Master Thesis

The rights to live and work in city: Riga from 1918 until 1990

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Introduction

Aim of the research

As Latvia regained its independence in 1990, Riga suddenly became a primate city[1]- disproportionally big and most dominant. In 1990, it had a population of over 800,000 people, whereas the second- largest city Daugavpils had only around 110,000.[2] Riga functioned as a clear political, economical and social center.

It was not only the city itself which experienced dramatic change; it was also the Russian speaking population. First, Latvian became the only state language, with Russian being recognized at *no* level (state, regional, municipal) despite the fact that Russian was a mother tongue for about 40 percent of the population.[3] Second, Latvian citizenship was denied to all immigrants who came to Latvia during the Soviet time and to their descendants born in Latvia until 1992. Third, the new legislation directly affected the labor market[4] as Russian speakers' access to public sector jobs was impeded by the requirement to formally certify the knowledge of the State language.[5]

This thesis studies migration processes which took place in Latvia in the twentieth century, looking at the global, regional and local (country) context which influenced many of the processes and contributed to the "left over" situation in 1990 (till nowadays). The study is limited to the period from 1918 to 1990 and is organized as a chronological historical narrative to look under what conditions people settled in cities and how to explain differences among various ethnic groups of migrants. The aim of this paper is to study the migration to cities in Latvia with a particular focus on Riga city.

The main research question is: What does the Latvian case add to the theoretical typology of rural-urban migration? The sub-questions are: How and why did the citizenship models change over time?

In order to answer that main research question and sub-questions some more questions have to be addressed. How were migration trends linked to particular political circumstances and influenced by regional and global developments? What rights and

[1] *Encyclopedia of Urban studies,* Hutchinson R., (eds), (Sage 2010) 1068.
[2] *Latvijas vestures atlants. No senajiem laikiem lidz musdienām* (Riga SIA "Karsu izdevniecība Jaņa seta" 2005) 88, 74.
[3] Ivlevs A., 'Are Ethnic Minorities More Likely to Emigrate? Evidence from Latvia', *The University of Nottingham, Research Paper* (2008/11) 19, 2, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/gep/documents/papers/2008/08-11.pdf (05 June 2013).
[4] Ivlevs. 'Are Ethnic Minorities, 3.
[5] Ibid., 2.

opportunities did urban migrants have once they had reached their destinations? What made Riga city so attractive to the migrants that it overtook other cities more than five times in means of size and population. What did Riga offer to its new inhabitants in terms of rights to access urban services? Was the migration free or forced for any political and/or economic reasons? [6] Were the urban migration patterns affected by the shift of political power as the country was an independent state in the 1920s and 1930s, then occupied by Nazi Germany (during World War II) and later by the Soviet Union for over 50 years.[7] What were the social structures in the city to regulate economic activities and to guarantee rights and privileges to the citizens? With the rights to the city is understood a claim to social, economic and political goods: housing, culture, work, and especially, the rights of all people to a space in the city.[8]

The study of Latvian history and urban migration cannot be understood without looking at the different population groups in particular the German Balts, the Russians and the Jews, and favorable or restrictive factors to access work, education, housing, and health care. This study seeks answers for multiple "Whys" in the context of different groups over time.

Theory

In order to answer that main research question and sub sub-questions and to examine and interpret the multi-layered migration-related processes in cities of Latvia and particular in Riga, the theoretical model of rural-urban migration was used (see Figure 1 below). The advantage of this typology is that it specifies the factors that do (or do not) influence migratory behavior. It helps to understand patterns, time and mode of migration and does not necessarily make a clear distinction between the citizenship models. It is not used as a static model, but helps to see under what conditions cities may move through the typology.[9] The typology identifies five different types of citizenship models in cities: full citizenship, ethno-national citizenship, external differential citizenship, internal differential citizenship and empty citizenship. It allows to analyze institutional services and individual choices of migrants in cities.

[6] World Health Organization, 'International Migration, Health and Human Rights' (Geneva 2003), 40, http://www.who.int/hhr/activities/en/FINAL-Migrants-English-June04.pdf (20 November, 2011).
[7] Snyder T., *The Reconstruction of Nations. Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999* (*Yale University Press* 2003) 367, 5.
[8] Encyclopedia of Urban studies, 667.
[9] Lucassen L., 'Population and Migration', in: Peter Clark (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013) 664-682, 665.

Figure 1: A global-historical typology of rural–urban migration settlement patterns.

Type	Access to urban services	Salience of ethnic ties	Strength of rural-urban links
1: The full citizen model	High (both internal and foreign)	Low, especially in the long run	Weak
2:The ethno-national model	Institutionally segregated along ethnic and religious lines	High, also in the long run	Weak
3: The external differential citizenship model	Exclusion of foreign (low skilled) migrants	High, especially among foreign migrants	Strong
4: The internal differential citizenship model	Exclusion of internal (rural) migrants	High, especially among internal migrants	Strong
5: The 'empty citizenship' model	Non applicable	High	Varies: depends on access/rights to resources in the countryside

Source: Lucassen L., 'Population and Migration', in: Peter Clark (ed.),_*The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013) 664-682, 665.

The *full citizenship model* is a form of citizenship whereby inhabitants of the city receive income support, poverty relief and where the labor market is regulated. Assimilation is the preferred mode for most urban migrants, which means that ethnicity fades after two or three generations. Migrants who were racially and/or culturally too different to assimilate were either not allowed to enter or, if already present (either as "native peoples" or as minorities) were partly excluded from citizenship.[10]

In *the ethno-national model,* settlement processes are shaped by ethno- and/or religious criteria. Citizenship is segmented based on nationalist and religious thinking. In such cases, we often find discrimination of national minorities, ethnic cleaning and even genocide. Ethno-nationalist structures (change of political regimes) have long-lasting

[10] Lucassen, 'Population and Migration', 666.

consequences for the settlement processes of migrants into cities,[11] especially those who are restricted for migration.

The external differential citizenship model makes a clear distinction between outsiders and insiders. Many autocratic, dictatorial or partially democratic states draw the line between insiders and outsiders, with nationality as the key criterion. Natives are treated as full citizens; non-natives are not. The result is a permanent condition of circularity (moving back and forth) and temporariness for labor migrants.[12]

The *internal differential citizenship model* describes a situation in which citizens have different rights depending on where they live, with the aim to restrict and control internal rural-urban migration. Rural migrants who settled in cities become either illegal or they are not automatically accepted in urban institutions such as hospitals and schools, etc.[13]

The empty citizenship model cities have very little to offer. They are either too poor or there are other reasons why they cannot provide inclusive citizenship to (mostly internal) migrants. In this model, ties with the country or region of origin as well as work, leisure and religion become very strong. The ongoing emotional and spiritual bonds with the country or region of provenance explain ethnic and kin networks that channel and regulate migration.[14]

Analyzing all these different models of citizenship, it is clear that there is a close link between urbanization levels and kin ties. We see a shift in migration patterns, depending on the type of citizenship model found in cities. The stronger the city, i.e. the more there are laws and regulations which are beneficial to newcomers, the more attractive it becomes to stay there permanently. The more services cities provide, the less there is a need to rely on kin or members of the same ethnic community.[15] Cities can offer institutional services in the fields of employment, benefits for the poor, housing and residential opportunities (like residency permit, space allocation in terms of minimum/maximum m^2 per person), education opportunities, and health care institutions.[16] Within the overall political and economical context, cities provide services

[11] Lucassen, 'Population and Migration', 666.
[12] Ibid., 666.
[13] Ibid., 667.
[14] Ibid., 667.
[15] Lucassen L., 'To move or not to move. A global overview of migration to the city since the 18th century' (Leiden University 2011) 1-30, 4. http://vkc.library.uu.nl/vkc/seh/research/Lists/Seminar%20Program/Attachments/71/Lucassen.pdf (15 December, 2011).
[16] Wand F., Zuo X., 'Inside China's Cities: Institutional Barriers and Opportunities for Urban Migrants', *The American Economic Review* Vol. 89, No. 2 (1999) 279-280, http://www.jstor.org/stable/117120 (10 December, 2011).

which rural areas do not.[17] The main idea of city planning was to make maximum use of limited space and workforce (with necessary expansion) to ensure overall availability of living space for all urban citizens with equal sharing.[18]

The city is generally regarded as a form of social organization which is probably the logical outcome of differentiation of labor and roles and responsibilities.[19] Urban society is generally characterized by hierarchical stratifications, related to prosperity and employment: wealthy enterprise owners are at the top, professionals in the public and private sectors occupy the next level, followed by workers with regular jobs, then by those struggling to find the work and finally the structurally unemployed. These groups can also be divided into those born or migrated to the city, as well into ethnic and religious groups.[20] Social background, class and social class-related ways in which people present themselves tend to affect the way they are treated by others.[21]

In social science literature, intermarriage is considered to be a major indicator of the social distance among groups and of social cohesion.[22] The existence of mixed marriages between members of different groups indicates that there may also be friendship and work relationships, and that the members of the groups consider each other to be social equals.[23] Intermarriages are also important "due to linkage not only to the individual but to the larger groups to which these individuals belong".[24] Similarly, in terms of migration, intermarriage is an important indicator of social cohesion of migrant communities. Newcomers who immigrated to marry compatriots generally reinforced the ethnic identity of the migrant community.[25]

To understand rural-urban migration patterns, it is important to look at the urbanization level of each particular city, ongoing settlement processes and migratory patterns and to link them to the civil and/or ethnic ties. What did cities in Latvia have to offer to their (new) inhabitants in terms of rights and services? [26] How did families change their strategies in view of the expansion of and improved access to schools and other public institutions? [27] When it came to housing, employment, education, army, etc, were people

[17] Armstrong W., McGee T.G., 'Theatres of Accumulation: Studies in Asian and Latin America Urbanization', *Methuen* (London, 1985).
[18] McNeill D., 'Planning with Implementation in View', *Third World Planning Review* 7:3 (1985) 205-218, 205.
[19] Robson B. T., 'The Urban Environment', *Geography* 60 (1975) 184-188, 184.
[20] Manning P., *Migration in World History* (Routledge 2005) 193, 170.
[21] Manning, *Migration in World History*, 170.
[22] Monden C., Smits J., 'Ethnic intermarriage in the times of social change: the case of Latvia', *Demography* 42 (2005) 323-345, 323.
[23] Giinduz-Hosgor A., Smits J., 'Intermarriage Between Turks and Kurds in Contemporary Turkey', *European Sociological Review* 18 (2002) *32.*
[24] Moch L. P., 'Networks among Bretons? The evidence for Paris, 1875–1925', *Continuity and Change* 18 (2003) 431–455, 440.
[25] Moch, 'Networks among Bretons', 440.
[26] Lucassen, 'To move or not', 4.
[27] Manning, 'Migration', 159.

structurally discriminated? These are the main questions, to be explored in the following chapters.[28]

The time period studied is from 1918 until 1990. The idea is to embed data on urban migration and services in the broader context of global and regional developments, as they may be the cause or consequence of settlement processes. Research follows the twentieth- century interwar period nation-state borders and people over almost seventy years. The main focus is on the city of Riga which was the capital city of Latvia in 1920s and 1930s, then transformed to the capital city of Ostland during the Second World War, and since then functioned as the capital of Soviet Latvia. To be able to clarify these transformations of one city during several decades it is important to look at the history of the World, Eastern Europe, and Soviet Union, as during the time period studied Latvia and Riga readjusted to shifting powers and witnessed social and economical change. People were exterminated, deported, resettled, and even moved without moving (change of powers and borders).[29] What all this meant for the city and how it impacted the population and urban migrants will be analyzed in the following chapters, looking at employment, education, housing and health care.

The described typology of rural-urban migration "A global-historical typology of rural–urban migration settlement patterns" (see Figure 1) is used as the basis for further research, clustering of data, analysis and main conclusions.

Sources of analysis and structure

In the research methodology, no clear distinction was made between quantitative (censuses, surveys, maps) and qualitative (case studies) analysis, - as both were important to understand the overall trends in the migration of population, specifics of urban migration[30] as well offered or refused urban services to one or another group. It is important to note that the choice for one or the other method of gathering data affects the way conclusions may be drawn. The aim of this thesis is to examine the scale, motives and character of urban migration which took place in the given time frame from 1918 until 1990, with particular interest on Latvia's capital city, Riga and its citizens.

[28] Manning, 'Migration',159.
[29] Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations,* 6.
[30] Smith D. A., 'Method and Theory in Comparative Urban Studies', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 32:1/2 (1991) 39-57, 42.

The analysis is organized theoretically along the three section of the study. In all three sections the same structure is applied. First, migration patterns, their causes and consequences as well policies, for example language policy and how it was influencing access to the labour market, and second, access to urban services like jobs, housing, education, and health care services. The first section covers the period from 1918 to 1940 and urban citizens' rights and access to services. The second section deals with the period from 1941 to 1944 and changes for urban dwellers and their rights. The third section explores the Soviet period from 1940/1944 to 1990, when new urban plans were introduced and the state controlled or tried to control all social, political and economical developments. Urban migration was limited to certain groups, but it can't be seen as the segregation along ethnic lines as circumstances were consequences from one or another political or economical decision. The conclusion of this paper reflects on rural-urban migration citizenship model(s), whether they changed over time and if so, why and how.

1 Independent state: 1918-1940

1.1 Populations and policies

1.1.1 Migration of populations

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been the era of nationhood when national anthems, governments and educational systems affirmed the homogenity of nations, each with its own state-controlled regulations.[31] From 1918 to 1920, Latvia and the two other Baltic States, Lithuania and Estonia, fought Bolshevik, White Russian armies as well German and Polish forces in defense of their independence.[32]

In 1918, the Baltic States embraced the idea of non-territorial cultural autonomy for national minorities, while attempting to create state borders which coincided with ethnic ones.[33] On 18 November 1918, Latvia became an independent state.[34] The establishment of such a state inaugurated a consolidation phase, at the beginning of which stood the return of many Latvians and the emigration of more Germans and many old established Russian families.[35] Between 1919 and 1922 the Baltic States carried out land reforms and introduced democratic constitutions. In August 1920, peace treaties were signed with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.[36]

Germans had immigrated to Latvia on a regular basis as early as the 16th/17th century. In the 19th century the reverse occurred: individuals started leaving, followed by entire groups. The German-Baltic knightly estates, along with groups of clergy and townsmen constituted the political, economic, social, and cultural elite, while the majority of Latvian peasants had no part in political leadership of the state.[37] Migration of Czarist Russian officials meanwhile remained limited.[38] Latvian exiles returned from Russia. The movement reached its peak in 1920 and 1921 when a devastating famine raved through Russia.[39] In five years, the total number of refugees reached 221,942. The influx of refugees was very large in proportion to the population of Latvia (184,000 refugees for

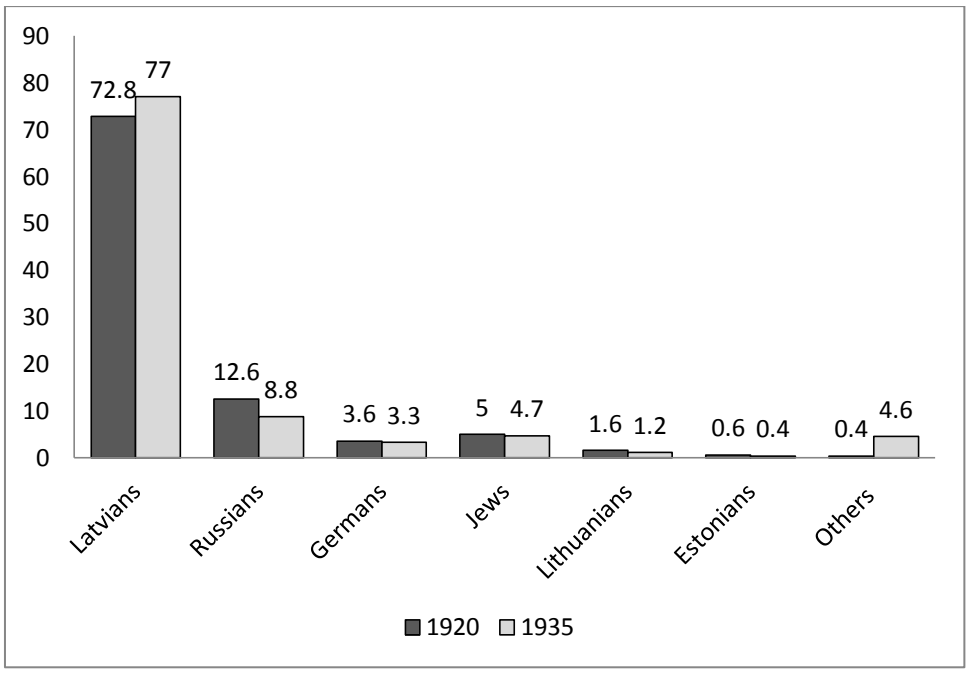
[31] Manning, 'Migration', 158.
[32] O'Connor C. K., 'The history of Baltic states. The Greenwood Histories of Modern States*', Greenwood Press* (2003) 229, XX- XXI.
[33] Hiden J., Smith D. J., 'Looking beyond the Nation State: A Baltic Vision for National Minorities between the Wars', *Journal of Contemporary History* 41 (2006) 387– 399.
[34] Russia, A History of Soviet Period, in: McClelan W., (ed), (University of Virginia1986) 41.
[35] Garleff M., 'The Baltic region: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania', in: Bade J.K., et al (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present (*Cambridge University Press 2011) 768, 133-142, 136.
[36] O'Connor, 'The history of Baltic states' XX- XXI.
[37] Ibid., 133.
[38] Ibid., 133.
[39] Cazeneuve H.J. *Organization of the Public Health services in Latvia* (League of Nations, Geneva 1925) 53, 42.

1,596, 131 inhabitants).[40] In the Baltic region, migration reached its height during and immediately after World War II. [41]

After gaining independence, Latvia granted citizenship to all those who had been living on Latvian territory before World War I, regardless of nationality or religion. This included foreign subjects and persons without nationality, as long as they had resided in Latvia for at least five consecutive years, as well foreigners who had served in the Latvian national army.[42] All citizens had equal rights. Minorities in Latvia were expected to be loyal to the new state, but were granted autonomy for education and culture.[43] In May 1934, President K. Ulmanis staged a bloodless coup. His authoritarian regime began to ignore the guaranteed autonomy rights of minorities.[44]

The population of the First Republic of Latvia was multi-ethnic [45] with Latvians constituting majority (over 72.8 percent) of the total of 1,571,000 population in 1920 and (77 percent) of the 1,905,373 population in 1935 as seen in Figure 2.[46]

Figure 2: Latvia population in 1920 and in 1935.

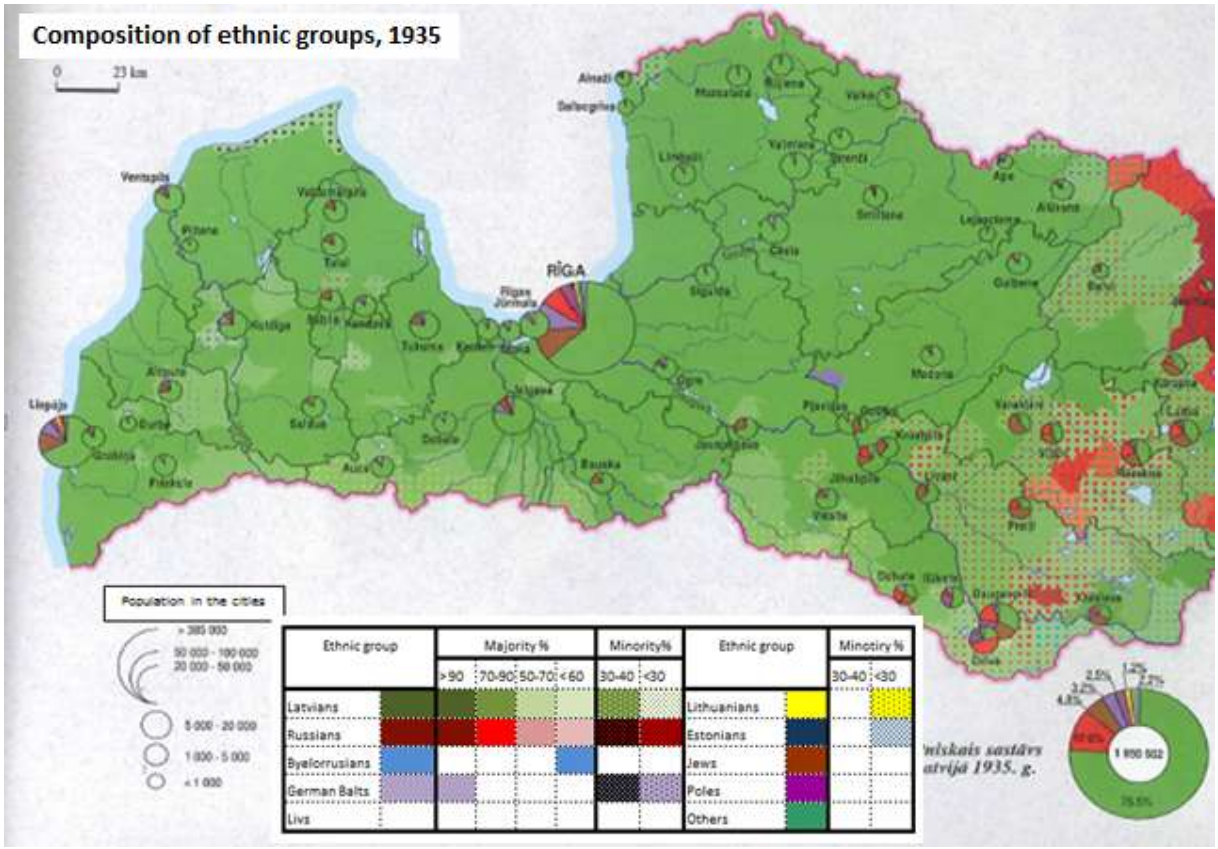


Source: Lazda M., 'Reconsidering Nationalism: The Baltic Case of Latvia in 1989', *International Journal Polit* Cult Soc 22 (2009) 518- 522.

[40] Cazeneuve, 'Organization of the Public Health', 42.
[41] Garleff M., 'The Baltic region', 133.
[42] Nationality Law of Latvia, (London 1927) 5.
[43] Goldmane, *Vesture pamatskolai*, 82.
[44] Lazda M., 'Reconsidering Nationalism: The Baltic Case of Latvia in 1989', *International Journal Polit Cult Soc* 22 (2009) 517–536, 518- 522; Zvidrins P., Vanovska I., *Latvieši: Statistiski Demogrāfiskais Portretējums* (Riga Zinatne 1992).
[45] Lazda, 'Reconsidering Nationalism', 518- 522.
[46] Ibid., 520; Goldmane, *Vesture pamatskolai*, 82.

As can be seen based on the data presented in Map 1, cities in Latvia were multi-ethnic whereas the countryside was mostly populated by Latvians, except a few Southeastern parts of the country, where Russians and Byelorussians dominated. The highest density of population was in the same Southeastern parts of the country as shown in Map 2.
It is also important to mention that already from 1897 there is the gender misbalance in Latvia society in general (not among the members of one or another ethnic group). For example there were 1211 women per 1000 man in 1920, and 1139 per 1000 man in 1935. [47] It can be can be explained by wars and inward and outward migrations.[48]

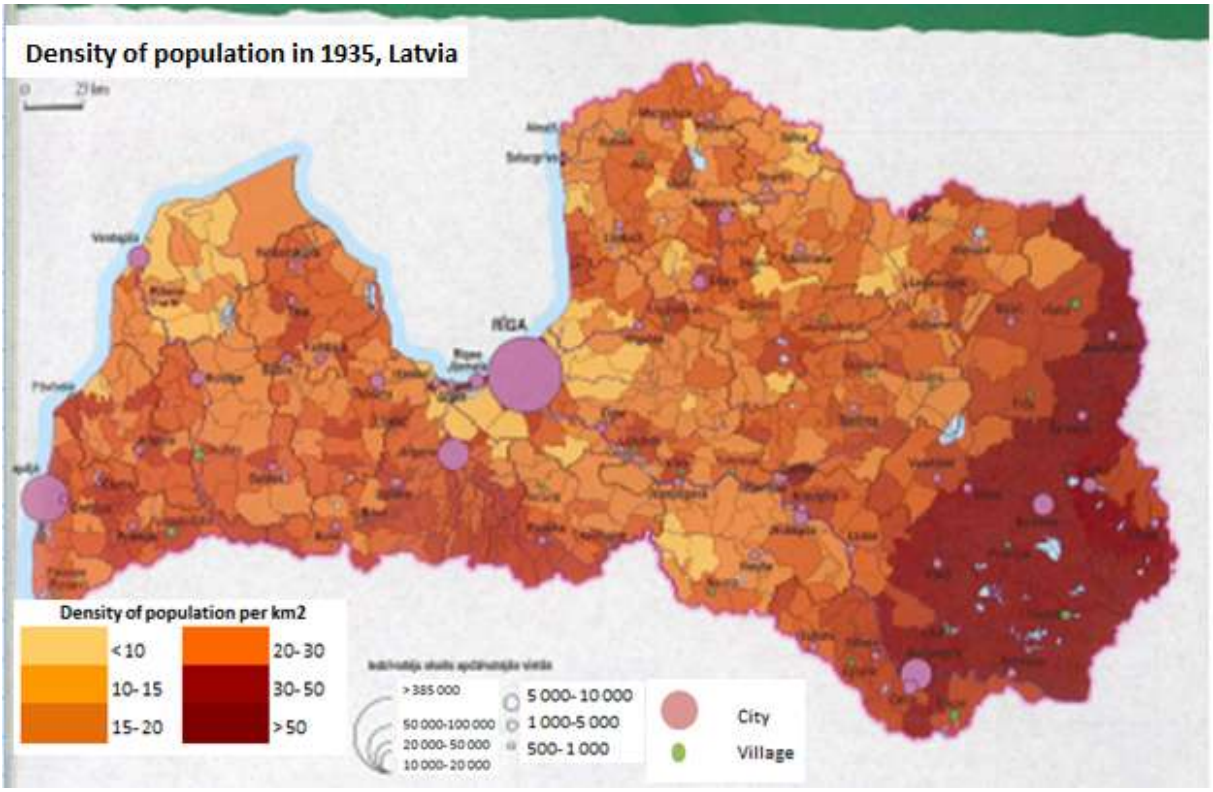
Map 1: Ethnic groups in Latvia in 1935.



Source: *Latvijas vēstures atlants. No senajiem laikiem līdz mūsdienām* (SIA "Karšu izdevniecība Jāņa sēta", 2005) 88, 58.

[47] CSB. Iedzivotaju dzimums un vecums. http://www.csb.gov.lv/statistikas-temas/iedzivotaji-dzimums-un-vecums-tema-32582.html (05 June 2013); Rislaki, *Maldinasana*, 90.
[48] CSB. Iedzivotaju dzimums un vecums.

Map 2: Density of population in 1935, Latvia.



Source: *Latvijas vēstures atlants. No senajiem laikiem līdz mūsdienām* (SIA "Karšu izdevniecība Jāņa sēta", 2005) 88, 43..

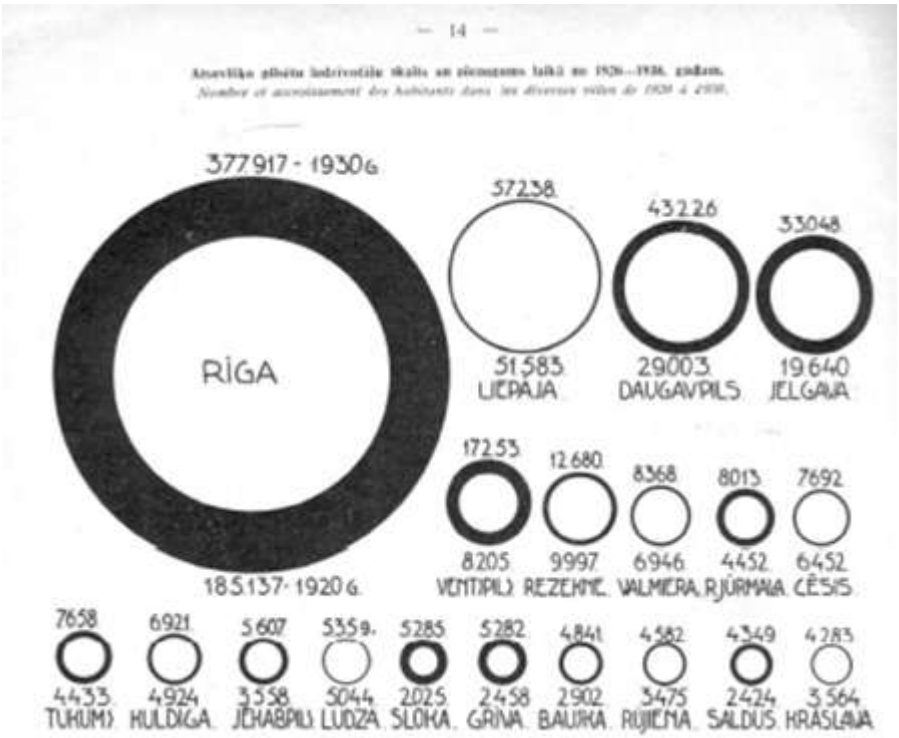
In the 1930s, Latvia was a highly developed country with a low unemployment rate, social guarantees, a rich cultural life and a high level of education.[49]

1.1.2 Urban migration

At the beginning of the 20th century, there were 20 cities with city rights in Latvia and nine of them with population over 5000.[50] After gaining independence the number of cities with more 5000 city dwellers increased to fifteen; the main ones were: Riga, Liepaja, Daugavpils, and Jelgava. All of them experienced growth in the ten year period from 1920 to 1930, but Riga surpassed them all; in 1920, Riga's population was 185,137. In the next 10 years, the city accommodated more than 190,000 additional inhabitants and doubled its surface area.

[49] Rislaki J., *Maldinasana: Latvijas gadíjums*, (Jumava 2007) 285, 181.
[50] CSB. Iedzivotaji pilsetas. http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/iedz_sk_pilsetas_garfiks.pdf (06 June 2013).

Figure 3: City growth in Latvia from 1920 until 1930.



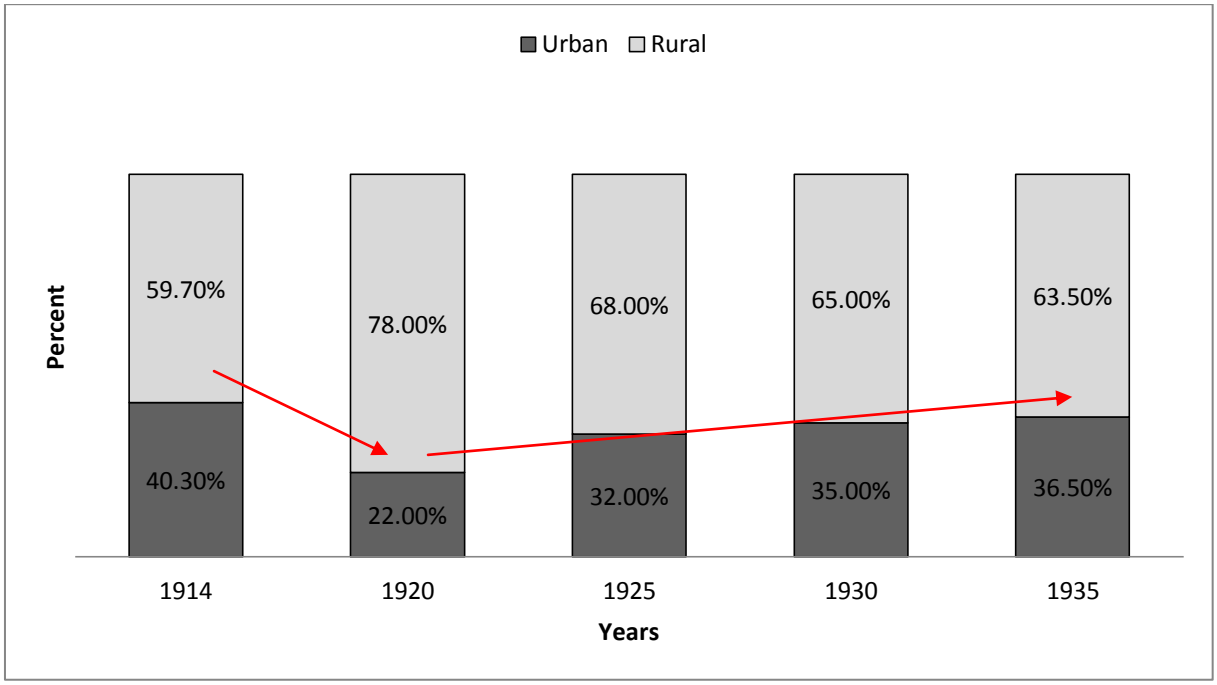
Source: Centralais statistikas birojs. Iedzivotaji pilsetas.
http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/iedz_sk_pilsetas_garfiks.pdf (02 June 2013).

In the 1930s, Riga hosted more than fifty percent or 377,917 urban dwellers out of a total urban population of 711,933. All the other cities (except Liepaja, a port) were below 50,000 and were quite small.

Prior to 1940, 65.4 percent of Latvia's population was rural. Rural production and export of goods were highly developed. The dominant type of settlement was separate individual farms (except in the eastern province of Latgale, - where the dominant settlement type was village). In 1935, 63.5 percent of the inhabitants lived in the countryside and 60 percent were engaged in rural activities (see Figure 4),[51] these data include also all those living also in cities with 500-1000 population as indicated in Map 2.

[51] Bilmanis A., *Latvia as an Independent State* (Washington D.C. 1947) 405, 220; Latvijas v*estures atlants*, 62.

Figure 4: Urban-rural population from 1914 to 1935, Latvia (including cities with population 500-1000).

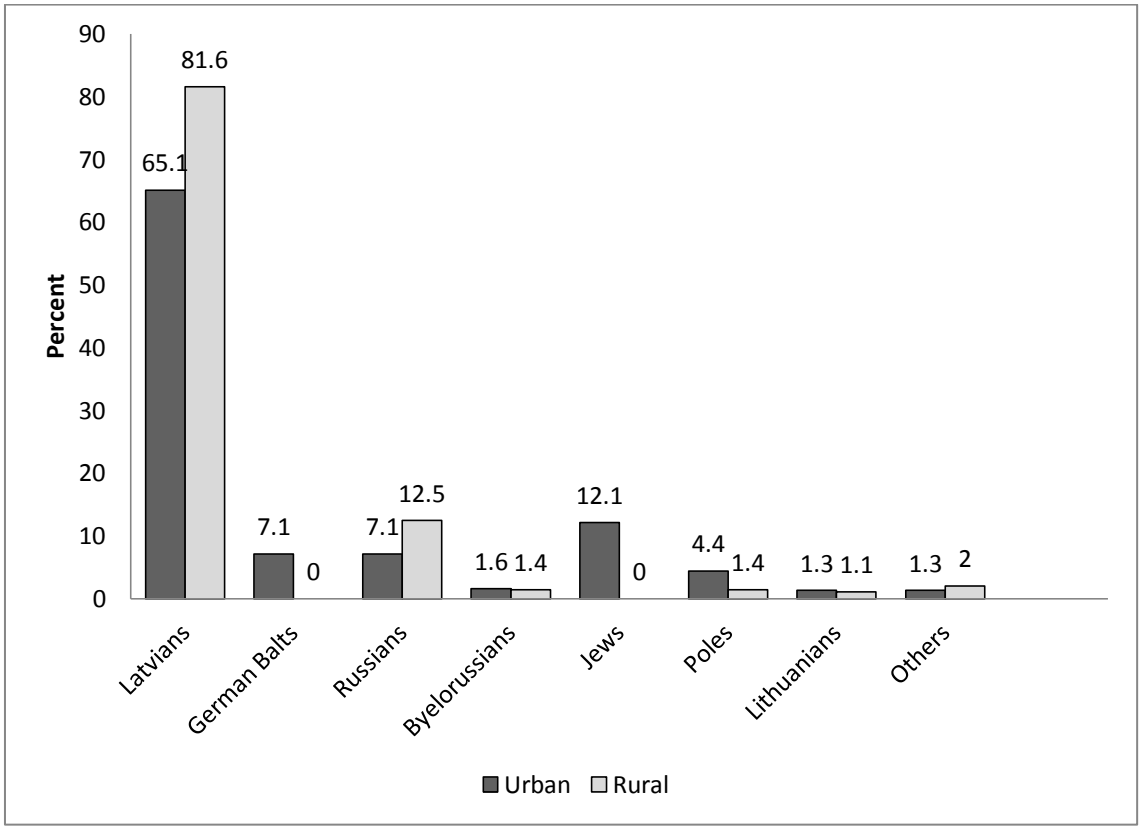


Source: *Latvijas vestures atlants. No senajiem laikiem lidz musdienam* (Riga SIA "Karsu izdevniecība Jaņa seta" 2005) 88, 62.

The decline of the urban population between 1914 and 1920 can be explained by the overall population loss during the First World War as well as the agrarian reform of 1918 to 1920, when citizens were granted the right to apply for land and many moved out of the cities. Riga still remained the city with the highest population rate, but Riga district was one of the less populated, as the best farmlands were found in the other parts of the country. Cities in Latvia have always been multi-ethnic, its main ethnic groups being Latvians, Germans, Russians and Jews. The multi-ethnicity of the population can be observed as early as the end of the nineteenth century up until the end of the period covered by this research and beyond. There were ethnic differences between rural and urban communities. What is striking is that in the 1930s, hardly any Germans or Jews were living in the countryside (see Figure 5). They were city dwellers, mostly involved in commerce and industry, and when they immigrated to Latvia, they headed straight for the cities. Poles and Lithuanians on the other hand, moved to the country side, especially in the 1930s, stimulated by the government policy of creating rural jobs.[52]

[52] CSB. Iedzivotaji. http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/12_atlass.pdf (01 June 2013).

Figure 5: Urban and rural population (%) by ethnic groups in Latvia, 1935.



Source: Centrālais statistikas birojs, Iedzivotaju etniskais sastavs. http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/9_atlass.pdf (05 June 2013).

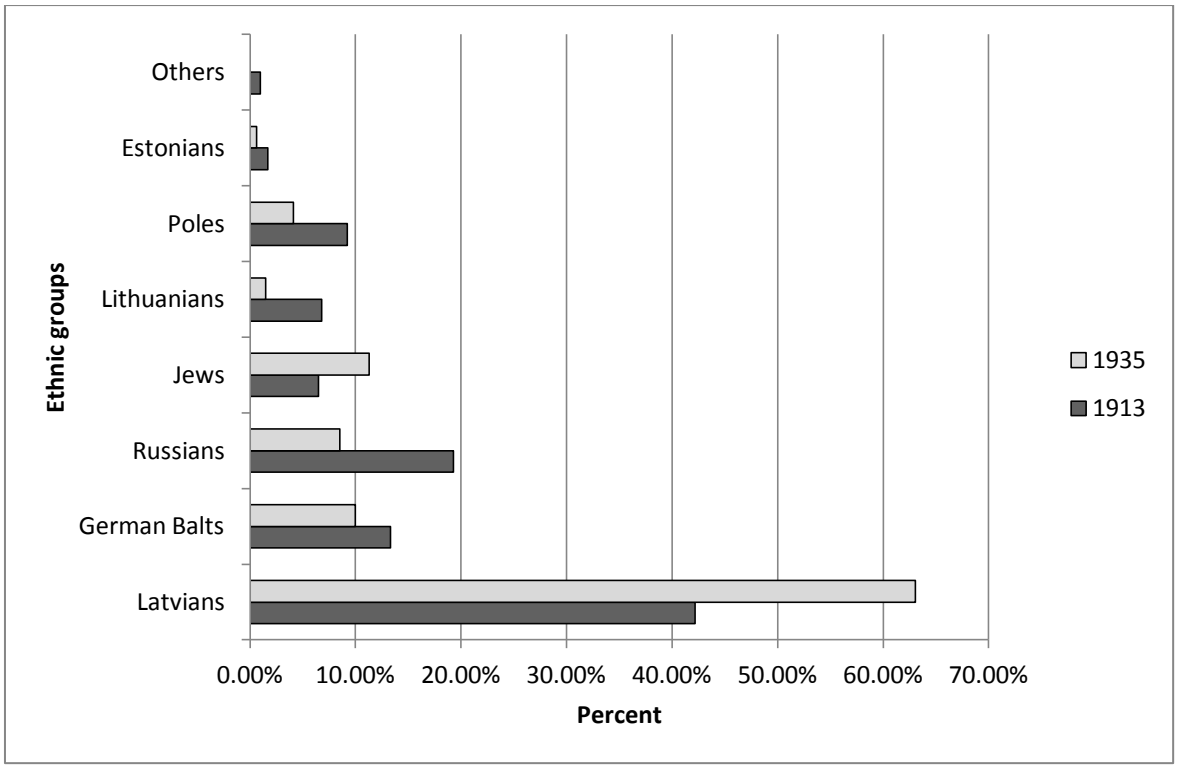
The large majority of the Latvian population and particularly ethnic Latvians were engaged in agricultural work and lived in the countryside, while Russians and, especially Jews, constituted the urban population. Agrarian reform took place until 1937. Land was granted to all Latvian citizens who did not already own land and who requested it.[53] Army veterans were given priority for smallholdings.[54] Reform had consequences for the national minorities: the large landowners of German Balts descent were dispossessed.[55]

At the end of the 1920s there was already a lack of rural workers in Latvia. Hence, annual migration to rural areas, mainly from Poland and Lithuania, continued from 1934 until 1938.[56] Every year, except the first year in 1934, around 45,000 people immigrated to the country to work as hired employees in smallholdings.[57] With the industrialization process of cities like Riga and Liepaja other ethnic groups like Russians, Poles and Lithuanians also grew, having migrated there because of occupational opportunities. Besides growing, Riga's population also slightly shifted as different

[53] Goldmane, *Vesture pamatskolai*, 68.
[54] Rouch G., *The Baltic States. Estonia. Latvia. Lithuania. The years of Independence 1917-1940* (London 1987) 265, 90.
[55] Garleff, 'The Baltic region', 133.
[56] Goldmane, *Vesture pamatskolai*, 68.
[57] Ibid., 74.

nationalities started living in the capital city. Specific groups of people decided to move to Riga due to services and rights offered by the city.

Figure 6: Riga city population by ethnic groups in 1913 and 1935.



Source: Bilmanis A., *Latvia as an Independent State* (Washington D.C. 1947) 405, 122.

Between 1913 and 1935, only two ethnic groups in Riga grew: Latvians from 42.2 percent to 63.04 percent and Jews from 6.5 percent to 11.3 percent. Latvians increased in numbers by approximately 30 percent and Jews by almost 50 percent (see Figure 6). This trend is explained in the following chapters which analyze data on education, health care and commerce.

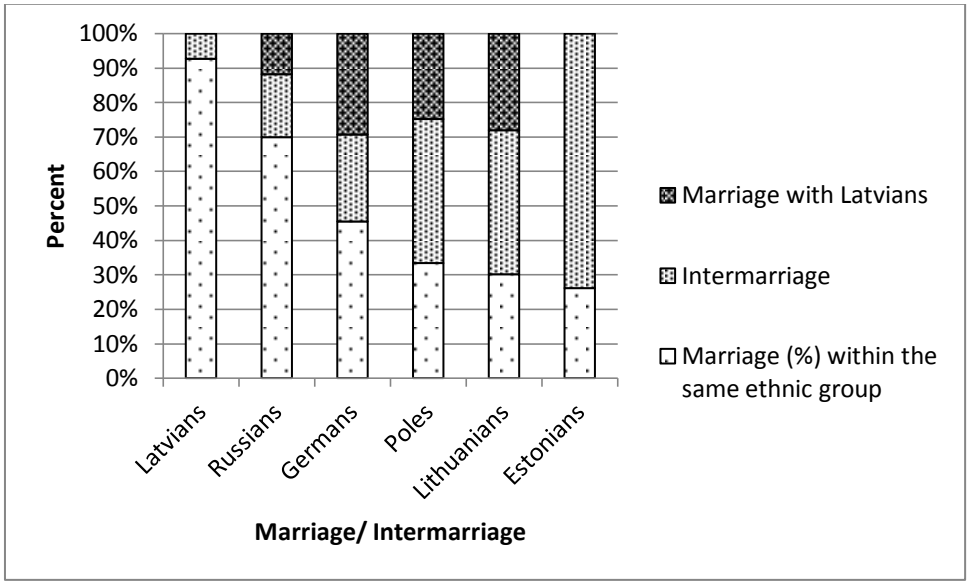
Inhabitants of small country towns were occupied in rural industries like mills, bakeries, fish and meat preserving to supply cities with food.[58] Other group represented the different farmer-artisans or craftsmen: tailors, blacksmiths, carpenters, potters etc. who also lived permanently in the countryside or in small country towns.[59] There was also administrative staff of dairies, rural enterprises, country doctors, pharmacists, school teachers and pastors who also owned farmlands. Together, they constituted a substantial country population which made a living off the land.[60] None of these groups were particularly interested in moving to large cities as their everyday needs and interests

[58] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 220.
[59] Ibid., 219, 116.
[60] Ibid., 219.

were covered by living in the countryside. The government took care of education and health care. Highly developed rural food production industry was one of the factors explaining low rural-urban migration. Over the years, urban population only increased slightly (see Figure 4) from 22 percent in 1920 up to 36.5 percent in 1935.[61]

Migration patterns in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century are linked to family structures. Families play a major role in society and are the core of the private sphere in which the individual has authority.[62] The nuclear family was the basic social unit. It kept contacts with wider kin in a variety of ways. Data on intermarriages between 1934 and 1936 shows, that Latvians had the lowest rate of intermarriage, followed by Russians and Germans. Over 50 percent of Poles and Lithuanians married partners of their own ethnic origins. Estonians had the overall highest intermarriage rate (see Figure 7). Latvians who intermarried chose mostly German partners, followed by Lithuanian and Polish partners.[63]

Figure 7: Intermarriages in Latvia from 1934 to 1936 among different ethnic groups.



Source: Cetralais statisktikas birojs. Laulibas. http://www.csb.gov.lv/statistikas-temas/iedzivotaji-noslegtas-un-skirtas-laulibas-tema-32584.html (05 June 2013).

Unfortunately no data are available for the Jewish community. The fact that Jews and Germans dominated in commerce and trade and that (in 1935) only 41.5 percent of staff were hired employees, 1.9 percent were apprentices and the rest were owners and family

[61] CSB. Iedzīvotāju dabiskā kustība. http://www.csb.gov.lv/statistikas-temas/iedzivotaji-dabiska-kustiba-tema-32585.html (05 November, 2012).
[62] Habermas, J., *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a Category of bourgeoisie society* (Massachusetts 1991) 30.
[63] CSB. Laulibas. http://www.csb.gov.lv/statistikas-temas/iedzivotaji-noslegtas-un-skirtas-laulibas-tema-32584.html (05 June 2013).

members [64] points to very strong family and kin ties. Even if Jewish people intermarried, they still relied mainly on family and kin for getting jobs.

1.1.3 Language policy

The choice of language and the question of whether minority languages should be maintained or discouraged depend on the ideology at the root of the political system. Deliberate use of the dominant language is a common and proven state-building tool.[65]

In 1918, Latvia became a democratic Republic. Its Constitution granted all citizens the full spectrum of rights and freedoms, regardless of ethnic origin, religion or gender.[66] Minorities were granted autonomy, freedom to use and teach their own language, practice their own culture and to run their own schools, which were state financed.[67] During the first years of independence, the Latvian Parliament (Saeima) operated in Latvian, Russian and German.[68] Use of mother tongue was permitted in all government and private institutions, especially in industry and commerce due to the majority of different minorities.[69] In 1918, Latvian was endorsed as the official Court language, but the use of minority languages was also permitted with translation services provided into Latvian.[70]

In 1934, when Ulmanis became president, a law was passed declaring that the state language was Latvian,[71] and that it should be used in all public spheres. Nevertheless education was still also available in various minority mother tongues.

1.2 Urban services

1.2.1 Labor market

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Latvia was part of Czarist Russia. Latvians constituted 1.5 percent of the total Russian population and produced 5.5 percent of the Russia's total industrial production: 17.7 percent of its chemical and rubber industry; 12.8 percent of its timber production and 9.9 percent of total Czarist Russian metal

[64] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 281; CSB. Tirdznieciba. http://www.csb.gov.lv/statistikas-temas/tirdznieciba-tema-32519.html (21 March 2013).
[65] Safran W., 'Language, Ideology, and State-Building: A Comparison of Policies in France, Israel, and the Soviet Union', *International Political Science Review* 13 (1992) 397-414, 398.
[66] Kurlovics G., Tomasuns A., *Latvijas vesture vidusskolai II* (Riga Zvaigzne ABC 2001) 402, 127.
[67] Rislaki, *Maldinasana,* 90.
[68] Kurlovics, *Latvijas vestrue vidusskolai*, 128.
[69] Ibid., 128.
[70] Bilmanis A., *Law and Courts in Latvia* (Washington D.C. 1946) 32.
[71] Rislaki, *Maldinasana*, 42.

production.[72] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Riga increased ten times in territory and 80 times in population in comparison with the eighteenth century.[73]

The early years of the twentieth century brought important changes to the social structure of Latvia. The growth of industry, the abolishment of compulsory guild membership for urban craftsmen and the introduction of the new law "granting every citizen the right to pursue a trade", caused an indigenous middle class to emerge, composed largely of businessmen and craftsmen.[74] Material requirements and the purchasing power of the peasant population increased, thus creating a larger home market for industrial goods.[75]

In 1913, before World War I, commerce and industry developed rapidly in Riga, making it the second most important industrial and port city in the Western part of Russia after St. Petersburg.[76] Thirty one percent of Riga's total population was factory and trade workers. The absolute number of industrial workers was 110,000. Riga and Liepaja harbors were the most important for Czarist Russia. They were responsible for 28 percent of the total annual exports of Czarist Russia.[77] Factory workers were mainly rural inhabitants of Vidzeme and Kurzeme. Many of them migrated also from other Czarist Russian provinces like Kauna, Vitebska and Pleskava.[78] During World War I, over 400 factories in Riga were dismantled and moved to the East. Riga lost 300,000 inhabitants due to these industrial evacuations.[79]

With its population displaced by World War I and much of its industry shipped to Russia,[80] the new nation faced enormous problems. The first years of independence were devoted to rebuilding whatever had been lost in the war. The structure of economic life demanded a strong realistic policy, "without expensive social experimentation".[81] Private property was the basic principle of the economy in the city and the country, in industries and trades. The state took over those parts of national economy which were deficient and could not be rebuilt by private local capital e.g. the railway network.[82] Instead of rebuilding former large industries, the government directed all its efforts towards sourcing local raw materials and stimulating local production. The country grew rapidly.

[72] Goldmane, *Latvijas vesture pamaskolai*, 12; Rislaki, *Maldinasana*, 180.
[73] Rigas vesture. https://www.riga.lv/LV/Channels/About_Riga/History_of_Riga/default.htm (accessed 12.05.2013)
[74] Rouch G., *The Baltic States. Estonia. Latvia. Lithuania. The years of Independence 1917-1940* (London 1987) 265, 9.
[75] Rouch, *The Baltic States*, 10.
[76] Rislaki, Maldinasana, 180.
[77] Ibid., 181.
[78] Goldmane, *Latvijas vesture pamatskolai*, 12.
[79] Rislaki, Maldinasana, 181.
[80] Goldmane*, Latvijas Vesture pamatskolai,* 77.
[81] Bilmanis, *Latvia,* 217.
[82] Ibid., 217.

Land was redistributed to the peasants and by the 1930s, Latvia has one of the highest standards of living in Europe.[83] The largest employer of urban labor was the metal goods industry, which employed 18,500 workers. Next was the woodworking industry with 18,400 workers, followed by the food-producing industry with 17,600 employees, and the textile industry, employing 17,000 workers.[84] In 1920, Latvia had 1430 industrial enterprises and 61,000 industrial workers. By 1937, these numbers had increased to 5700 enterprises with 205,000 workers.[85]

In Latvia both imports and exports rose steadily up to 1929.[86] At the end of 1920s, due to the world economic crisis, many factories went bankrupt.[87] But in 1931 an upward trend reappeared and continued throughout the rest of the decade.[88] Industrial work attracted people to migrate to the cities. Living conditions and wages varied per city, per industry, and depended on education and gender as can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Salary scales in Latvian cities from 1938 to 1939.

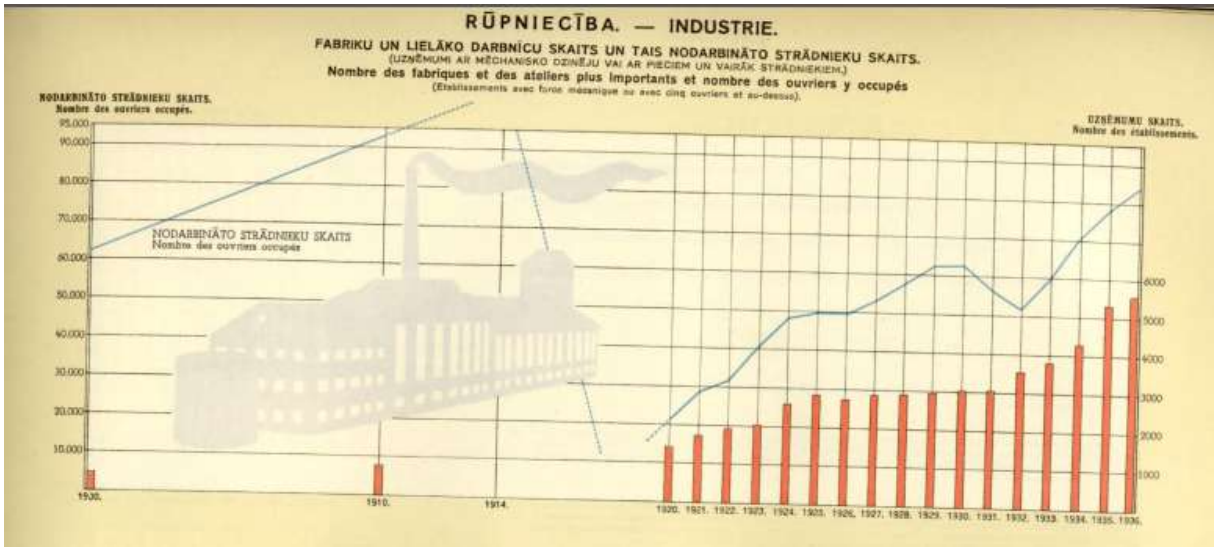
	Riga (Lats)	Other cities (Lats)
Teacher	126-538 (per month)	103-324 (per month)
Qualified worker (male)	5,85 (per hour)	5,10 (per hour)
Qualified worker (female)	3,60 (per hour)	2,40 (per hour)
Unqualified worker (male)	4,40 (per hour)	4,10 (per hour)
Unqualified worker (female)	2,80 (per hour)	2,15 (per hour)

Source: Goldmane S., Klisane J., *Vesture pamatskolai. Latvija 20. gadsimta* (Zvaigzne ABC, Riga 2010) 1-176, 77.

The data from Table 1 shows that workers in Riga received higher salaries. Hence, it may be seen as the pull factor for many urban dwellers to migrate, particularly to the capital city as main industries were located in Riga for historical reasons, geographic location and port facilities. Figure 8 demonstrates that industry as well as industrial workers grew in absolute numbers with a slight drop between 1930 and 1932.

[83] Goldmane*, Latvijas Vesture pamatskolai,* 77.
[84] Rouch, *The Baltic States*, 125.
[85] Ibid., 125.
[86] Ibid., 126.
[87] Goldmane*, Latvijas Vesture pamatskolai,* 66,
[88] Rouch, *The Baltic States*, 126.

Figure 8: Industry in Latvia till 1936.



Source: Centralais statistikas birojs. Rupnieciba. http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/nodarbinatie.pdf (02 June 2103).

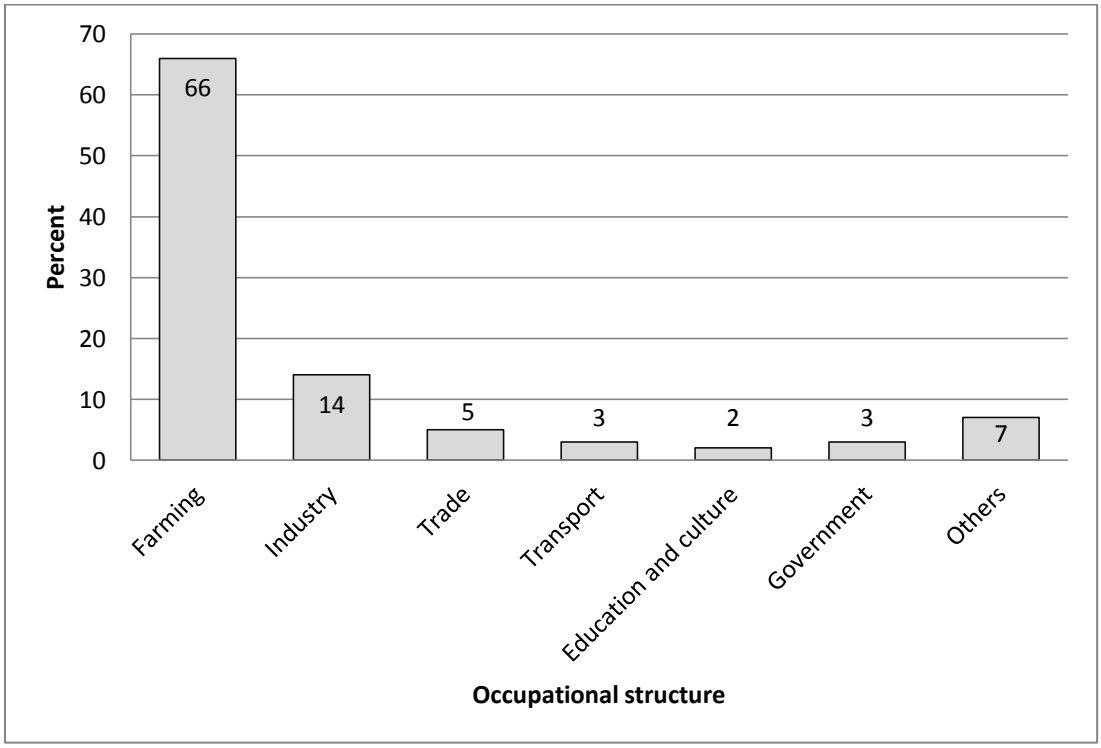
Urban unemployment which first appeared in 1923/1924 was almost eradicated by 1938.[89] Workers were protected by up-to-date legislation. Among other things they had a guaranteed eight-hour working day and were entitled to elect their own representatives. The unions, which were independent from the government, were extremely active. They launched not only socio-political initiatives, but also a number of ambitious educational programs for workers.[90]

In 1935, out of 1,950,502 Latvian inhabitants, 1,216,000 or 63 percent were gainfully employed. The rest were children under the age of 15 (482,500) and elderly people over 60 years of age (262,000).[91] Out of a population of two million in 1939, only 273,000 were workers (farmhands and industrial workers together.) The rest were farmers, fishermen, people employed in commerce, transportation and free professions.[92] The majority of Latvia's population (66 percent) was engaged in agriculture.[93]

The number of government officials in Latvia in 1935 made up 2 percent of the total population as is showed in the Figure 9. This included railways, postal services, police, forest and frontier guards and teachers. Both cities and rural municipalities acted quite independently in the area of their competencies.[94]

[89] Kurlovics, *Latvijas vesture vidusskolai,*182.
[90] Rouch, *The Baltic States*, 127.
[91] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 115.
[92] Ibid., 116.
[93] Ekis L., *Latvia: Economic Resources and Capacities* (Washington D.C., USA, 1943) 112, 12.
[94] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 89.

Figure 9: Occupational structure in 1939, Latvia.

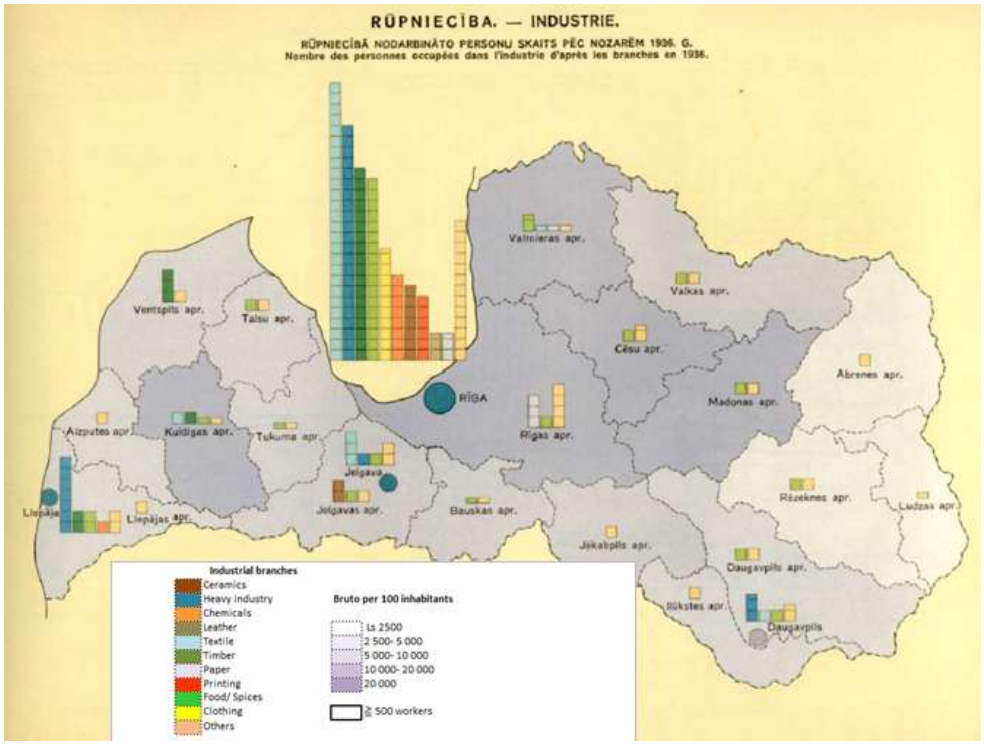


Source: Goldmane S., Klisane J., *Vesture pamatskolai. Latvija 20. gadsimta* (Zvaigzne ABC, Riga 2010) 1-176, 74.

Most of the industrial enterprises were located in Riga (see Map 3). Riga also had the greatest variety of industries. Among products exported by Riga were flax, linseed, butter, bacon, gypsum and paper. Riga was a busy export and import station for goods like coal, salt, herring, fruit, cotton and machinery. Important industries were located near and around Riga, such as rubber, textile, cement, saw-mills, pulp and paper mills, ceramics, chemicals, fish canning and others. The Riga harbor was subdivided in several special harbors and sections.[95] This made Riga especially attractive for urban migrants and city dwellers. It was the reason urban population in that particular city skyrocketed in an unprecedented way.

[95] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 293.

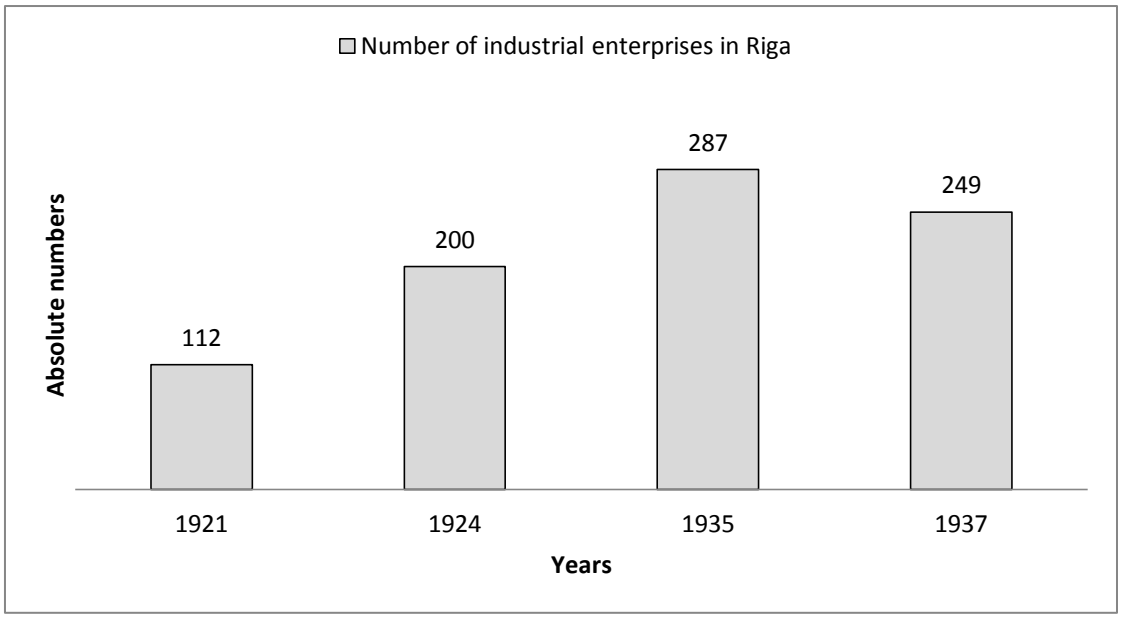
Map 3: Locations and types of industries in Latvia and Riga in 1936.



Source: Centralais statistikas birojs. Rupnieciba. http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/rupn_karte.pdf (23 March 2013).

From 1921 until 1937 the total number of enterprises in Riga almost tripled, with 112 enterprises (with more than 50 workers) in 1921 up to 349 in 1937. The explanation for this increase is two-fold: there was a demand for goods and there was an opportunity to start new business due to the legislation and presence of the workforce.

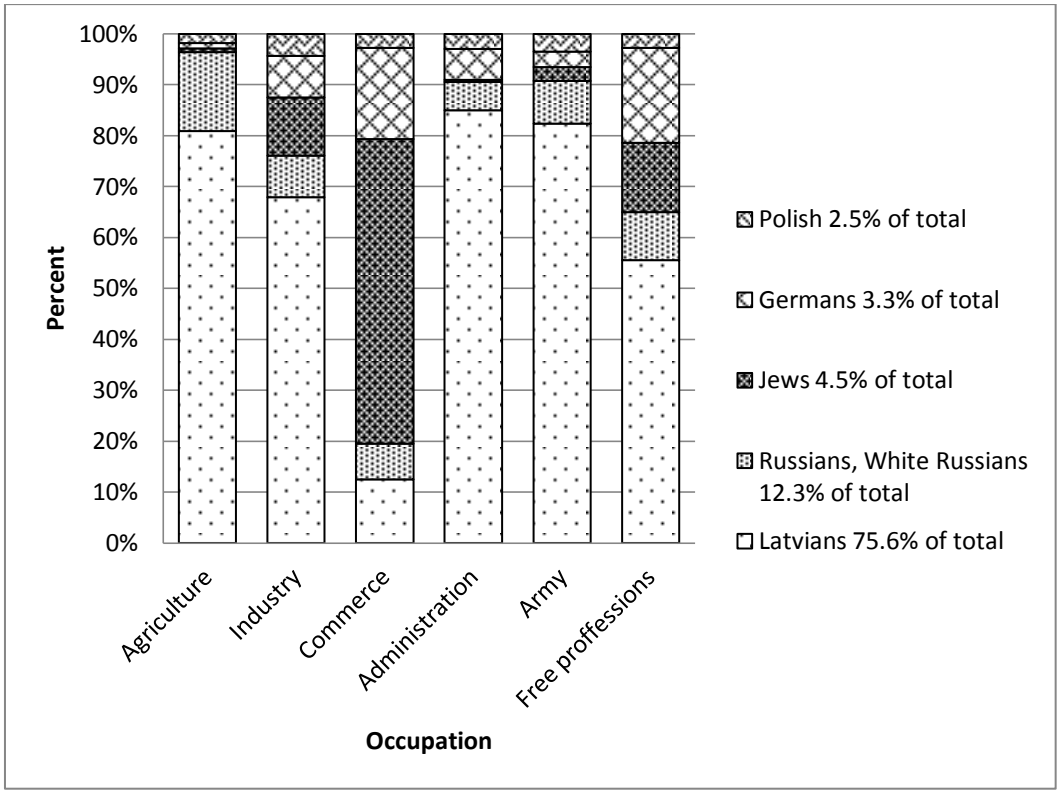
Figure 10: Number of industrial enterprises (with more than 50 workers) in Riga.



Source: Bilmanis A., *Latvia as an Independent State* (Washington D.C. 147) 405, 122.

With the growth of nationalism in the 1930s anti-Semitic tendencies began to appear.[96] All minorities were almost treated as equal citizens,[97] except for Jews, who from 1918 till 1934 in Latvia with no exception of Riga, were not allowed to work as policemen or clerks, however they were very successful entrepreneurs in trade and production (they owned one third of total enterprises of Riga, see Figure 11) , law, medicine and music.[98] The occupational distribution of the population basically did not vary from the pre-war time. Only difference was that the "landless were no longer forced to flock to the large industries". They were able to gain their land and work in agriculture.[99]

Figure 11: Occupational structure of ethnic groups in Latvia, 1928.



Source: Kurlovics G., Tomasuns A., *Latvijas vesture vidusskolai II* (Riga Zvaigzne ABC 2001) 402, 141.

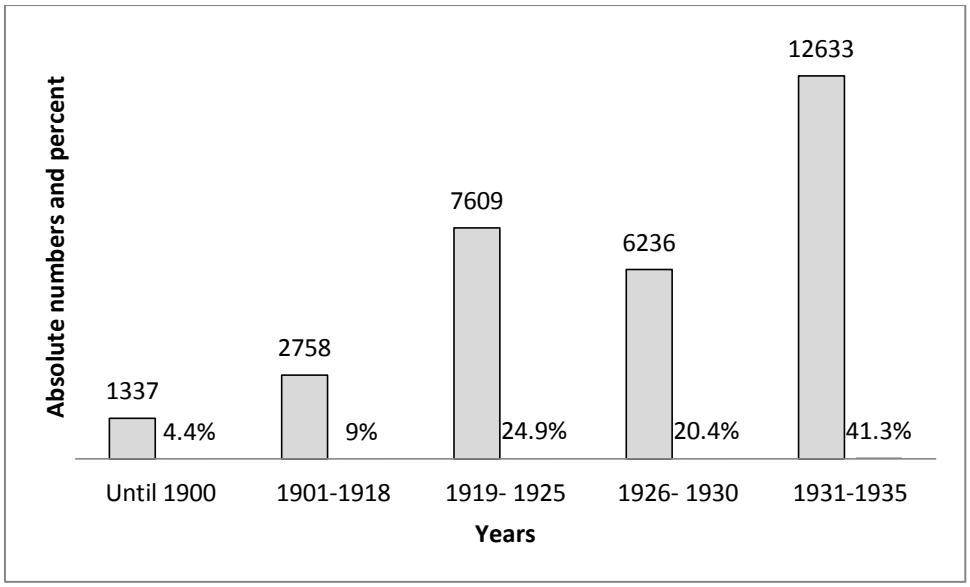
Latvians as being the majority of the total population were mostly involved in agriculture, administration and the army, least in commerce. Jews were mostly involved in commerce, industry and free professions and least in agriculture as they were mainly city dwellers and were hardly in the countryside. There are certain patterns of all minority groups in what kind of occupation they were involved and which groups migrated to cities and which stayed behind in the countryside for farming (see Figure11).

[96] Rouch, *The Baltic States*, 85.
[97] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 218.
[98] Rislaki, *Maldinasana*, 109.
[99] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 218.

After 1934, when Ulmanis became president, there was a change in overall policy in terms of power and control. The goal was "Latvia for ethnic Latvians". Ethnic Latvians were assigned top positions in economics, politics and army. Ethnicity became a prerequisite for upwards mobility.[100] Overall state policy was to reduce the Jewish, German and Russian influence in production and trade[101] and a number of these enterprises were nationalized by the government of Ulmanis.[102] In 1935 the situation was similar for Latvians, Jews, and German Balts. Difference was within rural population as Latvians, Russians, Poles and Lithuanians were occupied in agriculture almost equally as Poles and Lithuanians were migrating in 1930s especially as rural labor workforce. Their migration was state requested and regulated by the Chamber of Agriculture.[103]

The number of active enterprises founded in independent Latvia formed around 85 percent of all active trade enterprises in 1935, as until 1900 were founded 4.4 percent of them, from 1901 to 1918 9 percent, from 1919 to 1925 24.9 per cent, from 1926 to 1930 20.4 percent, with the highest percentage from 1931 to 1935, 41.4 percent.

Figure 12: Origin of Trade Enterprises until 1935, Latvia.



Source: Bilmanis A., *Latvia as an Independent State* (Washington D.C. 1947) 405, 280.

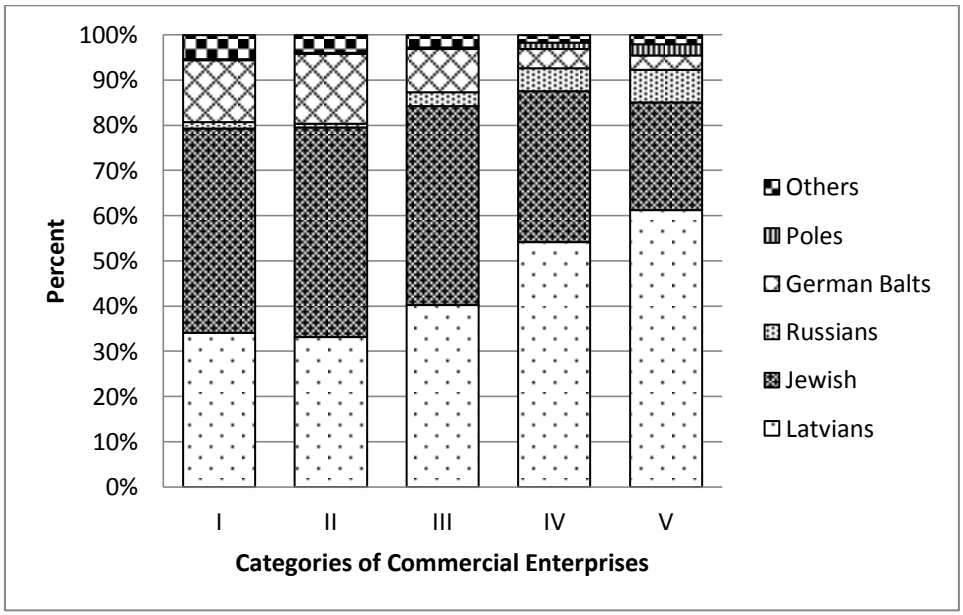
In 1935, commercial establishments, including trade, collectively employed 95,002 persons, of whom only 41.5 percent, or 39,407 individuals were hired employees, and 1.9 percent, or 1,822 individuals were apprentices. The rest were owners and their family members. Almost the same applied to trade enterprises, in which only 29.7 per cent of the personnel were hired employees (16,757) and 1.9 percent (1080) were apprentices,

[100] Rislaki, *Maldinasana*, 95.
[101] Ibid., 95.
[102] Ibid., 109.
[103] Goldmane*, Latvijas Vesture pamatskolai, 74.*

and the rest (38,513) were owners and their family members.[104] This shows that although industry was highly developed and the state offered good opportunities, kin and family ties were still strong and people tended to prefer working with people they knew. In the 1930s, over 50 percent of the total Latvian population owned a business or property: farmers, house owners in cities, factory owners, ship-owners etc.[105]

In the 19th century, commerce had been an activity engaged in by German Balts, and later by Jews who began to settle in Latvia.[106] Only after Latvia's independence did commerce become free to all classes and all minority groups.[107] Commercial enterprises were ranked by size. The largest enterprises belonged to the first and second categories, the middle and small enterprises to third, fourth and fifth categories.[108] Figure 13 shows that Latvians, though they represented 77.0 percent of the entire population, owned only 34 percent of the 554 larger enterprises belonging to category I and only 33 percent of the second category enterprises. The majority of Latvian commercial enterprises were concentrated in the cities.[109] In 1937 the Jewish people (who represented 4.54 percent of the total population), and German Balts (representing 2.96 percent) in total possessed 60.5 percent of all enterprises.[110]

Figure 13: Distribution of Categories of Commercial Enterprises (including trade) by ethnic groups, 1935.



Source: Bilmanis A., *Latvia as an Independent State* (Washington D.C. 1947) 405, 282.

[104] Bilmanis, *Latvia,* 281.
[105] Ibid., 219.
[106] Ibid., 279.
[107] Ibid., 279.
[108] Ibid., 282.
[109] Bilmanis, *Latvia,* 283.
[110] Ibid., 282.

After the coup in 1934 up until 1938, a total of six trade chambers were established to systematically organize the production and retail of goods.

Table 2: Trade Chambers in Latvia from 1934 to 1938.

Year	Chamber	Activities
1934	Chamber of Commerce	Responsible for production, trade, shipping, construction; to appoint the arbitration courts, to conduct expert examinations. It also had control over Sworn Weighers, Sworn Auditors[111]
1935	Chamber of Agriculture	Responsible for employment in agriculture, rural migrants
1935	Chamber of Crafts	Responsible for quality, also provided legal advise
1936	Chamber of Work	Responsible for workers social conditions, organized sports and culture clubs
1938	Chamber of Arts	Responsible for culture and arts
1938	Chamber of Professions	Acted like a trade union

Source: Bilmanis A., *Latvia as an Independent State* (Washington D.C. 1947) 405, 284.

Latvian merchants had their associations and clubs, which endeavored to become centers of social activities.[112]

The early years of the twentieth century brought important changes in Latvian social structure. The growth of industry caused an indigenous middle class to emerge, composed of businessman and craftsmen.[113] In line with economic processes there was a growth of a professional and managerial stratum which included teachers, employment service workers, government workers who exercised supervisory functions over the working class**.** Class itself was internally differentiated. As we saw earlier, salary scales differed for skilled and un-skilled workers, as they did for different cities and industries. This fundamentally explained the disparity in standards of living and educational opportunities (with the exception of primary education which was mandatory for all citizens regardless of ethnic group, religion or class).[114] For example, the majority of Latvia State University students came from the peasant class.[115] So-called upwards mobility was first and foremost possible through education. After 1934 there was a change in overall policy in terms of power and control. Ethnic Latvians were assigned top

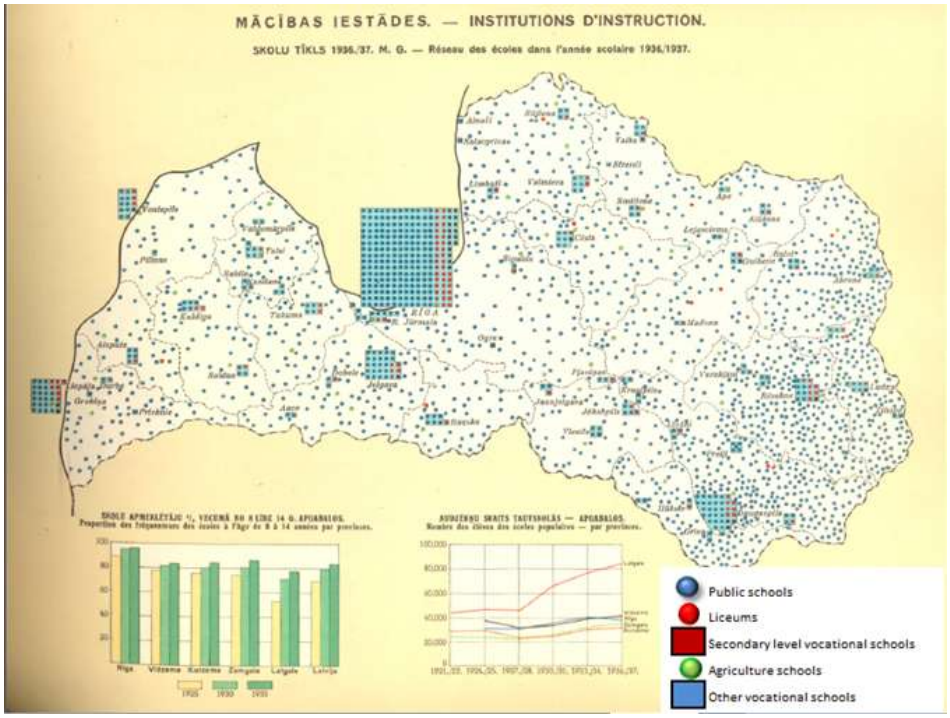
[111] Ibid., 284.
[112] Bilmanis, *Latvia,* 284.
[113] Rouch, *The Baltic States,* 9.
[114] Rislaki, Maldinasana, 91.
[115] Cazeneuve, *Organization of the Public Health,* 53.

economic, political and military positions. Ethnicity and mastering the Latvian language, rather than social class, became a prerequisite for upwards social mobility.[116]

1.2.2 Education

One of the first acts of the independent Latvian government was to organize high-level and efficient education.[117] Census data from 1935 showed that there were schools for the following minorities: Russian, Byelorussians, Jews, Germans, Poles, Lithuanians and Estonians mostly in Riga, but also in some other smaller cities throughout the country. Every child in Latvia was held by law to attend a parish or elementary school. Article 159 of the 1933 Latvian Penal Code made parents and guardians responsible for withholding school-age children from school.[118] The underlying principle of the Latvian school system was a single common educational basis in elementary school without any restrictions related to rank, nationality or religion. Everyone was free to pursue further education in line with his/her abilities and preferences. Material assistance was extended to gifted and ambitious pupils in poor circumstances, thus enabling them to attain the highest possible education.[119] A network of primary, secondary, vocations, agriculture, and other type of schools covered the entire country, ensuring that every family had access to education.

Map 4: School network in Latvia in 1936/1937.



[116] Rislaki, *Maldinasana*, 95.
[117] Bilmanis, *Latvia,* 181.
[118] Bilmanis, *Latvia,* 181.
[119] Ibid., 182.

Source: Centralais statistikas birojs. Izglitiba. http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/15.pdf (32 March 2013)

The financing of minority schools was allocated by the State and local municipalities.[120] Schools where the language of instruction was Latvian were open to children of all nationalities. For minorities, there were schools (minimum of 80 children) or classes (minimum of 30 children) where lessons were conducted in their own language.[121] Such schools were organized at both primary and secondary levels.

Table 3: Primary education schools in 1924 and 1937, Latvia.

	1924		1937	
School language	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
Latvian	n/a	n/a	1,506	186,931
German	79	9,474	71	6,114
Jewish	67	9,594	62	9,715
Polish	26	4,686	16	2,129
Lithuanian	10	949	11	531
Byelorussians	n/a	n/a	1	168
Russians	235	17,762	150	16,924
Estonian	7	265	4	114
Mixed schools	n/a	n/a	83	8,907

Source: Bilmanis A., *Latvia as an Independent State* (Washington D.C. 1947) 405, 191.

Table 4: High (Secondary) Schools in 1937, Latvia.

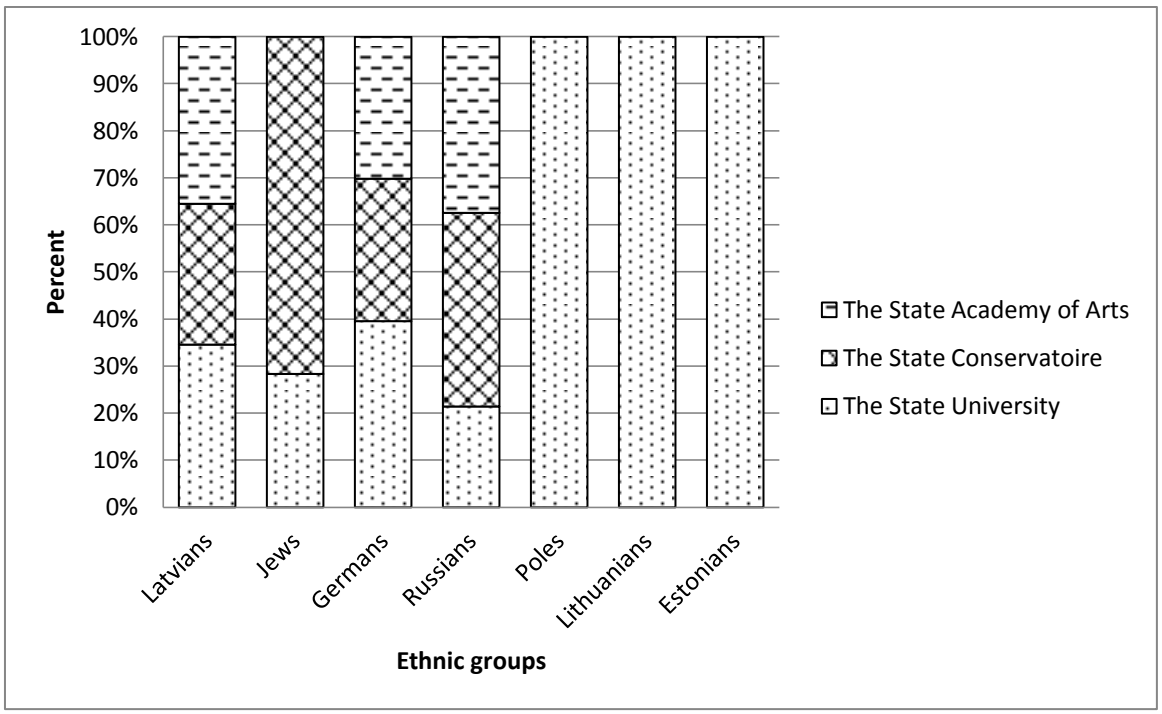
	1924		1937	
School language	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
Latvian	n/a	n/a	88	19,867
German	11	2,263	8	1,224
Jewish	15	1,746	11	1,625
Polish	3	288	2	179
Lithuanian	0	0	1	279
Byelorussians	n/a	n/a	0	0
Russians	25	3211	3	532
Estonian	0	0	0	0
Mixed schools	n/a	n/a	1	279

Source: Bilmanis A., *Latvia as an Independent State* (Washington D.C. 1947) 405, 191.

[120] Kurlovics, *Latvijas vesture vidusskolai,*129.
[121] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 184.

Parents were allowed to educate their children at home, yet this education was subject to government control.[122] The State University, The State Academy of the Arts and The State Conservatoire were all located in Riga. Later in 1936, The Academy of Agriculture was established in Jelgava. Those who were willing and capable of studying migrated to the cities, mostly to Riga. There were no quotas in the Latvian State University for national minorities or for the rural urban population.[123] It should be noted that there were certain groups of people like Poles, Lithuanians and Estonians who were not enrolled at The Academy of the Arts or the Conservatoire. A possible explanation is that they were mostly rural inhabitants and were involved in agriculture, therefore looking for education related to their lifestyle and future perspectives.

Figure 14: Attendance of Higher Educational Institutions by ethnic groups in 1937, Latvia.



Source: Bilmanis A., *Latvia as an Independent State* (Washington D.C. 1947) 405, 191.

During the years of independence, higher education was provided in three official languages: Latvian, which predominated, Russian and German. Students were required to master all three languages to enter university.[124] Not just for students who migrated to Riga for education, but for all urban migrants, housing became an issue, especially in Riga which grew in numbers and expanded very quickly. Apartments and houses for rent were needed to accommodate increasing numbers of urban migrants.

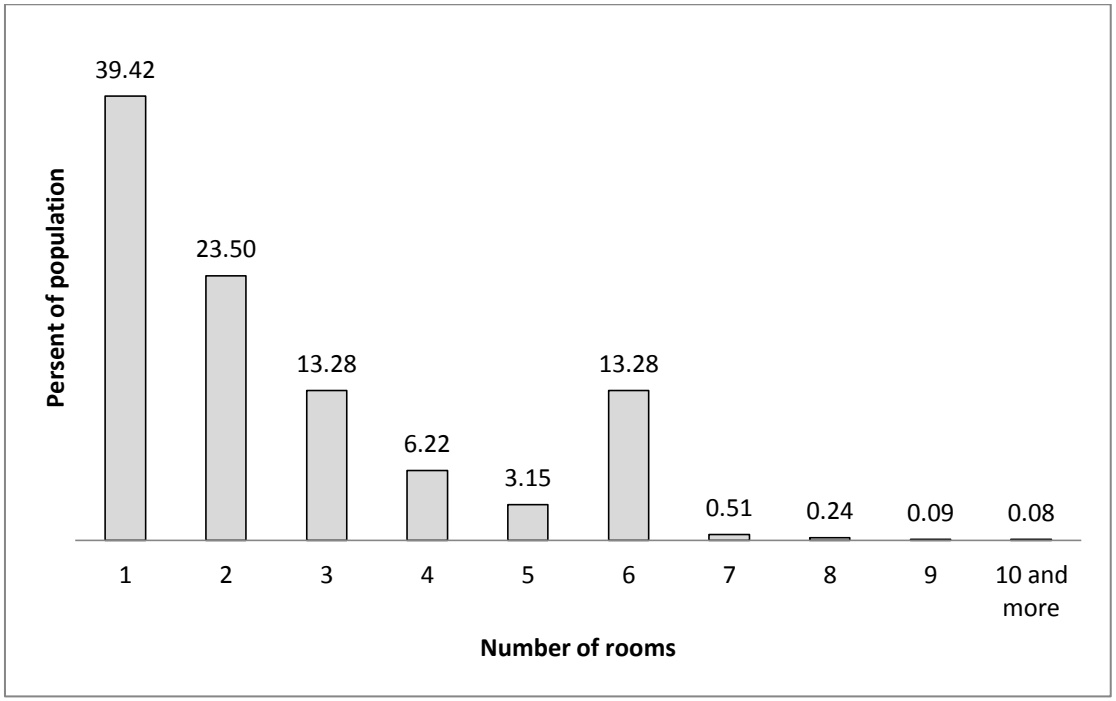
[122] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 185.
[123] Ibid., 182.
[124] Cazeneuve, *Organization of the Public Health,* 53.

1.2.3 Housing

In 1935, Latvia's cities occupied only 1.2 percent of the country's total surface area. [125] Municipalities began to build block-houses for workers, as well as one and two-family houses in the suburbs. In general, the living conditions in the cities systematically improved.[126] In 1935, cities housed a total of 694 000 inhabitants in 52 285 buildings, which had 208 861 apartments.[127]

77 percent of the apartments had one to three rooms, including the kitchen (see Figure 15). On average 2.92 persons lived in one room.[128] Indicators show that there were no restrictions for renting a room or apartment, as long the rent was paid. Living conditions were cramped and urban dwellers hardly enjoyed any privacy.

Figure 15: Number of rooms in the city apartments in 1935, Latvia.



Source: Bilmanis A., *Latvia as an Independent State* (Washington D.C. 1947) 405, 117.

Data of the 1935 census shows that in the cities, several thousands of new buildings arose to accommodate the urban population, the average number of new buildings per year being about 1,200.[129] Large industries were mostly located in the cities and

[125] Bilmanis, *Latvia,* 116.
[126] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 117.
[127] Ibid., 116.
[128] Ibid., 117.
[129] Ibid., 117.

particularly in Riga, where industrial workers had access to better living conditions and general medical care.

1.2.4 Health care

Improvement of public health was one of the concerns of the state administration and its urban and rural self-governing institutions.[130] The health legislation of Latvia was based on the Legislative Code of the former Russian Empire, Vol. XIII, the last edition of which was published in 1914. Since 1920, this law was regularly revised, with a view to adapting it to new requirements.[131]

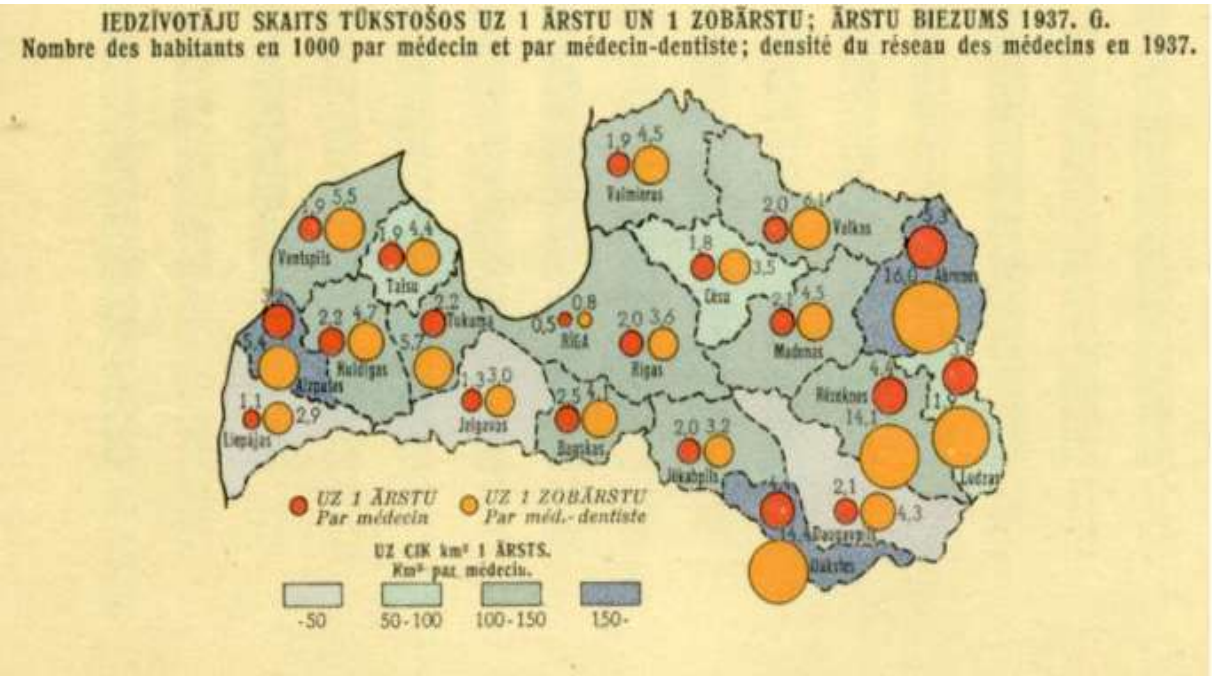
The country was divided into eighteen health districts. The most important area one was the city of Riga. Municipal authorities opened hospitals for children and adults.[132] As early as 1918, Riga provided general hospitals and health care units, as well as German and Jewish hospitals, especially designated for those minorities, including their spouses and children.[133]

From 1922 until 1930, hospitals and sanatoriums increased considerably in numbers. Until 1936, their numbers remained more or less stable, although patients admitted increased and more were admitted if necessary.[134] Number of doctors and dentists increased as the Latvia State University had a Faculty of Medicine and its graduates had to serve in the country.[135]

Workers' health insurance was administered by a special law, including the provision of maternity aid. Three-fifths of the country's inhabitants were insured against sickness, including dwellers in rural areas. Only one eighth of the population - employers, house owners, industrialists etc. - were not covered by the system of health insurance.[136] In the cities, doctors had much better supplies than in rural areas and health care was better organized.[137] In the province, the Ministry of Public Welfare was represented by its medical officers, who also acted as physicians in the communal schools.[138] Medical care was organized throughout the entire country, including the regions populated by minority groups and immigrants coming to work in agriculture (see Figure 16).

[130] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 197.
[131] Cazeneuve, *Organization of the Public Health,* 11.
[132] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 197.
[133] Kurlovics, *Latvijas vesture vidusskolai,*128.
[134] CSB. Slimnicas. http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/slimnicas.jpg (12 May 2013)
[135] CSB. Arsti. http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/arstusk.jpg (12 May 2013)
[136] Bilmanis, *Latvia,* 197.
[137] Cazeneuve, *Organization of the Public Health,* 22.
[138] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 198.

Figure 16: Number of inhabitants (in 10,000s) per doctor and per dentist in 1937.



Source: Centralais statistikas birojs. Veseliba. http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/dati/karte_veseliba.jpg (14 May 2013).

Figure 16 above shows that Riga had the best supply of doctors (0.5 thousand inhabitants per doctor) and dentists (0.8 thousand inhabitants per dentist) which means that the urban population of Riga probably enjoyed the best medical care.
The law prescribed a physician to each school, including minority schools. The physician was paid by the school board, which also supplied medicine for the poorer pupils.[139]

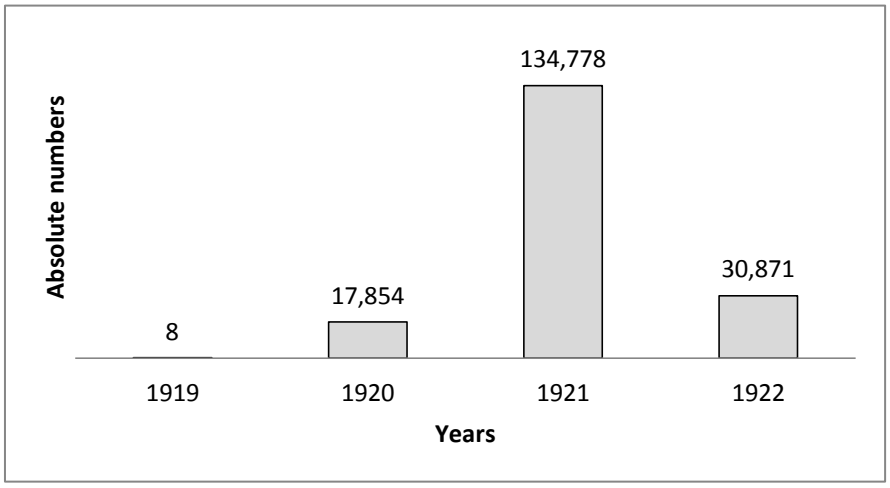
Special attention was paid to the ports with maritime quarantine and to migrants entering or leaving the city.[140] A maritime station was constructed in 1925 in the port of Riga with 30 beds for the diagnosis and treatment of contagious diseases.[141] A station for the health supervision of navigable waterways had been established above Daugavpils on the river Daugava. A medical health service was established on both sides of the border, based on the Health Convention with the Soviet Union which stated that "before setting foot on Latvian territory, all lumbermen must be inspected by Russian Health Services and after crossing the border, they must be examined by a Latvian doctor".[142] There was a river quarantine station to receive the sick or those suspected of sickness, travelling on rafts. [143] Upon arrival in Riga, the lumbermen who lived on the rafts coming from Russia were required to be deloused a second time at the city disinfection station.[144]

[139] Bilmanis, *Latvia*, 189.
[140] Cazeneuve, *Organization of the Public Health*, 17.
[141] Ibid., 17.
[142] Ibid., 18.
[143] Ibid., 18.
[144] Ibid., 18.

Due to the continuous movement of population from Eastern Europe and Soviet Russia to and through Latvia, government paid special attention to protection against infectious diseases introduced from abroad.[145] There were emigrants from Russia passing through Latvia on their way to America and Latvian refugees from Soviet Russia seeking relief in Latvia (see Figure 17). Emigrants from Russia on their way to America did not usually stay long in Riga. In 1924 however, restrictions on emigration into the United States kept 2000 refugees in Riga for a year. They gradually migrated to other towns and rural districts of Latvia.[146]

The shipping companies, for which emigration was an important source of income, had built houses with disinfection stations for emigrants in Riga. Until 1924 they were able to shelter as many as a thousand emigrants at any given time. Latvian doctors in the service of these companies carried out the examination before embarkation. The emigrants then were sent from Riga to Liepaja, where they were inspected a second time by an American doctor.[147] Sick emigrants were kept in detention in Riga and were admitted to the city hospitals. Emigrants coming from Russia were taken directly to Riga in special carriages attached to the ordinary trains, and were conducted to the disinfection station of the "State Hostel for Emigrants and Refugees". After disinfection, they were admitted to hostels and had free access to the city.[148]

Figure 17: Number of emigrants from 1919 to 1922, Latvia.



Source: Cazeneuve H.J. *Organization of the Public Health services in Latvia* (League of Nations, Geneva 1925) 53, 40.

[145] Cazeneuve, *Organization of the Public Health*, 40.
[146] Ibid., 40.
[147] Ibid., 41.
[148] Ibid., 40.

The expenses of upkeep, delousing and inspection for emigrants were covered by the shipping companies.[149]

Big cities, especially port cities like Riga and Ventspils, had licensed prostitution houses. In 1924, in Riga, 312 women were under supervision.[150] They were regularly taken for health examination. The data on the payment for these health services showed that expenditures were almost three times higher than income. The extra costs were covered from the government budget.[151]

1.3 Conclusion

Being a multinational country and having had to deal with many ethnic groups Latvia witnessed a steady growth of urban workforce. Over a period of twenty years, its urban population increased from 22 percent to 36 percent.

Riga, due to its historical background, geographical location and port facilities, became the largest city of the country, accommodating 385,063 new urban inhabitants (1935) two-thirds of country's total urban population. The city offered the best paid jobs in comparison with other cities. Everyone was free to migrate to the cities and key urban institutions were open to all urban migrants with exception with few particular jobs for Jews, who were not allowed to work for government and police, but were fostered to be involved in commerce and industry. 1934 was a turning point in Latvia history as policies changed and ethnicity started to play an important role for upwards mobility. Ethnic Latvians, especially those living in the cities, were given the best jobs and promoted into government positions.

In regards of "A global-historical typology of rural–urban migration settlement patterns" it seems that Riga till 1934 falls under the *full citizenship model* as the labor market was regulated, urban citizens received income support and had full access to employment (except for Jews), housing, education and health care. After 1934 settlement processes were increasingly shaped by *the ethno-national model.* Citizenship was segmented based on nationality and non Latvians were discriminated for example for the government jobs.

[149] Cazeneuve, *Organization of the Public Health,* 40.
[150] Ibid.,63.
[151] Kurlovics, *Latvijas vesture vidusskolai,*128.

2 German occupation: 1941-1944

2.1 Populations and policies

2.1.1 Migration of populations

In August-September 1939, the Baltic States were awarded to the Soviet Union by secret protocols of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact.[152] In June 1940, Soviet troops occupied and annexed all three countries[153]. Occupation would last only one year as of June 1941, Latvia was occupied by Nazi Germany and remained so until 1944.[154] During World War II, Latvia, as other occupied territories in the East, was subjected not to one occupation regime but two[155] which made the experience of people more complicated and more dangerous.[156] World War II constituted a profound disruption of the composition of the population, in the respect of the resettlement of Germans and the mass murder of Jews and mass emigration to the West.[157] In 1939, following the signing of resettlement treaties, almost all German Balts were repatriated to Germany.[158] By the end of that year, the largest resettlement had taken place, involving around 52,000 persons. Another 10 000 followed in 1940.[159] Until 1941 around 80,000 Jews lived in Latvia.[160] Germans created 18 ghettos on Latvian territory. In 1941 and 1942, under German anti-Semitism politics, 90 percent of Latvia's pre-war 62,000 Jews and 20,000 Jews from other countries were killed. Latvian commandos and auxiliary police took a leading role in their extermination[161] as they were part of the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD) in the territory of the Soviet Union.[162] In addition to eliminating Jews, the Nazi regime labelled other groups as unworthy of survival.[163] Almost all Gypsy community (in 1930 the total population of Gypsies in Latvia were 3217) was executed.[164] Around 240,000 Latvians were estimated to have escaped to the West.[165]

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[152] Viksna D., 'Oktobra līgums', *Lauku Avīze* (2000).
[153] Vksna, 'Oktobra līgums'.
[154] Rislaki, Maldinasana, 109.
[155] Snyder T., *Bloodlands. Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (Vintage 2011) 524, 392.
[156] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 190.
[157] Garleff , 'The Baltic region', 136.
[158] Rislaki, Maldinasana, 42.
[159] Garleff , 'The Baltic region', 136.
[160] Холокост на территории СССР, Энциклопедия, гл. редактор И. А. Альтман, (Научно просветительный центр 'Холокост' 2009) 1143, 511.
[161] Холовост на территории, 509а Щйргл==, ''К]л Хйгкф; рлщфну'« 137; Letnoka. Etniskas minoritates http://www.letonika.lv/groups/default.aspx?cid=31771&r=2&lid=31771&q=&h=0 (12 May 2013); MacShane D., 'Latvia Still Honors the Biggest Jew-Killing Machine in World History', *The Algemeiner*, March 8,2012.http://www.algemeiner.com/2012/03/18/latvia-still-honors-the-biggest-jew-killing-machine-in-world history (05 June 2103); Goldmane, *Vesture pamatskolai*, 92.
[162] Kurlovic, *Vesture vidusskolai*, 234.
[163] Manning, *Migration*, 166.
[164] Goldmane, *Vesture pamatskolai*, 92.
[165] Ibid., 92.

Latvia, together with Estonia and Lithuania, was declared to be the *Ostland* with Riga as its capital city. In August 1941, the *Ostland* Reich Commissar published a decree according to which all property in the territory of *Ostland* had to be confiscated.[166] The Reich had acquired the right of inheritance of all State property, so that "consequently everything nationalized by Soviet regimen,- i.e. land, water, forest, banks, factories, handicraft, trading establishments, buildings etc.- belonged to the German State".[167] Berlin had monopolized purchasing companies and the cooperative societies.[168] According to the decree, none of the land owners could get back their old estates. The *National Socialists* approved of everything undertaken by the Soviets with regards to the nationalization of agricultural property, except the partition of the great estates.[169] By decree of the Reich Commissar, Germans returned small plots to the farms to which they belonged before 1940.[170] Farmers were tenants, to whom the German Reich "was willing" to lease the land on certain conditions, land of those who were unveiling to lease was collected for the State Funds of the Husbandry Company "Ostland" to be offered to war invalids in the Baltic area.[171]

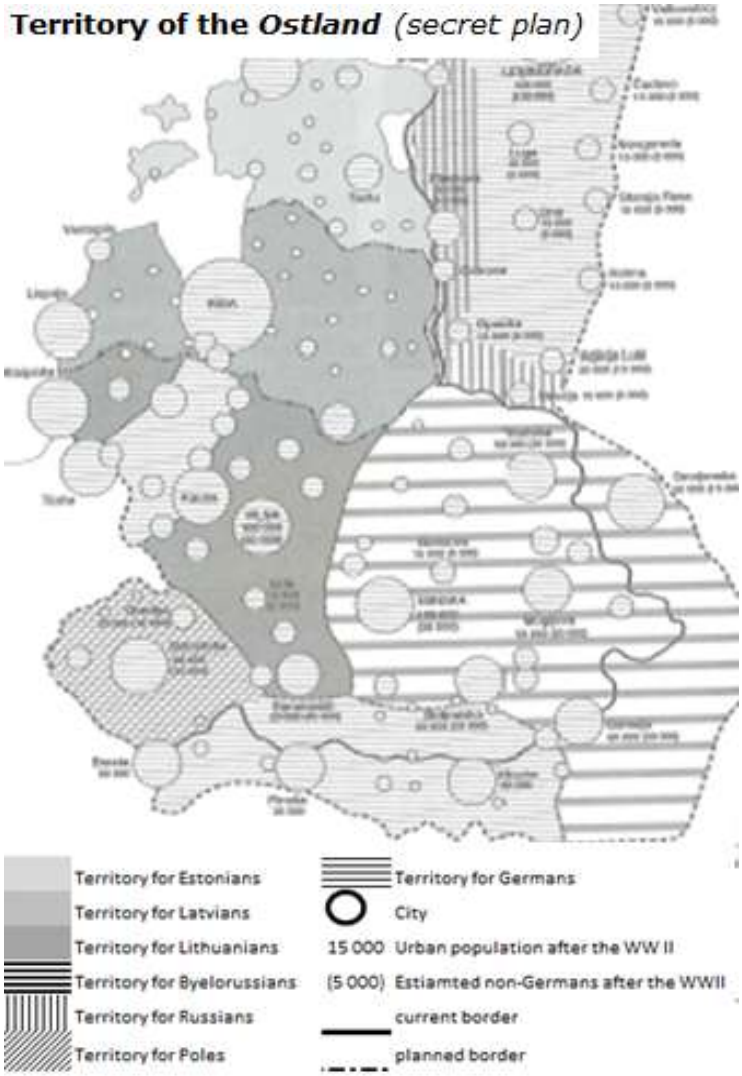
2.1.2 Urban migration

All three Baltic States were designated as *Ostland* with Riga as capital city of the entire region as can be seen in Map 5. In order to enter this area, a special permit ("*Durchlasschein*") was required from the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Areas in Berlin (Decree June, 1942).[172]

Traveling permits were not required for "members of the *Wehrmacht*, the *Waffen–SS*, police; German and local (indigenous) civil authorities, if they had valid service passport".[173]

[166] Bilmanis A., *Latvia under German Occupation 1941-1943* (Washington D.C. 1947) 114, 24.
[167] Ibid., 24.
[168] Ibid., 41.
[169] Ibid., 33.
[170] Ibid., 33.
[171] Ibid., 34.
[172] Ibid., 75, 41.
[173] Ibid., 41.

Map 5: Territory of the *Ostland (secret plan)*.



Source: Kurlovics G., Tomasuns A., *Latvijas vesture vidusskolai II* (Riga Zvaigzne ABC 2001) 402, 224.

All these requirements made civil migration to/from the region very complicated if not impossible, except for people with connections to the army or the authorities.

2.1.3 Language policy

In 1941, when the Germans occupied Latvia, the whole population was forced to make use of the German language just as a year ago, they had been forced to use Russian in 1940.[174] German language courses for elementary school teachers were organized in all towns of Latvia. In three weeks course school teachers were imparted as much as knowledge of German, as was the case a year ago with Russian.[175] German became the

[174] Bilmanis, *Latvia under German,* 60.
[175] Ibid., 60.

state language[176] and Latvian became forbidden in public spheres, including in the education system.

2.2 Urban services

2.2.1 Labor market

The basic principles of Germans economic policy in the former Republic of Latvia were as follows: (1) recognition of the nationalization of all property; (2) incorporation of the economy of these countries in the economic system of Great Germany; and (3) the "most far-reaching and thorough exploitation of the economy not only with a view to safeguarding (the supplies) of the German Army on the nearby Russian front, but also to provisioning the Reich, also including the Civil Administration and officials of the government offices". [177]

The *Ostland* was a separate custom zone for trade.[178] All trading companies that wanted to work in *Ostland* had to be entered in the Trade Register at the German Court. It was an attempt to have the leading position in all the different fields of the national economy, headed by German people: "the Reich Commissar in *Ostland* had brought a number of his party comrades to Riga and offered them the "leading posts" in enterprises and trading companies".[179] In the meantime, most of the home syndicates of the producers, which were formed during the time of independence, had been reestablished like Central Association of Dairy Farmers, the Flour and Bread Central etc.[180] All these central organizations with their "subsidiaries in the rural districts were utilized by the occupying power with fixed prices and quantities decided upon beforehand".[181]

As the German Reich had declared that the *Ostland* was the agrarian area, it had to be decided which of the industrial establishments were to be left intact, which would be completely shut down and which transferred to the Reich.[182] For the establishment of new enterprises, however, the permission of the Reich Commissar was required**.**[183] In the long run, the Nazis' General Ost plan involved seizing farmland, destroying farmers and settling in Germans,[184] but meanwhile harvesting food for the German army and civilians.

[176] Rislaki, Maldinasana, 11.
[177] Bilmanis, *Latvia under German*, 33, 24.
[178] Ibid., 30.
[179] Ibid., 31.
[180] Ibid., 32.
[181] Ibid., 32.
[182] Ibid., 42.
[183] Ibid., 43.
[184] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 161.

Stalin and Hitler shared the idea that the state must be large in territory and economically self-sufficient, with a balance between industry and agriculture, as food supply guaranteed independence from others. [185] The secret of collectivization (by Stalin) was that it was an alternative to expensive colonization, a form of internal colonization, while Hitler believed that colonies could still be seized abroad (agrarian lands of the western Soviet Union.[186]

Not a single industrial establishment was returned to its previous owner. The latter were sometimes employed in their former factories in the capacity of managing technical directors under the supervision of German general managers.[187] Similar to the fate of industrial workers and employees, the existence of this middle class was made entirely dependent on occupants.[188] The Decree of October 1941 stated that "handicraft may only be carried on by individuals who are personally or professionally qualified to do so; it can be prohibited if there is no public need for it; the occurrence of unfit small establishments should be avoided".[189]

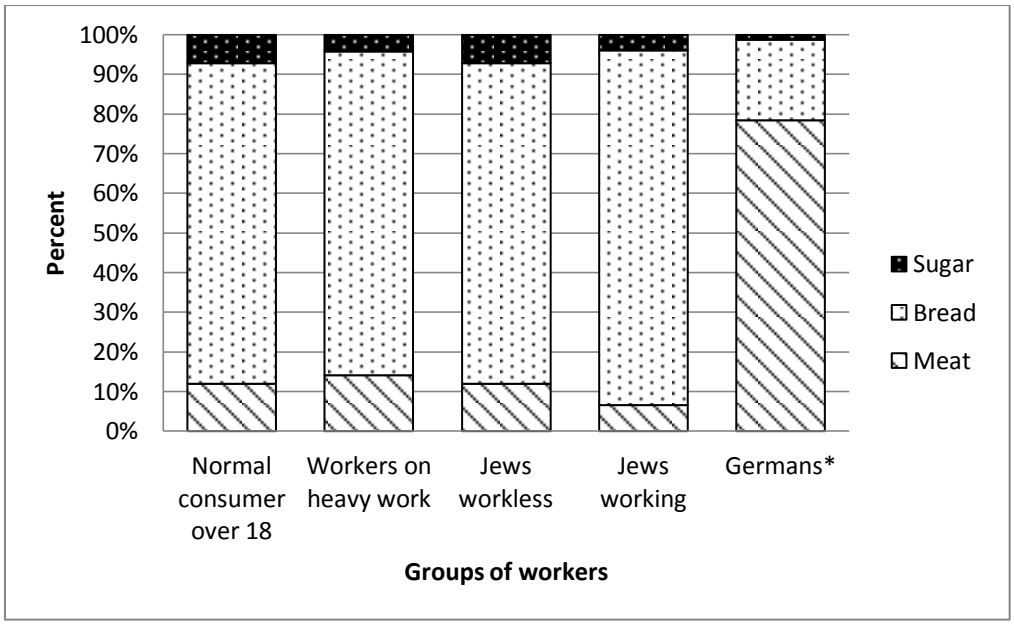
From now on, workers were not organized in workers organizations, but according to the German pattern. Together with the managers of the establishments concerned they belonged to the so-called "trade unions" e.g. textile, building, schools and civil servants, traffic and transport, agriculture, forestry and timber, medicine etc. [190] "No workers" committees at the working sites were present, only one responsible man from each party.[191] The trade unions were subjected to double German control, first through the "community leader" and secondly through the German work manager.[192]

On April, 1942 the Reich Commissariat for the *Ostland* issued the "First Decree for regulating general working conditions of local workers in public service and economy.[193] The stipulation of this decree did not apply to Jewish manpower and occupants themselves.[194] Most salient points of the decree included "regular working time, exclusive rest time, eight hour per day, 48 hours per week … the manager can adjust the working time; the manager can prolong working hours".[195]

[185] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 158.
[186] Ibid., 159.
[187] Bilmanis, *Latvia under German,* 44.
[188] Ibid., 44.
[189] Ibid., 44.
[190] Ibid., 49.
[191] Ibid., 49.
[192] Ibid., 49.
[193] Ibid., 51.
[194] Ibid., 49.
[195] Ibid., 52.

Hitler, like Stalin, accepted the idea that "progress was possible only as a result of the violent struggle between races and classes".[196] Based on the plan for the *Ostland* with Riga as its administrative center, Latvia would become a part of Germany, with no right for autonomy. Class and race played a significant role in relation to jobs and better living conditions. Ethnic Germans from Germany and German Balts who returned to the *Ostland* during the war got top positions in the government and the army.[197] For ethnic Latvians and other minority groups living in the country, the only way to obtain a top position or post in the government or the army was "to become" a German,[198] as only race and ethnic roots were considered worthy of upwards mobility. One of the greatest privileges' of Germans in Latvia was to "administer" and "lead" indigenous working population.[199] Their salaries of those who came to "lead" were at quite different level (three to four times higher) of working people irrespective they were workmen or clerks.[200] Germans were privileged in their allotments and foods supplies in comparison to other groups of the population. One of the most outstanding differences was the food ratio for Germans in comparison to others, especially working Jews, who were involved in industry and working for goods production to be exported to Germany.

Figure 18: Weekly ratio for workers and special minority Jews, 1942, *Ostland.*



*data from Lithuania

Source: Bilmanis A., *Latvia under German Occupation 1941-1943* (Washington D.C. 1947) 114, 83.

Wages for the local workers, especially those working in electro-technical and fine mechanical trades, chemical industry, wood and paper depended generally on: (1) the

[196] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 156.
[197] Rislaki, *Maldinasana*, 111.
[198] Ibid., 111.
[199] Bilmanis, *Latvia under German*, 83
[200] Ibid., 83.

work of employee; (2) on the wage district; (3) on sex and (4) on age. Wage districts in all of the *Ostland* territory were divided in two districts: first district- the towns Riga and Liepaja (Latvia), Tallinn and Kovno (Lithuania) and Wilna (Lithuania) and second district- all other places.[201] All workers were divided into the following four groups: (1) assistant workers; (2) routine workers; (3) skilled workers and (4) qualified skilled workers. The rates for wages for the first two groups were the same for all industries. Only within the fourth group there were some differences between iron, brass industries and the other as to the rate of wages. [202] Based on data on the weekly food ratio (see Figure 18), almost all workers were treated equally regardless of ethnical group, gender or religion, except for Jews.[203] Notwithstanding the inhuman conditions, Jews in the ghetto worked regularly as their service was commanded by the Nazis. They organized "Jewish Committees" and "Jewish Police Force" to keep order inside the ghetto. "Labor Committees" assigned jobs according to the demand of German authorities.[204]

During World War II, satellite countries and occupied countries were forced to provide slave labor or migrant workers for work at munitions factories in Germany and at home.[205] By 1943, The Germans were worried more about labor shortage than about food.[206] Workmen in the towns lived under constant fear of being deported to Germany to work for industries in the most dangerous places, most exposed to English bombing.[207] Workers were traced down by *Hitlerjungend* and were made to sign a document whereby they undertook "voluntary" *Arbeitseinsatz* or to go to the Front, or not to go. If they declared not to go, "the most immediate consequences by German GESTAPO" followed.[208] In addition, there was the aim to educate all workmen to become political soldiers and champions of *National Socialism*.[209] Joining the German army was formally "voluntary", but as a matter of fact it was a compulsory act. To make up for German losses at the front and in factories, young men - both rural and urban between the ages of 18-24/25 - received notification with two choices: to join the army or forced labor service.[210]

[201] Bilmanis, *Latvia under German*, 95.
[202] Ibid., 95.
[203] Ibid., 83.
[204] Schneider G., Journey into Terror: Story of the Riga Ghetto (Praeger Publishers, United States 2001) 186, 3.
[205] *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe. From the Congress of Vienna to the fall of Communism*, Richard F., (ed.) (Northwest Missouri State University, Garland Publishing Inc, New York& London 2000) 958, 442.
[206] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 244.
[207] Bilmanis, *Latvia under German*, 91.
[208] Ibid., 91.
[209] Ibid., 23.
[210] Bilmanis, *Latvia under German*, 110,

2.2.2 Education

Both Bolsheviks and Germans seemed to agree on one thing- to push down people to a lower cultural level. The Germans converted the higher educational places into schools for privileged Germans and removing the local inhabitants from access to schools.[211] The local graduates from grammar schools were not admitted to the University before they have passed a year in the Reich Labor Service (declared in July, 1942).[212] The Universities in Baltic countries were reserved in future for the Nazi Party and the German *Hitlerjugend*.[213] At the Baltic Universities and schools German Balts had been appointed as deans and leaders.[214] In Latvia, a 26 years old youth had been appointed chief of the section in charge in general educational matters as the institute of the Commissar General's.[215]

The remaining local teachers, just as formerly by the "red professors", were instructed and censured by the German Commissars General and their department chiefs.[216] All new staff as well other urban migrants coming to Riga for job in army, education or administration were in great need for housing and were privileged to get one.

2.2.3 Housing

Those who migrated to the *Ostland* and particularly to Riga[217] were mostly military or army related. They were entitled and enabled to occupy the best individual houses and flats.[218]. Most of the housing was available due to the executions (mostly of Jewish people) by Germans themselves, confiscations performed by Soviet authorities, as well "mass deportations" in 1941 by Russians, the majority of whom (more than 60 percent) were middle-class city dwellers.[219]

2.2.4 Health care

During the war, quarantine had not been institutionalized in Latvia.[220] The soldiery coming to country carried freely their lice and diseases. Only by decree January 1942 it was stated that "all members of German Civil administration, as well other Reich German and non-German civilians traveling from the *Ostland* to the German Reich, were obliged

[211] Bilmanis, *Latvia under German*, 60.
[212] *Ibid.*, 61.
[213] Ibid., 61.
[214] Ibid., 60.
[215] Ibid., 49.
[216] Ibid., 61.
[217] Rislaki, Maldinasana, 75.
[218] Bilmanis, *Latvia under German*, 83.
[219] Rislaki, Maldinasana, 42.
[220] Bilmanis, *Latvia under German*, 76.

to submit to de-lousing at the frontier places of the German Reich".[221] The fact that there were no devastating epidemic must solely be attributed to the energetic measures of prevention taken by the local (indigenous) sanitary personnel.[222]

Government hospitals in Riga and other cities were occupied by German troops, by using all equipment and appointing doctors for service. Nevertheless few beds were left for civil population in case of emergency treatment, infectious diseases and maternity.[223]
In Riga, to provide medical care for Jews there was one out-patient clinic and one small scale hospital was hosted within the territory of ghetto itself. They had enough doctors due the previous education of Jews, and only few if not at all medicine to help people in case of need.[224] Riga city council refused to collect the refuse from the ghetto which, in case of longer duration, would cause huge sanitary problems and would cause epidemics in Riga city devastating its population.[225]

2.3 Conclusion

While occupied by Nazi Germany and remaining so until 1944, Latvia, together with Estonia and Lithuania was declared as the *Ostland* with Riga as its capital city. Migration within the region and to the cities was limited to certain groups. In accordance with the *Decree*, August 1941, the entire property in the *Ostland* which had been confiscated by the Soviets was now inherited by Germans, including all enterprises and housing. Access to urban housing and better living conditions were granted to Germans and those who were in German Army and Reich administrators. Germans in Latvia, those who were present and those who immigrated, especially to the cities, was to "administer" and "lead" indigenous working population.[226] The existence of the workers and middle class was made entirely dependent on occupants. None of top management positions were left or appointed to non-Germans. The universities in the Baltic countries were no longer meant for local population (rural, urban) but were reserved for the Nazi Party clique and the German *Hitlerjugend*. Only race and ethnic roots were factors considered for upwards mobility.

In regards of "A global-historical typology of rural–urban migration settlement patterns" time from 1941 until 1944 is *the ethno-national model as* settlement processes were

[221] Bilmanis, *Latvia under German*, 76.
[222] Ibid., 76.
[223] Stradina P. slimnicas vesture. http://www.stradini.lv/page/57 (01 June 2013).
[224] Schneider, *Journey into Terror*, 3.
[225] Ibid., 41–46.
[226] Bilmanis, *Latvia under German*, 83.

shaped by ethnic criteria. Citizenship was segmented based on German nationalist thinking with discrimination of other ethnic groups living in Latvia.

3 Soviet Occupation: 1940/1944-1990

3.1 Populations and policies

3.1.1 Migration of population

In August-September 1939, the Baltic States were awarded to the Soviet Union by secret protocols of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact.[227] In June 1940, Soviet troops occupied and annexed all three Baltic States,[228] and the Soviet Union initiated a policy of "population exchanges" with its new territories. Soviet policy was to deport members of the elites to the East, deep within the Soviet Union.[229] Massive deportation of the Baltic people within the GULAG system started in June 1941.[230] Deportation aimed to integrate the newly acquired Eastern European territories into the Soviet state by cleansing them of people who were "potentially harmful to the Soviet regime".[231] From 14-17 June 1941 15,424 people were swept away into the GULAG system. In the last days of June 1941, 13,077 more were deported. Average calculations show that during the first year of occupation, Latvia lost 18 people per 1000 of the population.[232] Deportees included people from various ethnic groups: 81.27 percent Latvians, 11.7 percent Jews, 5.29 percent Russians, 0.39 percent Germans and 1.35 percent Poles, Lithuanians and Byelorussians.[233]; 61 percent of them were urban dwellers and 39 percent rural population.[234]

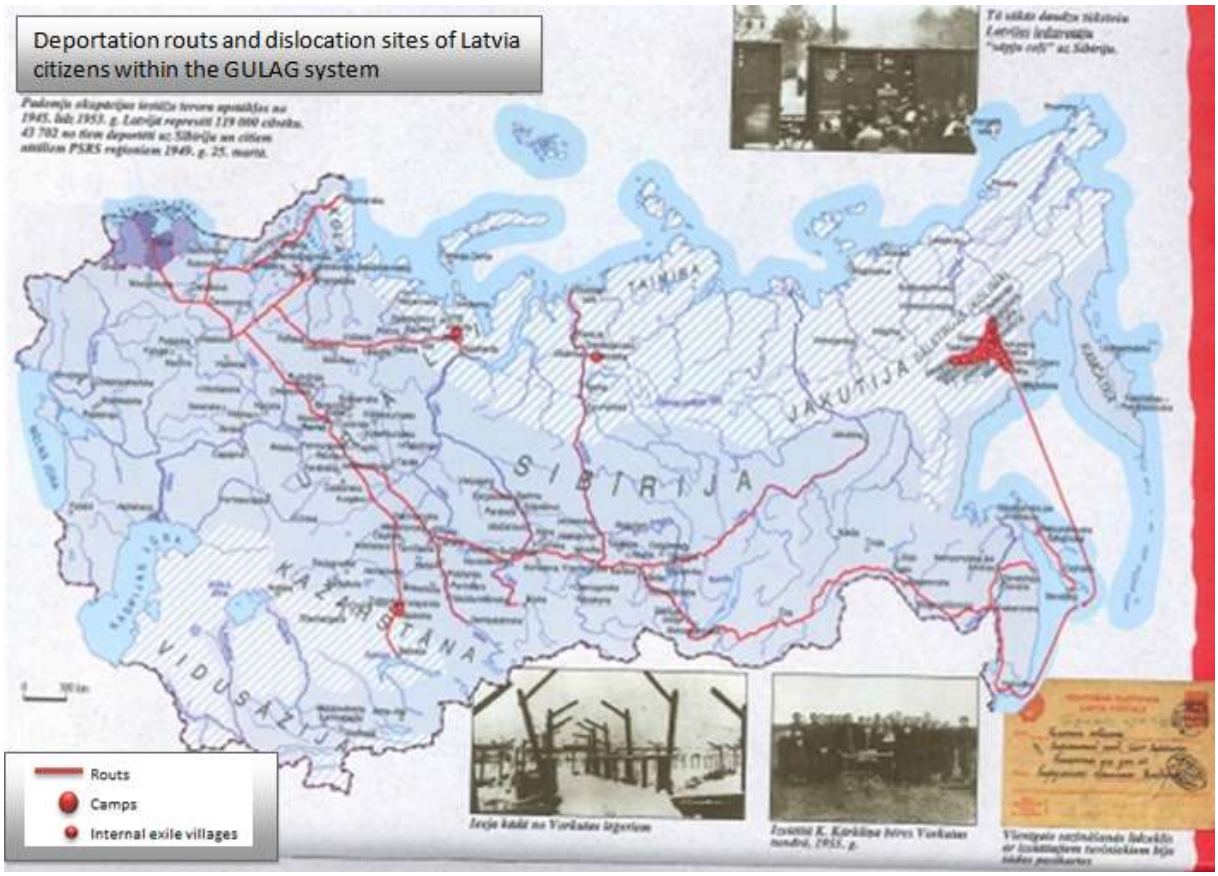
In 1944, Moscow "forbade the reestablishment of independent anti-Communist regimes in strategically important Baltic States".[235] In 1944-1945, 120,000 Latvians fled the reach of the Soviet occupying power. The majority of them were civilians, but also several thousands who had served as soldiers under German command. Most of them went to Germany, where they were housed in camps for displaced persons (DPs). By 1952, 100,000 were able to leave Germany and migrated to the USA (45,000), Australia (21,000), Great Britain (18,000) and Canada (13,000).[236]

Deportation of people to the East resumed immediately after Allied victory, when the Russians reclaimed the territory.[237] From 1949 to and throughout 1952, a second

[227] Vīksna, 'Oktobra līgums'.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations,*88-89.
[230] O'Connor, *The history of Baltic states,* XX- XXI.
[231] Appelbaum A., *GULAG. A History* (Penguin Books Ltd., 2003) 610, 421–422.
[232] Zalte I., Dimante S., *Cetrdesmito gadu deportacijas. Strukturanalize. Latvijas vesture* (1998) Nr.2, 78.
[233] Goldmane*, Latvijas Vesture pamatskolai*, 100.
[234] Kurlovics, *Latvijas vesture vidusskolai,* 211.
[235] *Russia,* 202.
[236] Garleff, 'The Baltic region',137.
[237] Kalniete S., *Ar balles kurpem Sibirijas sniegos* (Riga Apgads Atena 2001) 297,106.

massive deportation took place[238] which was larger in scale and targeted families.[239] Between 25 and 29 March 1949, 42,975 people were deported. Of them, 12% died in exile.[240] 95.6 per cent of all deportees were Latvians. 58.1 women, 31.9 young people under the age of 20 (14% were children under 10).[241] Within the GULAG system Latvia citizens were deported and dislocated to prisons, forced labor camps and internal exile villages were persons from Latvia as shown in Map 6.[242]

Map 6: Deportation routes and camps of Latvia citizens (GULAG).



Source: *Latvijas vestures atlants. No senajiem laikiem lidz musdienam* (SIA "Karsu izdevnieciba Jaņa seta", 2005) 88, 58.

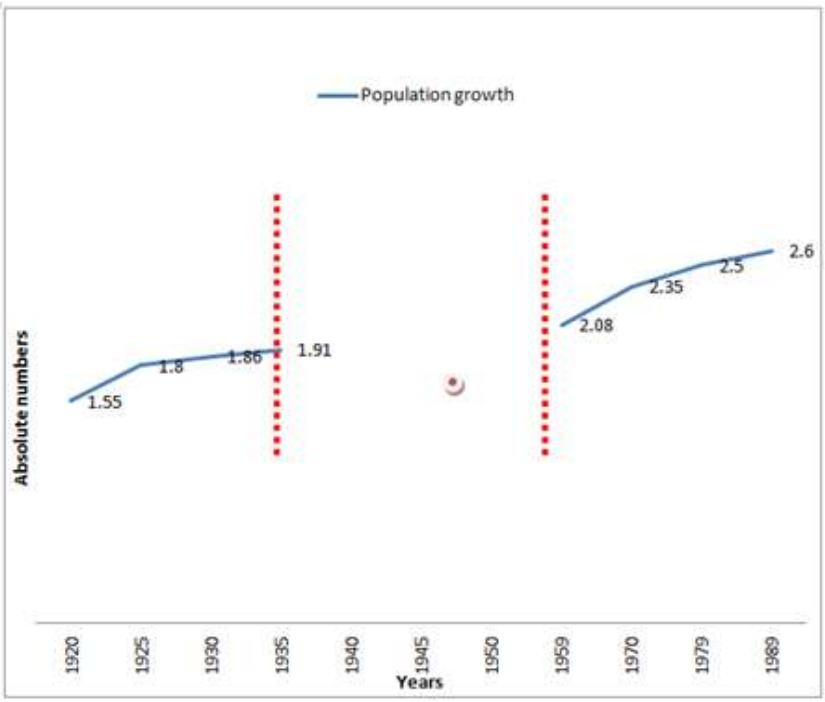
Deportations were accompanied by the industrialization of Latvia and the first waves of Russians and other Slavic immigrants coming to Latvia.[243] When Latvia was re-occupied by the Soviet Union in 1944, mass immigration started. Most immigrants ended up in the largest cities, where due to Soviet industrialization policy, new factories were built and jobs were created. To fill the labor gap in the cities of the "new Republics", both skilled

[238] O'Connor, *The history of Baltic states.* XX- XXI.
[239] Kurlovics, *Vesture vidusskolai*, 276.
[240] Zalite I. 'Okupacijas rezima upuri Latvija 1940.-1991.g.', referats konference „Latvijas leģions Latvijas vesture padomju un vacu okupacijas konteksta" (Riga, 2000).
[241] Goldmane, *Latvijas Vesture pamatskolai*,127.
[242] *Latvijas vēstures atlants*, 58.
[243] O'Connor, *The history of Baltic states.* XX- XXI.

and un-skilled Russian-speaking migrants were induced to move. Soviet processes taking place in rural areas (collectivization) are best described as "push" factors for those who migrated from the countryside to the cities and not so much "pull" factors of the cities themselves.

The exceedingly multi-layered, forced migration during World War II led to an enormous decline in population. By the end of the war, Latvia had lost around 30 percent of its population due to resettlements, deportations, forced recruitment for "labor service" or military service and flight from either the Soviet or German occupation troops.[244] The population development from 1935 to 1959 can be estimated using data from various sources and calculations before and after World War II.[245] In absolute terms, the total Latvian population after World War II was not much smaller than before as can be seen in Figure 19. Demographically it was compensated by mass immigration from other parts of the Soviet Union.[246]

Figure 19: Total population growth from 1920 to 1989, Latvia.



Source: Lazda M., 'Reconsidering Nationalism: The Baltic Case of Latvia in 1989', International Journal Polit Cult Soc 22 (2009) 517–536, 518- 522.

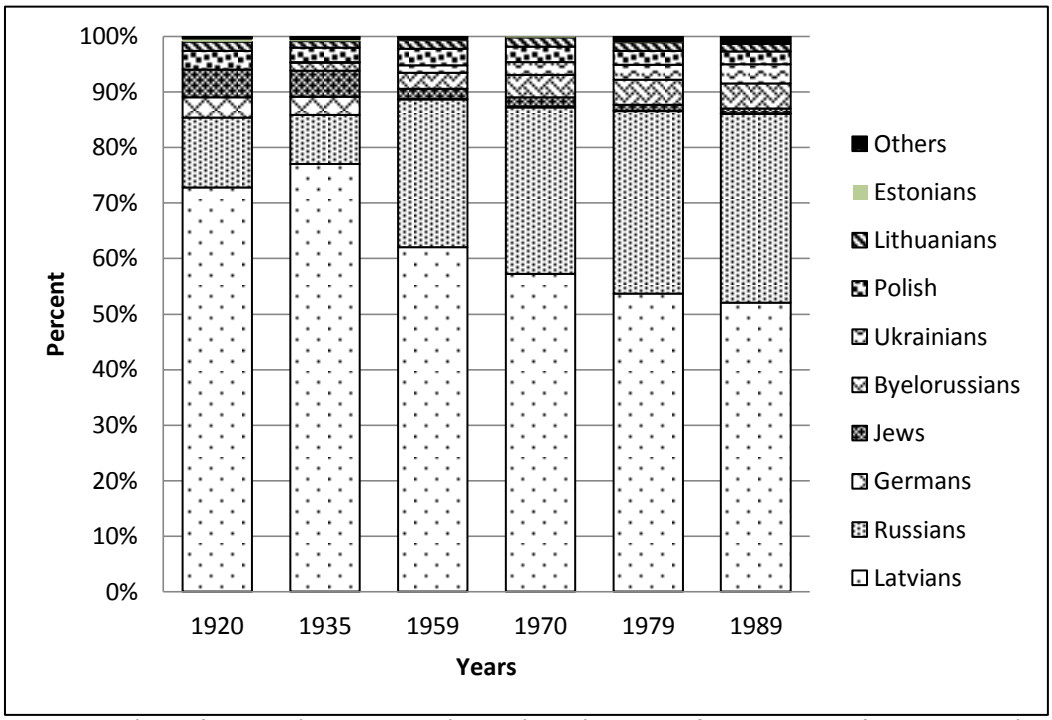
As early as 1940, the Soviet Union granted Soviet citizenship to all citizens of Latvia, a matter in which they had no say or choice whatsoever. Indeed, Soviet citizenship was not

[244] Garleff, 'The Baltic region', 137.
[245] Ibid., 137.
[246] Kurlovics, *Latvijas vesture vidusskolai,* 264.

so much granted but rather forced.[247] Parallel to the forced resettlements and deportation, collectivization and industrialization took place. Farmers - the primary social class in the era of independence - were denounced as "kulaks" and forced into collective farms.[248] Data shows that migration during the Soviet era was both circular and permanent, the latter case involving settlements of immigrants in cities. The state restricted as well as reinforced migration of certain ethnic groups, encouraging them to settle mainly into cities.[249] The first waves of mass immigration, sponsored by the Soviet authorities, started as early as 1945 and continued throughout the entire Soviet period. Based on Soviet statistics the largest migration waves occurred in 1953 and 1956.[250]
From 1945 to 1955, 535,000 Russians and other Soviet immigrants from the Soviet Union arrived. 100,000 Russian Latvians (who had moved to Russia after the October 1917 revolution or earlier in the century) also returned.[251] The highest rate of Russian-speaking immigrants was witnessed between 1951 and 1960: 640,000 in total. It is estimated that the net number of Russian-speaking immigrants who arrived in Latvia after 1960 was 400,000. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, approximately 50,000 to 55,000 people settled in Latvia every year, whereas annually, 43,000 to 46,000 moved to other parts of the Soviet Union where the state planned industrialization took place and new industries were build. By the end of the 1970s, Latvians had almost become a minority, at least as a linguistic group.[252] People were encouraged to migrate to Latvia or were compulsorily sent by the Soviet authorities, as there was a need to fulfill employment quotas in line with the industrialization plan.[253] Russians were the only minority present in Latvia before 1940 whose numbers proportionally increased. It clearly shows that there was no or hardly any immigration from other Soviet Union non-Russian republics like Lithuania, Estonia and the like.[254]

[247] Zepa B., 'Citizenship, Official Language, Bilingual Education in Latvia: Public Policy in the Last 10 Years', 83-97, 86.
[248] Garleff, 'The Baltic region', 137.
[249] Lesger C., Lucassen L., Schrover M., 'Is there Life Outside the Migrant Network? German Immigrants in XIXth Century Netherlands and the Need for More Balanced Migration Typology', *Annales De Demograpghie Historiques* 2 (2002) 31-50.
[250] Latvijas Valsts arhivs, Dokumenti Migranti Latvija 1944-1989, 2004, 38, 142, 243.
[251] Kurlocičs G., *Latvijas vēsture vidusskolai,* 265.
[252] Zvidrins, *Latviesi.*
[253] Rislaki, Maldinasana, 42.
[254] Lazda, 'Reconsidering Nationalism', 518- 522.

Figure 20: Ethnic composition of Latvia population from 1920 until 1989, Latvia.

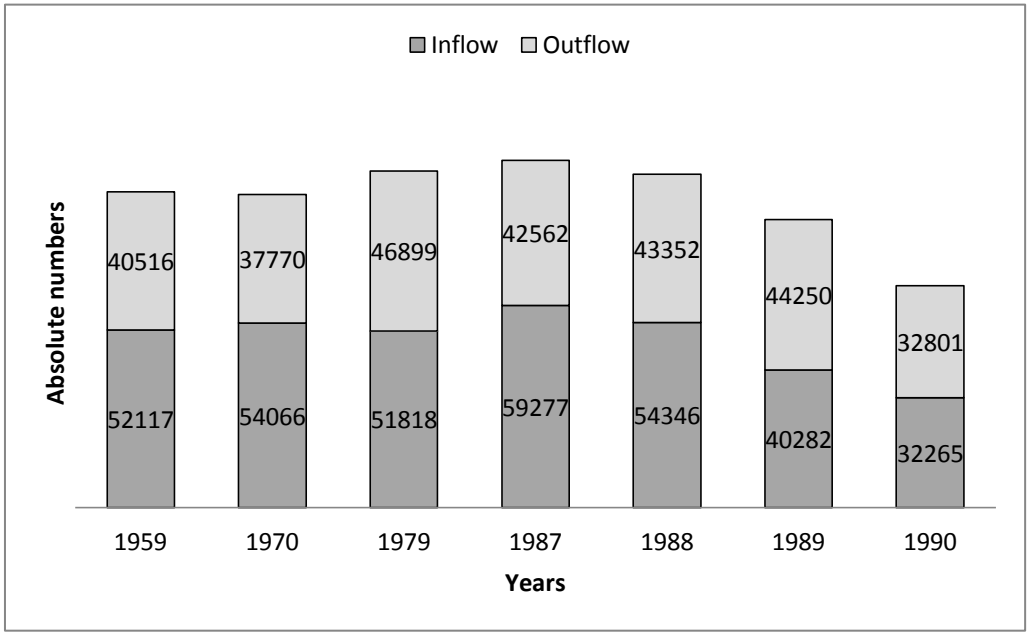


Source: Lazda M., 'Reconsidering Nationalism: The Baltic Case of Latvia in 1989', International Journal Polit Cult Soc 22 (2009) 517–536, 518- 522.

During almost 50 years of Soviet rule, a considerable shift in the ethnic make-up of the population occurred. Ethnic Latvian population proportion decreased from 70 percent in 1937 to 52 percent in 1989 (see Figure 20) which proved to be unique among the Soviet Union Republic nationalities. Meanwhile, the growth of the Russian-speaking population (primarily ethnic Russians but also Byelorussians and Ukrainians) increased due to the Soviet population policy: (1) Forced deportation of Latvians from Latvia in 1940 and 1949 and; (2) Recruitment of Russian-speaking immigrants and workers to Latvia to support Moscow's "top-down" centrally planned heavy industrialization projects in the new Soviet Republics including the Latvian Socialist Soviet Republic. The Soviet period saw both intensive emigration from and immigration to Latvia. These were mainly Russian-speaking migrants who were looking for better jobs in the cities. The main immigration waves were directed toward the central and western parts of the country where main cities and port cities were located (see Map 9).[255] In 1987, for example, 59,277 people from other parts of the Soviet Union arrived and 42,562 left Latvia, which produced a positive migration result, the balance was negative only in 1990 and in 1991 (see Figure 28).[256]

[255] *Latvijas vestures atlants*, 62.
[256] Zepa, 'Citizenship, Official Language', 85.

Figure 21: Immigration and emigration from 1959 until 1991 in Latvia.



Source: Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia. Dati par iedzivotaju imigraciju un emigraciju. 01 December 2011.

3.1.2 Urban migration

After 1944 rural-urban migration was linked to the Soviet planners. They controlled migration policy and generated migration "patterns" to avoid over-urbanization (the problem of contemporary migration).[257]

Latvia became one of the fifteen Soviet Republics and was incorporated in the Soviet government's overall planning policy.[258] City migration varied from one Soviet Republic to another. This had to do with differences in pre-Soviet urbanization levels of cities as well as education level of the population. The total urban population in the Soviet Union increased from 39 percent (1950) to 59 percent (1972). Forty percent of migration was from villages to cities and 34 percent took place among cities.[259]

From 1939 to 1959, 381 cities in the Soviet Union doubled their size and between 1959-1967, 55 cities grew by more than 50 percent by their population. Rapid growth was usually caused either by industrial or administrative development (especially in the capitals of non-Russian Republics).[260] In terms of urbanization, the main consequence of World War II was the redistribution of urban citizens among the regions of the Soviet

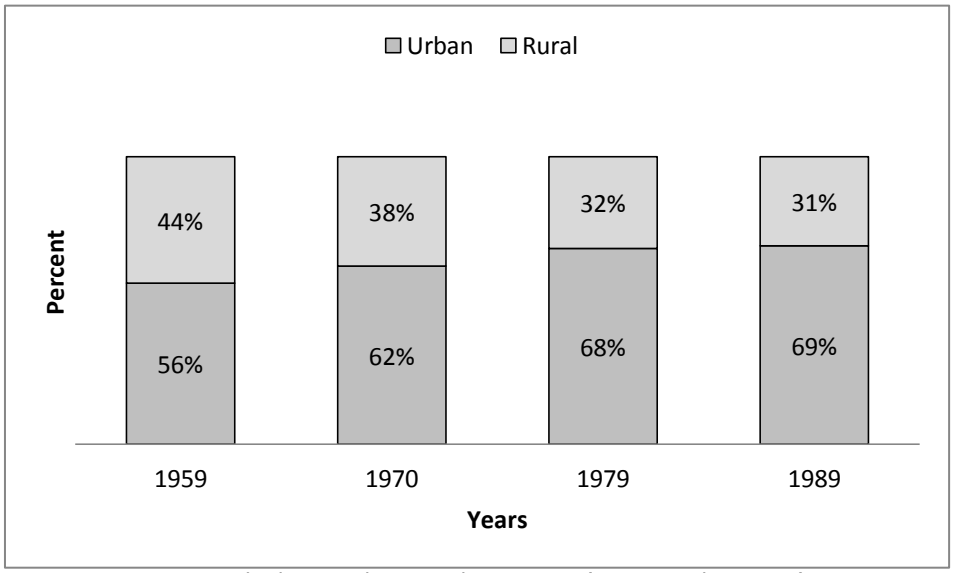
[257] Stuart R.C., 'A Model of Soviet Rural-Urban Migration', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 26:1 (1977) 81-92, 81.
[258] Garleff, 'The Baltic region', 137.
[259] Stuart, 'A Model of Soviet', 81.
[260] Sweeney, 'Regional patterns', 128- 135.

Union. The rate of urbanization in remote areas such as the Urals and Siberia was higher than in the regions under German occupation.[261]

The massive industrialization undertaken by the Soviet Union in Latvia under the name of "internationalization of industry" was a form of colonization. Latvia did not have the necessary raw materials, which had to be imported, and its workforce had been decimated by the war and the Soviet repressions. The growing need for workers and the *Sovietization* of the administrative and party apparatus triggered a steady immigration.[262] Tens of thousands of workers, engineers and technicians were recruited and brought to Latvia as urban workforce.[263]

The growth of cities during the 20th century represents a massive geographical movement of population. Between 1920 and 1980 the world's total urban population skyrocketed from 36 to 180 million people.[264] A Census held in the Soviet Union in 1979 indicates that of the total population of 242 million people, 136 million (56 percent) lived in cities.[265] In the case of Latvia, urban population tripled from 22 percent in 1920 up to 69 percent in 1989 (see Figure 22).[266]

Figure 22: Urban-rural population in Latvia from 1959 to 1989.



Source: CSB. Dati par lauku un pilsetas iedzivotajiem (01 December 2011).

[261] Afontsev S., Kessler G., et al, *Urban Households in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1900-2000. Size, Structure and Composition* (IISH Research paper 44 2005) p. 90, 37.
[262] Garleff, 'The Baltic region', 137.
[263] Woolfson C., 'Labour Migration, Neoliberalism and Ethno-politics in the New Europe: The Latvian Case', Antipode Vol 41 (5) (2009) 952–982.
[264] Armstrong, 'Theatres of Accumulation'.
[265] Harris D., 'Cities of the Soviet Union: Studies in their Functions, Size, Density and Growth' (1971) 441.
[266] CSB, *Dati par lauku un pilsētas iedzīvotājiem*, (01 December 2013).

The general industrialization and urbanization plan was based on the necessity to develop industries. The economic development in Latvia is divided into the following periods: from 1945 to 1953; from 1954 to 1964 and from 1965 to 1985. After 1985 there was a period of economic stagnation. From 1954 to 1964, the economy took off again with further economic development and industrialization taking place. The numbers of urban migrants were calculated per newly developed industry in each newly occupied country, including Latvia. All Soviet territory was divided into "industrial regions" and all three Baltic States were classified as Region Nr. 2. – West (see Map 7).[267]

Map 7: Economic regions of The Soviet Union.

Source: Lewis R., Rowland R., 'Urbanization in Russia and USSR: 1897- 1966', *Columbia University* (1968) 776-796.

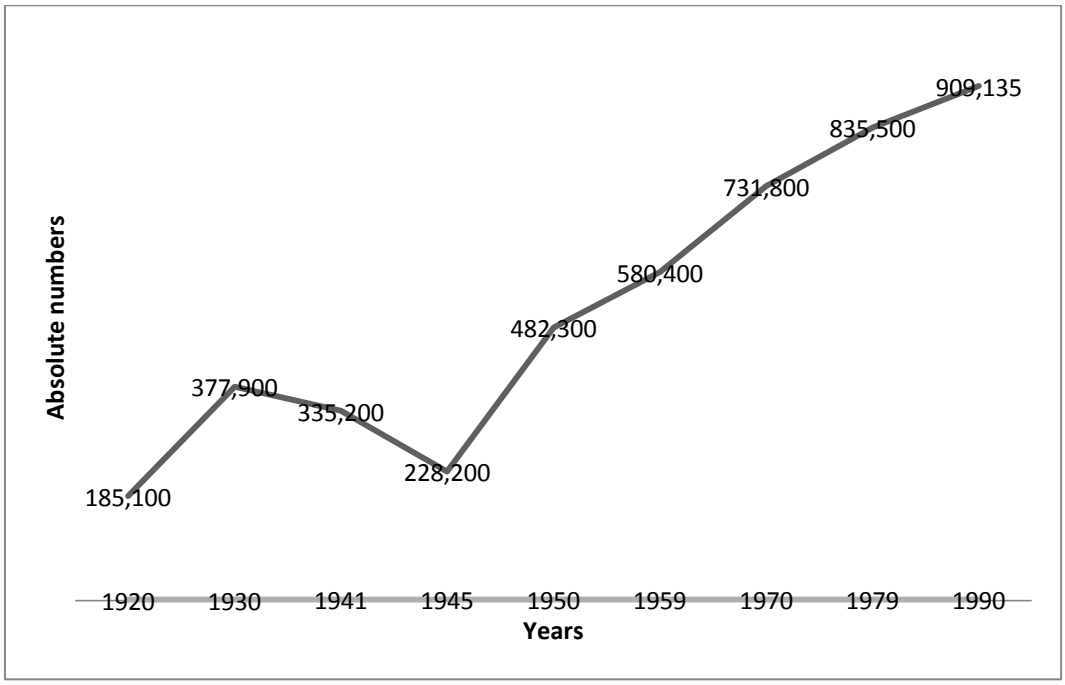
From 1957 to 1959, a group of Latvian communists tried to reorient Latvia toward industries which required less labor and fewer imports of raw materials.[268] It was unsuccessful and Latvia continued in the race to become the most industrialized republic in the Soviet Union, with a production profile that was determined by Moscow.

Based on the Soviet model of five-year plans, the Communists promoted heavy industry and recruited part of the agricultural population to work in the newly established factories both in the cities and in the countryside. Reconstruction ensured plenty of blue-collar

[267] Lewis R., Rowland R., 'Urbanization in Russia and USSR: 1897- 1966', *Columbia University* (1968) 776- 796.
[268] Kurlovics, *Latvijas vesture vidusskolai,* 301-305.

work.[269] In 1939, the urban population in Latvia was 35 percent, in 1959 around 56 percent, and in 1989 it was over 70 percent. Riga experienced the highest urban population growth. The data in Figure 23 shows that over a period of 70 years, Riga's urban population grew to almost 5 times its original size: from 185,100 in 1920 to 900,135 in 1991.[270]

Figure 23: Growth of urban population in Riga from 1920 to 1991.

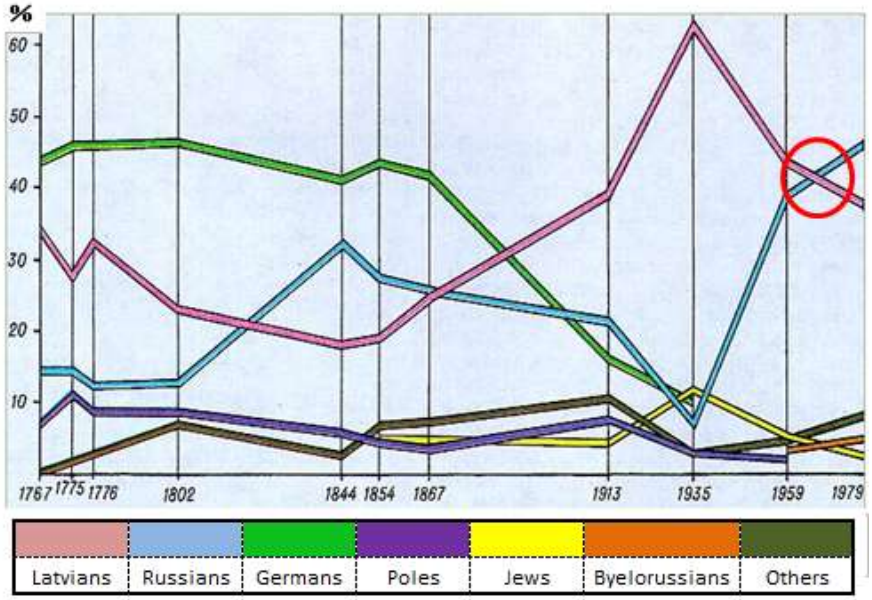


Source: Rigas vesture. https://www.riga.lv/LV/Channels/About_Riga/History_of_Riga/default.htm (12 May 2013).

Looking at data on Riga and ethnic groups settling in the city (see Figure 24), a "turning point" can be observed in the 1960s, with the arrival of increasing numbers of Russian and Byelorussian urban migrants - so-called "urban migrants' scissors" and a steady decline of the Latvian urban population. The explanation lies in the existing passport system and the re-introduction of passports in 1953 (as described above) in certain regions of the Soviet Union. Latvia was one of them: the passport system clipped rural–urban migration within cultural communities and promoted cross-cultural urban migration from other villages and towns of the Soviet Union. It also favored those who used "cracks" in the system: people employed in the army, construction and education were able to obtain passports and migrate to or stay in cities.

[269] *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe. From the Congress of Vienna to the fall of Communism*, Richard F., (ed.) (Northwest Missouri State University, Garland Publishing Inc, New York& London 2000) 958, 442.
[270] Iedzivotaju skaits pasvaldibas pec nacionalal sastava. http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/statistika/dokuments/2013/ISPP_Pasvaldibas_pec_VPD.pdf (01 June 2013); Rigas vesture. https://www.riga.lv/LV/Channels/About_Riga/History_of_Riga/default.htm (12 May 2013)

Figure 24: Riga population by ethnic groups from 1767 till 1979.



Source: Rigas iedzivotaju etniskais sastavs. http://www.letonika.lv/groups/default.aspx?title=073690_1.gif (12 May 2013).

From 1959 to 1989 Latvia's total population increased by more than half a million people. In that same period, rural population decreased from 44 percent to a mere 31 percent. The increase of the urban population in Latvia during Soviet occupation was not so much due to major rural-urban migration within Latvian borders, but rather because of the immigration of Russians and other Russian-speaking migrants from the far-away territories of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union viewed itself as a country with a chronic shortage of labor. Hence, the Soviet regime was strongly committed to the entry of women in the labor force, bringing about gender balance in the labor market.[271] The influx of young, inexperienced workers from rural areas and the recruitment of women on the work floor provided a measure of social mobility in addition to educational opportunities and new, unprecedented systems of social security. Rural laborers enjoyed the security of having a job and gradually rising income.[272] "Blue collar" workers also enjoyed the fact that they earned as much if not more than many professionals and white-collar workers.[273] In the context of rural workers migrating to cities, it is important to mention the internal passport system of the Soviet Union.

The passport system had undergone two revisions since its introduction in Soviet society in 1932: once in 1953 and again in 1974. The passport system was a very important administrative mechanism in the day-to- day functioning of the Soviet regime. An "internal passport" allowed the authorities to govern the processes of change in the social

[271] Clayton E., 'Soviet Control of City Size', *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 38 (1989) 155- 165.
[272] *Encyclopedia Eastern Europe*, 442.
[273] Ibid., 442.

structure and social mobility of the population. It also enabled them to regulate the distribution of the labor force, growth of the urban population and of cities.[274]

According to the 1953 regulations, the passport system was in force only in towns which constituted regional centers, urban settlements of the Moscow "oblast" (a type of administrative division), of the Baltic republics, certain regions in the Leningrad oblast and in the border regions. As the passport system had not been introduced in villages, a villager who wished to visit places where the passport system was binding, had to obtain a temporary passport from the village militia station.[275] Under the 1953 regulations, each hiring and dismissal from work had to be recorded in the passports to prevent the flight of collective farm members to towns. The main difficulty a collective farm member encountered if he/she wished to migrate to a city was in obtaining official permission to leave the collective farm, which was the only document testifying to his occupation.[276] The passport system made comprehensive supervision of migration throughout the country possible. Part of the reason for this system was to regulate the shortage of living space in towns and cities. The passport system, as outlined above, enabled the authorities to control which migrants they deemed worthy of living in the towns and large cities.[277] A nationality paragraph was introduced to intensify supervision of the population. Although unpopular, one advantage of this nationality documentation in the passport was the use of the national language in official matters, education, etc.[278] To understand the patterns of organization of rural life and rural communities it is important to mention that in 1940, all "nationalized" land was organized in two kinds of enterprises:[279] collective farms or *kolkhoz* with large scale mono-cultural production[280] and state farms or *sovkhoz*. Until 1974, *kolkhoz* workers were not issued "*internal passports*", thereby excluding their migration to cities[281] in general, more specifically to Riga. Therefore there is no big surprise that at the end of the Soviet period, 62 percent of factory workers were non-Latvian.[282] Only way to move to the cities was for those who volunteered to work through the "System of Organized Recruitment" of the labor force for construction of factories, mines, railways and highways located in remote and sparsely populated areas received passports after a certain length of time. This system of recruitment gave preference to men because as a rule, construction work took place in

[274] Zaslavsky V., Luryi Y., 'The Passport System in the USSR and Changes in Soviet Society', *Soviet Union* 6 (2) (1979), 137-53, 139.
[275] Boim L., 'The passport system in the USSR', *Sijthof Leyden 2 Rev. Soc. Law* (1976) 15-31, 23.
[276] Boim , 'The passport system , 41.
[277] Ibid., 27.
[278] Ibid., 37.
[279] Bell S., Peneze Z., et al 'The value of Latvian rural landscape**,** European Landscapes and lifestyles: the Mediterranean and beyond', 19.
[280] Melluma A., 'Metamorphoses of Latvian landscapes during fifty years of Soviet Rule', *Geojournal* 33 (1) (1994) 55-62.
[281] Gentile M., Sjoberg O., 'Spaces of Priority: The Geography of Soviet Housing Construction in Daugavpils, Latvia'**,** *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 100(1) (2010) 112–136.
[282] Rislaki, *Maldinasana,* 55.

poor conditions, sometimes underground, where the use of female labor was restricted or forbidden.[283]

Finally, the main channel for leaving the rural areas was service in the army, into which only men were drafted. After the obligatory two to four years of service, a significant number of young peasants succeeded in remaining in the cities.[284] Numerous military training schools, preparing professional military cadres, were filled to a significant degree with former peasants.[285] In order to leave the villages, the majority of female migrants between the ages of 15-19 tried hard to obtain admission to institutions of higher learning. They were eager to establish urban residence before the age of 16, in order to be able to obtain passports, which so far were withheld from most rural citizens.[286]

The passport reform of 1974 was designed to further consolidate the status quo, strengthen the existing system of centralized power, reinforce the process of Russification, further the development of the *nomenklatura* - the Communist Party elite-principle of cadre selection and ensure total party control of all spheres of social life.[287] Certain jobs in Riga, such as top management positions in industrial enterprises, administration and others were approved and controlled directly from Moscow.[288] The most important change introduced by the 1974 regulations was that authorities no longer differentiated between the urban and rural population. The passport had become the basic (though not the exclusive) identification document of any Soviet citizen over 16 years.[289] The *propiska* (residence permit issued depending on size of available space) regulations had been amended and new regulations permitted to register a wife in her husband's apartment; minors and dependants in their parents' or guardians' apartment etc. [290] The *propiska* allowed people to migrate to the cities and obtain a residency permit for their wider kin.

In almost all cities, especially in the main cities, the percentage of ethnic Latvians declined by 1989 compared to 1935. The population of ethnic Latvians living in Riga declined from 63 percent to 37 percent; in Daugavpils, from 34 to 13 percent; in Liepaja from 68 to 39 percent as can be seen in Map 8.[291]

[283] Zaslavsky, 'The Passport System', 141.
[284] Ibid., 142.
[285] Ibid., 142.
[286] Boim, 'The Passport system', 37.
[287] Ibid., 37.
[288] Strods H.,'Par Latvijas politiska teatra lomam, kuras sadalija Kremlis', *Latvijas Vestnesis* Nr. 64 (2639) 26.04.2002.
[289] Boim, ,The Passport system', 29.
[290] Boim, ,The Passport system', 29.
[291] *Latvijas vēstures atlants*, 63.

Map 8: Ethnic groups in the cities and countryside of Latvia 1935/1989.

Source: *Latvijas vēstures atlants*, (SIA "Karšu izdevniecība Jāņa sēta", Rīga 2005) 63.

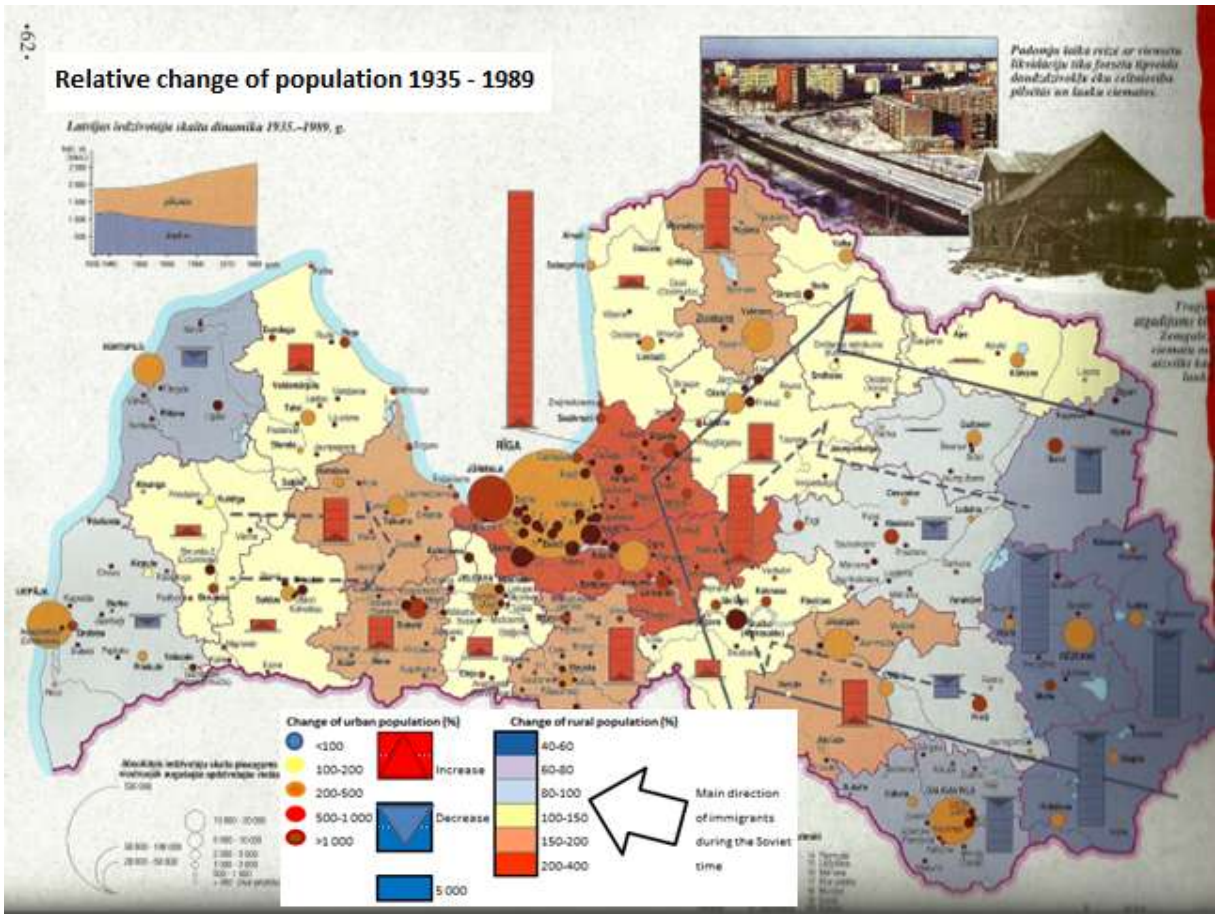
In 1989, 55 percent of Russians living in Latvia had been born in Latvia and 36 percent had been born in Russia. Of Latvia's Russian residents born outside Latvia, one-fourth had lived in the same place in Latvia for 20 years or more.[292]

Riga, together with two other Baltic capital cities, Tallinn and Vilnius, experienced "restricted growth".[293] Most immigrants travelled from East to West. Eastern Regions of

[292] Goldmane*, Latvijas Vesture pamatskolai*, 122.
[293] Aberg M., 'Paradox of Change', in: *Social Capital and Democratization: Roots of Trust in Post –Communist Poland and Ukraine* (ASHGATE 2003) 285-301.

the country were less popular. Riga was the largest city with a population of 530,000 in 1950s.

Map 9: Relative population change and flow 1935/1989, Latvia.



Source: *Latvijas vestures atlants*, (SIA "Karsu izdevniecība Jaņa seta", Rega 2005) 88, 62.

During Soviet time, starting end of 1950s administrative measures was in place to restrict Riga growth and control population movements. An internal passport system was designed to contain migration, in particular rural-urban flows. Urban migration was allowed only in the context of industrialization (factory building) and army expansion. As a result of this policy, migration patterns show that population density was very high in many of the nearby villages (population growth went above >1000 percent in 1989 in comparison to 1935 census data).[294] In 1970, ethnic Latvians in Riga accounted for 41 percent and Russians for 43 percent of the population.[295] Data on nearby villages did not represent ethnic groups and their relative ratio, but as can be seen in Map 8 (1989) more than 10 of them grew >1 000 times in their size of population, and Riga district and bordering areas became most populated in 1989. Such trend suggests that even without

[294] *Latvijas vestures atlants*, 63.
[295] Ibid., 63.

access to the urban housing (or any other restrictions) people still had access to urban jobs.

Within the communist ideology there was no room for the private sphere. People were expected to think of the collective good, rather than of individual needs. Communists tried to make family life a public issue. Measures of social disciplining created a strong sense of uncertainty. Mutual distrust led to the "atomization" of society.[296] Meanwhile, cultural stereotypes of fathers as "providers" and "breadwinners" were pushed strongly. This influenced the views of men, women and children on parenthood.[297] Men were seen as responsible for fulfilling the material needs of the child. Emotional and domestic matters related to up-bringing were left to the women.
Urbanization was the most important factor influencing urban families and households. As a result of urban migration and women entering the labor force, the European part of the Soviet Union saw its birthrate drop drastically. Women represented 53 percent of the total Soviet population and about half of the labor force. As families became more educated, disposing of more income and as women increasingly pursued urban careers, fewer children were born.[298] In the 1970s, the Soviet Union changed its propaganda with regards to women: their one and only role was to be mothers.[299] The nuclear family was the basic family unit. Families kept contacts with wider kin in a variety of ways, but did not form common households. The extended family was understood as parents, children and other more distant relatives, perhaps including grandparents or aunts and uncles,[300] although the influence of family relationships and strong ties was waning. The average size of families in major cities decreased, for reasons partly linked career but also to spatial norms.[301] Strategies of families responded to changing demographic conditions and were primary driven by family goals, e.g. schooling of children.[302] Because child day care centers were scarce, one third of the families organized child care "in the family." Care was provided by the grandmothers. This practice was supported by tradition and reinforced by acute housing shortage. In many families, three generations were forced to share a single apartment.[303]

With regard to marriage in the Soviet Union, the ideology was that people in a Communist society would marry out for love. The Soviet people were thought to be blind to a potential partner's wealth, occupation, intellect or ethnicity. Despite this ideology,

[296] Garleff, 'The Baltic region',140.
[297] Kay R., *Men in contemporary Russia: The Fallen Heroes of Post Soviet Change* (ASHGATE 2006) 236, 4.
[298] Clayton, 'Soviet Control', 158.
[299] Kay, *Men in contemporary Russia*, 12.
[300]Abercrombie N., Hill S., Turner B. S., *Dictionary of Sociology* (Penguin Dictionary 2006), 449.
[301] Frolic, B. M., 'Soviet Urban Political Leaders', *Comparative Political Studies* 2:4 (1970) 443- 464.
[302] Manning, *Migration in worlds* history, 173.
[303] Unger D. G., 'The Importance of Neighbors: The Social, Cognitive, and Affective Components of Neighboring', *American Journal of Community Psychology* 13:2 (1985) 139- 168.

however, ethnicity was an important factor in many spheres of social life. The Soviet regime did not support collecting data on intermarriage and so hardly any statistics are available on intermarriage.[304]

During the 1970s and 1980s, individuals, Latvians and Russians alike, were conscious of their ethnic identity and may have had a high preference for marrying partners of their own ethnic groups. This could be explained by the awakening of a sense of national identity but also by the self evident fact that people have to meet before marrying. The highly segregated school system and lack of contact with representatives from other ethnic groups could be an obstacle for intermarriages.[305]

In Latvia, the school system was largely ethnically segregated. As a result, individuals who completed secondary and tertiary education had a higher chance of marrying partners with the same educational level and from their own ethnic group.
The intermarriage rate of Latvians was 20 percent. For Russians, it was 35 percent to 40 percent. During the 1980s, 55 percent of all Ukrainians and 51 percent of all Byelorussians married Russians.[306] With regards to the place of residence, Russians in the countryside intermarried more than Russians in the cities. The explanation is that, as most Russian immigrants settled in the cities the ethnic communities remaining in the countryside diminished and so did the probability of finding a partner.[307]

Everyday duties caused people to spend the main part of their day away from their homes and families. Home itself held no great attraction for most of the city people as living conditions with little possibility to relax within the family. It was only in the 1970s and 1980s, after "collectivism" failed, that family and neighbors started to play a more constructive role in everyday social life.[308]

Behavioral patterns in the cities varied depending upon the "social position" of inhabitants (workers, students, employees and retired persons). Members of the urban community developed their networks among people of the same "social position". Urban networks in Soviet Union (with no exception for Latvia) were not kin- related but Party-related, as this was the only path for upwards social mobility.[309]

[304] Monden , 'Ethnic Intermarriage', 326.
[305] Ibid., 328.
[306] Ibid., 341.
[307] Ibid., 343.
[308] Unger, 'The Importance of Neighbors', 139-168; Shlapentokh V., 'The Soviet Family in the Period of the Decay of Socialism', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 22:2 (1991) 267- 280.
[309] Unger, 'The Importance, 139-168; Shlapentokh, 'The Soviet', 270.

3.1.3 Language policy

Russian was the dominant language of communication in the government sector, the economy and in almost all other sectors of the society.[310] Fluency in Russian was a prerequisite for a career in the Communist Party, army, government and all large-scale industries.[311] The Soviet Union made Russian the priority "language of inter-ethnic communication." Russian was considered the language of upward social mobility and, because it was so widespread, it became the main marker of the "Soviet" and Russian political identities.[312] The Soviet language policy in Latvia was characterized by asymmetrical bilingualism. Rural and especially urban immigrants did not need to learn Latvian and generally showed no interest in Latvian culture and traditions.[313] Russians or Russian-speakers remained largely monolingual whereas non-Russian speakers became bilingual, in order to function within the Soviet system.[314]

The theory of minorities states that "a minority is determined by the feelings of language speakers as having a subordinate status to those of another language".[315] If this theory is applied to Soviet Latvia, Latvian speakers were certainly a language minority during the half-century of Soviet dominance. The fact that "mastery of the Russian language was a prerequisite for reaching the highest social positions" suggests that the Russian minority was the dominant ethnic group.[316] The official language policy, as well as growing immigration of Russian-speaking migrants to the cities meant that Latvians and other ethnic groups (non-Russians speaking) were continually losing status. Migrants mostly settled in cities and formed nominal majorities in the biggest cities in Latvia. Latvians still constituted the majority of the total population (even as late as 1989), i.e. 52 percent of the total population, but the influx of monolingual Russian-speakers who were expected to work in all kind of enterprises, created a situation in which native inhabitants were obliged to learn Russian.[317]

According to the 1989 Soviet Census, 68 percent of all Latvians claimed to have a good command of Russian, while only 22 percent of the Russian-speaking population had any

[310] Schmid C., Zepa B., Snipe A., 'Language Policy and Ethnic Tensions in Quebec and Latvia', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* (2004) 231- 252, 235.
[311] Monden, 'Ethnic intermarriage', 328.
[312] Kolossov V., 'Ethnic and political identities and territorialities in the post-Soviet space', *GeoJournal* 48 (1999) 71–81, 75.
[313] Rislaki, *Maldinasana*, 42.
[314] Ozolins U., 'The Impact of European Accession upon Language Policy in the Baltic States', *Language Policy* 2 (2003) 217–238.
[315] Allard E., 'What constitutes a language minority?', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 5 (1984) 195–205.
[316] Monden,'Ethnic intermarriage', 328.
[317] Rudenshiold E., 'Ethnic dimensions in contemporary Latvian politics: focusing forces for change', Sov Stud, 44 (1992) 609–639, 610.

knowledge of Latvian.[318] Although such statistics indicate that the "Russification" process was reasonably successful, it does not prove anything about political loyalty. Non-Russian speakers became aware that many "doors" were closed to them, not only because mastering the language or membership of the Communist Party were required, but more importantly because of their ethnic roots.[319]

Because Latvia was only incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1940, and possibly owing to its very high literacy rate (98 percent), Latvia, like its Baltic neighbors escaped the imposition of Cyrillic script. Other Soviet Republics, such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan and Moldavia, had to drop the Arabic and Roman alphabets and substitute their alphabet by Cyrillic.[320]

Latvian and Russian were used in the education sector, the arts (concerts and theaters), radio, television and printed mass media.[321] Latvian dominated only in folk culture and free use of Latvian was restricted to the private realm.[322]

Only in 1989, the Soviet Latvian parliament adopted a language law, making Latvian the official state language. The law stated that "secondary education is guaranteed both in Russian and Latvian. University education is available in both languages, depending on the specialty".[323] All graduates had to pass an exam of Latvian however, before graduating from University.[324]

3.2 Urban services

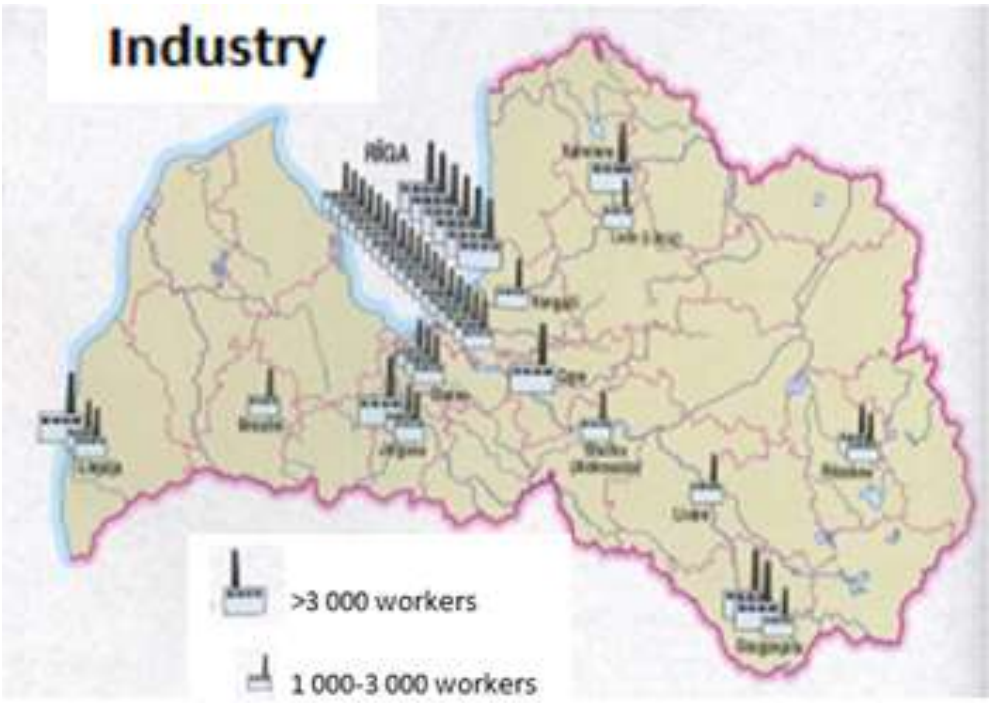
3.2.1 Labor market

New jobs in Latvia were mainly related to the industrialization plan. This meant that many Russian-speaking immigrants were specifically recruited to fill in the gaps in the industrial workforce.[325] The Western Region became the most industrialized region with the largest urban population in the entire Soviet Union. The industrialization plan for Latvia was based on building new factories which used imported raw materials from remote parts of the Soviet Union and exporting produced goods to the Soviet Union and other allied countries. Most of the factory workers and middle and top management

[318] Ozolins, 'The Impact of European Accession', 25.
[319] Safran, 'Language, Ideology', 404.
[320] Ozolins, 'The Impact of European Accession', 229.
[321] Monden, 'Etnic Intermarriage', 328.
[322] Ozolins, 'The Impact of European' 217–238.
[323] Latvian Language Law, Article 11, 1989.
[324] Schmid C., 'Ethnicity and language', 15.
[325] Clayton E., 'Soviet Control', 159.

immigrated from other parts of the Soviet Union. From 1950 to the late 1980s, a total of twelve industrial enterprises were built in Latvia, employing over 3,000 workers each. A further 24 factories were built, each employing between 1,000-3,000 workers. In Riga the proportion of factories was 6/18; Liepaja 1/ 2, and Daugavpils 2/1 respectively as showed in Map 10.[326]

Map 10: Industrial enterprises in Latvia during Soviet time.



Source: *Latvijas vestures atlants. No senajiem laikiem līdz musdienam* (Riga SIA "Karsu izdevniecība Jana seta" 2005) 88, 60.

The development of the transportation system over land and water made Latvia extremely important in the whole industrial system of the Soviet Union as showed in Map 11. Thanks to its extensive port facilities, Ventspils played the most significant role for exporting goods to allied countries. Liepaja port had been a "closed" harbor from 1967 to 1990. It was used only for military purposes and Riga was designated as Red Army Headquarters for the Baltic Sea region.[327]

[326] Petijums 'Cilvekresursu potenciala noteikšana Latvijas masinbuves un metalapstrādes nozare, un strategijas izstrade jauno specialistu piesaistei saja nozare, pielietojot reklamas pasakumus un motivasanas shemas', (Rīga 2005) 29.
[327] *Latvijas vēstures atlants*, 68; Rakowska-Harmstone T., 'Chickens Coming Home to Roost: A Perspective on Soviet Ethnic Relations', *Journal of International Affairs* 45:2 (1992) 519- 548, 534.

Map 11: Transport system in Latvia in the 1980s.

Source: *Latvijas vestures atlants. No senajiem laikiem lidz musdienam* (Riga SIA "Karšu izdevniecība Jana seta" 2005) 88, 69.

All citizens of the Soviet Union "had the right to work." This implied guaranteed employment, pay and protection against dismissal. Most contracts were open-ended with a few exceptions for seasonal and temporary employment. Dismissal (if it occurred at all) normally required the approval of the workers' council.[328] In Latvia urban jobs were better distributed among the genders than they were among ethnic groups: only 36 percent of production managers, 46 percent of leaders of production units, and 47 percent of leaders of enterprises were Latvians. Russians or Russian-speakers held a disproportionate number of administrative jobs, posts in the Communist party and other public organizations.[329]

In the Soviet Union, trade unions played the role of "transition belt" between workers and the Party. All unions were co-opted through the "Central Council of Trade Unions" which encompassed national federations of all unions corresponding to different branches of the Ministry of Economics. The role of the unions was to participate in discussions on working hours and wage scales. Working hours averaged 40 hours per week. The unions monitored staff welfare, controlled enterprise social funds and represented workers in decisions concerning dismissal or reassignments. In state enterprises, all workers were

[328] Mervyn M., *Poverty in the Soviet Union. The Lifestyle of the underprivileged in the recent years*, (Cambridge University Press 1986) 227, 107.
[329] Ozolins, 'The Impact of European Accession', 231.

offered job security, membership of the trade union and non-financial benefits. Since 1971, guarantees of full and secure employment, price control on basic necessities, automatic union membership, and welfare benefits had been assured through the factory unions. The entire workforce, even those employed in collective farms, enjoyed a standard set of employment rights and social benefits.[330]

Migrants moving from the countryside to cities usually took up unattractive manual jobs, failed to get further training and faced a long wait for adequate housing.[331]
The "socialist city" was based on the following principles: class unity, absence of exploitation and unemployment, elimination of private property and land ownership.[332] Soviet authorities carefully supervised the strategically important posts. They favored Russian-speaking immigrants in acceding to top management positions in the main cities, harbors, industrial centers, maritime traffic and the army.[333]
During the Soviet era, due to the absence of private ownership of property, classes could not exist. Paradoxically, this was paramount in determining privilege and lifestyle.[334] Within major social groups (white-collar workers and peasants), considerable mobility was always possible. The two main channels for movement into and through the white-collar group were education and Communist Party membership.[335] In the case of Latvia, belonging to a Russian–speaking minority was a further obstacle to be overcome.
The local government of the Republic of Soviet Latvia visibly lacked autonomy. This affected control of internal migration, language policy and the distribution of internal resources and privileges.[336]

The greatest change in the Soviet period was the emergence of the "working class as the largest component of the Soviet class structure, reduction of rural peasant groups and installment of the *nomenklatura*- the Communist Party elite- at the top of society." Members of the *nomenklatura* had special privileges with respect to consumer goods and services, housing, health care, travel abroad, schools and education.[337] During the Soviet time, in the entire Soviet Union, including in Latvia, power was in the hands of a single party, based on elite recruitment.[338] The Communist party had a leading role. Any attempt to create or advocate the creation of another party was labeled as a criminal

[330] Chen C., Sil R., 'Communist Legacies, Post-communist Transformations, and the Fate of Organized Labor in Russia and China', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 41 (2006), 62-87, 63.
[331] Mervyn, *Poverty in the Soviet Union*, 150.
[332] Frolic B. M., 'The Soviet City', *Town Planning Review* 34:4 (1964) 285- 306.
[333] Rislaki, *Maldinasana,* 43.
[334] Eglitis D., 'Class, Culture, and Consumption: Representations of Stratification in Post-communist Latvia', *Cultura Sociology* 5 (2011) 423–446, 425-428.
[335] Mervyn, *Poverty in the Soviet Union*, 150-151.
[336] Eglitis, 'Class, Culture', 428.
[337] Cockerham C.W., *Health and Social Change in Russia and Eastern Europe 1999*, (Routledge 1999) 284, 6.
[338] Shlapentokh, 'The Soviet Family', 273.

act.[339] In the Soviet system, there was a relatively small group of leaders who exercised tremendous power of decisions in the name of the Party and the State. They utilized both human and material resources to lead millions of Soviet people, who tended not to share the sense of Soviet duty, but instead to care only about their own jobs.[340] The top posts in the Party and/or the government were held by urban leaders who received "political training" adopted the Soviet working style. The same structure was organized in large cities and small towns.[341] If promoted, they moved upwards from a party post in a town to a higher government post in a larger city or the capital city of Riga.[342] The system closely resembled what we understand nowadays by "career migration," when a person was posted elsewhere by his/her employer, based on the needs of the employer and not on the will of the individual. During Soviet occupation, professional positions were filled primarily by Russian immigrants. Social mobility was linked to ethnicity and membership of the Community Party.

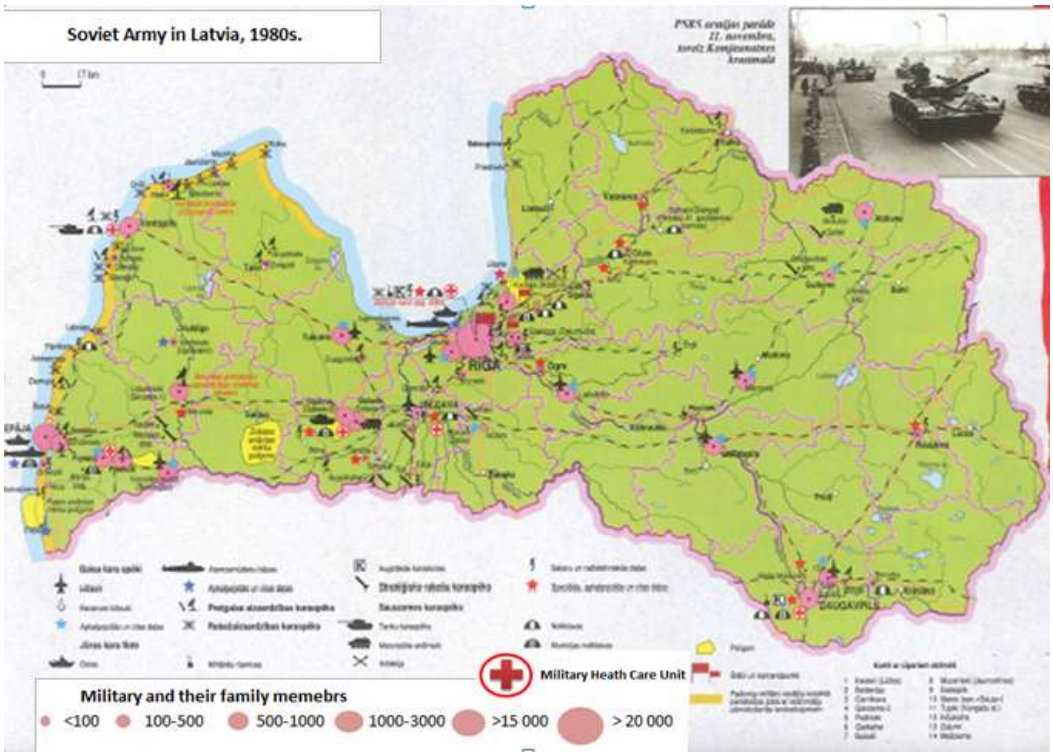
For factory directors, political leaders and military staff, the incentive was not so much the money, though it was important, but rather the privilege of access to better jobs and other services offered by the state, spending their money in special shops, having access to special health care units or countryside holiday houses (dachas). [343] Important posts and top management positions such as directors of collective farms, factories, heads of hospitals, universities, theatres, libraries and research centers were subject to approval by the *nomenklatura*.[344]

During the Soviet period, the army was strongly present in the entire country. Over 40 "military sites" were allocated to the Soviet Army. Over 20,000 military were stationed in Riga. As many as 15,000 military were present in Liepaja. Between 1,000 and 3000 were assigned to Daugavpils.[345]

Riga was declared Headquarters of the Soviet Army's "Baltic Sea Region." This meant that on top of being a "closed" city and restricted for urban migration, army members were free to choose Riga (or any other location in the entire country) upon retirement. Riga became home to some 50,000 World War II veterans and 60,000 to 100,000 retired Soviet officers. [346]

[339] *Russia, A History of Soviet Period*, 152.
[340] Mosely P. E., 'The Soviet Citizen Views the World' , *Review of Politics* 26:4 (1964) 451- 472, 453.
[341] Frolic B. M., 'Soviet Elite: Comparisons and Analysis', *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 12:4 (1970) 441- 463.
[342] Frolic, 'Soviet Urban', 443- 464.
[343] Nomenklatura. http://www.letonika.lv/groups/default.aspx?cid=31712&r=2&lid=31712&q=&h=73 (12 May 2013).
[344] Ibid.
[345] *Latvijas vēstures atlants,* 70.
[346] *Ibid.,* 70; Rislaki, *Maldinasana*, 43.

Map 12: Soviet Army in Latvia in 1980s.



Source: *Latvijas vēstures atlants*, (SIA "Karšu izdevniecība Jāņa sēta", Rīga 2005) 70.

So-called "army cities" which were somewhat similar to *microrayons,* were built for the needs of the Soviet Army. In Riga there were 14 army *microrayons,* some of them with specialized military hospitals.

3.2.2 Education

The Soviet authorities have always attached considerable importance to education. Provision of full secondary education for every child (up to seventeen plus) was proclaimed as a national goal as early as 1939. Later, it was enshrined the1973 Fundamental Law of Education.[347] The Soviet annexation of Latvia meant that the same educational principles applied to all school-age children. All schools for minorities living in Latvia were closed in 1940, except those operating in Latvian and Russian.[348] Education was compulsory and free for all children until the age of 16.[349] Studies at the universities and higher education institutes were also sponsored by the state[350] and consequently, numbers of students increased. The general school system was backed by a well-

[347] Mervyn, *Poverty in the Soviet Union*, 81-82.
[348] *Latvijas vestures atlants,* 65.
[349] Ibid.,, 65.
[350] Ibid., 65.

developed system of pre-school facilities: nurseries and kindergardens.[351] With the growth of Russian-speaking immigrants and their families, the number of schools also increased. Soviet planners calculated how many Russian or Latvian schools were needed per inhabitants per *microrayon (residential complex).* It was calculated that for every 1,000 inhabitants, 77-90 nursery places had to be built and two *microrayons* would share one primary school. [352] Beyond primary school, the provision of secondary special and higher education was also well-embedded in the educational system.[353] Selection criteria for pupils were not in place (except "special" schools like with advanced mathematics, physics, and foreign languages) and therefore Soviet cities generally did not make distinctions between children based on where they lived. Detailed control and standardization of the general school curriculum fought against differentiation and even schools in rural areas had to comply with national norms.[354] The aim of education was to steer students away from preparation for "briefcase professions" and rather orient them towards technical/scientific careers.[355] Youngsters from less skilled and less educated families chose for shorter and simpler training. For most young men, renunciation of full time education before the age of eighteen entailed a period of two to four years of military service.[356] The study of Russian became compulsory, at first in secondary schools and later in primary schools, starting at age six and seven. Russian became a mandatory foreign language.[357]

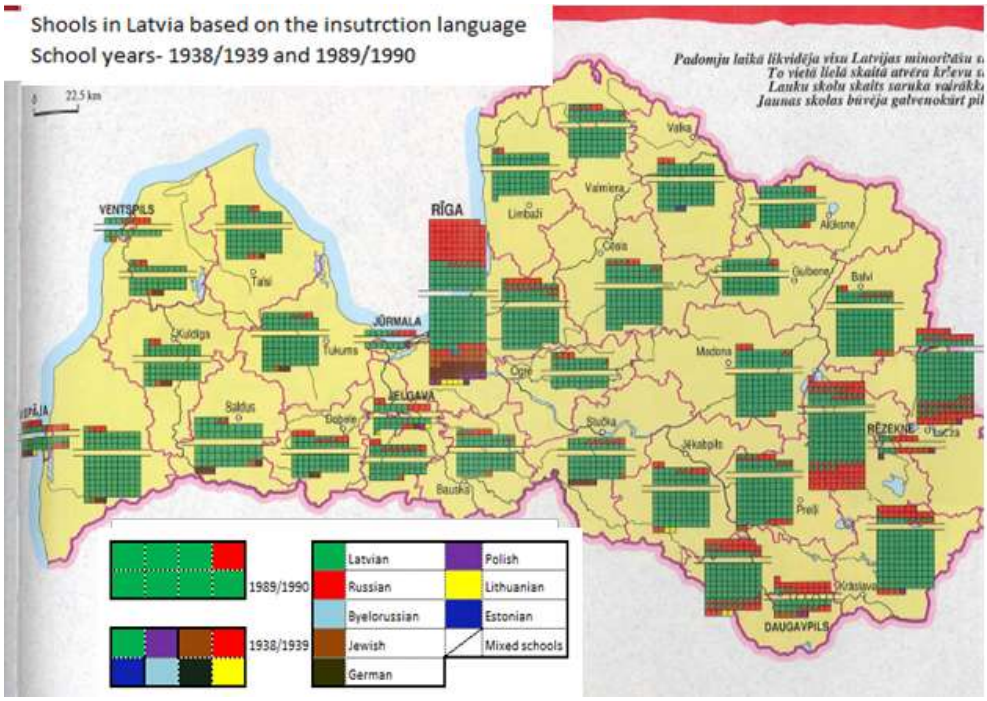
As of 1945, a parallel system of education was introduced in Latvia; with Latvian language of instruction for Latvians with curriculum of eleven years and Russian language of instruction for Russians and Russians speaking immigrants with curriculum of ten years. There were few schools operating in Russian for those who had already settled down in Latvia before annexation by the Soviet Union. New Russian language of instruction schools were build mostly in cities and majority of them in newly built *microrayons* due to the state regulated housing policy for urban (mostly Russians-speaking) immigrants.[358] A unique aspect of the Soviet Latvian education system was the introduction of "bi-stream" schools (schools with two languages of instruction- Latvian and Russian) in the 1960s. Schools had common administration but two streams based on the ethnic origin of the schoolchildren. About a third of all school children went to these schools. The others attended the purely Latvian or Russian schools.[359] In these "bi-stream" schools, extra-curricular activities and parent-teacher events were expected to

[351] Mervyn, *Poverty in the Soviet Union,* 83.
[352] Sweeney, 'Regional patterns', 128- 135.
[353] Mervyn, *Poverty in the Soviet Union,* 83.
[354] Ibid., 83.
[355] *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe*, 253.
[356] Mervyn, *Poverty in the Soviet Union,* 87.
[357] *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe*, 756.
[358] *Latvijas vestures atlants*, 65.
[359] Challenge to schools. Public education in USSR, England and France, source not known, 197- 224.

be held together. Almost inevitably however, they were conducted in Russian, due to the "asymmetric bilingualism" which had developed over time.

Comparing the data showed in Map 13 of the 1935 and 1989 censuses, numbers of schools where Latvian was the language of instruction decreased by almost three times from 1421 to 501; schools where Russian was the language of instruction increased in number from 172 to 205. 124 new "bi-stream" schools were established where both Latvian and Russian were languages of instruction.[360]

Map 13: Schools in Latvia in 1938 and 1989.



Source: *Latvijas vestures atlants. No senajiem laikiem līdz mūsdienām* (Riga SIA "Karšu izdevniecība Jāņa sēta" 2005) 88, 65.

The same pattern can be observed in Riga: Latvian instruction schools decreased twice from 85 in 1939 to 43 in 1989. Russian instruction schools increased almost seven times from 9 to 70.[361]

Table 5: Schools in Riga in 1938/1939 and 1989/1990.

Schools in Riga	Latvian	Russian	Byelo-russians	Jewish	German	Polish	Lithua nian	Esto nian	Mixed Latvian/ Russian
1938/1939	85	9	1	17	23	7	4	1	0
1989/1990	43	70	0	0	0	0	0	0	6

Source: *Latvijas vestures atlants. No senajiem laikiem līdz mūsdienām* (Riga SIA "Karšu izdevniecība Jāņa sēta" 2005) 88, 65.

[360] *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe*, 756.
[361] *Latvijas vestures atlants*, 65; Safran, 'Language, Ideology', 403.

A certain linguistic pluralism prevailed, in the sense that parents had the option to choose the school and language of instruction for their children. Ambitious parents opted for the Russian schools because these offered better chances of upward mobility.[362]

Although education in all 15 Soviet Republics was available in the native languages, these languages were given no room in the academic world, large enterprises and organizations that operated throughout the Soviet Union.[363]
In 1980, Latvia had ten universities. Seven of them were in the capital city of Riga. From the 1960s, the city was "closed" with limited migration options for people from rural areas or other smaller cities. Two pedagogical institutes and The State Academy for Agriculture were located in three other cities.[364] A network of young scientists developed all over the country, with around 17,000 scientists who were linked to the biggest industrial centers and the Science Research Academy in Riga.[365]

Educational options for the rural population and other immigrants were restricted due to the location of the universities. If they were located in the "closed" city, this was reflected by the level of education and further career paths of ethnic Latvians.[366] Two things should be noted here in relation to the data on education. First, in 1989 only ninety-six out of 1,000 Latvians completed higher education, compared with 115 out of 1000 for the entire population. The most educated were Jews, with a rate of 407 per 1000, followed by Ukrainians with 163 per 1000 and Russians with 143 per 1000. Byelorussians, Poles and Lithuanians had a lower rate than Latvians. One of the key variables accounting for this was where people lived (the countryside versus the city.) Jews and Russians tended to live in cities, much more so than Latvians or Poles. Most institutions of higher learning were located in Riga. Unless one had relatives or friends there, it was difficult to find accommodation.[367] Second, education rates varied per region. The lowest rate of population with a university degree was observed in the Eastern and Southern parts of the country: less than 45 percent. The highest rate was in Riga and Riga district: over 75 percent. These figures are hardly surprising, considering the geographical location of universities and education institutes and the rural-urban distribution of ethnic groups.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union set specific requirements for teachers as ideological workers. Schools were used as the stage for propaganda of new ideology. In

[362] Safran, 'Language, Ideology', 403.
[363] Monden, 'Etnic Intermarriage', 328.
[364] *Latvijas vestures atlants*, 65.
[365] Vai Latvijas zinatniekiem japarkvalificejas par opermaksliniekiem? (intervija ar akademiki Jani Stradinu) (Diena Sestdiena 5 November 2011).
[366] *Latvijas vestures atlants,* 65.
[367] Latvia studies. http://www.mongabay.com/reference/country_studies/latvia/SOCIETY.html (5 May 2013)

Latvia, about 8,000 communists were actively involved in party organizations in schools. Every third teacher was a communist and every fifth a member of the Young Communist League. The concept of a teacher as a worker at the service of the Soviet ideology was successfully carried out during teacher training and retraining.[368]

The young generations of Soviet citizens were formed ideologically, intellectually, morally, esthetically, and physically in order to work for the new system. The educational process was a passive one, characterized by one-way traffic.[369]

Children of Latvian Russians and of Russian-speaking immigrants were educated in Russian schools according to the ten-year Russian model (till age of 17) while Latvian language schools followed eleven-year curricula (till age of 18).[370] In Russian-speaking schools, immigrant children took classes of Latvian once or twice a week.[371] Children who attended Russian language instruction schools had more chances of success. Parents (and their children) who chose a Latvian language school, were labeled as "narrow nationalists".[372] Teachers of Russian received higher benefits than teachers of Latvian, who were generally ethnic Latvians.[373]

Such examples of sub-divided parallel school systems show that there was hardly any interaction between ethnic Latvians and immigrants from other ethnic groups (both children and adults). School and everyday activities did not overlap and structural integration (in this case education)[374] was slow, if it happened at all.

3.2.3 Housing

Based on the steady growth of industrial enterprises and the constant influx of urban workforce as well as students, close attention was paid to city planning and city expansion.

From the early 1920s onwards, the proportion of urban-dwellers continuously increased. Starting from 14 percent in 1920, it reached 74 percent in 1991, expanding most rapidly

[368] Kestere I., *Pedagoģijas vēsture. Skola, skolotājs, skolēns* (Riga Zvaigzne ABC 2005) 181.
[369] Kestere, *Pedagoģijas vēsture,*35.
[370] Ozolins, 'The Impact of European', 217–238.
[371] Schmid, 'Ethnicity and language', 6.
[372] Priedite A., 'Surveying language attitudes and practices in Latvia', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 26 (2005), 409–424, 409-410.
[373] Ginkel J., 'Identity construction in Latvia's 'singing revolution': why inter-ethnic conflict failed to occur', *Natl Pap 30* (2002), 403–433, 419-420.
[374] Lucassen L., Laarman C., 'Immigration, intermarriage and the changing face of Europe in the post war period', *The History of family* 14 (2009) 52-68, 53.

in 1950 with the Soviet industrialization strategies and Russian-speaking migrants travelling to the cities, most particularly to Riga.[375]

The Soviet government had a three-tiered approach to solving the shortage of housing for urban migrants:[376] (1) by organizing so called "communal" apartments, which meant sharing one apartment with several other individuals and/or families by using a common kitchen and bathroom; (2) by building new living suburbs or *microrayons* close to the cities and (3) by building completely new, so-called "factory-cities" with apartment blocks.[377] Large complexes of apartment houses (and even whole new towns) were constructed to accommodate the urban migrants. These workers and their family members came to Latvia, attracted by one of the highest standards of living in the Soviet Union.[378] One of these Latvian cities was Olaine, for example, (20 km from Riga) which obtained city rights only in 1967 with 7,000 inhabitants. The history of the city was closely linked to the peat bog, first discovered in 1940. Thereafter, production facilities were built. After 1967, other (chemical, plastic and pharmaceutical) industries were developed. Increasing numbers of urban immigrant workers required accommodation.[379] Housing became a means to recruit and retain employees in the production units, thus ensuring fulfillment of the five-year plan.[380]

Five stages of urban development can be identified in Latvian cities. Various factors enter into play, e.g. the duration of the city's Soviet experience, damages incurred during the wars, the character of the city's industrial base, etc.[381] Stage one was characterized by the "nationalization" of the economy and post-war reconstruction. Stage two (until the mid 1960s) marked a period of significant industrial expansion as well as military elite presence and increasingly scarce housing in the face of growing employment. In stage three, it was not the city administration, nor the low-priority enterprises, but the high-priority industrial concerns which undertook mass housing construction.. Stage four was characterized by housing construction by both low and high-priority enterprises (housing location became an issue in attracting and retaining labor), as long as this did not interfere with the interests of elite organizations, such as the military. Stage five marked the transition to a market economy and economic restructuring.[382]

[375] Afontsev, 'Urban Households in Russia', 40.
[376] Choguill, C. L., 'Implementing Urban Development Projects: A Search for Criteria for Success', *Third World Planning Review* 16:1 (1994) 25- 39, 27.
[377] Goldmane*, Latvijas Vesture pamatskolai*, 12.
[378] Woolfson, 'Labour Migration', 952–982.
[379] Olaine. Pilsetas vestures. http://www.olaine.lv/vesture (2 June 2013)
[380] Gentile, 'Spaces of Priority', 134.
[381] Ibid., 134.
[382] Ibid., 134.

There are numerous examples of cities where the housing stock was mostly controlled by one or at the most a few industrial enterprises, whose interests tended to conflict with those of the city administration.[383] As there was no private sector, city expansion plans were driven by the central government, which ignored people's individual needs entirely. All planning was inspired by the Soviet ideology and forcing the way of living and acceptance of it onto all other nation(s).[384]

The overall planning and building policy was based on the *microrayon,* a basic form of organization of housing recommended for new urban territories. *Microrayons* were built in both "new" and "old" cities, ranging in size of 4,000 to 18,000 inhabitants and flexible enough to cope with spatial and economic demands.[385] Each family was supposed to have one flat and children lived together with their parents.[386] In the Soviet Union, which had "nationalized" all land, there was no land market, nor any regulatory mechanism for rents and prices. Allocation and control of housing was performed by the State. The numbers of people allowed to live in the urban zones were calculated, based on the allocated space quota per person (it varied per republics from 9 to 13,5 m^2 per person with addition of improvised "sanitary norms"). [387] The minimum standard in Latvia per person/per square meters was set in 1945 at 9m^2 per person plus an additional 4m^2 per family. In 1954, it was decreased to 4m^2 per person. In 1956, it was increased to 5m^2 and in 1960 increased again by 1m^2 to a total of 6m^2 per person.[388]

Allocation of housing occurred primarily related to urban employment. Urban immigrants needed to acquire both a job and an official residency permit *(propiska*) from their employer. The *propiska* was attached to citizens' internal passports. A temporary *propiska* was granted to short-time and unskilled workers. After getting a *propiska,* housing could be obtained from the employer, the ministry or the municipality. Through this system, Soviet authorities tried to control the movement of the population inside the Soviet Union. As cities were better places to live due to better wages, higher level of public services and better educational opportunities, many large cities, particularly capitals of all the Republics, were "closed" in the mid 1960s to urban migrants. Riga formed no exception.[389] Another "closed" city in the mid 1960s was the port city of Liepaja, one of the Soviet Union's leading naval ports and strategic bases. The city was "closed" –i.e. completely off limits to the general public- with almost 30,000 people stationed here, an entire submarine warren and nuclear weapons stored in underground

[383] Gentile, 'Spaces of Priority', 132.
[384] Sweeney, 'Regional patterns',128- 135.
[385] Osborn, 'How the Russians plan', 25-30.
[386] Sweeney, 'Regional patterns', 128- 135.
[387] Clayton, 'Soviet Control', 158.
[388] Goldmane, *Latvijas Vesture pamatskolai*, 130.
[389] Sweeney, 'Regional patterns', 128- 135.

silos. The Western coastline of the Baltic Sea was under the control of the Soviet Army and no civil mobility of any kind was permitted, except with special permission.[390]

In 1959, in the course of a single year, Riga accommodated almost 70,000 new inhabitants, which were assigned to the new *microrayons*. A significant proportion of the housing stock was reserved for the military.[391] City apartments became the dominant type of housing. In Riga, the post-war transformation was followed by high-level economic development, imagined by Soviet planners and implemented by migrant workers. This process entailed extensive Russian migration to Riga (from 1959 to 1970, the city's growth was 126 percent) which resulted in a dramatically altered demographic composition.[392]

During the Soviet time, in order to deal with the constant influx of immigrants, ten new *microrayons* were built in the suburbs of Riga. The post-1960 mass housing construction program implied considerable standardization. There were several districts within Riga which required travel permits for citizens of Riga to travel due to the presence of the Soviet army.[393]

Map 14: Riga's *microrayons* built during Soviet time.

Source: Riga. http://www.rdpad.lv (01 June 2013)

[390] Ghosts and submarines, *Gataway Riga. Autumn/ Winter* (2011/2012) 30-37.
[391] Rislaki, Maldinasana, 43.
[392] Rakowska- Harmstone T., ` Chickens Coming Home', 519- 548; Erickson K. A., 'A map of urban places in USSR, 1970', *Journal of Geography* 70:9 (1971) 555-560.
[393] Muktupavela L., *BraliBrali*, (Riga Dienas gramatas 2008), 399, 37, 74, 142.

The first *microrayon* was built in 1950 to accommodate migrant workers from other parts of the Soviet Union. Over a 20-year period, from 1939 to 1960, the number of urban dwellers increased by 70 percent, whereas urban housing grew by only 20 percent. Many urban migrants lived in "barrack" type housing. Only in the 1960s did mass construction of urban housing - mostly one and two-room apartments - took place in Soviet Latvia. When it came to obtaining new housing in the cities, priority was given to urban migrants from other parts of the Soviet Union, and so housing became an ethnic problem. From 1960 until 1985, urban housing doubled. Still, the housing problem was not solved and people continued to live in overcrowded circumstances. The changes brought about by the passport and *propiska* (registration) system in 1974 meant that housing was now based on kin and no longer on availability of space.[394] For those who already had a place to live, getting a new apartment (e.g. adult children or newly-weds) was difficult. They could be on state-regulated waiting lists for 10-20 years. It was almost impossible to buy a new apartment, as worker made an average monthly income (in 1974) of 130-140 rubles whereas a new 3-room apartment cost an average of 10,000 rubles.[395] To make cities more compliant with the Soviet regime, they were given the Soviet city "look": standard housing blocks sprang up everywhere, similar to the ones found all over the Soviet Union.[396]

European sociologists have claimed that a "crisis point" is reached if one out of five residents is an immigrant. In such cases, "old" residents start to leave neighborhoods in search of housing opportunities elsewhere.[397] By 1989 in Riga, 37 percent of the population consisted of Latvians. The remaining 63 percent consisted of other nationalities, most of them immigrants. As the new apartment blocks were built mostly for urban migrant workers in the *microrayons,* percentages could be expected to be even higher. Because migration was state-controlled and private property was non-existent, there were no alternative housing opportunities and so people stayed where they were. All *microrayons* were planned and built not only with apartment blocks, nurseries, primary and secondary schools but also with their own local administrative centers, including health care units.

[394] Tildes Datorenciklopedija Latvijas Vesture. Saimnieciska dzive. Dzivoklu celtnieciba. http://www.letonika.lv/groups/default.aspx?cid=31717&r=2&lid=31717&q=&h=0 (12 June 2013)
[395] Goldmane*, Latvijas Vesture pamatskolai*, 123,125.
[396] Bursa G. R. F., 'Political Changes of Names of Soviet Towns', *Slavonic and East European Review* 63:2 (1985) 161-193, 163.
[397] Hirsa, Latvijas Avíze, 23.11.2005.

3.2.4 Health care

Being a socialist country, the Soviet Union declared in principle that health care was free of cost and equally available to all citizens, regardless of their ethnicity, income and duration of stay in any one place.[398] The basic idea of Soviet health policy was: health care is "the responsibility of the state, provided without any costs involved from the patients, controlled by the central authority, with priority care allocated to workers. Special attention was paid to preventative care". [399] After completing their training, doctors, dentists and other medical personnel could be posted to state-approved jobs anywhere in the country.[400] They would become highly skilled rural or urban migrants, based on decisions made by the authorities.

A hierarchical system of health care units was established with local polyclinics (out-patient clinics) as an entry point for primary and basic care, with referral to higher-level services and hospitals. The central government provided budget to the local governments who financed health care services for all.[401] Both Latvian and Russian were used in the health care sector.[402] Health care was available to all rural and urban citizens. Communist party members and military employees - unlike their family members - were entitled to separate health care and attended separate health care units (see Map 12).

3.3 Conclusion

The Soviet development model meant urbanization and industrialization in an overall top-down, planned manner. The Soviet period in Latvia saw the steady growth of the urban workforce and of industrialization levels. At different stages of Soviet power, the state took different measures to deal with mobility of people, starting with deportations of Latvians in June 1941 and in March 1949 and the "closing" of a number of cities (in the 1960s) to regulate urban migration. This was followed by the introduction of residency permits (*propiska*) which were directly linked to the internal passports (not applicable for *kolkhoz* workers until 1974) to make rural-urban migration more difficult for certain groups and to restrict access to urban jobs and benefits.

The Soviet passport system served a triple purpose: it was an administrative identity document; together with the *propiska* regulations, it allowed the authorities to monitor population movements and third, it was a supervision tool for the internal security

[398] Mervyn, *Poverty in the Soviet Union,* 91.
[399] Cockerham, *Health and Social Change,* 30.
[400] Mervyn, *Poverty in the Soviet Union,* 92.
[401] Cockerham, *Health and Social Change,* 31.
[402] Ozolins, 'The Impact of European', 217–238.

organs.[403] Migration to the cities was not affordable for all groups of people due to the restrictions mentioned above.

Soviet planners had specific ideas about the numbers and sizes of cities to be distributed all over the Soviet Union. Planning was carried out in such a manner that practically each new Soviet Republic had one main city (in the case of Soviet Latvia, it was the capital city, Riga). This came very close to the definition of *primate* city, as there were no other cities comparable in size and services offered, including urban jobs and education. Those who had opportunity to move, moved mostly to these *primate* cities due to the better jobs and academic education.

Few cities were developed completely from scratch: as industrial ones or mushroomed after World War II from tiny village to the relatively booming cities with growing inflow of other ethnic groups. According to the 1935 census, all larger cities accommodated twice their original numbers of inhabitants.

After World War II, members of the Red Army, together with Russian-speaking immigrants arrived through state-sponsored labor migration, mostly to the capital city.[404] The high share of Russian-speaking minorities in Latvia results largely from the post-war Soviet policies of massive migration, and industrialisation. From late 1940s till the very end of the Soviet rule, about 1.5 million immigrants were "reallocated" to Latvia from other parts of the Soviet Union to work in the rapidly developing industrial and construction sector. Half of these migrants settled there permanently. As a result, the proportion of ethnic Latvians decreased from about three-quarters in 1935 to a little more than a half by 1989.[405] The largest numbers of Russians, however, moved to Latvia in the 1950-1980s.[406]

Jobs in the cities and new industries were offered all year around, leading to permanent settlements. The process of industrialization was based on dependency: importing raw materials and workforce and exporting goods to the entire Soviet Union.

State-sponsored migration (as it was mostly linked to industrialization processes) favored certain ethnic groups: ethnic Russians and Russian- speaking Ukrainians and Byelorussians. Non-Russian population was a minority in seven of the largest towns of

[403] Boim, 'The Passport system', 41.
[404] Garleff, 'The Baltic region', 134.
[405] Ivlevs, 'Are Ethnic Minorities', 6.
[406] Dorodnova J., 'Challenging Ethnic Democracy: Implementation of the Recommendations of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities to Latvia, 1993-2001', *Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg.* CORE Working Paper 9 (Hamburg 20013) 166, 14.

the country. Slightly more than half of the entire Soviet Union population was Russian and about three-quarters were Slavs (Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians).[407] Most of the cities were modeled after these ethnic proportions (two thirds or at least half of population Slavs). An even higher misbalance was seen in Riga, which besides being an industrial center was also center of the arts, culture and education.

While the reasons are clear why Russian-speaking ethnic groups took the opportunity to migrate (especially to the cities in the new Soviet Republics), unfortunately hardly any information is available on why twelve other major minority groups like the Kazakhs, the Tajiks, the Uzbeks, the Georgians etc. did not. All is known that "growing national awareness, strengthened national elites, strong traditions of large families, attachment to native villages were obstacles for massive out-migration from other Soviet Republics".[408]

Ethnicity played important role in upwards social mobility, as belonging to a certain ethnic group (preferably Russian or at least Slav) and Communist background were prerequisites for it. The state fostered all kinds of urban institutions for minority groups, but favoured language majority groups in terms of education, culture, mass media, labour market and housing, in order to entice individuals to settle permanently, with no need for integration. Latvia witnessed repression of the Latvian language. Bilingualism was a precondition for the emergence of dual identity, as a preliminary stage on the road to a uniform, Russian-speaking Soviet nation.[409] It was possible only because the Russian-speakers who moved to Latvia under the Soviet era generally did not think of themselves as immigrants, as they moved within what they considered to be one country- they crossed cultural borders, but stayed within political ones. Therefore, the migrants faced no pressure of cultural or linguistic adjustment to the host "Republic".[410] The use of Latvian and Russian was sharply asymmetrical, in favor of Russian.
It is important to note that Ukrainians and Belarusians, the second and third largest Slavic groups in Latvia, were linguistically Russified, partly by choice and partly because there was no infrastructure available in the Soviet republics for maintaining a wide range of ethno-cultural identities through educational establishments. Education was available in either Latvian or Russian, and the majority of Slavs chose Russian-language instruction.[411]

Within several years after arrival, the migrants coming from outside of Latvia could apply for such housing. Soviet housing policies were viewed by Latvians as discriminating

[407] Baras, 'Contemporary Soviet Society', 173.
[408] Maio A. J., 'The Soviet Union and population: theory, problems, and population policy', Comp Polit Stud. Apr 13 (1) (1980) 97-136, 119.
[409] Garleff, 'The Baltic region', 140.
[410] Dorodnova , 'Challenging Ethnic Democracy', 17.
[411] Ibid., 15.

against them, as the perception that the new arrivals enjoyed better living conditions. [412] Because migrants were located in the newly built *microrayons* (with their administrative centers, kindergartens and Russian language schools), migrants appeared to be segregated based on their ethnicity.

In 1953, new legislation was issued for a number of regions in the Soviet Union, applying the passport system for additional control of population movement. Latvia was one of the regions. Cities like Riga and Liepaja were restricted for urban migration. Until 1974, *kolhoz* workers were not issued internal passports, and were thus excluded from the possibility of migrating to cities.[413]

As the Soviet Union was a highly "social" country, there were no problems with unemployment and housing. All urban migrants had access to all urban institutions offered by the state, including education, political rights and social benefits. The absence of a private sector in the economy, the lack of freedom of emigration, and the absence of professional associations made the institutions of higher education almost the only possible way for upward mobility.[414]

The outcome of Soviet nationality policy was the establishment of the two-school sub-system. Compulsory education was available at all levels in the Latvian language for children of ethnic Latvians and others (free of choice) and Russian language for immigrants coming yearly to the country according to the overall industrialization plan.[415]

Alongside educational establishments being segregated a number of "bi-stream" schools and universities housed both Latvian and Russian-speakers in the same building, although teaching was separated according to language. A rather high percentage of inter-ethnic marriages (around 30 per cent, about double that of Estonians) contributed to the interaction nevertheless existing social structures and rules.[416]

While Russians believed they were helping to establish socialism, the Latvian population saw them as unwelcome "colonists".[417] The Soviet Union was the first country which created a federal system based on ethno-national units. It fostered ethnic distinctions

[412] Dorodnova , 'Challenging Ethnic Democracy', 16.
[413] Gentile, 'Spaces of Priority', 112–136.
[414] Mervyn, *Poverty in the Soviet Union*, 87.
[415] Schmid, 'Ethnicity and language', 6.
[416] Dorodnova , 'Challenging Ethnic Democracy', 17-18.
[417] Garleff, 'The Baltic region', 140.

and promoted ethnic cultures. When the Soviet experiment failed, it split apart the ethnic lines.[418]

In regards of to the rural-urban typology, the main conclusion can be made that during Soviet occupation from 1940/1944 to 1990, Riga falls under the *internal differential citizenship model* as it was just one of the Soviet Republics from the perspective for the Soviet Union. Exclusion of certain ethnic groups to migrate from country side to the cities can be seen as a consequence and not a cause, as majority of rural population happened to be non-Russian speaking. Migration from smaller cities of Latvia to Riga was also hardly possible due to the Riga's special status as "closed city" in the mid 1960s. Nevertheless, this cannot be seen as proof of ethnic segregation. Once migrants settled in the cities, they fell under "The full citizenship model" as the Soviet Union, being a socialist country, granted jobs and urban housing (based on the existing norms) to everyone, and education and health care were also granted by the state, free of charge. Nevertheless, "differentiation" within *the internal differentiation model* also took place, e.g. among certain groups of migrants who represented the *nomenklatura* as well as members of the Soviet Army who exercised additional power and privilege.

[418] Postcolonial Migrants and Identity Politics: Europe, Russia, Japan and the United States in Comparison, 259, 181-192, 185.

Discussion and conclusion on rural-urban typology

This thesis explores the answers to the question concerning urban migration and institutional services. Returning to the research question: What does the Latvian case add to the theoretical typology of rural-urban migration?
With the sub-questions: How and why did the citizenship model change over time?

The first observation concerns the whole country and its change of policy over time with regards to national minorities and migrants. The inter-war period when the Republic of Latvia was established was more inclusive than exclusive for all minority groups and urban migrants. Access to institutional services, especially government jobs, changed in 1934 when Ulmanis became president and announced that "Latvia was for ethnic Latvians". [419] During those years, the population was educated in a spirit of nationalism, the goal being to minimize the influence of ethnic groups in national politics and culture. Ulmanis regimen, the Soviet and Nazi powers created the conditions for a national and racial policies on Latvia territory.

The second observation concerns Riga and the way its political and economical status changed over time, taking into account its special role for the entire Baltic region, not only for Latvia. The question that immediately presents itself is how these special circumstances under different political powers influenced people living in the country and their free will to migrate to the cities for better jobs, education and living. Migration has to be seen in its socio-political context. The Soviet system consciously created pull-factors much less push factors.

Two things should be noted in relation to the data used in this paper. The rural-urban citizenship typology model needs to be carefully applied and adjusted, taking into account global events and the change of political power in Latvia. Ethnicity could be seen as a criterion for inclusion or exclusion, depending on the time period and perspective. Whether urban migrants, who were segmented by ethnic roots, language, custom and distance, are seen by others and themselves as "foreign" depends on the political regime.[420]

Urban migration was more "cross cultural" or international and not so much internal rural- urban migration during the third period of time defined in this research.

[419] Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations,* 83.
[420] McKeown A., 'Global Migration, 1846-1940', *Journal of World History* Vol.15 (2) (2004) 155-189, 185.

Collectivization was a great turning point in Latvian history, as it was in Soviet history. It destroyed a way of life based on the family farm and became an alternative to serfdom. Due to the system of internal passports, the rural workforce was not able to leave their collective farms and migrate to the cities. They were bound to the particular collective farm and needed official permission to leave. Nevertheless, there were so called "cracks" in the system – jobs in the army, education, and construction - which allowed rural people to migrate.

During the early 1920s up until the end of the 1930s, migration to Riga was more kin linked to kin, whereas during German and Soviet occupation, migration was based on information, assistance and opportunities provided by the state. In principle, migrants who were recruited for clerk, top management and party leader positions did not need personal contacts and social networks. Recruitment was channeled and controlled based on German and Soviet needs.

Returning to the rural-urban typology discussed earlier, the conclusion is that during the period from 1918 until 1990, four different types of citizenship models may be observed in Riga.

1. From 1918 to 1934, Riga falls under the *full citizenship model*. It was the most industrialized and fastest growing city in the country, with the most diverse ethnic composition. People were free to go to Riga. It offered better job opportunities and better salaries. Education was compulsory and free for everyone regardless of ethnicity and religion. Universities did not have quotas and was accessible to rural students who migrated to Riga. Rental accommodation could be obtained. The state assured health insurance for health care services. Migrants settled permanently as jobs were available all year around. There was a slight transition to "The ethno-national citizenship model" for Jewish people, who were not allowed to take jobs in administration or police, but at the same time they were welcome to work in industry and commerce. All minority languages were used and were encouraged in everyday life, administration, commerce etc.

2. From 1934 to 1940 the *full citizenship model* shifted (partly) to the *ethno-national citizenship model*. With the change of power in the country and nationalistic feelings in Europe it was declared that "Latvia will be for ethnic Latvians" and segregation was done by ethnic lines. The state language was proclaimed to be Latvian, all administrative and government positions (old and new) which were mainly located in Riga were offered to ethnic Latvians. There were cases that Russian, Jews and German enterprises were confiscated and shut down to reduce

economical and political influence. Such a policy did not led exclusion of urban migrants from national institutions like education and health care.

3. Under Nazi occupation, (from 1941 until 1944) when Riga was proclaimed the capital city of the whole *Ostland,* there was a shift within the *ethno- national citizenship model*. It should not come as the surprise that urban institutions were shaped in favor of occupants: ethnic Germans migrating to Riga, as well as German Balts returning to Riga held all important civil and military posts and were given access to all kind of social welfare services. Discrimination of ethnic groups living on the territory of Latvia and destruction of the Jews as well Gypsies were a radical consequences of this citizenship mode. Urban migrants were mostly international, cross-cultural migrants with no intention to integrate into Latvian society. German was claimed to be the state language. This made communication difficult with native people. Ethnicity remained a powerful way of defining social roles.

4. During Soviet occupation from 1940/1944 to 1990, Riga became part of the broader network of Soviet cities. Based on urban migration data used for this paper, the first observation is that Riga falls under the *internal differential citizenship model* as it was just one of the Soviet Republics. As a result of the Soviet internal passport system and collectivization, internal rural migrants were excluded from the cities. Migration from smaller cities of Latvia to Riga was also hardly possible due to the Riga's special status as "closed city" in the mid 1960s. Mostly Latvians were excluded from migration to Riga. Nevertheless, strictly speaking this cannot be seen as proof of ethnic segregation. Ethnic segregation was a consequence and not a cause, as most rural inhabitants happened to be Latvians, due to the agrarian reform in the 1920s. Moreover, external (Russian-speaking) rural migrants from other parts of the Soviet Union were also excluded to come to Riga, as the same passport system and *propiska* was implemented in other parts of the Soviet Union. Special priority to migrate to Riga was given to certain groups: military and Party members with state-guaranteed jobs and special access to housing and health care. The next important point is that migration to Riga was cross-cultural. A state-planned approach sponsored and favored specific ethnic groups (external Russians or Russian-speaking migrants). Once migrants settled in the cities, they fell under *the full citizenship model* as the Soviet Union, being a socialist country, granted jobs and urban housing (based on the existing norms) to everyone, and education and health care were also granted by the State, free of charge. Nevertheless, "internal differentiation" also took place, e.g. among certain groups of migrants who represented the *nomenklatura*

as well as members of the Soviet Army who exercised additional power and privilege.

During the period from 1940 to 1990, migration in Latvia shifted from external migrants, like Germans during German occupation, to Russian-speaking migrants during Soviet time. Ethnicity remained a powerful way of defining social roles and depended on those who held power. Languages were used as an implementation tool.

The problem arising in defining the typology for urban migration is that during occupation regimes, there were many other cities which showed similar patterns in favor of one or the other ethnic/ political/religious group of urban migrants. Returning to the citizenship model typology, this paper suggests extending the typology and redefining the *internal differential citizenship model* as exclusive and inclusive (see Figure 25).

Figure 25: The internal differential citizenship model.

The *internal differential citizenship model*	Access to urban services	Salience of ethnic ties	Strength of rural-urban links
1. Exclusive	1. Exclusion of (low-skilled) rural migrants	1. High, especially among rural migrants	1. Strong
2. Inclusive	2. Inclusion of (low and high-skilled) migrants favoring specific ethnic/religious/ political groups	2. Low, especially among migrants from favoring groups	2.Weak

Taking into account the proposed extended the *internal differential citizenship model* and summarizing data from the Latvia perspective from 1940 until 1990 the internal differential citizenship model *(inclusive*) could explain migration processes and their consequences to this day.

In summary, rural-urban migration in Latvia cannot be seen as an isolated process. It was rooted in the context of the political and economic environment in which people were operating. Migration patterns shifted in time and mode. Access to institutional structures of Riga was largely determined by those exercising political power.

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Annexes

Figures

Maps

Tables