous sections, were followed by change in educational system. That was more than change in content of knowledge. Entire system, its composition and structure, communicational habitat went through changes as well.

The first and one of the most visible changes is relative decentralisation of system of general education, growth of autonomy of higher education institutions. Formulation, supervision and network restructuring went into different levels of authorities. Schools are administrated by founders, usually municipalities for general education, although non-governmental, confessional organisations, as well as private individuals may be founders of such schools⁴⁶. Some schools are founded by governmental institutions of higher level: Vilnius Conservatoire Secondary Music School was founded by Vilnius County administration, National Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis Art's School – by the Ministry of Education and Science of The Republic of Lithuania.

There are 22 gymnasiums, 62 secondary schools, 33 basic schools, 1 junior conservatoire, 2 youth schools, 19 primarily schools and 15 schools-kindergartens in Vilnius. Most schools, except gymnasiums and youth schools have primarily education programmes.

Primarily model of the sample to select one school for each ethnic community ended in lack of schoolchildren and, especially, low return of questionnaires for parents and grandparents. Lists of schools and interviewed classes were prolonged.

The survey was conducted in one Polish school: Vilnius Jonas Paulius II Basic School.

Table 1. Size of schools.

School	School language	Official number ⁴⁷	
		Schoolchildren	Teachers
Vilnius Jonas Paulius II Basic School	Polish	631	61

Administrative districts where school is located – Justiniškės district – was built and developed during soviet times. Due to new constructions and childcare infrastructure district attracted young families.

Table 2. Ethnic composition of administrative districts of schools.

School	Administrative district	Ethnic composition in administrative district in per cent ⁴⁸		
		Lithuanians	Polish	Russians
Vilnius Jonas Paulius II Basic School	Justiniškės	56.5	20.4	13.4
Total Vilnius		57.5	18.8	14.0

⁴⁶ http://www.smm.lt/en/gen_inf/docs/Education_LT2004.pdf

⁴⁷ Official number for 2009-09-01, source: AIKOS (Open system for information, consulting and orientation, <http://www.aikos.smm.lt>).

⁴⁸ 2001 population census. Department of Statistics to the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, downloaded May 31, 2010 from <http://www.stat.gov.lt>.

6.3.3 Music

Cultural activities in Vilnius are hardly to be described due to plenty of events, organisations and festivals, participating in culture field in Vilnius.

Vilnius as capital of Lithuania is residence of most Lithuanian National musical theatres and orchestras:

- The Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet Theatre,
- Lithuanian National Philharmonic Society, hosting Lithuanian National Symphony Orchestra, Lithuanian Chamber Orchestra, Vilnius String Quartet, Čiurlionis Quartet, Chamber Ensemble Musica Humana,
- Lithuanian State Symphony Orchestra, hosting Sostine Brass Quintet,
- Lithuanian State Wind Orchestra “Trinitas”
- State song and dance ensemble “Lietuva”

Vilnius is city where Lithuanian Song Festival, folk festival “*Skamba, skamba kankliai*” and many others take place.

Beside National stage, Vilnius has choir “Jauna muzika” (Young Music) and Saint Christopher’s Camera Orchestra, both broadly known in Lithuania and abroad. Musical concerts are held in City Hall, Vilnius Teachers’ House, “Menų spaustuvė” (incubator of performing arts “Arts’ Printing House”), museums, churches, Hall of Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre and other places. Important aspect of music life in Vilnius there are open air musical events that are more frequent in warm period of the year. Regular jazz programmes are hosted in several bars and restaurants.

City established public enterprise Vilnius Festivals that unites and organises the following international festivals:

- Vilnius Festival, classical music festival organized together with the National Philharmonic Society
- Sirenos, theatre festival organized together with the Oskaras Korsunovas Theatre
- Gaida, contemporary music festival organized together with the Lithuanian Composers' Union
- New Baltic Dance, contemporary dance festival organized together with the Dance Information Centre
- Christopher Summer Festival, classical music festival organized together with the company Kristupo Festivalis
- Vilnius Mama Jazz, jazz music festival organized together with the Vilnius Jazz Club
- Banchetto Musicale, early music festival organized together with the company Banchetto Musicale
- Cinema Spring, film festival organized together with the company Kino Pavasaris
- Vilnius Jazz, contemporary jazz music festival organized together with the Vilnius Jazz Festival
- Capital Days, a biggest city fiesta of Vilnius.

In addition to regular festivals, Vilnius hosted “European Capital of Culture 2009” festival.

Recently academic music competitions became a popular genre for TV shows. Lithuanian National Radio and Television broadcasted “Triumfo arka” (the Arc of Triumph) competition of

academic singing and choir competition “Lietuvos balsai” (Lithuanian Voices). TV3 broadcasted competition of choirs, established for the show in different cities “Chorų karai” (Wars of Choirs).

Music in Vilnius is thought in National Mikalojus Konstantinas Ciurlionis Art's School, Lithuanian Children Youth Centre, 9 additional training musical schools (or art, containing musical section) and 17 cultural Youth and children centres.

In addition to classical and academic music, Lithuanian and ethnic minorities ethnographic and folklore music, provided by cultural centres, there are cultural centres providing Scandinavian, Italian, French and other European music events.

Most of universities and general education schools have their choirs, ensembles, folk groups, theatres. Their usual activities include preparation for competitions for participating in Lithuanian Song festival. The schools selected for the research is not exception.

In Vilnius there are held few music competitions for youth and amateur rock groups.

6.4 Methods used and responses

There are data from 118 respondents in the database (54 from on-line interviews and 64 questionnaire interviews). In the database are not included grandparents' questionnaires, filled by another parent, parents' questionnaires, filled by another grandparent, questionnaires, filled by sisters etc.

Table 3. Institutionalised belonging to ethnic community.

School	Generations			Full three generations data
	Children	Parents	Grandparents	
Polish school	54	38	26	26

16 people participated in qualitative 2 group interview researches:

- 11 – Polish schoolchildren,
- 5 – Polish three generations

On-line interviews

Field work started on March 19th 2010 with the online interviewing. Schoolchildren from Vilnius Jonas Paulius II Basic School (class 4a and 4b) were interviewed on March 20th. After low return of parents' and grandparents' questionnaires interviewing was resumed on April 21st in Vilnius Jonas Paulius II Basic School (class 4c). The website for the on-line interviews was provided by Oxford XXI (www.oxford-xxi.org/pl). The online interviewing was coordinated by Tom Houston, Arvydas Virgilijus Matulionis and Viktorija Žilinskaitė.

Parents/grandparents interviews

The children upon finishing filling out their e-questionnaire were given a parent and a grandparent questionnaire, Interviewing Guidelines for schoolchildren, and were asked to interview them during the coming days. After completion the envelope were gathered by the teachers volunteers. Lithuanian Social Research Centre team collected them from teachers volunteers. Using the identification codes the three components of the 3G project were merged.

Focus groups

2 focus group took place in Vilnius Jonas Paulius II Basic School:

- all children focus group (May 28th, 2010)
- 3 three generations families focus group (May 28th, 2010).

All children (aged 9-11) Focus Group was moderated by:

- Arvydas Virgilijus Matulionis (sociologist),
- Viktorija Žilinskaitė (sociologist),
- Rūta Sližytė (musicologist, music teacher from Vilnius Karoliniškės Music School).

3 three generations families focus group was moderated by:

- Arvydas Virgilijus Matulionis (sociologist),
- Lyudmila Nurse (sociologist),
- Viktorija Žilinskaitė (sociologist),
- Daiva Leipuvienė (musicologist, music teacher from Vilnius Ažuoliukas Music School).

The children parents and grandparents were happy to sing during sessions. After the focus groups, participants were given presents and thanked for their participation, which they enjoyed.

Data base

The data base comprises the following elements:

- On-line interview results in MS Excel format.
- Questionnaires (semi-structured) for parents and grandparents – SPSS (in SAV format) files.
- Focus group transcripts (6) in Lithuanian and Russian (with excerpts in Polish) and translated into English.
- Video files of focus groups.
- Scores of the songs sung at the focus groups. The musical scores of the songs sung during the focus groups were produced by Rūta Sližytė, music teacher Vilnius Karoliniškės Music School.

The data base is described in the section 6 “Results”, pp. 12.

6.5 Quality assurance

Lyudmila Nurse visited Vilnius on May 25th–29th and took the opportunity to review the area where the focus groups took place, participate in three Focus groups and to speak to some of the participants in the focus groups.

Planning and arrangements on the day

The focus groups were well planned and organised through communication with teachers volunteers before the focus groups took place. Resistance from few teachers and an administration member in Polish school was felt.

The venue

The venue was carefully selected and was suitable for focus groups (class rooms equipped with camera). Participants were familiar with the venue and seemed relaxed. Drinks and snacks were provided by Lithuanian Social Research Centre during the focus groups. Participants were also given presents (CD records of classical music) by Lithuanian Social Research Centre.

Stickers from the ENRI-East team were also added to the list of presents.

Moderators

Prof. habil. dr. Arvydas Virgilijus Matulionis and dr. Viktorija Žilinskaitė, researchers from Lithuanian Social Research Centre, are well-trained and enthusiastic moderators with good communication skills. Rūta Sližytė and Daiva Leipuvienė – music teachers have very good communication skills to encourage people to talk about music in their life.

Feedback from the local teachers-volunteers

During the fieldwork Lithuanian Social Research Centre's team constantly communicated with teacher-volunteers (list in Table 4, page 9), who assisted with the organisation of the "Cultural Identities and Music" survey. The following points were raised:

- The children were happy to do online interviews.
- The warm-up exercise, story told about personal childhood memories about music by members of Lithuanian Social Research Centre's team, relaxed atmosphere and helped the respondents feel more comfortable and relaxed.
- The first question, which was about the first musical memory, turned out to be the most difficult.
- In general, the level of response to the study was very positive.

6.6 Results

Summary of the field work results

Field work dates: March 19th – May 28th 2010;

Type of interview	Place where were interviewed	Person in charge	Respondents	Number of interviewed	Response rate	Target group ⁴⁹	Type of data	Place of data	Quality assurance
On-line interviews	Vilnius	T. Houston (Ox-xxi), Arvydas Virgilijus Matulionis, Viktorija Žilinskaitė	School children	54	100% (70/70)	Polish	Excel data	Ox-XXI	Training session in Vilnius 30-04—01-05-2010 conducted by L. Nurse. T. Houston coordinated preparation for interviewing throughout the whole field work period.
Semi-structured questionnaires	Vilnius	Arvydas Virgilijus Matulionis, Viktorija Žilinskaitė	Parents	38		Polish	Questionnaires SPSS sav files	ISR ISR and Ox-XXI	Checked by Ox-XXI
			Grandparents	26		Polish	Questionnaires SPSS sav files	ISR ISR and Ox-XXI	Checked by Ox-XXI
Focus groups	Vilnius	Arvydas Virgilijus Matulionis, Viktorija Žilinskaitė	Children	11		School children from Polish school community	Video files Transcripts Translations of transcripts in English NVivo8 files	TARKI/ Ox-XXI TARKI and Ox-XXI TARKI and Ox-XXI Ox-XXI	Field visit by L. Nurse 26-29.05.2010
			Children Parents Grandparents	5		3G families from Polish school community			

⁴⁹ Quantity of children from Lithuanian, Polish and Russian schools in Vilnius.

The interviewed families

Most interviewed children from Polish school declared being of Polish nationality (85 %). 14 % of schoolchildren from Russian school declared being of Polish nationality. Polish is not mother tongue for all the children declaring Polish identity (only 77 % of them declared Polish as mother tongue). Even less of them speak Polish at home (speak only 58 %).

The first music heard by children from Polish school was Polish folksongs (16 %), religious music (13 %), Polish songs written for children (11 %) and Russian Pop (11 %). The place where the music was heard was mainly home (73 %) and playschool / kindergarten (26 %). The music was sung by parents or grandparents (31 %), on the radio (13 %) and TV (13 %). Most of them felt happy hearing it (75 %). Polish songs written for children are the favourite piece they listened to (15 %) or played/sung (26 %). The biggest part of them (24 %) would take Polish songs written for children to desert island. Folk dance is favourite for 31 % of children.

The first heard music by parents was lullabies (19 %) and Religious (11 %), heard at home (68 %), school (29 %) and Church or other place of worship (21 %). It was sung by parents or grandparents (42 %) or heard on TV (13 %). Their favourite piece they have listened to was Russian classical (11 %) or Polish pop (11 %). Their favourite piece they have sung was Polish folksong (16 %) or religious (11 %). To desert island they would take Polish pop (26 %), classical music (13 %), Polish folksongs (8 %), foreign pop (8 %) or religious music (8 %). Their favourite dance is classic (29 %), disco (13 %) and folk (11 %).

The first heard music by grandparents was lullabies (16 %), Polish folksong (13 %) and Religious (13 %), heard at home (52 %), Church or other place of worship (29 %) and school (16 %). It was sung by parents or grandparents (45 %), sung at church (16 %) or heard on the radio (13 %). Their favourite piece they have listened to was religious (10 %), Polish folksongs (10 %) or Polish songs written for children (10 %). Their favourite piece they have sung was Polish folksong (10 %) or religious (10 %). To desert island they would take religious music (13 %), Polish pop (10 %) or Polish folksong (10 %) Their favourite dance is classic (48 %) or folk (19 %).

During the focus group interview the greatest ethnic identity was Koliady (Polish Christmas songs).

7 CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Research conclusions

Poland is Lithuania's southwest neighbour and the two countries have had long history of cultural, political, economic relations. Vilnius is a town which historically has been important for both nations and its architecture, historical heritage illustrate the periods of the history of both nations. A number of widely known writers, poets, musicians were nurtured in the culture of both nations – Lithuanian and Polish – and both nations consider them as members of their national community.

The Population Census 2001 registered 234,989 Poles in Lithuania and this made 6.7 per cent of the total population (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:190-193). Historically the majority of Poles live in the Vilnius county (Statistics Lithuania 2002a:192).

The Polish minority could be described as an active and well mobilized ethnic group in Lithuania. The most influential Polish political party is The Electoral Action of Poles. It gains its biggest support in the districts which are inhabited mainly by the Polish minority.

The main issues that currently raise debates on the situation of Poles in Lithuania are questions related with the use of minority language in public signs and identity documents, and the situation of Polish schools in Lithuania.

7.1.1 ENRI-VIS results

The majority of the Lithuanian Poles (69.8 per cent) speak Polish most often at home. More than one tenth of the Polish respondents (11.7 per cent) indicated that they speak Polish and Lithuanian most often at home. According to the survey data, 4.9 per cent of the Poles speak Lithuanian most often at home. Also, 13.2 per cent of the Lithuanians Poles use other languages at home, among which Russian or Polish and Russian, Belarussian are most often mentioned.

Regarding closeness to different groups and regions, including local and European dimensions, the answers of the Lithuanian Poles indicate several tendencies. The majority of the Lithuanian Poles feel very close or rather close to the local environment as 89.3 per cent maintain their closeness to the settlement where they live, 83.1 per cent – to Lithuania and 80.8 per cent – to the Lithuanian Poles. The other dimensions of closeness received far more deliberate attention of the Lithuanian Poles as 42.9 per cent feel close to Poland (including the answers very close and rather close), with 55.2 per cent of those who do not feel close to Poland. Also, the majority of the Lithuanian Poles feel a big distance from the Baltic country region (79.1 per cent say they are 'rather not close' or 'not close at all'), Eastern Europe (78.8 per cent) and Europe (71.3 per cent).

While considering the concept of being truly Polish, the majority of the Lithuanian Poles tend to distinguish four the most important components: ability to speak Polish (94.6 per cent), the feeling being Polish (93.8 per cent), having Polish ancestry (90.6 per cent) and being Catholic (87.4 per cent). With regard to importance of the respect the political institutions and laws of Poland in defining a truly Pole, the opinions of the Lithuanian Poles tend to distribute rather evenly: 44.4 per cent maintain its importance and 49.4 per cent maintain that it is unimportant. A significant share of the Poles surveyed do not consider such factors as being have lived in Poland for most of one's life, having been born in Poland or being a citizen of Poland as significant factors for being a Polish as majority maintain that these are rather not important or not important at all (77.4 per cent, 75.5 per cent, and 72.5 per cent, correspondingly).

Most Lithuanian Poles are very proud or proud of being the Lithuanian Polish (85.6 per cent) and being Polish (83.2 per cent). While considering their proud of being Lithuanians, the Poles surveyed have dispersed opinions: nearly half of respondents (46.9 per cent) maintain that this question is not applicable to them, 6.8 per cent refused to answer this question. 25.1 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles are not proud at all or rather not proud being Lithuanian, while 16.7 per cent have an opposite positive attitudes. While considering their feelings towards being representatives of the Baltic country region, Eastern Europe or Europe, the respondents tend to have no clear opinion, however, they are rather proud of being European (48.7 per cent chose 'very proud', 'rather proud') and Baltic country region (47.7 per cent, correspondingly) than being Eastern European (37 per cent 'not proud at all or rather not proud').

The great majority of the Lithuanian Poles maintains that an opportunity to preserve Polish folk customs, traditions, culture (93.7 per cent), an opportunity to speak Polish in everyday life (87.8 per cent), an opportunity to have the Polish representatives in the parliament (80.1 per cent), an opportunity to read newspapers and magazines in Polish (77.9 per cent), an opportunity for their children to study the ethnic history and culture of Poles (76.8 per cent) and an opportunity for their children to get education in Polish (68.9 per cent) are of great importance.

The majority of Polish respondents admire the Lithuania's programs at most as they (64.7 per cent) watch them regularly / often. Half of respondents (54 per cent) watch the Poland's programs on regular basis, and 27 per cent watch programs prepared by the Lithuanian Poles. A quite different pattern could be observed in the practices of listening to the radio: more respondents use the sources produced by the Lithuanian Poles (42.5 per cent) than Lithuanian (37.3 per cent) or the Poland's radio programs (35.7 per cent). In case of the printed media, the greatest preference is given to the Lithuanian printed or electronic newspapers (34 per cent) and the printed media produced by the Lithuanian Poles (32.8 per cent). Only 22 per cent read Poland's printed media on regular basis. In case of internet, 30.2 per cent of the Lithuanian Poles browse the Lithuanian websites regularly, 17 per cent browse the Poland's sources on regular basis and 9.7 per cent use the internet content produced by the Lithuanian Poles.

Nearly half of respondents (46.8 per cent) maintain that there is some tension between Poles and Lithuanians in Lithuania, and 10.4 per cent – there is a lot of tension. However, 40.7 per cent maintains that there is no tension. Most part (41 per cent) of Poles surveyed thinks that there is some tension between Russians and Lithuanians, while nearly one fifth (19.3 per cent) have no opinion concerning this. Also, about one tenth (11.2 per cent) of Poles maintain that there is a lot of tension between Russians and Lithuanians.

According to the survey data, 13.2 per cent of Polish respondents indicated that in the past 12 months they have personally felt discriminated against or harassed in Lithuania on the basis of one or more of the following grounds: ethnic or national origin, gender, age or religion. (In total, 159 cases of experienced discrimination or harassment were reported in the survey data).

Among the grounds listed, ethnic or national origin was most frequently mentioned: 10.6 per cent of the Poles have felt discriminated against or harassed on the grounds of ethnic origin in the last 12 months. 5.1 per cent of respondents indicate experienced discrimination or harassment on the ground of age, 2.7 per cent – on gender. The cases of discrimination or harassment are more often indicated by women, respondents with the highest levels of education and at the moment unemployed persons.

Among the sectors of society, in which the respondents felt discriminated against or harassed because of their ethnicity in this period, the area of employment was most often mentioned. Of

the Poles who reported ethnic discrimination in the survey (N=87), 25 respondents indicated the case 'at work' and 33 specified 'when looking for a job', 26 – 'in the health care system', 21 – 'in shops', 18 – 'on the street', 15 – 'on public transportation'. The data prompts that one respondent has indicated experienced discrimination in several areas.

While analysing the data on social trust, most Lithuanian Poles tend to express their higher trust to different social groups than the institutions. The majority of the Poles surveyed trust the Lithuanian Poles (73.4 per cent, including answers 'trust them completely', 'rather trust them'), Poles (69.5 per cent), people in general (67.7 per cent) and Lithuanians (60.8 per cent).

Regarding the different institutions, most Lithuanian Poles tend to distrust them. The Lithuanian Parliament and the Lithuanian Government are the most distrusted institutions: correspondingly, 84.9 and 77.3 per cent of respondents indicate that they rather do not trust them or do not trust them at all. Majority of Poles do not trust the courts in Lithuania (60.3 per cent), Lithuanian media (59.4 per cent) and the police in Lithuania (57.9 per cent).

While analysing the survey data on respondents' interest in politics, the Poles surveyed express their relatively high interest in all areas of politics as the majority is interested in politics of Lithuania – 61.8 per cent ('very interested' and 'rather interested') and politics about Poles living in Lithuania – 57.4 per cent. Concerning the politics in Poland, more Lithuanian Poles tend to express rather their limited or no interest (59.6 per cent) than interest (39.9 per cent).

Regarding the image of the EU, most of the respondents (36.4 per cent) maintain having a neutral image, while 27.9 per cent of the Poles surveyed have a very or fairly positive image, and 17.6 per cent – a fairly negative or very negative image. Nearly every sixth respondent (16.2 per cent) has no opinion with regard to the EU image. Although most of the Poles surveyed (44.8 per cent) think that Lithuania benefits a lot or rather benefits from being a member of the EU, 25.4 per cent of the sample maintains negative attitudes towards Lithuania's benefits from the EU (choosing the answers "rather does not benefit and does not benefit at all), also, a similar share (26.3 per cent) has no opinion concerning the benefits from being a member of the European Union.

7.1.2 ENRI-BIOG results

European identity

The relevance of European identity for informants is partly connected to their education level. For less educated people (secondary school and lower) European identity is quite irrelevant: they perceive European identity and European integration as the issue that does not concern their local life at all: this also is partly connected to strong regional identity and the involvement into local life.

The respondents with higher education demonstrate consciousness towards Europe and position of Lithuania in it, although Europeanness is understood as greater similarity of culture with other Europeans than with other cultures, rather than self-identity.

Unification term goes with term of living in peace together – it is needed with no doubt, but there are doubts named by informants regarding the possibility of living in peace together. On the other hand, European culture is seen as making bad influence on communication. Identity with Europe, dominating over other identities, was never expressed in the interview. In case identity with Europe was expressed, it was not confirmed as the main one.

National identity – relationship to the country of residence

Two specific features are characteristic for national/ethnic identity of Lithuanian Poles: the great importance of regional identity and of Catholicism. Some older people with lower education describe Catholicism as the main expression of their ethnicity during Soviet time.

For most of respondents belonging to Lithuania is on the second place after regional (Vilnius or Vilnius region) one. Lithuania is considered a “Native land” by most of respondents.

Lithuania is seen through family, kinship and friendship ties. Decisions to leave or to stay in Lithuania are analysed through people to understand that will be left in Lithuania, in distance one could not come immediately.

National identity – relationship to mother country

In all cases this belonging is weaker than to Lithuania – country of residence or to locality of residence. The relationship to Poland is more conceptualised by respondents with higher education level and mostly constructed through cultural/ ethnic belonging and through connections with people - relatives, friends living in Poland, also via the experience of communication with mother country. All the respondents prefer living in Lithuania over Poland.

The “card of Pole” – a document certifying belonging to Polish people that is distributed by some Polish organisations in regions that former belonged to Poland – is perceived as relict of former territorial claims and condemned as expression of disloyalty to Lithuania.

Although there are possibilities for students to get scholarship in Poland, one of the two interviewed students did not even try to search for it. The other student associates himself with Poland, he tried to enter university in Poland, but Poland is not place of residence of his visions.

Relationship to Poland is merely symbolic even the respondents that associate themselves with Poland, do not intend to change their living place to Poland.

Regional identity

As mentioned above, regional identity of Poles in Lithuania is a very strong one. Some of the respondents Vilnius and Vilnius region perceive as their homeland. For some of them only regional belonging matters.

Connection to the region and country they have born is considered as characteristic feature of Polish identity.

Belonging to Vilnius region is connected with belonging to locality – the village or city people live as well as to place they were born. It is constructed by many ways and using a lot of various resources: emotional ties to place, belonging to family and community networks, work and everyday life networks, parish life, regional cultural and religious traditions, family “roots”, etc. These different resources are revealed in the following interview fragments.

The relationship to Vilnius region is mostly constructed via traditions, feasts, while to locality (village, town) people live – via everyday life and social networks. Traditions are reconstructed after Soviet time even by younger people.

On the other hand, regional identity is not so strong for younger people.

The younger ones rather have understanding about regional identity of Polish inhabitants in Vilnius regions – mixed culture, but very special to Polish people, living in Poland or other countries.

Imagine Vilnius region as citadel of true Polishness. They think Polish language of Vilnius region is more true and correct than Polish language in Poland, especially Warsaw.

Regional identity for younger respondents is not separable from understanding of Lithuania. Although there are parts of Lithuania where there is very low proportion of Polish people, while talking about Lithuania they speak about Vilnius region, for older generations Lithuania and Vilnius region are different notions.

Civic participation and ethnic organization

The most popular way of civic participation is voting in elections, only some of them did not vote in a great part of elections. Most of them vote for ethnic parties or left wing parties (socialdemocrats, etc.).

Young people have different attitudes towards voting, starting from asking their parents or have feeling that Polish parties better know Polish problems, although they would not vote for Polish politicians just because they are Polish, if they are not competent enough.

Ethnic conflict and discrimination experiences

In general, absolute majority of respondents didn't experience discrimination or intolerance personally, in their everyday life, but many of them reflect issues that are represented as connected to discrimination in the political discourse of last years: the issue of the way of writing Polish surnames, using Polish language as subsidiary in the areas where Polish inhabitants predominate, the issues of language usage at schools (the law about teaching some subjects in Lithuanian language in minority language schools was being prepared in the period when interviews were conducted), etc. People notice and criticize intolerance on political level as coming into play from both – Lithuanian and Polish - sides. The education policy is criticized as not considering specific needs of national minorities. Typical fragments of interviews exemplify these tendencies.

The relicts of memory of interwar conflict concerning territories that in 1920-1939 belonged to Poland are criticised as conflict and irrelevant for present.

Ethnic conflict as hidden and shown through child's speech (indirect negative attitudes of child's parents) was told by respondent of middle age group.

Other respondents just have heard about it, but did not experience it themselves or seen such things directly.

7.1.3 ENRI-EXI results

Two experts from A category and one from B category were chosen for interviews on the Polish minority group. The Polish minority representatives raise a number of acute issues related with the Lithuanian ethnic policy, therefore it was decided to choose two representatives of the state (governmental) institutions/ organizations who participate in the formation of ethno-policy in Lithuania.

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

The other urgent issues are related with the secondary education and some amendments on the Law of Education. These amendments extend the use of Lithuanian language in the secondary schools with ethnic minority language. In March 2011 the Lithuanian Parliament adopted amendments on Law on Education according to which since the new academic year the number of lessons taught in Lithuanian language in elementary and secondary schools of national minorities is going to increase.

It should be mentioned that the main political party of the Polish ethnic group in Lithuania – The Electoral Action of Lithuanians' Poles. Currently this political party is the only political party that represents Polish minority in Lithuania and is supported mainly by the local Poles. Mr V. Tomaševski is the leader of this party. He was elected to the European Parliament and is very active in debating the Lithuanian Polish minority questions.

Interviewed experts think that the EU impact on the integration of ethnic groups in Lithuania has influence in a limited sense.

7.2 Practical recommendations

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

7.2.1 Recommendations for civil society organizations

It is of highest importance that civil society organizations seek for interethnic communication, promotion of communication between different ethnic groups, between titular nation and ethnic minorities.

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

The interviewed civil organization leaders mentioned such urgent questions as the use of Polish language in the public signs in the places populated densely by the Poles, the language of the inscription of the Polish surnames in the personal identity documents, and the new amendments to the Law of Education. Different parties should consult with the research data in developing their policies and strategies. The highest level of sensitivity and sensibility should be demonstrated in developing the laws that affect broad spectrum of population.

7.2.3 Suggestions for future research and follow-up studies

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

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9 ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Prof. Arvydas Matulionis is a leading sociologist in Lithuania, Elected member expert of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (1991) and director of the Lithuanian Social Research Centre (LSRC). He is actively involved in both research and academic activities. He is a professor and supervisor of doctoral research in a range of Lithuanian universities, including Vilnius University, Kaunas Technological University, Vytautas Magnus University. Prof. A. Matulionis leads the research on social stratification in the LSRC, and is also involved in coordination of projects on national identities. His expertise has been acknowledged by appointing him as an independent expert of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance. In 1993-1998, Prof. Matulionis served as an advisor to the President of Lithuanian Republic for education, science, culture and religion.

Vida Beresnevičiūtė is a sociologist, obtained her doctorate degree in sociology at Vilnius University and Institute for Social Research in 2005. Vida currently works as a senior researcher and head of the Institute of Ethnic Studies, Lithuanian Social Research Centre in Vilnius, Lithuania. Her main research interests include analysis of ethnic structure of society, social integration of ethnic groups and migrant groups, issues of discrimination. The areas of expertise cover issues of social inclusion, anti-discrimination and equal opportunities, monitoring and survey research activities. She is an author of the monograph *Dimensions of Social Integration of Ethnic Groups in the Contemporary Society of Lithuania* (2005).

Dr Tadas Leončikas was the head of the Center of Ethnic Studies at the Institute of Social Sciences in 2008-2009. He has worked in the area of sociology for more than 10 years and took part in developing studies of minorities, equal opportunities, and discrimination. His responsibilities also included coordination of the National Focal Point in Lithuania for the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency (Vienna).

Monika Frėjutė-Rakauskienė is a junior research fellow at the Lithuanian Social Research Center since October 2004. She is a doctor of Social Sciences in Sociology. In 2009 she defended PhD thesis “Manifestations of Ethnic Intolerance and Xenophobia in Lithuanian Press in the Framework of European Union Preventive Policies” at Vilnius University (Lithuania). She was awarded MA of Political sciences at Vytautas Magnus University (Kaunas, Lithuania), BA in history at Vilnius University (Lithuania). She participated at Lithuanian and international research programmes and projects. Her focus of interests includes political and civic participation of ethnic minorities, ethnic minority media in Lithuania, contemporary forms of racism, ethnic and racial prejudices that are manifested in mass media.

Kristina Šliavaitė has a PhD in social anthropology from Lund University, Sweden. She is a research fellow at the Institute of Ethnic Studies at the Lithuanian Social Research Centre.

Irena Šutinienė is a research fellow at Lithuanian Social Research Centre, department of Social Theory. Her main research topics are social memory, national identity, biographical research. She also worked for many years as a lecturer and researcher in Vilnius Pedagogical university and as a lecturer Vilnius university and has a background in qualitative research methods and sociology of education.

Viktorija Žilinskaitė is a research fellow at the Lithuanian Social Research Centre. Her research and publications mainly deal with sociological analysis of identity, its formation processes, social structure, culture and arts. Viktorija Žilinskaite has participated in various national and comparative international research projects in the sphere of cultural identity, having written publications

on a range of issues from “the EU membership impact on Lithuanian social structure”, to the “Influence of Internationally Active NGOs on Community Development”. Dr Zilinskaite has also presented at a myriad of international conferences, including the conference of the European Sociological Association and the international conference on Social and Cultural Challenges for National Security.

Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich is professor emeritus of political science. He has a background in empirical research, conflict and project management in Eastern Europe and the (Ex-) Soviet Union and is currently working as lecturer for empirical methodology at the School of Economics and Humanities in Lodz (Poland). He has a track record as policy advisor for international organisations and NGOs (UN, OSCE, GTZ).

Olga Alekseeva was a visiting research fellow at the CEASS-Center at the IHS-Vienna in 2010-2011. Olga graduated in German language and literature studies and pedagogics from Minsk State Linguistic University and obtained her Ph.D. in political science at the University of Vienna. Since 2003 her research topics include politics, law state and economy in transition in Eastern Europe (focus on Belarus) as well as democracy, civil society, and participation.