## Contents

**Preface** vii  
**About the Contributors** viii  
**List of Tables and Figures** ix

1 Aims and Aspirations, **Pål Kolstø**  
Levels of Analysis, 8

2 Bipolar Societies? **Pål Kolstø**  
A Question of Identities, 15  
The Case for Fragmented Societies, 18  
Cross-Cutting Cleavages Among the Major Cultural Groups: The Case for Continuous Societies, 29  
Shared Experiences: The Case for Homogeneous Societies, 39  
Conclusion, 41

3 Nation-Building and Social Integration Theory, **Pål Kolstø** 44  
Nation-Building, 44  
Social Integration, 48  
The Applicability of Nation-building / Integration Theory to Non-Western Societies, 54  
Nations and Nation-Building in Eastern Europe, 56  
The Applicability of Nation-Building / Integration Theory to Post-Communist Realities, 59

4 Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration in Latvia, **Aina Antane and Boris Tsilevich** 63  
Background, 63  
Demographic Dynamics after the Restoration of Independence, 68  
Integration on the Political Level, 75  
The Political Rhetorics of Nation-Building, 81  
The Citizenship Issue, 85  
Political Representation and Participation, 99
The Language Situation, 108
Language in Education, 121
Ethnic "Division of Labour" and Socio-Economic Stratification, 132
Differences of Perceptions, 138
Russophone Organizations, 141
The Impact of the Russian Federation on Latvian Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration, 145
Conclusions, 149

5 Political Integration in Kazakstan, Jørn Holm-Hansen 153
Civic vs. Ethnic Models of Integration, 153
The Demographic Controversy, 157
Nation-Building: Political Rethoric and Doctrines, 163
Ethnicity and Legislation, 175
Political Institutions and Integration, 191
Non-State Organizations, 214
Conclusions, 223

6 Attitudinal and Linguistic Integration in Kazakstan and Latvia,
Irina Malkova, Pål Kolstø, and Hans O. Melberg 227
Superordinate/Subordinate Relationships, 227
Social Stratification, 232
Political Identities and Allegiances, 236
Cultural Identities and Forecasts, 240
Ways and Means to Foster Ethnic Integration, 265
Conclusions, 271
Methodological Appendix, 275

7 Comparisons and Conclusions, Pål Kolstø 281
Cultural Diversity, Stability and Democracy, 281
Consociationalism, 284
Stability through Domination, 288
Stability through De-Bipolarization, 299
What the Future Holds, 310
Summing Up, 314

Bibliography 317
Index 335