

RUSSIAN ETHNIC MINORITY IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE OF LATVIA

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Abstract. *The author of the article shows the importance of studying the economic environment, organizational culture in Latvia, as an ethnically diverse side, taking into account the influence of the political and ethnic factors. Since there are two ethnocultural poles in the ethnic diversity of Latvia - ethnic Latvians, who are the core of the Latvian nation-state, and Russians, as the largest ethnic minority in the country, the author of the article focused on the issue of the nature of ethnic differences in the Latvian organizational culture. While the few works within the framework of the economic science of Latvia consider the established organizational culture in this country mainly as a homogeneous ethno-cultural entity. To confirm the hypothesis that the ethnic factor also plays an important role in the economic life of Latvia, the author of the article in 2021 organized a sociological study in research project "Interaction of the individual, society and the state in the overall process of Latvian history: conflicts of values and the formation of common values at historical breaking points".*

Keywords: *multi-ethnic environment, ethical values, ethnic favoritism, integration*

1. Social Characteristics of Russian Population in Latvia.

Latvia has traditionally been a multicultural and multi-ethnic country. Moreover, this multiculturalism has a strong impact not only on the private life of Latvian residents, but also on socio-political, cultural and economic life. Latvia's proximity to Russia, and in the 18th century its inclusion in the Russian Empire and in the 20th century in the USSR, stimulated the migration of a large group of Russians, as well as other ethnic groups who chose Russian as their native language. Statistics show that at the end of the 19th century (1897) 231.2 thousand Russians, or 12% of its population, lived on the current territory of Latvia, and before the First World War - more than 300 thousand. The proportion of Russians was especially high in the largest city of the Baltic provinces - in Riga. Before the First World War, about 100 thousand Russians lived there, which made up a fifth of the townspeople (Skujenieks, 1925: 68). During the years of independent Latvia (1918 - 1940), the Russian population, although reduced to 206.5 thousand (1935). But at the same time, Russians remain the largest ethnic minority in Latvia (10.6%) (Skujenieks 1936, p. 292). The Russian population in Latvia reached its peak in the last years of the existence of the USSR. In 1989, 905.5 thousand Russians lived in Latvia, or 34.0% of its population (Iedzīvotāju

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skaits ..., 2022). The high proportion of the Russian and Russian-speaking population in Latvia and especially in the largest cities, starting from the era of bourgeois modernization in the second half of the 19th century, as well as priority identification based on the Russian language and Russian culture, political self-identification with Russian and then Soviet statehood determined the reproduction of the most important structural elements of their collective ethnocultural identity, features of socio-cultural behavior (Feigmane, 2000; Apine, Volkovs, 1998).

Since the restoration of Latvia's independence in 1991, due to emigration and negative demographic growth, a steady decline has begun in both the total Russian population and its share in the population of this country. By 2023, the total number of Russians in Latvia has approximately halved compared to 1991. At the beginning of 2023, 454.4 thousand Russians lived in Latvia, which accounted for 24.2% of the country's total population. At the same time, the share of the Russian population among other ethnic minorities is high – 65.4%. The share of Russians in the largest cities of Latvia is very high: in Riga – 35.6%, in Daugavpils – 48.1%, in Jurmala – 33.3%, in Liepāja – 26.9%, in Jelgava – 25.5% (calculated according to: Iedzīvotāju skaits ..., 2023).

The high proportion of Russians in the country's population also determines their high degree of ethnic and linguistic consolidation. Among all the largest ethnic groups, only Latvians and Russians speak the native language of their ethnic group. 95.7% of Latvians consider Latvian their native language, and 94.5% of Russians consider Russian as their native language. At that time, only 27.2% of Ukrainians in Latvia consider Ukrainian as their native language, 19.4% of Poles consider Polish as their native language, and 18.8% of Belarusians consider Belarusian as their native language (calculated according to: Iedzīvotāju, 2021). The high proportion of the Russian population in the largest cities of the country, as well as in Latgale, where Russian Old Believers settled already in the 17th century, determines the consolidation of the collective identity of this ethnic group in the conditions of independent Latvia, which is expressed in the reproduction of the characteristics of the ethnocultural behavior of Russians in the socio-political, cultural and even economic life. All this creates the conditions for a characteristic feature of social life in Latvia, including the economic sphere, as a contradictory combination of ethnocultural individualistic diversity and “ethnic clustering” (Eidheim, 2006: 52).

The Constitution defines Latvia as “the national state of the Latvian nation” and the “Latvian people”, and Article 114 of the Basic Law speaks of the right of ethnic minorities to “preserve and develop their language, ethnic and cultural identity” as one of the fundamental human rights (Latvijas, 2014). In Latvian legislation, there are some norms that ensure the functioning of ethnic minority languages in part of the country's public space, for example, giving the right to study in state and municipal primary schools in educational programs for ethnic minorities (Izglītības, 2014). The programs of the leading political parties, focused on the ethnic Latvian voter, link the prospects of state identity politics with a significant strengthening of the position of the state language in the life and education system of ethnic minorities. The programs of many political parties omit many constitutional provisions on guarantees for ethnic minorities and do not even include the very concept of “ethnic minority” in their content (Volkov, 2023: 30 – 38).

The Russian ethnic minority is an integral element of the Latvian social system, which also determines the main parameters for the integration of the non-Latvian population. Despite the fact that the state focuses on the ethnic integration of

minorities, primarily in the sphere of political participation, in the education system, language policy and historical memory policy, integration processes also affect the economic life of Latvia. The integration of the Russian minority into the socio-political and socio-cultural space will be successful if these processes also affect such a sphere of society as the economic life. And this is not at all accidental. It is in joint economic activity that the process of continuous interaction between people belonging to the ethno-national majority and ethnic minorities is realized in daily life. Moreover, the actualization of interethnic harmony and the emphasis on ethnic boundaries in economic interaction takes on a much greater “everyday” character than what happens in the political life of people, in which the political participation of the majority of the population, compared to political leaders and activists, is limited mainly to local elections, national and supranational authorities, as well as during active political campaigns. It is in the economic life of a multiethnic society, taking into account its orientation towards achieving a financial or production result and due to its competitive nature, that the main forms of interethnic harmony and at the same time socio-ethnic hierarchies are built. In this sense, the nature of economic interaction in a multi-ethnic society, the established practices of economic behavior, organizational culture, characteristic of the entire nation and its individual ethnic groups, act as the most important basis and at the same time a criterion for social integration.

2. Economic Conditions that Determine the Formation and Reproduction of Organizational Culture.

The peculiarities of the organizational culture of the Russian population of Latvia are largely derived from the nature of the existing typified relations between ethnic groups in Latvia in economic life and, above all, the nature of the division of labor between the national majority of the country - ethnic Latvians, and ethnic minorities - Russians. Despite the fact that the economic sphere of society's life acts as a separate and highly specialized function (Habermas, 2005: 242 – 266), the economy reproduces the basic parameters of the social system of society, which ultimately ensures the integration of the social system (Parsons, 2005: 9 – 14). It should also be borne in mind that the social identity of an individual and the way of life he cultivates is a holistic phenomenon in which economic, political, and cultural components constantly interact and mutually complement each other. At the same time, such a large ethnic group as the Russians is internally differentiated in terms of its place in the socio-economic system of Latvia, in terms of the complexity of the economic activity being implemented and, accordingly, in terms of income. This internally differentiating feature also leads to differences in the degree of assessment of the basic institutions and values of Latvian society as incentive factors for the implementation of certain goals according to the degree of social complexity of an individual professional career.

The influence of the value-institutional system established in Latvia on the peculiarities of the relationship between ethnic Latvians and Russians in economic life, on the Russians' self-assessment of their economic situation, career chances, and, consequently, in the choice of the most optimal ways of economic behavior, professional career and choice of norms within professional culture. Sociologists have been stating this for several decades. Immediately after Latvia joined the European Union (2004), a large-scale sociological study was conducted, one of the objectives of which was the need to determine the influence of the value-institutional system on the

economic well-being of the Russian population of Latvia. The study was conducted in 2006. In Latvia, 932 respondents took part. And the results of this study established the existence of a strict relationship between the state ethnic policy pursued in Latvia in relation to the Russian population and the socio-economic situation of this ethnic group. For example, a connection was established between a low level of trust in socio-political institutions (26%) and the predominance of a critical attitude towards the exercise of one's rights in the field of education, when resolving housing issues, when applying for a pension, in the health care system, in education, and in hiring. 70% of respondents noted the strict dependence of social advancement, especially in the civil service, on ethnic origin. As one would expect, the social capital acquired by Russian respondents (knowledge of the Latvian state language, high professional qualifications and relatively high social status and income level) reduces the degree of social frustration that is widespread in this ethnic group as a whole and contributes to the establishment of optimistic assessments of economic life in Latvia for the success of an individual professional career and acceptance of the established values of the dominant professional and organizational culture. At the same time, the most favorable forms of economic activity from the point of view of the respondents themselves were identified. Over 40% of respondents believed that they could achieve the greatest success in entrepreneurship and trade. Culture, art, sports, industry were recognized as areas of successful careers by 26–28%, financial and banking spheres by 20%, science, education, healthcare and socio-political activities by 10%, public service by 6% (Skřinnik, 2006: 65, 81, 95). It is obvious that these socio-economic expectations reflect the system of ethno-social stratification that has actually developed in Latvia.

Available official statistics in Latvia after the restoration of state independence in 1991 do not contain information on the nature of the representation of the country's ethnic groups in the system of social class stratification, in the system of professional division of labor, as well as on the proportion of ethnic groups in the state and political elite. In this sense, statistics from the times of the Russian Empire, the Republic of Latvia (1918–1940), as well as the USSR show a much more complete picture of the nature of ethnosocial stratification in these periods of Latvian history than in modern conditions (Volkov, 2013: 178 – 181). The lack of data in published official statistics on the nature of the representation of ethnic groups in various professions and areas of employment makes it extremely difficult to analyze the current socio-economic system and the dynamics of socio-economic expectations of representatives of various ethnic groups.

However, analyzing the available information about the composition of the state-political and social elite of Latvia, we can say that the Russian population is practically not represented in it, with some exceptions. For example, Vyacheslav Dombrovsky as a representative of the Reform Party in the period 2013–2014. was the Minister of Education and Science, as well as the Minister of Economy; from 2021 Maria Golubeva as a representative of the “Development/For!” party She served as Minister of the Interior for less than a year (Ministru 2021). Nil Ushakov in the period 2018–2019 was the mayor of the Latvian capital Riga. But among the advisers to the prime minister (Darbinieku 2021) or the 19 heads of departments and departments of government departments, there is no one with a Russian name and surname (Valsts 2021). There is also not a single Russian among the rectors of all sixteen state universities, academies and higher schools. Proportional participation of ethnic minorities in Latvia is implemented mainly in the

management of private universities, where only five out of eleven rectors are representatives of these ethnic groups (Augstākās, 2021). There are also practically no Russians in the management of large Latvian businesses. Among the 20 largest taxpayer enterprises in 2019, representatives of ethnic minorities were managers in only one company, occupying the last place in this list, and among the 60 largest companies - in only six (BERLAT GRUPA, SIA; GREIS, SIA; GREIS loģistika, SIA; Accenture Latvijas filiāle; LIVIKO, SIA; BITE Latvija, SIA) (Calculated by: TOP, 2021).

The obvious underrepresentation of the Russian population in the economic, political and cultural elite of Latvia, the spread among this ethnic group of ideas about smaller socio-economic opportunities compared to the opportunities of ethnic Latvians cannot but influence the characteristics of the entrepreneurial and organizational culture, the norms and values of which are shared by this ethnic group. To clarify these features of organizational culture, the author of the article in 2021 organized a sociological study "Economic environment in Latvia: the interaction of ethical and ethnic values."

3. Methodology and Data of the Sociological Research.

The author of the article adheres to the understanding of organizational culture as "a pattern of shared basic assumptions adopted by a group in solving its problems through external adaptation and internal integration" (Schein, 2010: 10). The most important feature of the organizational culture that has developed in the economic life of a particular national state, such as Latvia, is the degree of its internal differentiation, which depends primarily on the ethnic diversity of society. The ethno-cultural diversity of Latvian society is the most important factor influencing the differentiation of organizational culture in commercial enterprises and government organizations, depending on the proportion of certain ethnic groups working in these enterprises. In addition, ideas about ethnic groups as carriers of different types of organizational culture, business ethos, etc. are taking root in society. The interaction of economic and ethnic factors was also revealed in the studies of Latvian sociologists. On the one hand, the significant role of the economy in the integration of Latvian society and the formation of common values for ethnic Latvians and ethnic minorities was noted. On the other hand, the study shows a significant division of the business environment along ethnic lines. Some Latvian sociologists consider the level of use of the Latvian language in business communication between representatives of different ethnic groups to be the most important criterion for ethnic differences in economic life. For example, when applying for a job in a company, Russians are more likely to focus on informal connections than ethnic Latvians. Both ethnic Latvians and Russians have negative stereotypes about each other as employees. Among representatives of these ethnic groups, there is a pronounced "feeling of threat, isolation from other ethnic groups" (Zepa et al., 2004; Zepa et al., 2005), which indicates the presence of signs of ethnic favoritism. Sociological literature usually emphasizes ethnocultural differences, mainly in the organizational culture of the ethnic Latvian and Russian populations (Mouls, 2003). At the same time, the role of moral norms in the formation and functioning of a unified corporate culture of multi-ethnic organizations and companies is not particularly considered.

The culture of organizations in Latvia turns out to be the intersection of two important factors, which, as practice shows, are often contradictory in nature. On the one hand, the high degree of integration of the Latvian economy into the European and world division of labor, the liberal nature of the market economy and Latvian labor legislation

requires workers, regardless of their ethnic origin, to follow uniform norms of organizational and professional culture for the successful implementation of the goals of companies and organizations. On the other hand, the different access opportunities for ethnic Latvians and ethnic minorities to prestigious areas of employment contribute to ethnic favoritism in economic life, which ultimately largely erodes the equal value of organizational culture in the minds of ethnic Latvians and ethnic minorities. The interaction of employees in organizations and companies turns out to be primarily a form of intercultural communication, as shown in the studies of Geert Hofstede (Hofstede et al., 2010).

The author of the article recognizes the value of Hofstede's theory in understanding the characteristics of organizational cultures, if it is necessary to take into account the heuristic ideas contained in the criticism of this theory about the need to recognize the internal differentiation of organizational cultures in accordance with ethnocultural lines in society (Ailon, 2008). At the same time, the author of the article believes that in the context of the ethnocultural diversity of the internal environment of organizations and companies in Latvia, one of the most important criteria for the development of organizational culture is the ability to form among employees the idea of a company or organization as a moral community in which representatives of different ethnic groups evaluate representatives of other groups, based on the principles of moral equality.

The results of the study showed a contradictory situation with the role of the ethnic factor, and, consequently, ethnic favoritism in the organizational culture practiced by the respondents. When asked to choose between non-ethnic and ethnic values for a successful career of employees of enterprises, companies, state and municipal organizations, in this case respondents gave preference to the professional qualities of team members over the desire to work in an ethnically sterile team (Table 1). For example, if such a factor as the desire to work in a team where its members are competent in their profession was preferred by 86.6% of ethnic Latvians and 74.1% of Russians, then the desire to work in a team whose members share the same national culture as the respondents was chosen by 20.1% of ethnic Latvians and 9.5% Russians. Although, as can be seen, the level of ethnic favoritism among Russians turned out to be half that of ethnic Latvians.

Table 1. The need for a set of conditions for the successful career of employees in the workplace (%).

Necessary conditions for a successful career	All	Latvians	Russians	Mann Whitney U test
Employees are competent in the profession	81.7	86.6	74.1	0.000**
Close interaction of employees on the problems of professional activity	69.1	73.2	59.6	0.000**
There is a creative approach to the implementation of professional duties	65.9	72.2	55.5	0.000**
Close interaction of employees and management on the problems of professional activity	59.3	66.3	52.3	0.000**
The freedom of employees to defend their opinion	55.2	61.6	45.5	0.000**
A sense of moral justice should prevail over the performance of professional	35.9	36.3	32.9	0.203

Necessary conditions for a successful career	All	Latvians	Russians	Mann Whitney U test
duties				
Close informal interaction of employees	34.4	34.3	33.2	0.369
Most employees share the same national culture with me	17.3	20.1	9.5	0.023*
Most employees share the same ethnicity as me	13.6	15.8	8.2	0.290
Most employees have the same religious affiliation as me	11.0	12.3	8.6	0.019

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

At the same time, when respondents were asked to make a choice of factors that determine the ethnic composition of teams (between ethnically Latvian and Russian teams), the level of ethnic favoritism increased in both ethnic groups. Thus, 24.9% of ethnic Latvians strive to work or study in an ethnically pure Latvian environment, and 12.8% of Russians, respectively, in an ethnically pure Russian environment. And only less than half of ethnic Latvians (45.2%) and Russians (38.5%) admitted that the ethnic factor does not play a role in solving problems in companies or organizations (Table 2).

Table 2. The degree of importance of the ethnic composition of the team for solving problems in a commercial company, government agency or in a student environment (answer: “very important”, %).

Preferred ethnic composition of the team	All	Latvians	Russians
Team with a significant dominance of ethnic Latvians	16.4	24.9	4.0
Team with significant Russian dominance	6.8	3.4	12.8
Ethnically mixed teams (where the proportion of Latvians is approximately 50% and the proportion of Russians is approximately 50%)	16.9	12.8	23.4
Ethnically mixed teams (where the proportion of Latvians is approximately 50% and the proportion of other ethnic groups (not Russians) is approximately 50%)	5.6	4.5	6.1
It does not depend on the ethnic composition of the team	43.0	45.2	38.5
Don'tknow	11.3	9.2	15.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Ethnic favoritism is widespread both among ethnic Latvians and Russians and when assessing the presence of positive qualities (reliability, loyalty, commitment, openness, honesty, efficiency, creativity, innovativeness, consistency) of employees in the ingroup and outgroup. Both Latvians and ethnic Russians always attribute positive qualities to representatives of their ethnic groups more often than they see these qualities in the opposite ethnic group. (And there is only one exception regarding political consciousness: Russians believe that they are less patriotic than Latvians) (Table 3). The materials of this table especially clearly show that the level of ethnic

favoritism among Russians as a whole is mirror in nature in relation to the level of ethnic favoritism of ethnic Latvians.

Table 3. Respondents' opinions: values held by teams of different ethnic groups (%).

Values	Opinion of ethnic Latvian respondents		Opinion of Russian respondents	
	For Latvians	For Russians	For Latvians	For Russians
Reliability	40.3	21.0	14.3	33.6
Loyalty	31.8	21.9	15.6	21.0
Commitment	31.3	19.7	21.5	31.3
Openness	21.2	14.1	25.0	30.4
Honesty	33.3	18.1	11.9	20.0
Efficiency	23.7	13.3	14.0	26.1
Creativity	30.6	11.6	16.0	18.2
Innovativeness	19.5	11.3	12.6	16.4
Consistency	19.4	9.8	8.5	14.9
Patriotism	46.1	34.3	15.2	13.4
None of these properties	8.1	11.4	12.3	10.0
Hard to say	29.2	35.8	41.1	31.2
Total	334.5	222.3	207.8	266.4

The assessment of the role of the ethnic factor in respondents' choice of profession turns out to be even more significant. One of the objectives of the study was the need to determine the role of the individual need for self-realization, as well as the role of ethnic origin and the role of social status in choosing a profession. It turned out that, although for respondents, both ethnic Latvians and Russians, the role of such a factor in choosing a profession as "Good opportunities to achieve at least an average level of material well-being" turned out to be dominant (for more than 89% of ethnic Latvians and Russians), then the factor of orientation towards typified opportunities characteristic of reference ethnic groups turned out to be equally significant. Such a factor as "Relatively good opportunities for people with similar ethnic origins to achieve an average level of material well-being" was chosen by over 72% of both ethnic Latvians and Russians (Table 4).

Table 4. The most important factors in choosing a profession and the nature of education (summed answers: "high importance" and "medium importance", %).

Factors in choosing a profession and the nature of education	All	Latvians	Russians
Good opportunities to achieve at least an average level of material well-being	89.3	89.7	89.1
The need to realize one's abilities	88.4	88.7	87.8
Good opportunities to achieve a high level of material well-being	82.8	84.0	81.5
Comparatively good opportunities for people with similar abilities to achieve an average level of material well-being	78.3	79.1	78.5
Comparatively good opportunities for people with similar social backgrounds to achieve an average level of	77.6	78.4	76.9

Factors in choosing a profession and the nature of education	All	Latvians	Russians
material well-being			
Relatively good opportunities for people with similar ethnic origins to achieve an average level of material well-being	71.7	72.3	72.5
Relatively good opportunities for people with similar ethnic origins to achieve a high level of material well-being	67.3	67.9	67.5

The spread of ethnic favoritism in Latvian society leads to the ethnicization of ethical values, to a decrease in the importance of universal moral norms in regulating interethnic relations both in society as a whole and within companies and organizations. Respondents were asked to assess the ability of various groups of people (relatives and friends, work colleagues, representatives of various social and ethnic groups) to make moral assessments based on the principles of justice. It turned out that respondents least of all recognize the presence of this ability in representatives of other ethnic groups. 36.4% of ethnic Latvians and 41.7% of Russians believe that representatives of other ethnic groups are able to evaluate people's behavior based on the principles of moral justice (Table 5).

Table 5. Respondents' opinions about the ability of Latvian residents to assess whether the behavior of other people complies with the principles of moral justice (summed answers: "everyone can do this" and "the majority can do this", %)

Ability to assess behavior of...	All	Latvians	Russians
close people (family, friends)	61.7	63.1	62.4
people/colleagues with similar social status at work (business, studies)	51.2	50.1	54.2
people of similar ethnicity	50.9	49.1	56.8
people/colleagues of higher social status at work (business, studies)	44.8	43.8	47.8
of people/colleagues of lower social status at work (business, studies)	43.9	42.7	45.1
people of other ethnicity	38.1	36.4	41.7

Therefore, less than half of the respondents of all ethnic groups surveyed (ethnic Latvians, Russians, Poles, Belarusians, Jews, Roma, Ukrainians, Lithuanians) admitted that when resolving conflicts with representatives of other ethnic groups in companies, organizations, student groups, they are guided by the same moral principles, as when resolving conflicts within their ethnic groups (Table 6).

Table 6. The share of respondents who are guided by the same moral principles of conflict resolution both with representatives of their own ethnic group and with representatives of another ethnic group at work or in a student group (%).

Possible conflict with	All	Latvians	Russians	Mann Whitney U test
Ethnic Latvians	-	-	44.9	-
Russians	-	51.4	-	-
Poles	47.3	49.4	41.6	0.009**

Belarusians	47.5	48.8	42.3	0.069
Jews	44.4	46.3	38.6	0.040 ^{**}
Roma	38.9	40.8	33.6	0.019 ^{**}
Ukrainians	47.1	48.8	42.3	0.028 ^{**}
Lithuanians	47.3	49.3	41.5	0.012 ^{**}

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

4. Conclusion

The study of the economic environment and organizational culture in Latvia as an ethnically diverse environment is not yet a priority task of Latvian sociology. Since there are two ethnocultural poles in the ethnic diversity of Latvia - ethnic Latvians, who form the core of the Latvian national state, and Russians, as the largest ethnic minority in the country, the author of the article focused on the problem of the nature of ethnic differences in the Latvian organizational culture. The conducted sociological study showed that the ethnic differentiation of Latvian society influences the existing organizational culture in commercial enterprises, companies, state and municipal organizations, as well as the perception of the professional qualities of Russians by ethnic Latvians, and vice versa, the perception by Russians of the professional qualities of ethnic Latvians. These ethnic groups are characterized by ethnic favoritism in a more positive assessment of the business qualities of “their” ethnic group compared to the professional qualities of the “other” group. Ethnic favoritism affects such a fairly common phenomenon as the presence of elements of ethnic segmentation of economic life. Despite the fact that in the social, including economic life of Latvia, there are institutions and value systems that contribute to the integration of society, the creation of a standardized national culture, including in economic life, there are ethnic boundaries in organizational culture. This is manifested in the weakening of the role of universal moral norms (for example, the ideal of justice) in regulating relations between ethnic Latvians and Russians in public life, including economic life. Thus, the formation of moral communities in multi-ethnic companies, government organizations, and student groups is weakened by ethnic favoritism. Russians, although not completely, still reproduce attitudes towards ethnic favoritism, which is more pronounced among ethnic Latvians. This is largely due to the subordinate position of Russians in the socio-political life of Latvia, the underrepresentation of this group in social and economic activities, in the management system of large companies and the country’s economy as a whole. Russians often choose companies that may not be the most successful, but those where representatives of their ethnic group dominate. However, this only reinforces the rigid ethnic favoritism of Russians, and does not sufficiently promote ambitious social and economic goals in this group. The materials of our sociological research have shown that the formed and reproducing collective identity of the Russian population of Latvia is under the determining influence of the institutional and value environment of the Latvian national state, which has a legal and political nature. Moreover, the nature of political institutions, as well as political values, is also manifested in the economic life of the country, in the peculiarities of the organizational culture, which is shared by ethnic Latvians and ethnic minorities. It is clear that for successful political, civil and socio-cultural integration of Latvian society, the integration of economic life is also necessary, the formation of a common

organizational and economic culture, the norms of which are shared more or less equally by both ethnic Latvians and representatives of ethnic minorities of Latvia and, above all the largest ethnic minority as Russians.

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