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NATIONAL MINORITIES IN THE BALTIC STATES AS A SOCIETAL SECURITY CATEGORY

Abstract

In this paper the main focus will be paid to national minorities being included into the Baltic states' societal security concept. Following Russia's full-scale invasion against Ukraine Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have updated their national policies to enhance their sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as national identity and social resilience to hybrid threats. Those activities resulted from particular societal security perspective based on cultural identities of a nation or an ability of a society to function and develop. The paper presents how Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia define the national minorities in societal security context. From the methodological perspective it is a comparative study of the three countries with an aim to unveil different directions, models and approaches to a societal security category. The key finding is that Lithuania and Latvia based their social security approach on national symbols, values and sovereignty, while Estonian concept of societal resilience takes its roots in trust in state institutions, security of critical infrastructure as well as protection of lives and health of citizens in crisis situation. As a result the states may apply different instruments regarding national minorities to build social adaptability to risks and challenges.

Keywords: national minorities, Baltic states, societal security

Introduction

For several years Russia has claimed the Baltic states as its sphere of “privileged interest”¹ and has been using non-military instruments to delegitimize the sovereignty of the Baltic states and to generate division and promote misunderstandings among the multiethnic societies². While

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¹ D. Auers, *Comparative Politics and Government of the Baltic states Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the 21st Century*, New York 2015.

² A. Kuczyńska-Zonik, *Antidiplomacy in the Russia's Minority Policy towards the Baltic States*, „Baltic Journal of Political Science”, 2016, no. 5, pp. 89-104.

external pressure forced the Baltic states to implement an even more active defence policy, pillars of their societal security strategies stayed unchanged. For example, the issue of material and social well-being has still been very important for Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, thus rising prices of gas, fuel and electricity, supply disruptions, as well as the long-term consequences of the COVID-19 pandemics including high mortality have forced the Baltic states authorities to more decisive actions and strategies. Moreover, due to specific national policies and the politicization of ethnic issues, the representatives of national minorities and ethnic groups have been remaining significant factor in their societal security concept. Particularly Russian-speaking minorities in Latvia and Estonia, but paradoxically – Polish national minority in Lithuania as well – have often been perceived through the prism of nostalgia for the USSR and the support for the Kremlin's authorities. They have faced accusations of being disloyal to the national governments as well. Thus, they have frequently been securitized by the Baltic states' authorities³. In Latvia, it was indicated that there is a risk of escalation of ethnic tensions due to growing dissatisfaction with the current economic and political situation of the country, as well as inspired by Russia. It was also claimed that the Russia's aggressiveness in East-Central Europe has had a strong impact on Latvian society, highlighting the divergence in value systems, opinions, political views and historical memory between ethnic Latvians and Russian-speaking minorities. Finally, it was mentioned that cultural attachment to Russia and pro-Kremlin political preferences may constitute challenge for social integration in the country. Therefore, the problem of interethnic tensions in the societies has got existential character in the Baltic states' security debate⁴. But why have national minorities been perceived in such way?

This paper seeks to answer this question. The main focus is paid to national minorities being included into the Baltic states' societal security concept. It is claim here that while the Baltic states similarly perceive national minorities as a challenge for their social stability, they represent various versions of the societal security concept based on either national symbols, values and sovereignty, or the concept of societal resilience. They may be defined as 'national' and 'institutional' societal security

³ E. Kaukas, *Analysis of Securitization of the Baltic States in the Rhetoric of Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov*, "Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review", 2019, vol. 17, pp. 211-229; S.D. Fernandes, D. Correia, *(Re)securitisation in Europe: the Baltic States and Russia*, "Debater a Europa", 2018, vol. 18, pp. 103-129.

⁴ G.P. Herd, J. Löfgren, 'Societal Security', *the Baltic States and EU Integration*, "Cooperation and Conflict", 2001, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 273–296.

approach. Thus, the states may apply different instruments regarding national minorities to build social adaptability to risks and challenges. The paper begins with theoretical framework where national minorities in the Baltic states are characterised and different approaches to societal security are presented. Then it moves on to exemplify how Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia define the national minorities in societal security context. Finally, it comes to conclusions that while the Baltic states have been vulnerable to Russia's influence due to the national minorities, their approaches to societal security are divergent. From the methodological perspective it is comparative study of the three countries with an aim to unveil different directions, models and approaches to societal security category.

National minorities as societal security issue

Based on the 2021 results of the general population and housing census of the Republic of Lithuania, 2.810 million people lived in Lithuania of which 432 thousand are representatives of national minorities. The largest communities are Poles (6.5%) and Russians (5%). Lithuania was the first country of the Central and East European region to adopt a specific law on national minorities in 1989. Until 2010 the Law on National Minorities regulated all the fundamental rights, such as the right to culture and education in the minority language, freedom of belief, and in areas inhabited by persons belonging to minorities and others⁵. Currently they are the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania (Article no. 37 and 45) as well as other regulations such as the Republic of Lithuania Law on Associations and the Republic of Lithuania Law on Charity and Sponsorship, the Laws on Citizenship, on the State Language, on Education, on Provision of Information to the Public, on Religious Communities and Associations, on Political Parties and Political Organisations, on the Fundamentals of Protection of the Rights of the Child that regulate the rights of people belonging to national minorities. Lithuania has ratified the key international agreements regulating the rights of national minorities including the agreements of the United Na-

⁵ J.J. Błaszczak, *The implementation of commitments regarding the Polish minority in Lithuania in the Council of Europe's system*, "Border and Regional Studies", 2020, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 95–109; E. Kuzborska-Pacha, J. Apolevič, *Legal Protection of National Minorities in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Poland: Current Issues*, [in:] *Legal Protection of Vulnerable Groups in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Poland. European Union and its Neighbours in a Globalized World*, eds, Springer 2022, vol. 8.

tions and the conventions of the Council of Europe. The most significant one – the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM) was signed by Lithuania in 1995 and ratified in 2000. Despite abovementioned, Lithuania has been frequently criticised for the absence of a valid Law on Ethnic Minorities, the minority-related legislation being split between various legal acts, being thus less consolidated and quite restrictive towards the use of minority languages⁶.

Latvia has more complex demographic structure than Lithuania. In 2023 of the 1.9 million inhabitants, 62% are ethnic Latvians and 38% are from different ethnic minorities: Russian-speakers making up 30% of the whole population including Russians (24%), Belarusians (3%) and Ukrainians (3%). Given the multi-ethnic and multicultural character of Latvian society, the establishment of a cohesive society and a reliable civic nation raises enormous challenges⁷. Article no. 114 of the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia (Satversme) states that minorities have the right to maintain and develop their language and their ethnic and cultural identity. In 1991 the Latvian Republic passed a law guaranteeing the right to cultural autonomy and cultural self-government for all nationalities and ethnic groups, providing that state institutions should promote the creation of material conditions for the development of the education, language and culture of national and ethnic groups residing in Latvia through allocating funds from the national budget for such purposes. The term of “national minorities” is defined precisely in the Latvian Act approving the FCPNM (2005), where they are citizens of Latvia who differ from Latvians in terms of culture, religion or language, have traditionally lived in Latvia for generations and consider themselves members of the Latvian state and society. This definition, however, excludes persons who are not citizens of Latvia but permanently and legally reside in the territory of the country (Russian citizens), or so called “the Soviet migrants” and their descendants, who had not Latvian citizenship before 1940.

In Estonia, according to the 2021 census, Russians (24%) are the largest ethnic group in Estonia, followed by Ukrainians (2%), Belarusians (1%), and Finns (>1%). The National Minorities Cultural Autonomy

⁶ For example: M. Wołłejko, *Sytuacja mniejszości polskiej na Litwie a relacje polsko-litewskie*, „Bezpieczeństwo Narodowe”, 2011, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 99-114; E. Kluczborska, *Sytuacja prawna mniejszości narodowych na Litwie*, Warszawa 2013; M. Barwiński, K. Leśniewska, *Sytuacja mniejszości narodowych w Polsce i na Litwie – studium porównawcze*, „Przegląd Geograficzny”, 2014, vol. 86, no. 4, pp. 499-524.

⁷ Ł. Makowski, *Specyfika problem mniejszości narodowych na Łotwie*, „Chorzowskie Studia Polityczne”, 2015, vol. 10, pp. 295-315.

Act, 1993, defines representatives of national minority as Estonian citizens who reside in the territory of Estonia, have long-term, sound and permanent ties with Estonia, differ from Estonians by their ethnic belonging, cultural characteristics, religion or language, as well as are led by their wish to collectively maintain their cultural customs, religion or language which are the basis for their common identity (Article no. 1). The Act guarantees national minorities the right to maintain their ethnic belonging, cultural customs, mother tongue and religion. The limitation of this regulation is that the Act explicitly mentions (ethnic) Russians, Germans, Swedes, and Jews as minorities, and a cultural autonomy can be founded by any other group as well, if it meets the above-mentioned criteria and includes at least 3,000 Estonian citizens⁸. Furthermore, the rights of national minorities are protected by law and international treaties. The Estonian Constitution provides that “Everyone has the right to preserve his or her ethnic identity” (Article no. 49) and “National minorities have the right, in the interests of their national culture, to establish self-governing agencies under conditions and pursuant to a procedure provided by a law on cultural autonomy for national minorities” (Article no. 50). Estonia has acceded to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and other international agreements protecting the rights of national minorities. Estonia has also ratified the FCPNM.

The particular situation of national minorities in Latvia and Estonia stems from the legal category of “non-citizens” (*nepilsoņi* in Latvian), or of “undetermined citizenship” (*kodakondsuseta isik* in Estonian). This category refers to persons – former citizens of the USSR – who after regaining the independence by the Baltic states in 1991, were deprived of citizenship of Latvia and Estonia⁹. Non-citizens in Latvia enjoy protection under the law, as do people with undetermined citizenship in Estonia. They may become members of civil organizations and they have the right to visa-free travel within the EU. Despite these guarantees, the political and economic rights of non-citizens or those with undetermined citizenship are restricted. They cannot vote in national election (in Estonia they can vote in municipal elections), they lack protection under national minority legislation, they cannot work in the civil service, as state officials, judges, lawyers, police officers or soldiers, and their access to technical professions is restricted.

⁸ M. Lagerspetz, *Cultural Autonomy Of National Minorities In Estonia: The Erosion Of A Promise*, “Journal of Baltic Studies”, 2014, vol. 45, no. 4, pp. 457–475.

⁹ J. Croft, *Non-Citizens in Estonia and Latvia: Time for Change in Changing Times?*, “OSCE Yearbook 2015”, 2016, pp. 181–195.

National minorities are a traditional part of the Baltic society and the right to their own cultural preservation and development is guaranteed by the Baltic authorities. Thus, from theoretical point of view national minority issue can be explored in the context of “societal security” which, according to Burry Buzan is a category referring to social identity, the self-conception of communities and individuals identifying themselves as members of a community¹⁰. It differs from “social security” which is usually correlated with “welfare security” and an opposition to threats of social nature triggered by illiteracy, discrimination, illnesses, poverty, crime, drugs or terrorism”¹¹. Societal security, which is sometimes called “societal safety” or “societal safety and security”¹² may be differently defined. Majority of the concepts include ideas of preserving society and creating the most favourable conditions for its development, to allow its identity, to strengthen constantly and its resilience to emerging threats to grow. This type correlates with the notion proposed by the Copenhagen School of security studies as “the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats”¹³. It has a nation-oriented variant meaning security of cultural identities. It covers sustainable and acceptable conditions for evolution of nation embodied with traditional patterns of language, culture, religious and ethnic identity as well as customs. In that sense societal security is about nations, minority and ethnic groups, and is conceived in nation-building terms. A second type of the concept emerged in Swedish and Norwegian academia and practice, and focuses on society’s well-being as well as collective societal trust in political order and state’s capacity to provide personal and financial security to its general public. It refers to the ability of a society to

¹⁰ T. Theiler, *Societal security and social psychology*, “Review of International Studies”, 2003, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 249-268.

¹¹ M. Leszczyński, *The role of municipal government in forming social security*, “Polityka i Społeczeństwo” 2023, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 166–178.

¹² Pursiainen, Abdel-Fattah and Staube-Delgado give other similar concepts such as civil defence, civil protection, civil security, crisis management, disaster risk management, disaster risk reduction, emergency management, homeland security, human security, internal security, resilience management, risk governance, risk management, safety and security management, and soft security, C.H. Pursiainen, D. Abdel-Fattah, R. Staube-Delgado, *Higher Education and the Changing Situation of Societal Security in the Baltic Sea Region*, “Journal on Baltic Security”, 2022, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 83-129.

¹³ O. Waever, *Societal Security: The Concept*, [in:] *Identity, Migration, and the New Security Order in Europe*, eds O. Waever [et al.], London 1993, pp. 17-40.

function, to maintain critical infrastructures, to protect the life and health of the citizens, and to meet the citizens' basic requirements in a variety of stress situations¹⁴.

Lithuania – preservation of democratic values and sovereignty

The Baltic states represent various versions of the societal security concept. In Lithuania, on the one hand, societal security is a part of a more general security problem. The public debate focuses on more widely understood societal security issues such as depopulation, vast emigration, societal exclusion or hostile propaganda. On the other hand, societal security has no adequate translation conveying the essence of the concept into the Lithuanian language¹⁵. It is translated as *social security* defying accessibility to the state welfare policy, inequality, underdevelopment and other socioeconomic issues, or as *public security* which includes protection against crime and police activity. Relative misunderstanding of the concept of societal security is related to the fact that Lithuanian specific conception of the relationship between the society and the state has been established. As a result of incorporation the Baltic states into the Soviet Union, for 50 years the special attitude towards the state was formed, when the society was forced to survive without having a state. In Lithuania, the state itself, independence and sovereignty became the most securitized object of the security policy. That is why all political decision and strategies – the societal security concept as well – were primarily determined by the top priority – the strengthening of the independence of the state.

In practice, the main societal security issues include: demographic crisis, social and regional exclusion, information threats. The changing of the security environment and the new challenges – Russian aggression against Ukraine – have influenced the idea of security and the societal security concept only slightly. Looking at the documents from the perspective of social security, Russia remains an existential threat to Lithuanian sovereignty and social capacities. In that sense the relation between the state and society remains unchanged. Moreover, Belarus both publicly and via informal channels has threatened the well-being of Lithuanian

¹⁴ M. Rhinard, *Societal security in theory and practice*, [in:] *Nordic Societal Security: Convergence and Divergence*, eds S. Larsson, M. Rhinard, Routledge 2020, pp. 22-42.

¹⁵ G. Vitkus, *Societal Security in Lithuania: What's so different about it?*, [in:] *Societal Security in the Baltic Sea Region*, eds M. Aatola [et al.], Riga 2018, pp. 143-161.

citizens and the security of Lithuanian goods transited via Belarus. There have also been threats of an increased flow of illegal migration as well as tobacco and drug smuggling to Lithuania¹⁶. At the same time there are no signals to claim that problems of societal security in Lithuania are becoming equivalent in terms of significance to the state security problems. An equivalent term used in the public discussion – *the resilience of society* – is primarily perceived as its readiness for defence of the state while threats to societal security are considered not as a challenge of primary importance but as an action which might weaken society as a resource of a state security.

Latvia – protection of the nation

Similarly, in Latvia, we can indicate two approaches to societal security idea. Firstly, it denotes public security (border controls, police operations etc.) or social security. For example, according to the State Defence Concept, 2016, security challenges are posed by the consequences of economic crisis which can be felt in the society. Moreover, social inequality as well as a decreasing number of inhabitants increase Latvia's vulnerability to internal and external threats¹⁷. The foundation of the second approach to the concept of societal security lies in the meaning of Latvian nation-state, a state created for protecting the interests of the nation (society). As a result Žaneta Ozoliņa proposed the term of “identity security”¹⁸ to indicate the identity questions that are being put in danger. However, in the public discussion “Latvian” means ethnicity, not civil identity. They were Latvian Security Strategy 2011 and 2015 which included Latvian language and official view of the Latvian history as the state language as elements unifying the society. Additionally in 2014 the new preambular to the Latvian Constitution was developed where the strong link between the Latvian nation and the Latvian state was underlined with the special position of the Latvian language¹⁹. Ethnic nation-oriented security narrative has been determined by the process of Sovietization and the way in which migration and horizontal

¹⁶ *National Threat Assessment 2022*, Vilnius 2022, p. 28.

¹⁷ D. Potjomkina, E. Vizgunova, *Societal Security in Latvia: New Wine in Old Bottles?*, [in:] *Societal Security...*, pp. 118-142.

¹⁸ Ž. Ozoliņa, *Societal Security: Conceptual Framework*, [in:] *Societal Security: Inclusion–Exclusion Dilemma. A portrait of the Russian-speaking community*, ed. Ž. Ozoliņa, Zinātnie Publishers 2016, p. 22.

¹⁹ D. Potjomkina, E. Vizgunova, *op.cit.*, pp. 121-122.

and vertical competition created tensions and stresses between Russian-speaking minority and ethnic Latvians²⁰. As a result, interethnic relations have been considered to be the main societal security issue by the majority of Latvian policy makers as well as the general public.

Main societal issues focus on the external dimension of threats as threats to state boundaries are at once threats to societal boundaries and thus constitute potential identity threats²¹. They include inter-ethnic tensions and media and information security created by Russia's interference and its ability to use media in order to influence social conflicts and undetermined Latvia's statehood and security of Latvian nation. Thus, Latvian politicians came up with the idea of establishing state-funded Russian language TV channel for the three Baltic states in order to provide important information and promote democratic values and social cohesion. The idea was created in 2014 and supported by the Latvian Prime Minister and officials but finally no decision was made. Moreover, the societal security debate contains the issue of economic disparities between the ethnic groups as Russian-speaking minority is characterised by relatively high level of unemployment and risk of social exclusion. They are more likely than Latvians to participate in the shadow economy as well²². Finally, environmental challenges, regional disparities, access to medical care are not still recognized or even ignored as societal security issues.

Estonia – societal resilience

Both Lithuania and Latvia security discourse underlines the threats from outside to societal security. This in fact brings closer the meaning of societal security to idea proposed by Barry Buzan. In contrast, Estonia applied different approach. While the term of societal security has not taken its roots in Estonia's public discussion nor been defined in its legislation²³, the similar concept – society's *resilience* is used in the documents adopted by parliament. Tomas Jermalavičius and Merle Parmak link the term of resilience with preparedness to disasters or adapta-

²⁰ G.P. Herd, J. Löfgren, *op. cit.*

²¹ T. Theiler, *Societal security and social psychology*, "Review of International Studies" 2003, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 249-268.

²² A. Kuczyńska-Zonik, *Nierówności i problem wykluczenia społecznego w państwach bałtyckich*, „Władza Sądzenia”, 2021, no. 20, pp. 130-143.

²³ I. Juurvee, *Estonia's approach to societal security*, [in:] *Societal Security...*, pp. 100-117.

tion after a disturbance²⁴. This perspective allows us to analyse this approach in the context of Swedish and Norwegian concept of societal security as an activity to accumulate necessary resources and an ability to take action then the disturbance occurs. In this sense, societal resilience means development, reservation, protection of common values associated with social cohesion and the sense of security as well as building trust among the society, nation's self-confidence and the will to defend²⁵. Among the main societal issues that may affect stability of the state they are regional development, societal inequality, poverty, poorly adapted segments of society as well as manifestations of intolerance.

National minorities are not indicated explicitly in the societal resilience concept in Estonia because it provides a whole-of-government approach rooted in Estonia's national security and defence policies. Although resilience of the community is based on integration and "a social network whereby people interact with one another in some way"²⁶. Thus, the concept indicates the necessity of "interacting people who share certain values, norms, principles, interests, needs, myths and history". Moreover, due to the importance of the non-governmental sector (NGOs, the media, educational organisations, local communities, private enterprises) in enhancing societal resilience, this concept also extends well beyond the government.

Conclusions

The aim of this paper is to deal with the problem of national minorities in the Baltic states as a societal security category. It is stated that the national minorities have been perceived as threat to state security and have been under the continuous process of securitization. In fact, they have partially been excluding from the core of the society. The paper seeks to find the roots of such approach.

In traditional security perspective the current geopolitical situation caused by the aggressive Russia's policy against Ukraine as well as close Russia-Belarus military cooperation have influenced the sense of security in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia²⁷. The Baltic states perceive their

²⁴ T. Jermalavičius, M. Parmak, *Towards a resilient society, or why Estonia does not need 'psychological defence*, Tallinn 2012.

²⁵ *Eesti julgeolekupoliitika alused*, 2010, Estonian Parliament, <https://www.riigiteataja.ee> (01.03.2023).

²⁶ T. Jermalavičius, M. Parmak, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

²⁷ See more: S. Antony, *A Glimpse of Baltic States over the Russia-Ukraine War*, "Bulletin of "Carol I" National Defence University", 2024, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 189–207; A. Banka, *The Baltic Predicament in the Shadow of Russia's War in Ukraine*, "Or-

security in relation to the stability in East-Central Europe, therefore they have supported Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova politically, organizationally and financially, as well as they have raised the issue of the Eastern European states' sovereignty and integrity on the NATO, the EU, the OSCE and the UN agendas. The Baltic states have also updated their national policies in the context of full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war including defence policy, historical policy, media and information as well as culture and education in order to increase the awareness of society and resistance to hybrid threats²⁸. National minorities have been a significant issue in the security concept as well.

The results of this study reveal several differences regarding the structure, size and national minority legal environment among the Baltic states. Moreover, regarding societal security approach, the research shows that there are some distinctions between Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in terms of what social values should be secure overall – the disputes over the meaning of society and its attribute. While Lithuania securitizes its sovereignty and independence at most, Latvian notion of societal security is based on national culture and democratic values. Both of them can be defined as 'national societal security approach'. In turn, Estonia stresses society's will to self-defense and resilience by increasing trust in state institutions, ensuring the security of critical infrastructure, protecting the lives and health of citizens and meeting their basic needs in crisis situations. Thus, Estonia's model is characterized by 'institutional societal security approach'. In fact, the states may apply different instruments regarding national minorities to build social adaptability to risks and challenges. Nevertheless, national minority issue is a significant figure in societal security concept in three Baltic states. Till now, the countries are facing societal threats. Any crisis situations may be exploited by radical social movements and populist political parties that will try to arouse social divisions among the societies. It may deepen citizens' distrust toward the authorities as well.

bis", 2023, vol. 67, no. 3, pp. 370–388; N. Klumbytė, *Lithuania at the Frontier of the War in Ukraine*, "Current History", 2022, vol. 121, no. 837, pp. 264–270; V. Veebel, I. Ploom, *Estonian Fears, Hopes, and Efforts—Russian War Against Ukraine*, [in:] *Polarization, Shifting Borders and Liquid Governance*, eds A. Mihr, C. Pierobon, Springer 2024.

²⁸ D. Budrytė, 'A Decolonising Moment of Sorts': *The Baltic States' Vicarious Identification with Ukraine and Related Domestic and Foreign Policy Developments*, "Central European Journal of International and Security Studies", 2023, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 82–105.

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Mniejszości narodowe w państwach bałtyckich jako kategoria bezpieczeństwa społecznego

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest analiza kwestii włączenia mniejszości narodowych do koncepcji bezpieczeństwa społecznego w państwach bałtyckich. W następstwie pełnoskalowej inwazji Rosji na Ukrainę Litwa, Łotwa i Estonia zaktualizowały swoje polityki krajowe, aby wzmocnić swoją suwerenność i integralność terytorialną, a także tożsamość narodową i odporność społeczną na zagrożenia hybrydowe. Działania te wynikały ze szczególnej perspektywy bezpieczeństwa społecznego, opartej na tożsamości kulturowej narodu lub zdolności społeczeństwa do funkcjonowania i rozwoju. W artykule przedstawiono, jak Litwa, Łotwa i Estonia definiują mniejszości narodowe w kontekście bezpieczeństwa społecznego. Z metodologicznego punktu widzenia jest to badanie porównawcze trzech państw, mające na celu ukazanie różnych kierunków, modeli i podejść do kategorii bezpieczeństwa społecznego. Kluczowym wnioskiem jest to, że Litwa i Łotwa oparły swoje podejście do bezpieczeństwa społecznego na symbolach narodowych, wartościach i suwerenności, podczas gdy estońska koncepcja odporności społecznej ma swoje korzenie w zaufaniu do instytucji państwowych, bezpieczeństwie infrastruktury krytycznej oraz ochronie życia i zdrowia obywateli w sytuacjach kryzysowych. W rezultacie państwa mogą stosować różne instrumenty wobec mniejszości narodowych w celu budowania społecznej adaptacji do zagrożeń i wyzwań.

Słowa kluczowe: mniejszości narodowe, państwa bałtyckie, bezpieczeństwo społeczne