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# RAKSTI

## SOCIOLOĢIJA

Григорий Миненков (Ryhor Miniankou)

### ЛИБЕРАЛЬНОЕ ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ ДЛЯ ГЛОБАЛЬНОГО ГРАЖДАНСТВА: НА ПРИМЕРЕ ЕВРОПЕЙСКОГО ГУМАНИТАРНОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА

Высшее образование в современном мире находится на этапе глубоких и радикальных изменений. Традиционное информационное и профессиональное образование становится все более бесперспективным. На передний план выходит формирование у студентов таких компетенций, которые позволяли бы им успешно адаптироваться к меняющимся ситуациям и пересекающимся потокам информации и принимать эффективные локальные решения в мире нарастающей дигитализации, глобализации, космополитизации и мобильности, или становиться глобальными гражданами. С этим связано возрождение интереса в самых разных регионах к либеральному образованию (*liberal arts education*). В статье ставятся две задачи. Во-первых, автор стремится прояснить особенности интерпретаций либерального образования в контексте новейших социальных процессов. Данные процессы показывают, что сегодня перед нами стоит сложнейшая задача – предложить образование для неизвестного будущего. Во-вторых, автор презентует учитывающий названные контексты опыт реализации модели либерального образования в Европейском гуманитарном университете (Вильнюс, Литва) в сотрудничестве с рядом университетов Европы, Азии, США. Описываются структура и содержание предлагаемой университетом общегуманитарной подготовки студентов.

**Ключевые слова:** высшее образование, либеральное образование, глобализация, космополитизация, общегуманитарная подготовка, Европейский гуманитарный университет (ЕГУ).

#### **Liberal arts education for global citizenship: the case of European Humanities University**

Higher education in the contemporary world is at the stage of profound and radical changes. Traditional informational and professional education is becoming increasingly unperspective. In the foreground there is the formation of such competencies that would allow students to successfully adapt to changing situations and overlapping information flows and make effective local decisions in the world of increasing digitalization, globalization, cosmopolitanization and mobility, or become global citizens. This is associated with the revival of interest to liberal arts education in a variety of regions. The article poses two problems. First, the author seeks to clarify the features of the interpretations of liberal education in the context of the newest social processes. These processes show that we face today the most difficult task to offer education

for an unknown future. Secondly, the author presents the experience of implementing the model of liberal education in the European Humanities University (Vilnius, Lithuania), taking into account the mentioned contexts, in cooperation with a number of universities in Europe, Asia, USA. The structure and content of the core curriculum offered by the university is described.

**Key words:** higher education, liberal education, globalization, cosmopolitanization, core curriculum, European Humanities University (EHU).

## **Введение**

Высшее образование в современном мире находится на этапе глубоких и радикальных изменений, ключевым фактором которых является нарастающая дигитализация как образовательных практик, так и социальных отношений в целом. Уже сегодня в университет приходят поколения, так сказать, из другого мира, из иной страны, для которых весь прежний социальный опыт выглядит древним и доисторическим. Мы, имею в виду нынешних преподавателей, находимся в лаге между поколениями, и это – ключевая проблема. Ситуация изменится со сменой поколений, когда додигитальные поколения уйдут в небытие. Но как быть сегодня? Чему и как учить студентов в преддверии совершенно неизвестного и непредсказуемого будущего, особенно с учетом того, что традиционное информационное и профессиональное образование становится все более бесперспективным.

В этой связи большой интерес представляет концепция «обучения для неизвестного будущего», предложенная известным британским исследователем современного университета Р. Барнетом (Barnett 2004). Конечно, будущее всегда неизвестно, но все же прежде оно неким образом просматривалось, по крайней мере, при планировании жизни одного поколения. Скажем, закончив университет, человек, в принципе, знал, как он проживет свою жизнь, чем будет заниматься и т.п. Сегодня горизонты бытия радикально меняются на протяжении жизни одного человека, отсюда использование при описании социальной ситуации таких терминов, как хаос, риск, текучесть, хрупкость, фрагментация и т.п. Обучение предполагает, что предметы учебного плана ориентированы на формирование определенных навыков и компетенций. Однако какие компетенции нам нужны, чтобы подготовиться жить в ситуации неизвестности? Отвечая на этот вопрос, важно понять, подчеркивает Р. Барнет, что обучение для неизвестного будущего должно быть осмыслено не только и не столько на языке знаний или навыков, сколько на языке человеческих качеств и диспозиций, в чем и заключается онтологический поворот в образовании. Речь прежде всего идет о том, как индивиды понимают самих себя, свою идентичность, свое «бытие» в мире, или свои онтологические диспозиции (Barnett 2004). На передний план выходит формирование у студентов таких компетенций, которые позволяли бы им успешно адаптироваться к меняющимся ситуациям и пересекающимся потокам информации и принимать эффективные локальные решения в мире нарастающей космополитизации, или становиться глобальными гражданами.

Речь, иными словами, должна идти о формировании у студентов мышления, которое отвечало бы особенностям современного общества глобальных рисков,



быстрых кумулятивных социальных изменений и сверхсложности. Однако вряд ли мы можем утверждать, что современное образование, да и общество в целом, успешно справляются с данной задачей. В свое время М. Хайдеггер говорил о состоянии бездумности, характерном для общества 20 века. По его словам, «бездумность — зловещий гость, которого встретишь повсюду в сегодняшнем мире, поскольку сегодня познание всего и вся доступно так быстро и дешево, что в следующее мгновение полученное так же поспешно и забывается» (Haidegger 1991, стр. 103).

Вряд ли в наши дни ситуация стала лучше, учитывая возможность получить любую информацию о любом явлении одним только кликом. В итоге человек часто просто не справляется с потоками информации и событий, пришедшими к нему буквально домой, и пытается убежать от них с помощью простых решений и рецептов, новых технических изобретений. Прочитав еще раз М. Хайдеггера: «Усиливающаяся бездумность проистекает из болезни, подтачивающей самую сердцевину современного человека. Сегодняшний человек спасается бегством от мышления. Это бегство от мышления и есть основа для бездумности. Это такое бегство, что человек его и видеть не хочет и не признается в нем себе самому. Сегодняшний человек будет напрочь отрицать это бегство от мышления. Он будет утверждать обратное. Он скажет — имея на это полное право, что никогда еще не было таких далеко идущих планов, такого количества исследований в самых разных областях, проводимых так страстно, как сегодня. Несомненно, так тратиться на хитроумие и придумывание по-своему очень полезно и выгодно. Без такого мышления не обойтись. Но при этом остается так же верно и то, что это лишь частный вид мышления» (Haidegger 1991, стр. 103–104). М. Хайдеггер в этой связи проводит различие между вычисляющим мышлением и осмысляющим раздумьем. Вычисляющее мышление занято исключительно калькуляцией и перебором возможностей, не задумываясь о смысле. Осмысляющее раздумье пытается осмотреться вокруг и понять смыслы происходящего. Такое мышление внешне выглядит непрактичным, но без него мир придет к катастрофе, о чем все больше свидетельствуют нынешние социальные события и процессы.

Во многом именно с данной социальной ситуацией связано возрождение интереса в самых разных регионах современного мира к либеральному образованию (*liberal arts education*). В статье ставятся две задачи: во-первых, прояснение роли либерального образования в контекстах глобализации, космополитизации и нарастания значения различных форм мобильности; во-вторых, презентация учитывающего данные контексты опыта реализации элементов модели либерального образования в Европейском гуманитарном университете (Вильнюс, Литва) в сотрудничестве с рядом университетов Европы, Азии, США.

### **Образование в ситуации перемен**

Решая сформулированные задачи, нам прежде всего важно понять, что происходит с высшим образованием в ситуации переживаемых современным обществом радикальных перемен, т.е. важно четко видеть контекст, в котором разви-

вается сегодня образование. Если говорить обобщенно, то на нынешнем этапе имеет место столкновение двух подходов к образованию. С одной стороны, можно говорить о классическом к нему подходе, когда образование трактуется как достижение некоего законченного, заранее описанного и предписанного результата, и при этом критерием образованности считается наличие достаточно глубоких и обширных профессиональных знаний. Данный подход основан на убеждении (чаще всего ничем не доказанном), что за всем поверхностным разнообразием человеческого опыта скрыты неизменность устройства мира и вечность законов, регулирующих человеческую природу. С другой стороны, можно выделить современный подход к образованию, когда оно трактуется как процесс, совпадающий со всей жизнью индивида, а всякий результат образовательной деятельности является только промежуточным и конвенциональным, критерием же образованности выступает приобретение компетенций для жизни в непрерывно меняющемся, принципиально неизвестном и непредсказуемом мире. Заметим при этом, что теоретически, на словах почти все признают важность второго подхода, но реально, в конкретных образовательных практиках, очень часто следуют принципам первого подхода, что психологически вполне понятно.

Традиционно, и, в принципе, правильно, считается, что система образования эволюционирует вслед за изменениями общества, закрепляя и оформляя их в массовом сознании. Особенно это очевидно применительно к первой ступени образования, задача которой и заключается в том, чтобы формировать личность в контексте определенных культурных ценностей и давать ей общие знания и навыки, необходимые для жизни и деятельности в обществе, в том числе и в современном. Что касается высшего образования, то оно скорее ориентировано на будущее, носит прогностический характер, но при этом также имеет своей задачей, если вспомним классический гумбольдтовский (национальный) университет, формировать специалистов в контексте определенных национальных, политических и исторических ценностей. Однако сегодня эти задачи учреждений образования все более приобретают новые смыслы, а сами они, и особенно университеты, должны идти не позади общества, а во многом впереди него. Фактически институты образования, исторически оказавшиеся наиболее устойчивыми по сравнению со всеми другими социальными институтами, должны сегодня быть лидерами общества, пытаясь выявить возможные тенденции социальных изменений и формы и методы приспособления к ним людей.

В этом связи обратим внимание на исследование под весьма красноречивым названием — «Накануне схода лавины: Высшее образование и грядущая революция». «Исходное предположение эссе «Накануне схода лавины», — подчеркивают авторы, — состоит в том, что следующие 50 лет могут стать золотым веком для высшего образования, но только в том случае, если все участники системы, от учащихся до правительств, подхватят инициативу и будут действовать целеустремленно. Иначе лавина перемен сметет систему» (Barber et al. 2013, стр. 151). Классический традиционный университет, выдающий дипломы о профессиональной квалификации, безвозвратно уходит в прошлое (и в этом убеждении авторы далеко не одиноки). Приходят новые типы и модели университетов, и те, кто не сможет найти в них свое место, действительно будут «сметены лавиной». В

подтверждение данного вывода можно приводить множество фактов. Обратимся только к одному, но, полагаю, наиболее красноречивому: в упомянутой выше статье М. Барбера и коллег показывается, что до четверти выпускников университетов в развитых странах – безработные, и в то же время свыше 40% работодателей испытывают трудности с подбором людей, которые обладали бы необходимыми качествами, на должности начального уровня, и 70% из них полагают, что причина этого – в отсутствии адекватной подготовки (Barber et al. 2013). И сомнения в ценности высшего образования в его существующих формах только усиливаются. При этом становится все более явной надуманность весьма характерной для современных университетов проблемы противопоставления либерального, или общегуманитарного, образования и профессионального образования; опыт показывает – чем лучше и объемнее подготовлен индивид с точки зрения общих требований, общего образования, тем успешнее будет он/а в профессиональной карьере, на рынках труда.

Понимание тенденций, характерных для развития образования, требует учета особенностей современных социальных процессов и использования идей и выводов новейшей социальной теории. Не ставя задачей подробный анализ этих особенностей, попытаемся дать их примерное краткое перечисление и обобщенную характеристику, что позволит более четко прояснить основные идеи данной статьи.

**1. Завершение проекта просвещения** (модернити в классическом ее понимании). Кантовский идеал всеобщей рациональности потерпел полное крушение в 20 столетии. Попытки сформировать счастливое разумное общество для всего человечества по единым чертежам обернулись кошмарами тоталитаризма и мировых войн. До сих пор не найдены эффективные средства для гармоничного взаимодействия особенностей различных культур. Общество вступило в ситуацию, которая описывается понятием «социальная неопределенность», означающем невозможность обоснованного предсказания даже ближайшего будущего, не говоря уже об отдаленном (Wagner 2001). Правда, вместе со становлением постчеловеческого общества, в котором человек и его информационно-технический интерфейс все более начинают составлять единую органическую и неразрывную систему, появляются еще более опасные техницистские и апокалиптические утопии, учитывающие нарастающее значение в развитии общества искусственного интеллекта и его носителей. Во что реально выльются данные процессы – пока совершенно неясно. В частности, нет отчетливого ответа на вопрос, останется ли место в таком обществе для индивидуальности и свободы человека. И именно эти процессы образуют базовый контекст для современных образовательных практик. Иными словами, необходимо вести разговор об обучении индивидов принципам и правилам (если таковые, конечно, возможны) жизни с неопределенностью.

**2. Глобализация и космополитизация социальной жизни.** Согласно Э. Гидденсу, глобализация означает процесс пространственно-временного «растягивания» (дистанциации), когда «способы связи между различными социальными контекстами или регионами целиком охватывают своей сетью поверхность земного

шара»; глобализация, следовательно, может быть «определена как интенсификация распространенных по всему миру социальных отношений, которые связывают отдаленные местности таким образом, что местные события формируются явлениями, происходящими за много миль от них, и наоборот» (Giddens 2011). Глобализация не отрицает локальные особенности, напротив, она усиливает к ним внимание, одновременно выявляя всю сложность взаимодействия глобального и локального. В частности, образование сегодня становится глобальным, хотя и сохраняет при этом локальные черты. Глобализация находит свое выражение во все большей космополитизации повседневной жизни людей, когда вопросы глобального значения оказываются неотъемлемой частью социального опыта каждого индивида и космополитизация выступает программой принудительного обучения открытости миру (Век 2008; Delanty 2009). Именно здесь — истоки глобального гражданства и глобального образования, которые оказываются фундаментальным вызовом для образовательных практик.

**3. Формирование общества знания.** Знание превращается в современном обществе в базовый социальный и экономический капитал, а система образования становится основным социальным институтом, от уровня развития которого зависит уровень развития общества в целом. Основным субъектом социальных процессов все более выступают так называемые «работники знания» (*knowledge workers*), что с течением времени вместе с развитием искусственного интеллекта радикально изменит социальную и профессиональную структуру общества и последствия чего пока еще тоже трудно предвидеть и понять. Одновременно расширяется количество субъектов познания, знание и познание все более демократизируются, производство знания выходит за пределы университетов (Delanty 2001).

**4. Общество риска и кризис культуры экспертизы.** Человечество овладело такими силами и возможностями, последствия использования которых зачастую практически невозможно предвидеть и оценить. По словам У. Бека, «общество риска подразумевает, что прошлое теряет свою детерминирующую силу для современности. На его место — как причина нынешней жизни и деятельности — приходит будущее, т.е. нечто несуществующее, конструируемое, вымышленное. Когда мы говорим о рисках, мы спорим о чем-то, чего нет, но что могло бы произойти, если сейчас не переложить руль в противоположном направлении» (Век 2000, стр. 175–176). Если центральным вопросом классической модерности было богатство и способы его более справедливого распределения, то сегодня таким вопросом является всеобщий риск и способы его предотвращения или минимизации, а также управления рисками. Идеалом классической современности было равенство, нынешний идеал — безопасность. На передний план выходит вопрос о статусе знания и дискурсе ответственности. Знание более не определяется культурой экспертизы и авторитетом экспертов в силу их делегитимации. В обществе риска каждый становится экспертом, и в результате объективность научного знания оказывается в высшей степени спорной, что является совершенно новым вызовом для системы образования.

**5. Развитие систем мобильности.** Мир глобализации – это мир сетей и потоков, мир, в котором социальные отношения не ограничены обособленными территориями, он пронизан различными мобильностями, преодолевающими любые границы, что стало особенно очевидным, когда дигитализация социальной жизни породила всеобщую виртуальную мобильность, без которой фактически невозможна сегодня любая, так сказать, реальная мобильность. Системы мобильности включают не только движущихся, реально или виртуально, людей и объекты, но и идеи, связи, неподвижные объекты инфраструктуры, иначе говоря, все то, что делает ту или иную систему мобильности возможной, обеспечивая повторение и предсказуемость взаимодействий; они «растягивают» наши социальные отношения на все глобализированное пространство и наглядно выражают космополитизацию социальной жизни (Уггу 2012). Все более значимой среди этих систем становится образовательная мобильность: с одной стороны, такая мобильность представляет собой набор социальных практик получения необходимого образования, причем в рамках модели обучения в течение всей жизни, с другой, все системы мобильности требуют постоянного обучения тому, как пользоваться ими.

Обобщить эти и другие особенности современного общества можно с помощью разработанного З. Бауманом концепта «текучей современности» (*liquid modernity*) (Bauman 2008). Если для классического модерна характерны свойства «твердости», устойчивости, тяжести, пространственной закреплённости, то особенности современных социальных процессов аналогичны свойствам жидкостей, которые текут, просачиваются, обтекают, растворяют, всегда готовы к изменению формы, легко перемещаются, производят впечатление легкости, и при этом для них ключевое значение имеет не пространство, а время. В настоящее время социальные паттерны и конфигурации, как и принадлежность к тем или иным сообществам, больше не предзаданы и не самоочевидны. Жизненной стратегией становятся максимальная гибкость и подвижность, включая и гибкость понятий и представлений, вместе с отказом от принципа долговечности вещей, что распространяется и на знания, выражаясь в акценте не на «вечных знаниях», а на знаниях для «разового использования», для решения постоянно возникающих новых проблем. Конкурентным преимуществом становятся скорость принятия и реализации решений, а также номадический образ жизни. Очевидно, что скорость не способствует мышлению, во всяком случае, мышлению о будущем, долгосрочному мышлению, или осмысляющему раздумью, по М. Хайдеггеру. Мысль требует паузы и отдыха, чтобы «дать себе достаточно времени» для подведения итогов, однако в «жидком обществе» останавливаться некогда, каждый индивид одновременно вовлечен в несколько систем мобильности. И это самым непосредственным образом влияет на запросы современных поколений относительно образования. По словам З. Баумана, «очень знаменательным признаком наших времен является то, что молодые поколения стараются откладывать важные решения как можно дольше: выбор направления учебы, факультет, специальность. Лучше всего, чтобы он был всесторонним. Узкая специальность – это залог затруднений в будущем, риск того, что если завтра спрос на вашу узкую специальность исчезнет, то вы окажетесь без работы» (Bauman 2003, 2011).

Применительно к организации учебного процесса это означает кризис дисциплинарности и необходимость отказа от «академического трайбализма». Последний выражается прежде всего в практиках и моделях конструирования учебных планов в вузах. Как правило, именно члены «академического трайба» (кафедры, исследовательского поля и т.п.) определяют перечень и границы дисциплин, исходя при этом из двух измерений: «мягкие» (*soft*) / «твердые» (*hard*) и «чистые» / «прикладные» дисциплины. Наложение этих двух измерений друг на друга образует сетку учебного плана, которая структурирует территории академической жизни. Учебный план выглядит как карта территории, где каждый имеет свою ячейку и стремится всячески защищать свою территорию (дисциплину), «метить» границы (Barnett, Coate 2005). И хотя очевидна устарелость подобного подхода к построению учебных планов в силу его несоответствия новейшим социальным процессам, тем не менее он все еще явно или неявно господствует в высших учебных заведениях. Именно с этим прежде всего связаны трудности с формированием и реализацией междисциплинарных образовательных программ, межвузовских совместных программ и т.п.

Иными словами, социальная неопределенность распространяется и на образовательные программы. Неопределенность здесь выражается в неясности ответов на вопросы о том, не окажется ли обучение в университете абсолютно бесплодным и потерянным временем, не исчезнет ли за это время профессия, не устареют ли знания и т.д. Иначе говоря, образование становится риском, аналогичным социальным рискам в целом, от студентов требуется наличие «воли к учебе», ибо, поступая в университет, они совершают прыжок в неизвестность, и успешное приземление ничем не гарантировано. Иными словами, эпистемологический подход к обучению сменяется онтологическим (Barnett 2007). Именно поэтому сегодня имеет место сдвиг от акцента на знаниях, причем устойчивых, к компетенциям в их гибкости и неустойчивости, что означает обучение множественному выбору, практикам конструирования идентичностей в ситуации неопределенности. Как отмечается в бухарестском коммюнике конференции министров образования стран, входящих в Европейское пространство высшего образования, «современные выпускники должны объединить трансверсальные, междисциплинарные и инновационные навыки и компетенции с самыми современными предметными знаниями, чтобы быть в состоянии внести свой вклад в увеличивающиеся потребности общества и рынка труда» (EHEA Ministerial Conference 2012).

Конечно, такие задачи стоят перед всеми областями знания, представленными в учебном процессе университетов. Однако особая роль здесь принадлежит гуманитарным наукам (*humanities*) в широком их понимании, включая и социальные науки. Известно, что гуманитарные науки сегодня находятся в достаточно сложном положении в вузах в силу их «непрактичности» и «бесполезности». Обратимся в этой связи к оценкам ситуации с гуманитарным знанием известного современного мыслителя Х.-У. Гумбрехта. Да, говорит Х.-У. Гумбрехт, от гуманитарных наук нет явной практической пользы в традиционном ее понимании. Тогда зачем они? Дело в том, что гуманитарные науки прежде всего есть пространства, обеспечивающие возможность «рискованного мышления». Их задача — не практические решения, а постановка новых вопросов и проблем, это право на мышление, иду-

шее навстречу воображению и интуиции. Эта функция расширяет и усложняет индивидуальные умы и в то же время позволяет обществам и их институтам оставаться открытыми для перемен, находить свое место в ситуации текучести. Иными словами, отмечает Х.-У. Гумбрехт, гуманитарные науки должны поощрять плодотворное применение воображения, которое и обеспечивает многоцветность мысленных образов и интенсивность чувств, задавая тем самым рефлексивность, необходимую для жизни в обществе риска (Gumbrecht 2006, 2016). И как раз эти выводы позволяют нам перейти к вопросу о сути современного понимания либерального образования.

Согласно определению Дж. Беккера, вице-президента Бард колледжа, старейшего американского частного учебного заведения, работающего по модели свободных искусств и наук, «современное образование по системе свободных искусств и наук представляет собой систему высшего образования, которая призвана укреплять в студентах желание и способность учиться, критически и открыто мыслить, умело выражать свои мысли, а также готовить студентов к активному гражданскому участию в жизни общества. Для такого образования характерен гибкий план обучения, который сочетает требования широты дисциплинарного охвата с глубиной изучения отдельных предметов, поощряет междисциплинарность и предоставляет студентам свободу выбора. Эта образовательная система реализуется посредством ориентированных на студентов интерактивных методов преподавания, вовлекающих студентов в работу с текстами как в учебной аудитории, так и за ее пределами» (Bekker 2015, стр. 36).

К этой вполне исчерпывающей характеристике я бы только добавил, что либеральное образование следует также понимать как введение в широкое поле социальной нормативности, что сегодня является самым сложным предприятием в силу описанных выше особенностей социального развития. Индивиды сталкиваются в современном обществе с глубоким противоречием: с одной стороны, все становится текучим, все нормативные порядки подвергаются сомнению, с другой, поле нормативности расширяется, поскольку мы начинаем решать такие проблемы, с которыми не имели дела раньше, а также, благодаря глобализации и мобильности, вступаем в прямое взаимодействие с такими нормативными порядками, которые прежде касались нас только косвенно. При этом при всей индивидуализации в обществе риска возрастает роль коллективной ответственности, что требует развития широких навыков коммуникации.

Все эти акценты, связанные с современным либеральным образованием, предполагают иные подходы к конструированию учебных планов: во-первых, меняющийся мир не исключает знание как таковое, но ставит вопросы о том, какое знание будет в нем плодотворным. Особое значение имеет персональная встреча студента со знанием — его/ее персональное понимание, познание, знание как (*knowing*); во-вторых, меняющийся мир проблематизирует само действие в силу наличия нескольких систем отсчета. Действие больше нельзя рассматривать как простое приложение знаний. Речь идет о вовлечении студентов в интерпретацию собственных действий (*acting*); в-третьих, меняющийся мир требует от людей определенных способностей и склонностей, самосознания и уверенности в себе. Само бытие (*being*) студентов волей-неволей «вступает в игру» (Barnett

2007). Таким образом, познание, действие, бытие – вот те три вызова, на которые должны отвечать учебные планы. Это и есть разговор о компетенциях как ключевой задаче либерального образования.

### **Опыт реализации модели либерального образования в Европейском гуманитарном университете**

Европейский гуманитарный университет (ЕГУ) был создан в 1992 году в Минске (Беларусь) в качестве частного университета с целью утверждения в стране современных образовательных моделей и стандартов в области социальных и гуманитарных наук. Однако в 2004 году власти страны закрыли ЕГУ по политическим причинам. В 2005 году университет был восстановлен и зарегистрирован в Вильнюсе как литовский университет для белорусских граждан («университет в изгнании»), работающий в европейском пространстве высшего образования.

Университет всегда проявлял интерес к традициям либерального образования. Собственно, он и был создан с целью содействия восстановлению в постсоветском пространстве традиций европейского образования, обращению молодых поколений к европейским ценностям, усвоению мировых достижений гуманитарного и социального знания (особенно 20 столетия) – достижений, практически полностью исключенных в советский период из образовательных практик. Реализация этих целей всегда была трудным и сложным процессом. Обучая студентов, мы одновременно учились и сами, в том числе преодолевая наивные и в существенной мере, как показал опыт, утопические желания быстрого преобразования посткоммунистического пространства, включая и сферу образования. Университет постоянно трансформировался в поисках более эффективных путей сочетания мировых тенденций и локального опыта и все большего углубления в смыслы и методы реализации модели либерального образования.

Уже в минский период ЕГУ, особенно начиная с 2001 года, активно утверждал принципы и нормы образовательной деятельности, которые получили название болонского процесса, постепенно уходя от централизованного на преподавателе к централизованному на студенте учебному процессу. Основной акцент делался на самостоятельной работе студентов, на развитии их креативного мышления. Эта тенденция была продолжена и в первые годы работы в Вильнюсе. С 2010 года университет начинает реализовывать модель общегуманитарной подготовки, более приближенную к либеральной модели. В этот же период развивается тесное сотрудничество ЕГУ с Бард колледжем и освоение нами предлагаемых им подходов к либеральному образованию. Сформировалась группа преподавателей, заинтересованных в утверждении новых подходов к общегуманитарной подготовке студентов (*Core Curriculum*). Была организована серия семинаров, как в Бард колледже, так и в ЕГУ, с целью освоения принципов и методов современного либерального образования. В 2014–2015 учебном году состоялась апробация в учебном процессе курса «Язык и мышление» как вводного курса в общегуманитарную подготовку студентов в соответствии с принципами либерального образования. В эти же годы в университете на различных уровнях и в различных фор-



матах проходит достаточно острое обсуждение новой модели общегуманитарной подготовки студентов, полномасштабная реализация которой начинается в 2016 году после утверждения модели и соответствующего изменения учебных планов.

Реализация в университете общегуманитарной подготовки по модели либерального образования опирается на следующие принципы:

- 1) Образование в ситуации постоянно нарастающих социальных изменений, характерных для 21 столетия, следует рассматривать не как некий законченный результат, но как процесс, совпадающий со всей жизнью индивида, где критерием образованности выступают не столько хорошо усвоенные профессиональные знания, сколько компетенции для жизни в непрерывно меняющемся мире. Знания текут и устаревают, компетенции только развиваются, делая индивида более приспособленным к меняющейся среде. Профессиональная структура и рынки труда все более полагаются на трансверсальные, междисциплинарные и инновационные навыки и компетенции, органически сочетаемые с современными предметными знаниями.
- 2) Социальное и гуманитарное знание не может выступать в форме некоего строго фиксированного знания, подлежащего простой трансляции и запоминанию в процессе преподавания и обучения. Это знание исторично и постоянно находится в процессе переосмысления традиции (в первую очередь, европейской интеллектуальной традиции). Только посредством творческой и релевантной интерпретации фундаментальных ценностей данной традиции и практик ее реализации в конкретных социальных ситуациях, в том числе в их национальном и региональном измерениях, мы можем способствовать формированию креативности личности.
- 3) Историчность социального и гуманитарного знания тесно связана с критической установкой, с рассмотрением социокультурных феноменов в их диалектической взаимосвязи – в том «роковом родстве» с самыми отдаленными, гетерогенными, противоположными, зачастую репрессивными (в их «прогрессивности») феноменами (истина и власть, сексуальность и закон, тело и смысл и т.д.), которое и дает ключ к пониманию их смысла.
- 4) Качество социального и гуманитарного знания определяется обращением к целостности опыта человеческой жизни, к онтологии человеческого бытия. Необходимо учиться мыслить вне абстрактных схем классического социального и гуманитарного знания, разделяющего бытие человека на разум и чувства, душу и тело, мысль как содержание и язык как внешнюю форму и т.д. И, прежде всего, мыслить человека как бытие-в-мире вне дихотомии индивида (автономного Эго) и мира других (общества).
- 5) Признание применительно к постижению смыслов человеческого бытия значения мощного познавательного потенциала произведений искусства, которые содействует глубинному осмыслению человека и социальной реальности. Великие образцы искусства служат потенциальным побуждением к творчеству, открытости к тому историческому бытию, голос которого наиболее отчетливо звучит именно на этом языке.
- 6) Цель социального и гуманитарного знания состоит не в простых декларациях абстрактной свободы индивида как точки отсчета, но в тщательной аналитике

способов включенности в Традицию в специфических социальных, культурных, политических обстоятельствах, конкретных систем зависимостей человеческого существования (власти-знания, социально-экономических структур, структур значения и т. д.). Иными словами, Культуры как динамики соотношения публичного и приватного в едином феномене человека как социально-символического существа.

- 7) В конечном счете, гуманитарная подготовка призвана способствовать демократическим социальным трансформациям в Беларуси (и регионе в целом). Непродуктивность наложения абстрактных схем и прямого переноса западных социально-культурных моделей на историческую реальность в случае Беларуси выявилась особенно наглядно. Именно всесторонний анализ (пост)советской традиции и тщательное изучение возможных механизмов культурного перевода европейских ценностей на языки региональных социальных практик могут стать важнейшим фактором, который обеспечит трансформационным процессам системность, результативность и перспективность.

Результатом реализации данных принципов и построенных на их основе учебных программ должно стать формирование у студентов следующих компетенций (в кратком изложении):

- способности к анализу и синтезу;
- способности генерировать новые идеи и решения (креативность);
- способности к организации и планированию деятельности в меняющемся социальном окружении;
- способности принимать решения в конкретных ситуациях, в том числе нестандартных;
- способности применять знания на практике;
- способности к постоянному обучению;
- способности к адаптации к новым ситуациям;
- способности принимать ответственность за качество деятельности.

В процессе преподавания используются методики перформативной педагогики, групповой работы, проектной деятельности и другие, главная задача которых – сформировать у студентов мышление, ориентированное на умелое сочетание в социальных практиках глобальных и локальных тенденций социальных изменений, причем особое внимание уделяется развитию у студентов социальной гражданственности. Ключевое значение при этом имеет формирование корпуса текстов (учитывая их общее количество, соотношение теоретических и художественных, вербальных и визуальных текстов), который определяет идентичность программы общегуманитарной подготовки в целом и программ отдельных курсов, исходя из принципов либерального образования и оценивания проблем, которые испытывает с чтением «дигитальное» поколение. Важно подчеркнуть, что принципиальным критерием качества курса является авторская работа преподавателя с текстом (а не его «парафраз»), которая способна инициировать активный герменевтический подход к тексту со стороны студентов. Работу с ключевыми текстами в разных курсах необходимо при этом выстраивать как методически

продуктивную при условии использования различных углов рассмотрения и способов чтения данных текстов.

С точки зрения построения учебного плана общегуманитарная подготовка проходит на протяжении всех четырех лет обучения в бакалавриате, при этом больше концентрируясь на первом и втором годах обучения. Общий объем общегуманитарной подготовки – до 50 кредитов ECTS. Она включает следующие, междисциплинарные по содержанию курсы: «Язык и мышление», семинар первого года «Введение в гуманитарные науки», семинар второго года «Введение в социальные науки», семинар третьего и четвертого года (герменевтический семинар) «Понимание и творчество». Кроме того, в структуру общегуманитарной подготовки входит изучение иностранных языков. Курсы реализуются исключительно в формате творческих семинаров по базовым текстам и связанным с ними проблемам. Используются такие формы креативной учебной деятельности, как симпозиумы, перформансы, конференции, проектная деятельность, создание тематических портфолио, подготовка творческих эссе и другое. Остановимся кратко на содержании названных курсов.

**«Язык и мышление».** Цель курса – формирование и развитие у студентов навыков и ценностей творческого и самостоятельного выражения мыслей и идей, формулирования собственной позиции и понимания при этом позиции другого, участия в совместном обсуждении идей и мнений и нахождения способов решения проблем, поставленных в курсе. Курс является вводным в систему общегуманитарной подготовки студентов, интенсивно проводится в течение первых 2–3 недель занятий первокурсников и направлен на то, чтобы учить студентов «реально» читать и писать и на этой основе творчески мыслить, искать и формулировать самостоятельные ответы на поставленные вопросы. Курс призван раскрепостить студентов, отучить их от сформированного школой, особенно белорусской, стремления искать «единственно правильные ответы». Уникальные практики интенсивного письма и дискуссий, используемые в курсе, направлены на глубокое освоение студентами взаимосвязи между процессами мышления и способами выражения его результатов. Работа в курсе опирается на антологию, включающую небольшие теоретические и художественные тексты или их фрагменты (Платона, И. Канта, Х. Арндт, Ф. Ницше, Ф. Кафки, А. Камю, У. Шекспира, В. Шимборской и других), произведения изобразительного искусства, фильмы, музыкальные произведения (по выбору преподавателей) в общем тематическом поле «Свобода и ответственность». На занятиях используются различные практики творческого письма, командной работы, проектной деятельности, назначение которых – поиск самостоятельных ответов на вопрос «Что такое человек?»

**Семинар первого года «Введение в гуманитарные науки».** В основе семинара лежит идея содержательной совместимости социального и культурного опыта, выражением которого является гуманитарное знание, с проблемами конкретной жизни каждого из нас. Гуманитарное знание – это не некий рецептурный справочник. Крайне важно, и это гораздо сложнее, воспринимать его как «путь к самому себе» (Гессе). Иными словами, не следует полагать, что существует некое «знание», которое способно освободить нас от бремени практического проживания жизни со всей ее неопределенностью и непредсказуемостью. Цель курса –

сформировать у студентов познавательный и культурный опыт, который позволял бы им плодотворно осмысливать следующие фундаментальные вопросы: На что я могу надеяться в этой жизни? Стоит ли наша жизнь труда быть прожитой? В каком мире я хочу жить? Что я могу сделать, чтобы изменить мир? Как мое мышление выражается в языке? Как я могу быть услышан? Какова природа моего знания о себе? Чего я не знаю о себе? Какие вопросы я должна/ен задать самой/му себе? Основой курса, цементирующей все его содержание, являются следующие тексты: Г. Гессе. Петер Каминцинд; Л. Толстой. Смерть Ивана Ильича; Ф. Ницше. Эссе *Номо*, как становятся самим собой; В. Быков. Сотников; Ф. Кафка. Превращение; А. Камю. Миф о Сизифе. Эссе об абсурде; М. Хайдеггер. Время картины мира; Х. Арндт. Между прошлым и будущим: упражнения в политической мысли. При выполнении творческих заданий широко привлекаются поэтические произведения, визуальные искусства. Предполагается подготовка каждым студентом творческого эссе под общим названием *Curriculum vitae*. В первом семестре фокусом эссе является тема «Моя жизнь как история», во втором — «Моя жизнь как призвание».

**Семинар второго года «Введение в социальные науки».** Будучи продуктом 20 столетия, социальные науки изначально претендовали на то, чтобы предложить знание, которое по своей точности и аргументированности было бы аналогичным естественнонаучному знанию и могло бы стать основой рационального и предсказуемого развития общества. Сегодня такие притязания выглядят старомодным анахронизмом. История, особенно второй половины 20 века, как и качественно иные тенденции развития общества в нынешнем столетии, выявили необоснованность подобных подходов. Тем не менее способность к всеобъемлющему и критическому восприятию современного общества, взаимоотношений субъекта(-ов) и структур(-ы) остается востребованной для понимания потенциальных траекторий социального развития в рамках конкретных обстоятельств. Цель курса — сформировать у студентов понимание многообразных форм включенности индивида в социальные контексты и практики, а также способности ориентироваться в процессе деятельности в более широком поле социальной реальности, что позволит им эффективно решать различного рода индивидуальные и социальные проблемы. Программа курса состоит из четырех модулей, включающих ряд тем: 1) Социум как мир человека (понятие социального и открытие политического; Просвещение: от общества традиционного к обществу современному); 2) Базовые социальные проблемы (власть, знание, идеология: как возможно социальное знание?; публичное и приватное: открытие «мы»); 3) К социуму 21 столетия (от общества модерна к постмодерну, или смена эпох; глобализация, технологии, мобильность); 4) Я и Мы (многообразие практик идентификации; власть, публичность, солидарность). Курс опирается на изучение и анализ студентами фрагментов произведений представителей классического и современного этапов развития социального знания в многообразии его форм: Аристотель, Платон, Ж.-Ж. Руссо, И. Кант, К. Маркс, М. Вебер, М. Хайдеггер, Х. Ортега-и-Гассет, Х. Арндт, М. Фуко, П. Бурдьё, З. Бауман, У. Бек, Э. Гидденс, Ю. Хабермас и мн. др.). При выполнении творческих заданий активно привлекаются художественные тексты.

**Семинар третьего и четвертого года «Понимание и творчество» (герменевтический семинар).** В основе курса лежит идея о том, что произведения искусства обладают особым способом воздействия на человека, они захватывают его, побуждают к непосредственной реакции, помогают взглянуть на мир по-новому, способствуют потрясению и трансформации стереотипов мышления. Именно поэтому многочисленные выдающиеся мыслители 20 столетия с такой энергией пытались преодолеть односторонность постижения мира и самого человека, исходя из точки зрения абстрактного теоретического мышления. Они обращались в своих поисках к творчеству различных авторов – поэтов, писателей, музыкантов и художников. Цель курса – осмысление того, что идея авторства или обретения собственного языка является в смысловом плане ключевой для понимания содержания всего гуманитарного образования, что позволяет адекватно организовать собственную творческую деятельность. Это – ключевой вызов в формировании профессионализма в гуманитарной сфере, побуждающий развитие способности не только понять конкретную проблему, но и самостоятельно, творчески ее решать. Семинар выстраивается на пересечении общегуманитарной и специальной подготовки студентов. Работа в семинаре опирается на фрагменты текстов в большинстве случаев уже известных студентам авторов, а также на тексты, предлагаемые преподавателями в контексте профессиональных интересов студентов. Важной задачей является установление связи между работой в семинаре и подготовкой студентами финальных курсовых и бакалаврских работ.

### **Заключение**

Конечно, мы еще находимся в самом начале пути формирования и утверждения новой модели либерального образования. Многое здесь еще неясно и требует осмысления и апробации. Структура и формы высшего образования меняются сегодня столь стремительно, что буквально каждый год возникают новые вызовы перед образовательными практиками. Особенно значимым вызовом является формирование дигитального университета, развитие мобильного обучения, появление самых различных новых провайдеров высшего образования и профессиональной подготовки. Согласно прогнозам, именно они в ближайшие одно-два десятилетия практически полностью заменят классические университеты и традиционные кампусы. С массовым внедрением в жизнь различных искусственных интеллектуальных систем, полным и радикальным изменением профессиональной структуры общества и рынков труда полностью исчерпает себя информационный подход к образованию. Ключевым фактором успешной жизни станет высокий уровень развития креативного мышления, или осмысляющего раздумья, отвечающего потребностям социума 21 столетия. Предлагаемые ЕГУ подходы, отвечающие, на наш взгляд, ключевым тенденциям современной социальной динамики, могут быть одним из средств формирования такого мышления.

Результатом будет становиться формирование действительно глобальных граждан, что сегодня фактически оказывается все более значимым фактором

реального выживания человечества. Не случайно в последние годы активно утверждаются образовательные программы, направленные на воспитание глобального гражданства (Delanty 1999; Dill 2013; UNESCO 2015; Wintersteiner et al. 2015). Глобальные граждане – это люди, которые в состоянии жить и действовать в условиях нарастающей глобализации, космополитизации и дигитализации социума, которые владеют навыками использования систем мобильности, способны принимать решения в мультикультурной среде, для чего у них сформированы соответствующие компетенции. Заметим, что с самого начала, еще с античных его форм, либеральное образование было направлено на воспитание глобальных граждан. Однако вплоть до 20 столетия такое воспитание, как правило, относилось только к интеллектуальным и политическим элитам. Сегодня же фактически каждый житель планеты должен в перспективе становиться глобальным гражданином. Общество повседневного, принудительного космополитизма должно становиться и обществом глобальной гражданственности. Мы делаем только первые шаги в этом направлении. Системе либерального образования принадлежит ключевая роль в решении данной задачи.

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**Mirza Khidasheli, Nikoloz Chikhladze**

## **FINANCIAL SYSTEM STABILITY THREATS AFTER 2008 ANTI-CYCLICAL POLICIES**

The financial crisis is a major issue for the economists because they are phenomena which raise questions regarding their future evolution, the impact on the world economy as a whole and on each state. In a globalized economy the financial crisis cannot be isolated to one country. To avoid the emergence of future one, we need to identify the fundamental factors which trigger them. The paper dwells on a wide range of causes and consequences of the 2008 financial crisis, the pseudo-scientific concepts and the essential systemic shortcomings. The problem is still relevant today. The aim of research is to show the theoretical and objective weakness of used anti cyclical policies. The crisis has affected different countries varying degrees and has caused the unconventional consequences. The real situation that has arisen as a result of this crisis in developed countries requires the awareness of its sense and creates a need for preventive measures. However, it is necessary to define clearly the crisis diagnosis and treatment methods. The paper is an empirical study of Keynesian and monetarist approaches, which were used to overcome 2008 financial crisis. The authors pay particular attention to activities of rating companies, whose spread contributed to shaping the irrational attitudes to the credit and financial systems, their capacities and role in the economy. Analysis of monetary and fiscal stimulation programs on overcoming the financial crisis allowed the authors for assessing the effectiveness of the Keynesian approaches combatting the causes and consequences of the crisis. This is particularly true for economic outcomes resulting from the monetary injections carried out within the quantitative easing programs. Despite the change in the framework of the supervisory policy and its implementation, the analysis of the processes occurring in the financial system, which are characteristic of the pre-crisis period, revealed that instead of changing the supervisory policy, in order to prevent the crisis, it is necessary to implement structural reforms with a view to overcoming the principal shortcomings existing in the credit system.

**Key words:** credit (loan), financial crisis, business-cycle.

### **Угрозы устойчивости финансовой системы после антициклической политики 2008 года**

В статье рассматривается широкий спектр причин и последствий финансового кризиса 2008 года, псевдонаучные концепции и системные недостатки. Проблема не теряет актуальности и по сей день. Кризис в различной степени затронул разные страны и вызвал неординарные последствия. Реальная ситуация, сложившаяся в результате кризиса в развитых странах требует осмысления и создает необходимость принятия превентивных мер. Однако необходимо провести четкую кризисную диагностику, а также методы лечения. Авторы особое внимание уделяют деятельности рейтинговых компаний, распространение которых способствовало формированию нерациональных взглядов на кредитно-финансовые системы, их возможности и роль в экономике. Анализ программ денежно-кредитного и финансового стимулирования по преодолению финансового кризиса позволил авторам оценить эффективность кейнсианских подходов к борьбе с причинами и последствиями кризиса. Особенно это касается экономического эффекта, полученного в результате денежных вливаний, осуществляемых в рамках программ количественного смягчения денежно-кредитной политики. Несмотря на изменение рамок надзорной политики и ее улучшение, анализ процессов в финансовой системе, характерных для предкризисного периода, показал, что вместо изменения надзорной политики для предотвращения кризиса важно проводить структурные реформы с целью искоренения принципиальных не-



достатков, существующих в кредитной системе. Цель исследования – показать теоретическую и объективную слабость используемой антициклической политики. Авторы проанализировали эмпирические данные антициклической политики и представили результаты. Также в статье сформулированы проблемы современного финансового пространства в глобальном масштабе. Авторы утверждают, что проблемы в финансовом секторе были более глубоко интегрированы в механизм кредитования, чем это было представлено политиками.

**Ключевые слова:** кредит, финансовый кризис, бизнес-цикл.

## Introduction

A financial crisis is often linked with one or more of the following phenomena: substantial changes in credit volume and asset prices; severe disruptions in financial intermediation and the supply of external financing to various actors in the economy; large scale balance sheet problems; and large scale government support. As such, financial crises are typically multidimensional events and can be hard to characterize using a single indicator. The literature has clarified some of the factors driving crises, but it remains a challenge to definitively identify their deeper causes. Many theories have been developed over the years regarding the underlying causes of crises. While fundamental factors – macroeconomic imbalances, internal or external shocks – are often observed, many questions remain on the exact causes of crises. Financial crises are often preceded by asset and credit booms that eventually turn into busts. Many theories focusing on the sources of crises have recognized the importance of booms in asset and credit markets. However, explaining why asset price bubbles or credit booms are allowed to continue and eventually become unsustainable and turn into busts or crunches has been challenging. This naturally requires answering why neither financial market participants nor policy makers foresee the risks and attempt to slow down the expansion of credit and increase in asset prices.

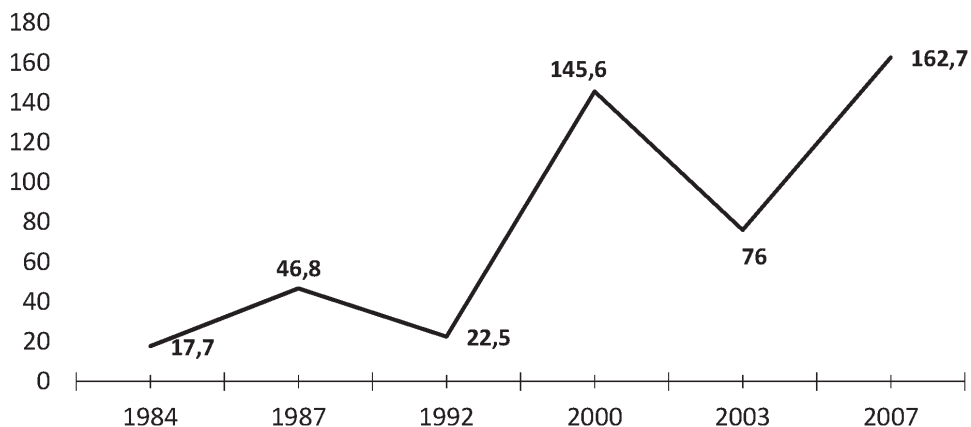
The 2008 global financial crisis was a particular phenomenon in the history of financial crises. In addition to its global nature, which is due to its magnitude, it has enabled the researchers and scientists interested in this issue to test the existing theories of money and credit and economic cycles in reality. Unlike the exact and natural sciences, as well as medical area, social science research is deprived of the opportunity to perform “test” to find out the truth, as well as to prove new or existing theories. Therefore, the 2008 global financial crisis, despite its heavy consequences and challenges highlighted, is scientifically fertile ground for the assessment of scientific theory and concepts.

## Factors of the 2008 global financial crisis

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the liberal credit policy prepared a global economy excessively saturated with credit.

There was emerged the so-called credit “overproduction”, that is a special virtual credit universe, due to which, the imbalance was grown between the real and financial sectors (see Figure 1).

Figure 1  
The total value of securities/GDP in the world, %



Source: World Bank 2019.

If in the early stages of the development of credit relations, it was considered to be a “serving” instrument of real economy, the imbalance registered in the 2000s formulated a different approach to the financial system. It was not regarded as an instrument of a real sector, which in turn stimulates economic growth, but as an independent source of economic growth.

A similar trend has been occurring in the structure of corporation income. In 1960–1984, in the USA, only 17.4% of total corporate profits were accounted for by the financial sector. In the early 2000s, this figure rose to above 40%, and by 2002 it reached 44%. It is important to note that the growth rate of profit in the financial sector exceeded the economic growth rate (Khatiwada 2010).

The phenomenon of derivatives has played a special role in strengthening the financial sector as the institution “independent” of the economy. For the financial system, it has almost completely eliminated the ceiling lending limit, the threshold above which the lending rate went beyond the rational framework. In 2009, the exchange trade and turnover of derivatives became the largest consumers of credit.

Table 1  
Financial derivatives in the world, \$ milion

Market	Open positions In nominal		
	1990	2004	2007
Stock trading	2 290.4	46 592.1	80 575.9
Overseas trade	3450.3	181 132.0	596 004.0
Total	5 740.7	227 724.1	676 579.9

Source: Khidasehli 2014, p. 64.

The reason for the sharp increase in the volume of derivatives was the revitalization of waning illiquid assets, and the discounting has become the main method of an approach to different financial contracts.

The rating agencies have made their contribution to the “preparation” and development of the 2008 financial crisis. In 2008, the rating agencies were accused of making an inadequate assessment and misunderstanding of riskiness of derivatives secured by real estate. For example, in 2017, the Moody’s rating company substantially downgraded the ratings of 83% of derivatives secured by real estate worth \$869 billion, while in 2006 the same securities were rated at the AAA.

The ground for criticising rating companies was also the conflict-of-interest issue due to the so-called “issuer pays” model. According to this model, the issuer of the securities pays the rating agency to enable the latter to make an initial valuation of the securities it issued, as well as the resumption of this valuation afterwards (Council of Foreign Affairs 2015).

Special challenges were encountered with respect to evaluation of derivatives. Besides, during the pre-crisis period, most of the revenues of the rating companies were used to value derivatives. The main threat was the fact that the derivatives can be projected in such a way that allows for obtaining the desired rating. By means of the analogous instrument of “financial alchemy”, the financial instruments, in which there were used the securities with low ratings (including the CCC ratings), were able to easily be converted to the securities rated at the AAA.

Against the background of the above circumstance, at the beginning of the new millennium, banks and stock exchanges continued to operate successfully, which stirred the universal admiration and was viewed as exemplary, but this is not all that caused their growing significance. The more important factor was the penetration of credit and the exchange trade in all areas of society and the establishment of a system, which, on the one hand, involves the global movement of value, and on the other hand, the development of a comprehensive credit and exchange-trade culture. In parallel to this, at the end of the first decade of the new century, there were also spread a lot of myths and assumptions about viability and sustainability of transnational banks.

In 1980, only 20% of the banking sector assets were accounted for by 10 largest banks in the United States, while in 2014, this figure rose to 50%. Banks were integrated into the complex financial conglomerates, which included the entire spectrum of the financial sector. They carried out not only depositing, lending and mortgage activities, but they also provided broker-dealer, insurance, asset management, etc. (Cetorelli, Traina 2018).

The consolidation process occurring in the banking sector has led to the formation of banking institutions, despite the institutional-legal form of which, their impact on the sector and the economy has become considerable and dangerous. A situation has emerged in which the business and financial problems of banking institution of a similar size were dangerous for the entire financial system. As a result, the financial system, economy and the general public have found themselves in a state of “hostage”, and the approach “Too Big to Fail” to this type of financial institutions has been established. This situation allows financial institution for being less cautious and overly liberal

during the formation and implementation of lending policy, since the State can not allow the financial system to fail, which in turn can cause financial problems of this banking institution.

### **J. M. Keynes approaches to recession**

Keynes was deeply convinced of the need for the role of State in stabilizing the economy. In his assessment, only through state interventions, it was possible to ensure high level of employment in the long term. In particular, Keynes believed that the decline in demand, which in turn was caused by the reduction of purchases by financially restricted consumers, resulted in a decrease in economic growth and a cycle, since due to the reduction of purchases, businesses conducted reduction of wages or personnel.

Keynes believed that the government had the responsibility and obligation to intervene in the economy and prevent the economy shrinking. In this regard, it confers one of the central functions on the Central Bank as an institution, which is required to develop a monetary policy, within which low, by means of low interest rates, it increases the supply of money to business and consumers. Increasing the accessibility of money will allow business for recapitalizing and starting developing, recruiting more employees, which will bring the unemployment rate down.

He also believed that the impact of State on the economy had to make impact on the economy not only with the monetary tools, but also in the fight against unemployment, it also had to use government investment in the various sectors of the economy, to finance private enterprises.

In general, Keynes's approach consisted in the need to confront the recession and depression through state interventions. From a fiscal point of view, this approach has taken the following form: during depression and recession, government has to reduce taxes and increase spending, especially in non-financial assets. He believed that such fiscal policy would impact on aggregate demand that in turn could lead to economic growth. According to Keynes, the recession and depression are caused by insufficient aggregate demand (AD), and consequently, the State has to bridge this gap through fiscal and monetary interventions in order to prevent a drop in economic growth.

### **Bail outs**

Assistance provided to banks consisted of three parts. At the first stage, assistance of the US State Treasury to 707 financial institutions in 2008–2009 was totalling \$205 billion. The amount of assistance of aid fluctuated between \$300 thousand \$25 million, while the interest rate was 5–7.7%, and the interest rate rose to 9–13.8% over the five years. This loan was secured through the preferred shares or bonds that were, in turn, bore the right to exchange them for common stocks. The second part of the funding started in January 2009, when the US State Treasury allocated \$20 billion to the City Bank and the Bank of America each. The third part of the program also

started in January 2009, when the US State Treasury, the Federal Reserve System and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation jointly became guarantors of \$118 billion in losses, which threatened the City Bank and the Bank of America (Anderson, Gascon 2011).

The largest program of the Federal Reserve System was the so-called TAF (Term Auction Facility), which enabled banks to receive loan from the Federal Reserve System on a weekly basis. The program was launched in December 2007 and ended in April 2010. The most controversial program of the Federal Reserve System was the Maiden Lane (ML I), the purpose of the program was to assist the J.P. Morgan Chase to buy the Bear Stearns and Co. The New York's Federal Reserve Bank allocated for this deal \$28.5 billion (Federal Reserve Bank of New York 2012).

Apart from banks, the Federal Reserve System and the US State Treasury have also assisted number of insurance companies. Among them, the most assistance was provided to AIG. Assistance to insurance company started in September 2008 with a loan secured with \$85 billion. On 25 November of the same year, the Treasury bought the newly issued preferred shares worth \$40 billion. On April 17, 2009, the Treasury created the support of the share capital worth \$29.8 billion especially for AIG. On September 30, 2010, the Treasury allocated \$69.8 billion to AIG.

For its part, the Federal Reserve System also assisted AIG in autumn 2008 within the limits of ML I-II and ML I-III, where the insurance giant received a \$70 billion loan from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (Karnitschnig et al. 2008).

One of the largest beneficiaries of the US Treasury Assistance Program was the Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. The support from the Treasury included the purchase of the newly-issued preferred securities. On 30 June, 2010, the Treasury invested \$187.5 billion in this company (Frame et al. 2015).

After the crisis, the US Treasury provided significant financial assistance to the automotive industry. The total assistance to the General Motors amounted to \$49.5 billion, including \$6.5 billion as a loan, \$2.1 billion were invested in preferred shares, and the remaining investment was used to buy 61% of share capital. Financial assistance to the Chrysler amounted to \$12.5 billion. Overall, the Treasury's financial support for the automotive industry amounted to \$81.7 billion (Weisman 2014).

## Quantitative Easing

In terms of the scope, along with the Treasury, the anti-cyclic measures also actively involved the Federal Reserve System. The main instrument that it used at this time was the Quantitative Easing program (QE). Within this program, the Federal Reserve System was buying securities linked to real estate from its member-banks.

The first program (QE1) was launched by the Federal Reserve System on November 26, 2008. The structure of securities purchased at the initial stage was as follows: \$600 billion were securities linked to real estate, \$100 billion were unsecured securities. From 2008 to 2010, within the QE1, the balance sheet of the Federal Reserve System increased up to \$2.1 trillion, while prior to the start of the Quantitative Easing program, its balance sheet did not exceed \$800 billion.

In the parallel, the Federal Reserve System pushed down its refinancing rate to zero and started to pay interest on the minimum reserve demand deposited in the correspondent accounts (McInish et al. 2017).

Since 2010, the second stage of the Federal Reserve System's Quantitative Easing program (QE2) has come into action. The declared goal of the program was to buy the Treasury securities worth \$600 billion. The purpose of purchasing securities from the banks was to keep the lending rates low. This would lead to a rise in lending and stimulating the economy. However, the low interest rates did not result in the planned lending growth – during the recession, it was not easy to find the solvent loan seeker.

Consequently, the Federal Reserve System bought the 10-year Treasury Bonds worth \$30 billion, on the one hand, in order to keep the interest rates low, and on the other hand, to make the Treasury Bonds non-attractive and to trigger investors to return to securities linked to real estate. Through the QE2, the Federal Reserve System (FRS) also sought to reach moderate inflation, in order to stimulate the economy through the grown demand. The principle is simple, when society knows that the prices are gradually rising in a certain dose, it tries to buy now, in order to avoid paying more. In this regard, the FRS was considering inflation to be a driving force of demand. In June 2011, the FRS completed the QE2 program. At that time, its balance sheet amounted to \$2.8 trillion.

On 13 September, 2012, a new phase of the FRS Quantitative Easing program (QE3) was started. At the outset of this program, the FRS declared that it was planning to continue the easy monetary policy until the tangible results in the decrease in the rate of unemployment are obtained. At this stage of Quantitative Easing policy, the main goal of the FRS – to achieve the target rate of inflation, was replaced by the goal to decrease the unemployment rate. The FRS also declared that the zero rate on the refinancing loans will be kept until 2015. With that, the FRS tried to influence on expectations of business actors. Within the QE3, the FRS has announced its desire to buy assets worth \$40 billion secured by real estate.

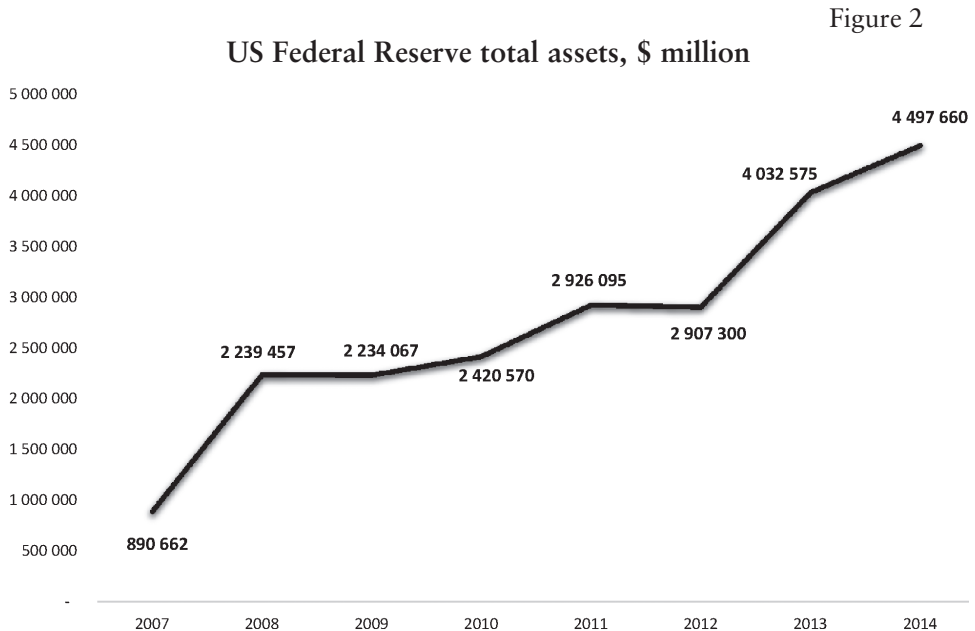
At the same time, the FRS implemented the so-called “Operation Twist”, within which the System was selling the short-term treasury bills and was buying the 10 year treasury bills. The increase in demand for the long-term treasury bills from the FRS side has completely naturally resulted in reduction in the interest rate on the same securities.

The greater the demand for securities, the lower the interest rate established by the issuer, and vice versa. Since the interest rate on the Treasury securities is the base one for all long-term treasury bills, this action of the FRS made real estate and securities linked to real estate more profitable. The FRS completed the QE3 program in December 2012. At that time, the balance sheet of the Federal Reserve System amounted to \$2.9 trillion.

The final stage of the Quantitative Easing program (QE4) started in January 2013. Within the program, the Federal Reserve System was buying from its member banks the Treasury bonds worth \$85 billion every month. The Federal Open Market Committee stated that by the end of the year, purchases of Treasury Bonds to be

implemented within the Quantitative Easing policy will be gradually reduced, in particular, by \$10 billion a month. It is noteworthy that at the end of QE4, the balance sheet of the FRSe exceeded \$4 trillion.

Within the framework of four Quantitative Easing programs, the balance sheet of the Federal Reserve System increased from \$0.9 trillion to \$4.5 trillion (see Figure 2). It is important to note that in US history, the implementation of monetary injections of this scale is unprecedented.



Source: US Federal Reserve 2019.

### Regulatory and supervision reforms

In addition to the ongoing fiscal and monetary measures of anti-cyclic regulation, through which the political authorities sought to avoid economic depression, a number of steps were taken to change the supervisory and regulatory framework. The financial system's governing structures thought that shortcomings in the supervisory policies were a cause of. It is for this purpose that the Basel Committee has developed a new package of reforms of the supervisory framework, which aims to prevent the developments similar to the 2008 financial crisis.

In terms of scale, the banking institutions of USA, Switzerland, UK and European Union have grown so much in relation to the respective economies that they have become bearers of the systemic importance. Consequently, their collapse meant that the entire economy enters the deep economic crisis. Finally, for this reason, the taxpayers had to fund their financial difficulties. This fact has become a source of inspiration for

Basel III, in order to enable banks to perform functions of economic development rather than to facilitate its collapse.

Basel III was aimed to put the banking sector in the framework of the overly liberal lending policy that would protect them from the threats of excessive illiquidity. The Basel Committee found that the existence of the insufficient liquidity buffer was what caused the crisis, because banks were unable to absorb loan losses due to this factor.

The authors of Basel III believed that they created such a regulatory framework, which protects the financial sector from external and internal shocks. Consequently, the new standards included micro-prudential reforms at the level of individual banking entities and macro-prudential reforms in terms of the banking sector. The bank was required to improve and maintain the quality of capital availability, which would protect it from the unexpected shocks developed in the financial market (World Finance on Basel 2018).

**Requirements of Pillar 1 and the combined buffer.** From the minimum requirements for supervisory capital (the minimum requirements of basic primary capital, primary capital and total supervisory capital – 7%, 8.5% and 10.5% respectively), there has been separated the capital conservation buffer – 2.5%, which was previously integrated into the minimum requirements. As a result, the minimum requirements for renewed capital are 4.5%, 6% and 8% in accordance with the requirements for basic primary capital, primary capital and gross supervisory capital.

Along with the above changes, through basic primary capital, banks are required to protect additional the so-called combined buffer, which includes the buffer of conservation, counter-cyclicality and systematicity. To this end, as the conservation buffer rate, there were determined 2.5% of the total risk positions weighted in accordance with risk, while as the counter-cyclical buffer rate, there was determined 0%. A counter-cyclical buffer can be established within the range from 0% to 2.5%. This will be revised periodically, on the basis of the financial and macroeconomic environment. For the systemically important commercial banks, there has also been introduced been able to introduce the systematicity buffer.

The introduction of the systematicity buffer serves several purposes as follows:

- to provide greater financial sector sustainability;
- to reduce the probability of large bank failures and avoid the resulting systemic problems;
- to reduce moral hazard in systemic banks;
- to reduce the potential burden on the taxpayers when providing assistance to troubled banks;
- to reduce the concentration and, as a result, to promote competition.

**Requirements of Pillar 2.** According to the Basel III framework, commercial banks, within Pillar 2, should maintain the adequate buffers of capital for risks that are not adequately included in Pillar 1.

The requirements for capital within Pillar 2 include the requirement of a capital buffer for the unprotected risk positions, which have until this time been integrated into Pillar 1. This buffer is a macro-prudential buffer that aims to reduce systemic risk



caused by dollarization. The adoption of this buffer once more expresses the National Bank's policy to gradually reduce dollarization of the banking system, in order to ensure financial stability and promote the flexibility of the economy during the external shocks.

It is important that the capital buffers imposed within Pillar 2 should be met by commercial banks in the same proportion of supervisory capital elements, as is given in the minimum requirements (basic initial capital – 4.5%, primary capital – 6% and total supervisory capital – 8%). Accordingly, 56% of capital requested within Pillar 2 should be protected by the elements of basic primary capital, while 75% of it, should be protected by elements of primary capital. With a view to bringing into line with these requirements, the commercial banks will be provided with a relevant timeframe.

As a result of the changes made regarding capital adequacy, in case of the violation of the amount of a new total capital established for the commercial bank, it will be deemed that capital combined buffers are the first ones that are violated. According to changes made in the provisions of "Capital Adequacy Requirements", in case of violation of these buffers, the commercial bank is prohibited to distribute capital, including dividends.

At the same time, the requested total amount of capital specified within Pillar 2 can be temporarily reduced for a maximum period of one year, by the unexpected downward fluctuation in the exchange rate, in the amount of capital request caused by the mechanical growth of assets weighted in accordance with risk. The amount of capital that will reduce the demand within Pillar 2, will be counted by the methodology developed by bank and agreed with the National Bank. The Commercial Bank is required to ensure the calculation of capital in accordance with this methodology.

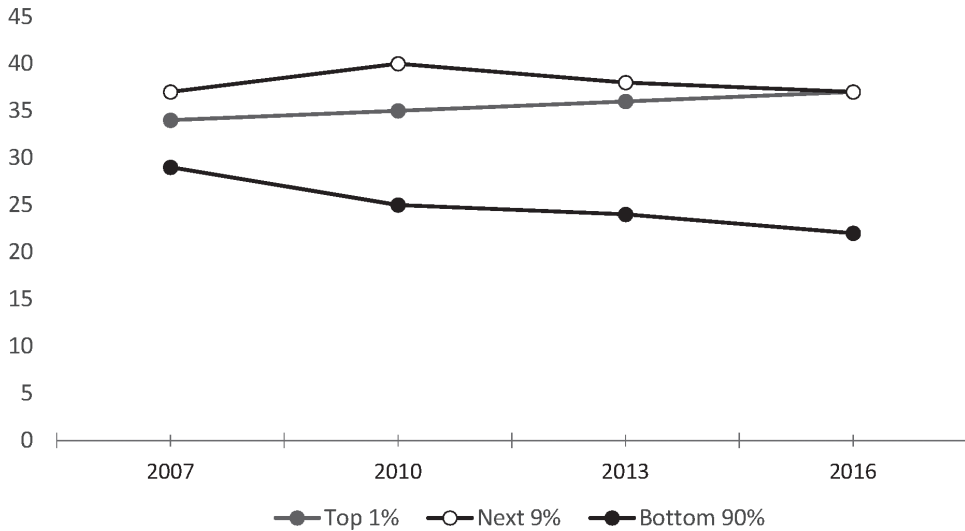
**Requirements of Pillar 3.** Along with Pillar 1 and Pillar 2, the Basel III framework includes the requirements relating to market discipline through Pillar 3, according to which the commercial banks have already published the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarterly reports. This will promote the transparency of the banking sector and, consequently, the improvement of market discipline.

### **Unconventional monetary policy results**

From November 2008 to November 2014, the FRS's balance sheet, within the QE program, increased by \$3.6 trillion, while in the same period the nominal GDP increased by \$ 2.9 trillion. Besides the absolute indicators, the fact that the real economy is strongly dependent on the QE program support is also a negative indicator. As a result, prices for financial assets went up without fundamental market factors. The latter has affected the capital movement not only between the US economy sectors, but also from the developing countries to the US, and vice versa regarding the movement of financial movement (Roach 2018).

In addition to the weak impact on economic growth, the QE program has had the mixed impact on the distribution of incomes and wealth in the United States. Particularly, in parallel with the program implementation, the inequality of the distribution of incomes and wealth has been rising in favour of the rich social strata (see Figure 3).

Figure 3  
Recent trends in the distribution of income and wealth in US



Source: Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland 2017.

In parallel to the quantitative easing program, the Federal Reserve System was massively buying Treasury Bonds, and as a result, from 2008 to 2017, domestic government debt was doubled and GDP achieved 76%. Unambiguously, after the completion of the quantitative easing program, the above factor will have a negative impact on the economy.

**Basel III and bubbles.** In addition to the quantitative easing program, the financial world has developed a new regulatory framework in the form of Basel III, which was expected to prevent the future financial crises, but since 2016, there has still been observed the accumulation of factors similar to those that had caused the 2008 crisis in the financial sector.

Similarly to 2005, when in the United States, the average median index value was above the rate of inflation by 35%, by the end of 2018, this indicator reached 32%. The Case-shiller National Index reached its peak in December 2016. For example the value of houses in Denver and Dallas exceeded the peak of 40% that existed before the crisis (Olick 2017).

Affordability of real estate was significantly limited. In 2010, 11% of rental facilities were affordable for low-income families, while in 2016 the same parameter decreased to 4% (Tracy 2017).

In March 2017, William Poole warned the public of the recurrence of the financial crisis. According to him, 35% of Fannie Mae's loans require mortgage insurance. That approximately commensurate with a similar figure of 2006 (Poole 2017).

The main problem for the financial system sustainability is student loans to finance their study – \$ 1.5 trillion. It is hard to imagine how to service these loans taking into

consideration the rate of youth unemployment. According to Sheila Bair, the former head of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 20% of these loans are already doomed to default, and by 2023, the default indicator may reach 40% (Bair 2018).

### **Monetary interventions and their results**

Equilibrium between demand and supply without monetary interventions is ensured by a free pricing system. The price for credit products in the free unregulated market is established based on the “time advantage”. It is a question now of exchanging today’s product (money) for product the acceptable in the future. Under the free market conditions, it is better “an egg to-day” than “a hen tomorrow”. This “advantage” is what establishes the interest rate and its level depends on how big or small this “advantage” is for market participants.

The “time advantage” also determines the volume of investments and savings. If the time “time advantage” is reduced, people consume less products, and they save and invest more. At the same time, for the same reason, the interest rate on loans is falling, because as have mentioned before, the time-related “advantage” has been reduced. It is economic growth that the consequence of this “advantage”.

Now let us consider what happens when the reason for the reduction in the interest rates is not a low-time advantage and large savings, but mitigation of the Central Bank’s monetary policy. What happens when the reduction in the interest rate is caused by unnatural and artificial circumstances? The answer is simple. The unnatural, artificial reduction of the interest rates leads to some problems. When the interest rates on loans go down, business, naturally, increases investments. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that part of investments goes to financing the projects that have become viable and profitable as a result of the reduction in the interest rates. The response of business is the same as in the case of the naturally reduced interest rates due to the increase in savings.

Business exploits cheap credit resources and increases the demand for capital goods through their investment. There are the growing rental value, salary, etc. Such business behaviour is not explained by the real savings, but it is the result of the artificially cheapened money. However, business takes it as a natural market signal and acts in accordance with this given.

The problem begins when the employer and the renter begin to spend the increased incomes. Since the reason for the reduction in the interest rates is not the reduction in the “time advantage”, people do not want to reduce their spending and save more, as it happens in case of the reduction in the “time advantage”. This means that instead of savings, which could create an additional demand for capital goods in the form of investments, they direct their spending to the consumer market, which is reflected in the capital goods industry. It will turn out that business has made excessive investments in the sector of capital goods, and less investments – in the sector of consumer products. The artificially reduced interest rates misled business and tricked them into thinking think the total amount of savings was above the existing ones.

An inflationary bubble leads us to the distortion in the system of pricing and production. When the excessive demand generated for capital goods is based on monetary interventions and credit expansion instead of real savings, the economic decline is the market's response to a "foreign body" invaded in its system in the form of monetary interventions. The market in this form is trying to bring the economy back into the equilibrium state based on natural factors. Depression is a painful but necessary process in order to free the economy from ineffectiveness, which in turn was due to artificial factors. An unreasonably increased price for capital goods should be returned to its natural, equilibrium level (Chikhladze, Khidasheli 2015).

How long can the economic growth caused by non-natural factors due to the credit expansion go on? The duration of the economic growth achieved due to artificially cheapened credit resources is in direct connection with the duration of the artificial interest rates. If the lowering of the interest rate of interest is made on a one-time basis, the artificial economic growth would be very short-term, but in fact the reduction in the interest rate lower the market level is not of a one-time and short-term nature. However, despite the continuous nature of monetary interventions, proceeding from its artificial nature, its permanent existence is impossible. After a certain time, the visible inflation, low liquidity and other similar factors prevent the continuation of the process in a permanent state. Therefore, sooner or later, this process of credit expansion is interrupted, and the market starts to recover. Macroeconomic indicators tend to market equilibrium.

### **Substantial problems and the need for structural reforms**

According to the modern world's financial legislation, bank deposit is no longer the property of the depositor, it already belongs to the bank and the depositor receives an asset in exchange which is called a deposit account (the current or savings account). This deposit is reflected in the bank's balance sheet as a liability, on the basis of which the Bank has a legal right to give loans in compliance with the minimum reserve requirement. In most cases the minimum reserve requirement ratio is 1/10, which means that the banking system has a right to "produce" and provide the \$1000 loan on the basis of the existing \$100 deposit.

The shortcomings of theoretical foundations of the fractional reserve system are not confined to the above-mentioned economic and financial shortcomings. The system has significant legal-type shortcomings that condition also its internal contradictions and crisis nature, which is periodically manifested in financial life of humankind.

In a free-market economy, where there is no fractional reserve banking practice, the source of credit resources is savings, temporarily free money funds, which, through the banks as the mediators, flow from the savings holders to business operators in the form of loans. The existence of savings is, on the one hand, are the means for obtaining credit resources for business, and on the other hand, the indicator of the existence of the additional demand, which should provide support for the economic growth, as well as the application of the additional issue. Everything changes in the conditions of a fractional reserve system, when the source of loan is not the real savings but monetary multiplier.

The monetary multiplier has the ability to create a loan with a larger volume than real savings. This leads to increased credit supply and the existence of the artificial, low interest rate on credit resources. Sometimes, this is also stimulated by the Central Bank's monetary policy. As a result, business is getting more access to lending, but since it is not due to the existence of the appropriate volume of savings, there is a slack, between the increase in output and the additional consumer demand secured by savings, as a result: 1) this slack is filled with consumer loan, which in turn cannot continue indefinitely; 2) sales are down and the crisis begins.

In addition to the 2008 financial crisis, one such case was reported in Greece in 2015, when against the background the crisis associated with Greece's sovereign debt, there was restricted the right to withdraw money from the ATMs, in particular there was adopted the upper limit of withdrawal. That means that restrictions were placed on the rights of private owners to freely manage their current accounts. There is no substantial connection between sovereign debt and the amounts deposited by private owners in the current accounts, and therefore, it is only natural that the sovereign debt crisis cannot be a substantial reason for this restriction. The main reason for this measure of capital control was the absence of sufficient money in banks to convert into cash the amounts deposited in the current accounts. The commercial banks had no resource to withdraw money from the current accounts, and the sovereign debt crisis in the country reduced public confidence in the financial system, and the weakening of confidence posed a threat of money withdrawal from the current accounts and disclosed a real picture demonstrating that the banks are unable to manage their current accounts.

Theoretical and legal foundations of a fractional reserve system were created after the fact. Banking practices have violated the general principles of classical Roman law over the centuries. The low level of public education in the financial categories, the permanent desire of the State to increase the treasury revenues, a canonical ban on usury and so on are prerequisites triggering an abusive banking practice.

One of the main beneficiaries of a fractional reserve system was the State, which wanted to dispose more funds than is possible. Accordingly, there has been formed the traditional symbiosis between the politicians, intellectuals and bankers. Their goals and motives were totally compatible and harmonious. Consequently, all three interested parties were looking for ways to create the theoretical and legal basis for these practices.

Sh.B. Clough clearly described the origins of this problem in his work "Economic Development of Western Civilization" he published in 1959. When the goldsmiths have realized that the only part of the deposits they owned was needed to meet the current demands of the depositors, they started to issue the so-called "Promises to pay", which were used as means of payment. The basis for banknote converting into cash was the depositor's amount held by the goldsmith, although the number of banknotes held by the above mentioned goldsmiths exceeded by far the amounts deposited. We had the loan obligations created at the expense of a simple piece of paper. Consequently, it is absolutely clear what a vital interest existed for preparing theoretical and legislative basis for this such a very profitable injustice. Despite the fundamental differences we have discussed, the "interested" theorists managed and aligned to the demand deposit agreement with the loan agreement. After this "presumption", they

have removed the insuperable hindrance that makes these various types of agreements naturally different from each other (Clough 1959).

When concluding the demand agreement, the depositors aim to keep their money safe and in an environment convenient for making transactions. Accordingly, the banker in this case provides services for the protection and securing the payment orders of the client, for which he/she must naturally be paid. During the fixed-term deposit agreement, the depositor transfers for the temporary use (for a certain period) his/her purchasing power to the banker, for which he/she naturally earns the interest.

It is “surprising” that the part of lawyers that cannot “see” this fundamental difference between the demand deposit and loan, and they consider them to be the equal agreements. Why for the medieval lawyer was unclear what was definitely true for the classical Roman law and old Roman lawmakers, which was reflected in their legal acts and practices – The Digest, Book 47, Chapter 2, No 67: “He who receives the deposit and uses with the intention of profiting by it, even though, having changed his mind is a thief”.

The most precise instrument for understanding the essential difference between the demand deposit agreement and loan is the determination of their cause and purpose, where these agreements clearly reflect the essential differences existing between them. The purpose of the demand deposit agreement is to secure safe possession and management of monetary funds, while the purpose of the fixed-term deposit agreement is to obtain dividend and to “hire” the temporarily free monetary funds for a certain period.

## Conclusions

There are fundamental types of shortcomings in the credit system, including in the form of a fractional reserve system that causes the systemic crisis development. The crisis is the system’s response to the shortcoming existing in its structure that needs to be corrected and reformed. Measures to combat for the elimination of its results do not affect not only the causes of the problem but the results themselves.

Monetary interventions implemented for the stability of the economy distort the impact of market forces on the economy, causing the postponement of the crisis consequences and not their neutralization.

If the structural reforms do not correct the fundamental problems existing in the credit system, the crisis will be a periodic, accompanying phenomenon of the financial system. “Survival” of the existing system with monetary interventions is unimaginable, because the declared, but unattainable goal of these interventions is to alleviate the consequences of the recession and depression, but not to eliminate their causes.

The evolution of reforming the regulatory and supervisory framework demonstrates that each such reform represents the reaction after the event to an outcome that fails to perform the preventive function because of fundamental problems existing in the system.

The fractional reserve banking, with multiplication effect, can create more credit than gross amount of savings is available. Therefore, the credit mechanism can make excessive pressure on economic and cause financial crisis. To eliminate the issue,

there should be restore a Classic Roman law approach to deposits. Therefore, for sustainable financial environment, loan and deposits should be distinguished clearly and only loans and term deposits could be used for creating credits.

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**Zane Zeibote**

## **CLUSTERS AS A FACTOR INFLUENCING REGIONAL POLICY AND COMPETITIVENESS**

The regional policy is a priority of the European Union since too large disparities between and within its member states have been remaining over the past decades, which results in huge differences in regional competitiveness of the EU countries. This paper analyses the diverse impact of clusters on the competitiveness of highly developed and lesser developed regions on different stages of economic development in the world, EU and Latvia. The aim of this research is to evaluate the impact of clusters on regional policy and competitiveness. Methods used in the research include general and quantitative research methods. The methodological basis for defining the determinants of regional competitiveness is the three-stage system of economic development elaborated by the World Economic Forum. Firstly, the theoretical analysis of regional policies' features is being conducted in the EU. It also includes the analysis of the development of theoretical approach of the regional policy and competitiveness, as well as the systematisation of structural elements, indicators and factors influencing regional competitiveness. Secondly, it analyses origin and nature of the cluster from the economic theory perspective, as well as provides an empirical assessment of the clusters' impact on regional competitiveness from in the world, EU and Latvia. Finally, the paper provides conclusions on research findings about clusters' interaction with regional policy and impact on competitiveness of regions in different stages of development.

**Key words:** regional policy, regional competitiveness, clusters, impact.

### **Кластеры как фактор региональной политики и конкурентоспособности**

Региональная политика является приоритетом для Европейского Союза, поскольку слишком большие диспропорции между странами ЕС и внутри этих стран остаются актуальными на протяжении последних десятилетий, что приводит к большим различиям региональной конкурентоспособности в странах ЕС, а также в Латвии. В рамках данной статьи анализируется дифференцированное влияние кластеров на конкурентоспособность более развитых и менее развитых регионов, находящихся на разных стадиях экономического развития в мире, в ЕС и в Латвии. Целью данного исследования является оценка влияния кластеров на региональную политику и конкурентоспособность при помощи общенаучных и количественных методов. Методологической основой для определения детерминант региональной конкурентоспособности является система трёх стадий экономического развития, разработанная Всемирным экономическим форумом. В рамках данной статьи проанализированы, во-первых, характерные особенности проводимой в ЕС региональной политики, включая анализ развития теоретических подходов к региональной политике и конкурентоспособности, а также систематизацию структурных элементов, показателей и факторов региональной конкурентоспособности. Во-вторых, изучены сущность и происхождение кластеров с точки зрения экономической теории, а также проведена эмпирическая оценка влияния кластеров на региональную конкурентоспособность в мире, в Евросоюзе и в Латвии. В результате исследования сделаны выводы о влиянии кластеров на региональную политику и конкурентоспособность на различных стадиях экономического развития регионов.

**Ключевые слова:** региональная политика, региональная конкурентоспособность, кластеры, влияние.

## Introduction

The regional policy has become one of the European Union's priorities as result of widening regional disparities between its member states (Barca 2009). Many studies, such as the Report on European Competitiveness (European Commission 2014), the European Trade Union Institute (2011) and study of P. Pachura (2010) indicate huge differences in regional competitiveness of the EU countries, as well as Latvia, which is an important and unsolved challenge; comparison of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of NUTS2 regions in the EU shows that the smallest GDP is 16% of the EU average, while the greatest is 343% (European Trade Union Institute 2011).

Sustainable regional policy and competitiveness is crucial for the balanced development of Latvia, especially, considering that important regional disparities, for example in 2015, were at a similar level as fifteen years earlier in 2000. For example, in 2015 the GDP per capita in the Riga Region was almost three times bigger than in the Latgale Region (Central Statistical Bureau of the Republic of Latvia 2019a).

The EU domestic regions differ not only in terms of GDP per capita, but also in terms of such factors as the intensity of use of the Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), which, in turn, directly and strongly correlates with the wealth of regional inhabitants – as the use of ICT is lower, as lower is the income of regional inhabitants and vice versa. Also, the use of ICT in the regions of Latvia shows a considerable inequality. For example, computer and internet were accessible to 68–69% households of the Latgale Region in 2017, while in the Riga Region this indicator was – 83–84% (Central Statistical Bureau of the Republic of Latvia 2019b).

The author analyses the diverse impact of clusters on the competitiveness of regions in different stages of development in the world, EU and Latvia, as well as availability and impact of cluster support instruments on the regional policy in EU regions and Latvia. Clusters and their impact on the regional policy and competitiveness have been a widely studied subject in theory and practice, especially starting from the beginning of 1990s, when M. Porter (1990) laid the basis for development of clusters' theory. Results of modern research provide evidence about essential and statistically approved positive impact on regional competitiveness, including ability to innovate (Solvell, Protsiv 2008), patents (Boasson, MacPherson 2001), employment (Delgado et al. 2010), productivity (Rosenthal, Strange 2008), conditions of work and living (Porter 2003), as well as average salaries and their increase (Matano, Naticchioni 2012). However, not much attention has been given to analysis of the impact of clusters on the competitiveness and regional policy on unevenly developed regions to try to prevent or to decrease these inequalities.

One of the first studies about localization of industries in the Baltic States was done by A. Vanags, J. Basarova and N. Titova (2002) who compared trends of concentration of economics activities in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, which reflected potential for cluster development. Later, U. Osis (2004) in his work related the development of clusters to particular regions of Latvia. During the last decade several doctoral theses have been defended, which were researching relationships between clusters and regional policy, and competitiveness. For example, V. Boronenko (2009) in her Doctoral thesis

analyses the interrelation between clusters and competitiveness of regions in the world and Latvia; A. Klepers (2012) in his thesis study the connection between clusters and place-based development in Latvia; Z. Garanti and A. Zvirbule-Berzina (2013) analyses possibilities for creation and development of regional clusters in Latvia, as well as clusters as driving forces for regional development, while I. Kassalis (2011) examines the impact of ports' clusters on the economic development of Latvia. These studies indicate that a successful cluster development is not possible everywhere, but require particular preconditions to be present in specific regions. At the same time, there are studies, which analyse competitiveness, clusters and regional policy from the perspective of depressive regions (Pessoa 2013).

Scientific understanding of the concept of region is a part of the territory with a special set of circumstances determined by nature, socio-economic situation, culture, etc. This paper considers that the main research object of the regional economy is the economic region. For the purpose of achieving the objective of this research, all territories included in the analysis – states and groups of states – will be considered as regions, because the science of regional economy views the region as a territory with specific economy and sometimes borders of the economic region do not correspond to administratively defined borders.

Methods used in the research include general and quantitative research methods. General research methods: the monographically descriptive – an analysis of scientific literature, research results and reports as well as normative documents; a retrospective analysis of clusters development in the world, in the EU and in Latvia in a context of a regional policy and competitiveness; the logical analysis and synthesis for developing a model for assessing the impact of clusters on a regional policy and competitiveness. Quantitative research methods: correlation and partial correlation analysis.

The methodological basis for defining the determinants of regional competitiveness is the three-stage system of regional economic development used by the World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Report (Schwab 2015). The nature of a cluster and the evolution of cluster's theories have been researched starting from the theory of A. Marshall (1890) about the effects of specialization in the industrial development regions of England in the 19th century, to the cluster theory created by M. Porter (1990) in the 90s of the 20th century and further developed in the 21st century, which signals about the impact of clusters on regional competitiveness and changes the classical view on the nature of regional competitiveness.

The theoretical and methodological rationale for the regional policy in the European Union is provided by the place-based theory, which the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD 2005) calls as a new paradigm of regional policy. At the same time, in order to explain differences of the competitiveness of the regions, an additional attention is paid to other theoretical sources related to the geographical location of economic activities.

## Theoretical foundations of regional policy and competitiveness

The theory of a modern regional policy in the EU is grounded on a place-based theory, or F. Barca's theory referring to Professor Barca's Report (Barca 2009). The Report was worked out by a group of researchers and experts under the leadership of F. Barca and contributed to the reform of the EU Cohesion Policy.

Nowadays the policy of a place-based approach is defined as a long-term strategy aimed at overcoming the potential for permanent inadequate use of certain regions of the EU reducing social exclusion level in specific locations through multi-level governance; supporting the supply of integrated products and services in a local context; promoting institutional change. In Latvia, T. Muravska and L. Baltina have studied a place-based approach and its reflection in the EU Cohesion policy planning and implementation (Baltina, 2014; Muravska, Baltina 2017).

The regional policy has a widespread economic or economic geography approach. This is due to traditional practice of considering the region as a socio-economic complex, as well as understanding of the regional development as a socio-economic development. Although economic issues occupy most of this approach, the regional policy is not only about the economy. Along with the economic policy it also involves the national politics. Similarly, the regional development issues are not limited to economic issues only and may be related to political decentralization issues.

By reducing the regional policy awareness, it can only be perceived as a territorial projection of a country's economic policy, and it loses its independence (McCallum 1979). Indeed, if the regional policy has an objective to optimize the socio-economic development of a territory, which is only one of many tasks of a national economic policy. Using this approach, the regional policy cannot be regarded as a particular independent internal policy direction. According to R. Martin (1993), other regional policy directions are related to preserving the territorial-political system and to ensure an effective balance between the powers of central and regional authorities, and the use and control of resources, as well as relations and cooperation with other regions (Martin 1993).

The European Commission implements the regional policy, mainly taking into account the economic interests and development priorities of the EU Member States. In this respect, the EU regional policy is an investment policy that supports the reduction of disparities or cohesion between the EU's developed and less developed regions by investing in creating new jobs, increasing competitiveness, promoting economic growth and sustainability and improving quality of life to ensure the implementation of the EU's comprehensive strategy "Europe-2020". For example, in the EU programming period 2014–2020, it is planned to invest EUR 351 billion in EU regions for implementation of the Cohesion Policy (European Commission 2013). The implementation of the EU Cohesion Policy is closely linked to the process of implementation of the regional policy by the EU Member States' institutions. The EU Cohesion Policy is being implemented through three main instruments – the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF) and the Cohesion Fund (CF).

For the budget planning of the programming period 2021–2027 the EC proposes to modernize the Cohesion Policy, which is the main EU investment policy, and is one of the most important instruments for the expression of a solidarity principle. The EU investment during 2021–2027 will be implemented according to the five main goals (European Commission 2019):

- 1) smarter Europe: innovation, digitalization, economic transformation and support for the small and medium businesses;
- 2) greener, carbon free Europe – execution of the Paris agreement, investment for the transition to renewable energy and the fight against climate change);
- 3) more connected Europe – strategic transport and digital networks;
- 4) more social Europe – supporting high-quality employment, education, development of vocational skills, social inclusion and equal access to health care;
- 5) Europe closer to citizens – supporting a place-based development strategy and sustainable urban development.

Investment in the regional development will focus on the Objectives 1 and 2 and will account for 65–85% (depending on the welfare level of a particular EU country) from the ERDF and Cohesion Fund budgets (European Commission 2019). Under the new Cohesion Policy, the investment will continue to target all EU regions, according to the three defined categories: less developed regions, transition regions and more developed regions.

The European Commission’s fifth report states: “Policies tend to develop mutually dependent impacts. Without a proper coordination, the impact of any policy may be much smaller and may even be negative. Consequently, the impact of policies should not be maximized if a fragmented approach is applied and policy decisions are taken in isolation” (European Commission 2010).

In order to address these problems, it is necessary to redefine regional policies, emphasizing the rationalization of priorities to maximize the potential for development of each region. To achieve this, it is important to transfer resources in favour of human capital development, especially in less developed regions where higher returns can be achieved, and to focus on creating a productive environment in order to improve competitiveness of enterprises throughout the region.

Nowadays regional competitiveness has become one of the most important prerequisites for successful regional policy and economic growth in each country. However, there have been many discussions, debates and publications on this topic, the Author believes that a convincing theory to explain competitiveness at national and also regional level still does not exist.

The emergence of the concept of “competitiveness” historically is related to the emergence of a competition phenomenon in the economy during the era of capitalism. If the competition is a particular type of economic environment, then the competitiveness is the ability of an economic subject to exist in this environment. The actuality and significance of competitiveness are increasing with the increasing competition in the global economy, on the one hand, and with the integration of new countries into the system of economic relations of the global market, on the other hand.

The author follows the concept of regional competitiveness defined by the European Commission: “Regional competitiveness is the ability of the region to provide an attractive and sustainable working and living environment for enterprises and citizens” (Annoni et al. 2017) and to some extent is an alternative to another approach proposed, for example, by V. Kosiedowski: “Competitiveness of a region is the sum of competitive advantages of all regional actors” (Kosiedowski 2018). However, the author’s position is to perceive the competitiveness of market players operating in the region as a desirable result of the regional competitiveness, not a prerequisite.

In the context of this research regional competitiveness is understood as a region’s ability to create and sustain a competitive environment for the economy. This understanding is based on the Porter’s theory, as well as on the results of many studies in regional economics and is in line with the definition of the European Commission and, to a certain extent, is an alternative to the approach that recognizes regional competitiveness as a resultative value of competitiveness of market players operating in the region. The systemic analysis of regional competitiveness provided the Author with a conceptual understanding about the dynamic process of regional competitiveness by conditionally dividing it into several phases: 1) the emergence of competitiveness; 2) the achievement of competitiveness; 3) the result of competitiveness.

As noted by the researchers at the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, the Baltic International Centre for Economic Policy Studies (BICEPS), in the report on Latvia’s competitiveness: “the concept of competitiveness is too complicated to be included in one indicator or even in a set of indicators” (BICEPS 2012). A number of factors that determine regional competitiveness and their classifications are identified in the scientific literature. Finding new factors in the area of regional competitiveness and clarifying the existing ones is one of the most popular areas for research.

Historically, the system of structural elements of the regional competitiveness in the economic theory was developed by M. Porter (1998a), who has named it the Diamond model.

Each of the structural elements of the regional competitiveness, as well as their common set, provides important preconditions for global competitiveness of regional players. If a regional environment allows and supports faster development of innovation and the accumulation of practical experience, regional operators can gain competitive advantage. When the regional environment provides a better flow of information and understanding of the needs of a particular product and / or production process, the regional market participants can gain competitive advantage. If the regional environment forces market players to develop on an ongoing basis, they gain a competitive advantage, as well as increase already existing advantages over time (Pellegrini 2006).

Applying the Porter Diamond Model in the practice of macroeconomic analysis, it should be noted that regions are developing unevenly at different stages of their economic development. This aspect has been explored in detail by the World Economic Forum’s Global Competitiveness Reports (Schwab 2015) by dividing all regions into five groups, which correspond to three main stages and two transitional stages of economic development:

- 1) the stage of production factors, in which the GDP per capita is lower than 2000 USA dollars;

- 2) the transition from the stage of the factors of production to the stage of efficiency, in which the GDP per capita is between 2000 and 2999 USA dollars;
- 3) the stage of efficiency, in which the GDP per capita is between 3000 and 8999 USA dollars;
- 4) the transition from the stage of efficiency to the innovation stage, in which the GDP per capita is between 9000 and 17000 USA dollars;
- 5) the stage of innovation, where the GDP per capita is higher than 17 000 USA dollars.

The components of indices or sub-indices of the Global Competitiveness Index are determined directly in accordance with the classification methodology of regions and form the three factors, which play a decisive role in each of the three aforementioned main stages of the regional economic development: stage of production factors; stage of efficiency; and stage of innovation. These are the basic conditions (institutions, infrastructure, macroeconomic environment, health care and basic education), efficiency enhancers (higher education and training, product market efficiency, labour market efficiency, financial market development, technological preparation, market size) and innovation / specialization factors, including clusters (business attractiveness, innovation).

Table 1

**The importance of regional competitiveness factors  
at each stage of the economic development**

Economic development stages	Main factors of regional competitiveness		
	Basic conditions, %	Efficiency enhancers, %	Innovation and specialization factors, incl. cluster, %
Stage of production factors	60	35	5
Transitional stage	40–60	35–50	5–10
Efficiency stage	40	50	10
Transitional stage	20–40	50	10–30
Innovation stage	20	50	30

**Note:** for the economies with a high dependence on mineral resources the per capita GDP cannot be a decisive criterion for determining the stage of economic development.

**Source:** Sala-i-Martin et al. 2016.

As shown in the Table 1, for the regions that are on the stage of production factors the most important factor (60%) for improving competitiveness is the increase in efficiency (35%) and only 5% are depend on the innovation and specialization factors. For the regions which are on the stage of efficiency the significance of the basic conditions is reduced down to 40%, while the role of efficiency enhancers increases up to 50% and becomes decisive, although the importance of innovation and specialization factors at this stage is still very low – only 10%.

Regions that are on the innovation stage and, where the role of basics conditions and effectiveness enhancers is relatively high, the innovation and specialization factors are particularly significant (30%), reflecting the fact that the innovation and specialization factors, including clusters, has the greatest impact on the regional competitiveness at this very advanced stage.

The impact of factors on any socio-economic phenomenon, including regional competitiveness, may have different effects:

- 1) an incentive effect when a factor improves the state of the phenomenon or its structural elements;
- 2) braking effect when a factor worsens the state of the phenomenon or its structural elements;
- 3) neutral effect when a factor does not change the state of the phenomenon or its structural elements;
- 4) characterizing effect, when a factor – an indicator the state of the phenomenon or its structural elements, presenting it to the outside world and the participants themselves.

Therefore, according to the author, factors determining the regional competitiveness depend on the stage of economic development of a particular region – as lower it is, as more the regional competitiveness depends on the production factors. In turn, at the highest stage of economic development, the innovation, including clusters, plays a key role. Thus, clusters encourage the regional competitiveness, when the region is at the highest – innovation stage of the economic development, while during the efficiency state of the economic development, clusters indicate that the competitiveness of region is increasing and needs an additional support from cluster development, but during the stage of production factors of the economic development, clusters are non-existent. In other words, on the stage of innovation clusters, which level of development usually is high enough, promote and boost the regional competitiveness (Schwab 2015, 2016, 2017). On the lower stages of regional economic development clusters do not play a promoting role for the regional competitiveness, but act as indicators of a particular level of the regional competitiveness.

In Latvia, the clustering is a new process. The analysis of the experience of different EU countries, as well as the findings of this research, permits the author to conclude that the development of a cluster-based economy could form the basis for the long-term development vision of Latvia's economy.

The Latvian government has expressed its support for the European Cluster Memorandum and recognized the importance of clusters in the National Development Plan of Latvia for 2007–2013, in Latvia's Industrial Development Guidelines for 2004–2013, and in the National Innovation Program 2003–2006. Besides, the Latvian National Lisbon Program 2008–2010 defines the need for the development of clusters.



Table 2

**Clusters registered in Latvia and their location, 2018**

No.	Name of the cluster	Cluster organization	Location
1.	Gauja National Park Tourism Cluster	Association "Tourism Association of the Gauja National Park"	Pieriga – region around Riga
2.	Latvian Electronics and Electrical Engineering Industry Cluster	Association "Latvian Electronics and Electrical Engineering Industry Association"	Riga region
3.	Sustainable Tourism Cluster of Latvia	Association "Latvian Association of Travel Agents and Operators"	Riga region
4.	Metalworking Cluster	Association "Mechanical Engineering and Metalworking Industry Association"	Riga region
5.	Industrial Energy Efficiency Cluster	Association "PASSIVE HOUSE LATVIJA"	Riga region
6.	Clean Technology Cluster	Association "CLEANTECH LATVIA"	Riga region
7.	Pharmaceutical and Related Industries Cluster	Association "Association of Latvian Chemical and Pharmaceutical Entrepreneurs"	Riga region
8.	Latvian Information Technology Cluster	Association "Latvian Information Technology Cluster"	Riga region
9.	Latvian Timber Construction Cluster	Latvian Timber Construction Cluster	Pieriga region
10.	Space Technology and Service Industry cluster	Foundation "Ventspils, Ventspils High Technology Park 1"	Kurzeme region
11.	Food Quality Cluster	Non-profit organization "Latvian Food Producers Federation"	Riga region
12.	Latvian Security and Defence Cluster	Association "Latvian Security and Defence Industries Federation"	Riga region
13.	Latvian Export Cluster	Association "Latvian Chamber of Commerce and Industry"	Riga region
14.	Latvian Life Sciences' Sector Development Cluster LifeScience.lv	Association "Association of Latvian Chemical and Pharmaceutical Entrepreneurs"	Riga region
15.	Latvian Health Tourism Cluster	Association "Latvian Tourism Association"	Pieriga region
16.	Green and Smart Technology Cluster	Green and Smart Technology Cluster	Kurzeme region
17.	Smart City Cluster	Association "Automotive Association"	Riga region
18.	Print and Media Technology Cluster	Association "Latvian Printing Industries Association"	Riga region

**Source:** created by the author based on the information available on the website of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Latvia on EU funds (Latvijas Republikas Finanšu ministrija 2018) and cluster websites.

The author considers that the recognition of cluster importance for the economic and regional development by including them in the aforementioned policy documents may have contributed to the fact that in the EU Structural Funds programming period during 2007–2013 and also 2014–2020 targeted support for the cluster development has become possible in Latvia known as the Cluster Support Program, which is co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund (Latvijas Investīciju un attīstības aģentūra 2018). When the support program was started there was only one officially registered cluster in Latvia – the Latvian Information Technology (IT) Cluster. In result of the provided support 18 registered cluster organizations have received financing for their projects during 2012–2018 (see Table 2).

Table 2 shows that the largest part – 72% – of the registered and supported clusters of Latvia are located in the Riga region, while smaller part – in Pierīga – the region around the capital city of Riga and 2 clusters in the Kurzeme region (the Western part of Latvia). At the same time there are not clusters developing on the rest of Latvia's territory. The author considers that this is an important task of the both, national regional policy makers, to support cluster development in all parts of Latvia by promoting clusters and stimulating enterprises and other players to cooperate. The promotion of the cluster development can help the regional and cluster support policy of Latvia to merge.

The serious problem is approach by the governmental institutions used for the selection of clusters for funding under the Cluster Support Program. There haven't been criteria established, which require a group of enterprises to become a real cluster organization, which, in turn, had created a precedent for any association of SMEs that meets the requirements of quality and compliance with the Cluster Support Program to apply for the financing. For example, in 2017, the Latvian Export Cluster, which was established by the Latvian Chamber of Commerce and Industry created the Latvian Export Cluster consisting of enterprises representing different sectors, but aiming for the same target – to increase their export capacity, and received a financial support from Cluster Support Program. If the selection criteria of the Cluster Support Program will not be changed then it can be considered that its purpose is not the creation and development of new clusters in Latvia, but the provision of short-term funding for SME's projects. It also shows that there is a lack of information and understanding about the nature and importance of clusters for the economic development.

There is only one cluster organization in Latvia – the Latvian Information Technology (IT) cluster, which was initiated in 2000 with the support of the EU PHARE program. The Latvian IT Cluster acted under the Latvian Information and Communication Technology Association for around seven years after it became an independent legal structure in 2007. Consequently, the cluster development in Latvia is at an early stage and the awareness of the impact of clusters on regional policy and competitiveness among policy makers and society at large is not yet sufficient. As the experience of other European countries shows, the focus of each country's and even region's cluster support policy may vary, the targeted application of support programs and funding is mainly directed for those priority areas, which are based on comparative advantages. The cluster development experience of other EU countries indicated that this process

is greatly facilitated by the economic policy instruments. Therefore, the state support for development of clusters is vital and, especially important in early stages of cluster development.

The experience of different countries for facilitating the cluster development and using the cluster's approach for innovation, business and investment promotion, as well as for improving the cluster policy implementation is very important for increasing the regional competitiveness of Latvia, achieving national and regional specialization, and exploiting more successful own competitive advantage. The fact that cluster initiatives have been actively developing in Latvia demonstrates that enterprises are beginning to recognize and use the opportunities, which are provided by clusters.

### **The concept of cluster and its interaction with the regional policy**

The use of the term "cluster" began simultaneously in several scientific sectors. In economics, for the first time, the concept of "cluster" was introduced by M. Porter (1990). He concluded that the emergence of one or more regional players in a regional economy with a high level of competitive advantage contributes to an increase in the competitive advantage of suppliers and consumers. M. Porter introduced the term "sectoral cluster", which is an informal union of sectoral and mixed regional markets' shareholders, characterized by the increased competitive advantage as a result of their interaction, as well as high production quality requirements. Nowadays competition in the global market is implemented by forming the groups (clusters) of market participants, but not with the help of separate regional market players, but by forming groups (clusters) (Porter 1998b). In M. Porter's view, the stronger the regions' internal market competition and the higher customer demands are, the greater is a probability of the success of regions' economic players in the global economy.

M. Porter's cluster theory was analysed by another US scientist, M. Enright (1992), who grounded the nature of the regional cluster and defined it as follows: "The regional cluster is the industrial cluster where the cluster's members are geographically close to each other. The regional cluster is a geographic agglomeration of enterprises and organizations, which operate at the same or several related sectors of economy" (Enright 1992). In Latvia the concept of the cluster in terms of belonging to a specific region was firstly mentioned in 2004 by U. Osis, an expert in cross-sectoral strategic planning, in the report "On the national program of Latvian forest and related industries" (Osis 2004).

Simultaneously, with the introduction of the term "cluster" in theory and practice of the science of economics, first attempts to investigate regularities of the formation of clusters were made. It should be taken into account that it was the beginning of the economic globalization phase, stimulated by a rapid spread of new information technology, first of all the Internet. Thus, during this period, the formation of an information society begun. M. Porter argued that the agglomeration has more prospects for success in the present conditions of globalization than it is for separate market players. Moreover, the competitiveness of market participants is determined by the economic environ-

ment where they operate (Porter 1986). By studying more than 100 industries' competition positions in different regions, M. Porter drew attention to the fact that in a global market competitive economic subjects of a particular sector are usually concentrated in the same region, and this is not necessarily coincidence. One or more economic subjects reaching a competitive edge in the global market have an impact on the surrounding environment of suppliers, consumers and competitors. On the other hand, a favourable environment positively affects the further increase in competitiveness of this economic subject. Ultimately, a "cluster" or a collection of economic subjects, which operate in the same industry emerges, promoting the competitiveness of each other as a result of mutual interaction (Porter 1990).

The appearance of clusters in the theory of economics was a result of the formation of a regional economy. It is not by a coincidence that analysing clusters' history M. Porter mentions the founder of the regional economy W. Isard (1956) who was leading development and institutionalization of the regional economy during 1950ies of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The term "cluster" contains the territorial aspect, which became topical during the period of regional economic development. Clusters can, therefore, be seen as a form of an economic interaction, which has emerged in the context of regional economic development.

The theoretical definition of the concept of "cluster" is a complex task that the Author attempts to address in this research. The problem of the definition of a cluster results from the fact that there's a large number of cluster definitions, which makes it difficult to identify the steps for developing theoretical guidelines of this concept, which distinguishes it from other concepts. At present, the science of economics encounters difficulties for defining the concept of "cluster". For example:

- different economic phenomena are understood by the term "cluster";
- content wise there are similar terms, which are differently defined;
- it is not clear, how the cluster differs from other forms of the economic interaction.

Considering different definitions of the cluster and the fact that even the definitions created by one author or institution differ during different periods, it would be logical before starting with the scientific conceptualization of the concept of cluster first of all to look at the primary source – works of M. Porter, who has introduced this concept in the theory of economics. The most recent interpretation of the term "cluster", which could be appropriately taken for this study, is the definition found on the website of the U.S. Portsmouth based Strategy and Competitiveness Institute of the Harvard Business School: "The cluster is a network of interconnected enterprises, specialized suppliers, service providers and geographical concentration of the institutions involved in a particular sphere in a country or a region" (Institute for Strategy and Competitiveness of the Harvard Business School 2018).

The cluster's main features, which are based on the classical definition of M. Porter (1998a), are:

- 1) the cluster is an economic subject, but it isn't a legal person (the cluster's members are legal persons);

- 2) although members of the cluster are legally independent, they are, however, economically interconnected;
- 3) in terms of type of activity and economic status, the members of a cluster may be different;
- 4) the cluster's members are geographically close and function in the same region.

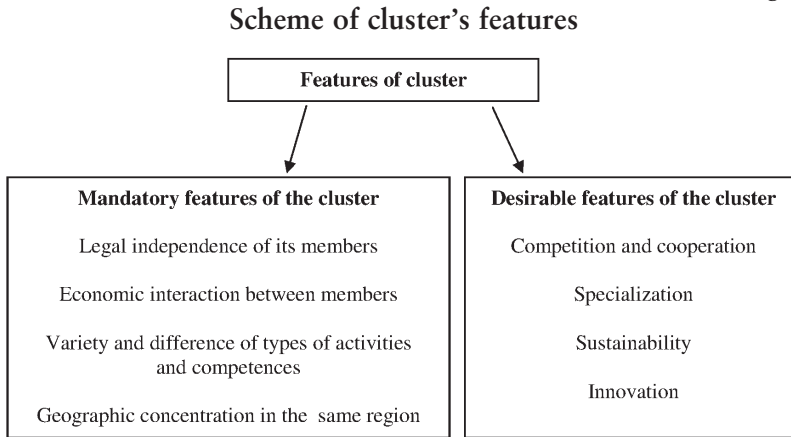
The main thing to be understood when defining and exploring clusters: the cluster is one of the forms of economic interaction that lies between occasional market transactions, on the one hand, and fusion and exposure on the other. Thus, the cluster is a form of the economic interaction of members of the market, which at the same time meets the following main requirements: 1) legal independence of the participants; 2) economic interconnection of the participants; 3) diversity of activities and statuses of participants; 4) geographic concentration of participants in the same region.

A comparative analysis with other forms of cluster and market participants' economic interaction allows us to conclude that a more distinctive feature of the cluster is the diversity of its participants and their statuses, which indicates the expansion of economic activity beyond the boundaries of a commercial production or the impossibility to achieve economic efficiency without partnership with "non-production" institutions. Another hallmark differing the cluster from other forms of market interactions is their attraction to a particular region, which suggests that the emergence of clusters in the science of economics and also in practice is linked to a necessity to increase the competitiveness of a particular region in the context of globalization. This gives a rise to the answer of question on the economic utility or advantages of clusters as compared to other forms of economic interaction between market participants: the cluster is important because regional operators can compete in the global market by organizing local production in clusters, i.e., to produce goods and provide services for export. Exports are both a goal and an empirical, quantifiable measure of the performance of a cluster.

By conceptualizing the concept of a cluster, one can also use the definition method offered in the Swedish project "The Cluster Policies White book" (Andersson et al. 2004). The authors of this project, recognizing the objective ambiguity of the concept, propose not to formulate it, but to indicate the main characterizing elements by which the concept "cluster" can be identified. Unlike M. Porter, they offer a wider list of such elements by adding the desirable cluster features: 1) specialization – the type of core activity that determines the formation of a cluster; 2) competition and cooperation – this combination reveals the link between cluster's members; 3) cluster "life cycle" – clusters and cluster initiatives are not a temporary phenomenon, they are created with a long-term perspective; 4) innovation – the cluster participants are involved in the technological, commercial and knowledge sharing process.

By synthesising studies of M. Porter and other scholars, such as the research and quantification of the intra-industrial connections by A. Host et al. (Host et al. 2018), as well as on the basis of comparative analysis of the forms of economic interaction, a scheme for the "cluster" could be created (see Figure 1).

Figure 1



**Source:** created by the author based on Porter (1998a); Institute for Strategy and Competitiveness of the Harvard Business School 2018; Andersson et al. 2004.

The author offers a definition: the cluster is a form of an interaction between legally independent, but economically related regional players with different statuses, which is established for achieving competitiveness on the global market. This definition was developed to clarify the most significant differences between the cluster and other forms of economic interactions, i.e., the variety of diversity and statuses of its members, as well as the attraction of a cluster to a particular region.

The characteristics of the cluster life cycle are closely linked to regional politics and competitiveness. For example, clusters include affiliated industries that are important for regional competitiveness. They can be, for example, specialized suppliers of production components, production equipment, services and providers of specific infrastructure. Clusters usually include production of complementary products and side products for consumers, and particular channels, as well as similar skills, technologies and/or they are mutually related by joint investment or raw materials. Many cluster organizations involve in cooperation public administration – government bodies, as well as higher education and research institutions, agencies, “brain centres”, vocational education institutions, business support organizations, etc. that provides professional and higher education, information, research opportunities and technical support. Enterprises, which create such synergies, not only by competing but also by cooperating on behalf of common interests, each create life cycles of clusters in its field of activity. The cooperation can even exist in a highly competitive environment, as these interconnected enterprises will, in turn, be linked to a different market target group and will work with other partners.

To assess the cluster's ability to influence the regional policy, first of all it's necessary to determine the existence of the cluster itself and its development potential in a particular country or region. International scientific studies on cluster's identification conducted by, for example, Swedish scholars G. Lindqvist, A. Malmberg and O. Solvell (2003), O. Solvell, G. Lindqvist and C. Ketels (2009), as well as US scientist J. Cortright

(2006), Polish scientists W. Kaminski and M. Mularczyk (2006), Danish scientists T. Andersen, M. Bjerre and E. Hansson (2006) and Italian scientists M. Maggioni and M. Riggi (2002) present the scientific basis for the application of economic indicators (enterprises, labour, value added) which, depending on the availability of statistical data, can be used to measure the territorial concentration of sectors, industries, sub-industries and clusters in countries, regions and others. etc.

### **The impact of a cluster on regional competitiveness in the world, the European Union and Latvia**

The theoretical and methodological basis for determining the impact of clusters on regional competitiveness is reflected by M. Porter's theory, in particular, the Diamond model, which is the systemic model of regional competitiveness. One of the rhombus peaks – the cluster, is one of the prerequisites for regional competitiveness (Porter 1998a). Therefore, it can be concluded that the cluster is a regional competitiveness factor. However, given that the regions are in different stages of economic development, which have different factors influencing regional competitiveness at each stage, it can be argued that, for example, at the stage of efficiency, the cluster is not a factor, but indicator of the regional competitiveness. This means that at the stage of efficiency, unlike the innovation stage, clusters do not promote competitiveness (boosting influence), but indicate that the region has reached a chaptericular level of competitiveness (characterising effect) to be able to further develop and move to a higher stage of economic development.

At the stage of production factors the main factors of regional competitiveness are cheap labour and raw natural resources, at the next – stage of efficiency the main factors of regional competitiveness are efficiency and productivity of producing goods and services. At these two stages of economic development, the innovation, including clusters, is of a minimal importance (see Table 1).

Thus, it can be assumed that at the stage of production factors and at the stage of efficiency, the cluster is likely to be an indicator rather than a regional competitiveness factor, because clusters appear only, when the region reaches a certain level of competitiveness and at the same time indicates if the region is competitive enough and ready to move to the highest level of the economic development – stage of innovation. At the highest stage the cluster already contributes to the regional competitiveness and is a regional competitiveness factor. This means that the regional economic development stages must be taken into account when determining the impact of clusters on regional competitiveness.

The Global Competitiveness Report (GCR) of the World Economic Forum provides an empirical indicator measuring the State of Cluster Development, which, like the Global Competitiveness Index ranks regions / countries according the development of clusters. The indicator “State of the Cluster Development” measures the development of clusters corresponding to the scale from 1 to 7 – from “no cluster” state to “clusters are developed in many sectors” state. The State of Cluster Development is indicating

the ability of a region to mobilize and attract key economic players to cooperate for stimulating growth and developing innovation.

The author assumed that there is a correlation between the ranking of the competitiveness of regions included in the GCR and the development of clusters. Therefore, to empirically approve this correlation relationship and hence the effect of clusters on regional competitiveness, the certain algorithm has been worked out:

- 1) regions participating in the global competitiveness ranking in 2015, 2016 and 2017 have to be selected; the form for determining the correlation relationship between the cluster development and the competitiveness has to be chosen; the mathematical direction and strengths of the correlation coefficient between the competitiveness index and the State of Cluster Development indicator rankings has to be calculated.
- 2) the analysis of correlation strengths indicated in point 1 per groups of regions located at different stages of the economic development: the stage of production factors; the stage of efficiency; and the stage of innovation must be performed in order to determine the stage of economic development with the strongest and the most significant.
- 3) the analysis of the correlation per groups of regions, which differ by their membership in the European Union in order to clarify whether this relationship is stronger and more significant in the EU than outside the EU.

The implementation of such an algorithm allows empirically proves the impact of clusters on regional competitiveness. For this purpose, the ranking of each region according to the State of the Cluster Development and the competitiveness index, as well as the stage of competitiveness of each region and its membership in the EU were entered into the SPSS computer program for further processing and analysis.

According to the calculation the correlation between the two variables of the analysed ratings is strong or moderate strong: in 2015, the correlation coefficient was .744; in 2016 – .760; and in 2017 – .735, as well as very significant, since the correlation coefficient in all cases reaches the statistical significance level  $p \leq 0,01$ . In all three periods the investigated relationship is positive – this means that as higher is the region's competitiveness index, as greater is the cluster development status indicator for this region, or vice versa. Taking into account that the Spearman's ranking correlation coefficient does not indicate the "logical" (1) direction of this correlation, i.e., to which the variable has a determinative role and, to which the variable has a resultative role, this is necessary to use the above exaggerated theoretical substantiation indicating that the type of impact of clusters on the regional competitiveness depends on the stage of economic development of a particular region. In turn, the result of correlation analysis is a quantitative measurement of the strengths of this influence.

This is possible that depending on the stage of the economic development of a region, the correlation between its competitiveness and the development of clusters may vary. It can be verified by dividing the data array into groups according to stages of economic development of regions for calculating the correlation coefficient of Spierman's ranking between the region's Global Competitiveness Index and the State of Cluster Development of clusters for each group.



Table 3

**Correlation between the Global Competitiveness Index and the State of Cluster Development of regions at each stage of the economic development, Spearman's rank correlation coefficient, 2015–2017**

Economic development stages	2015, number of regions – 140	2016, number of regions – 138	2017, number of regions – 137
Stage of production factors	.465**	.525**	.396*
Efficiency stage	.419*	.443*	.452*
Innovation Stage	.761**	.716**	.727**

**Note:** \* correlation is significant at a level of .05 on both sides of the statistical significance; \*\* correlation is significant at .01 on both sides of the statistical significance level.

**Source:** calculated by the author using SPSS computer program by data from Schwab 2015, 2016, 2017.

According to the calculations it can be concluded that exactly at the innovation stage the correlation between the regional competitiveness index and the cluster development status indicator is close and very significant (see Table 3). In other stages of the economic development – the stage of production factors and the stage of efficiency – the correlation between the Global Competitiveness Index and the State of Cluster Development ranking indicator is moderate and less significant.

At each stage of the economic development, the average rank of both, the Global Competitiveness Index and the State of Cluster Development varies considerably, however, a statistically significant correlation between these two variables exists at all stages, although it is much stronger at the stage of innovation, which is consistent with data from the Table 2 and shows that at the stage of innovation specialized factors, including clusters, affect regional competitiveness at the most – 30% compared to 10% for the efficiency stage and 5% for the stage of production factors.

Thus, in relation to the factors of production stage and the efficiency stage it can be concluded that as higher is the level of competitiveness of the region, as higher is the level of cluster development reached by a particular region. Conversely, as lower is the level of competitiveness of the region, as lower is the development of clusters of this region, is because low competitiveness also means poorer quality of the business environment, where clusters could be created. In turn, at the stage of innovation the level of the economic development of region and the cluster development are higher, which also means that the competitiveness of a region is higher, because the clusters at the innovation stage of the economic development of region contribute to the regional competitiveness.

The focus of this article is on EU, thus, the correlation between the Global Competitiveness Index and the State of Cluster Development should also be investigated comparing the region's belonging to the EU with those outside the EU. The result of the correlation analysis carried out by the author shows that although the close and statistically significant correlation between the Global Competitiveness Index and the State of Cluster Developmental is observed both, for the EU regions and regions outside the EU, it is still stronger for the EU regions during all three years of the

research (2015, 2016, 2017). Thus, it can be assumed that the relationship between the Global Competitiveness Index of regions and the State of Cluster Development is a “European phenomenon”, i.e., more specific for the EU than for the rest of world. This assumption can be verified by a partial correlation method, which helps to control a possible impact of the stages of economic development regions on the correlation of investigated variables (see Table 4).

The close correlation between the region’s competitiveness and the development of clusters has been empirically proven using a correlation analysis involving more than 100 regions included in the WEF’s research. According to the results of correlation analysis the competitiveness of regions is related to the level of development of clusters, however, the type of impact of clusters – boosting, braking, neutral or characterising – depends on the stage of region’s economic development.

Table 4

**Partial correlation\* between the Global Competitiveness Index and the State of Cluster Development of regions depending on the EU’s membership, Spearman’s rank correlation coefficient, 2015–2017**

EU membership	Spearman’s rank correlation coefficient, r	Statistical significance, p	Number of countries, n
<b>2015, n=140</b>			
EU countries	.750	.000	28
Non-EU countries	.525	.000	112
<b>2016, n=138</b>			
EU countries	.734	.000	28
Non-EU countries	.556	.000	110
<b>2017, n=137</b>			
EU countries	.832	.000	28
Non-EU countries	.529	.000	109

**Note:** controllable variable – the stage of economic development of the regions.

**Source:** calculated by the author using SPSS computer program by data from Schwab 2015, 2016, 2017.

By examining a “clean” (without economic development stages) correlation between the Global Competitiveness Index and the State of Cluster Development, it can be concluded that a closer link for this relationship is indeed typical for Europe, although it is also characteristic for the whole world. Also, it does not conflict with the fact that the cluster theory and clusters themselves are “born” in America. While the US leadership in terms of clustering of economics remains unquestionable, the other region of the world where the impact of clusters on the regional competitiveness is particularly pronounced, is the European Union.

For determining the impact of clusters on competitiveness of the Latvian regions, first of all they should be grouped by to the stages of economic development according to the World Economic Forum classification principle (see Schwab 2015).

Table 5

**The stages of economic development of the regions of Latvia, 2015**

Regions of Latvia	GDP per capita in 2015, EUR	Stage of the economic development
Riga region	20 551	Innovation stage
Pieriga region	9843	Transition from the efficiency stage to the innovation stage
Vidzeme region	8061	Efficiency stage
Kurzeme region	9047	
Zemgale region	7274	
Latgale region	6839	
LATVIA in total	12 316	Transition from the efficiency stage to the innovation stage

**Source:** created by the author according to the data of the Central Statistical Bureau of the Republic of Latvia 2019a and Schwab 2015.

The analysis of the economic development and competitiveness of the statistical regions of Latvia following the methodology of the World Economic Forum shows that the only region of Latvia, which is competitive on a global scale is the Riga region situated on the innovation stage (see Table 5). And from the global point of view the whole territory of Latvia can be considered as being situated on the transition from the efficiency stage to the innovation stage. Almost the rest of Latvia's territory is in the stage of efficiency indicating that its competitiveness on the global market is relatively low (in a case of the Pieriga region, which is in the transition from the efficiency stage to the innovation stage, the GDP per capita is still very close to the GDP per capita at the efficiency stage).

In order to quantify the impact of clusters on the competitiveness of the regions of Latvia, this is necessary to calculate the importance of clusters in regional competitiveness expressed by the export (which is a regional competitiveness indicator) along with some other potential regional competitiveness factors (Gaglio 2015). The method for the quantitative analysis of the impact of clusters on the competitiveness of regions of Latvia was chosen taking into account that the empirical indicator of regional competitiveness – the export indicator, is not calculated from other indicators, but is a separately measureable indicator. The multi-collinearity of factors included in the analysis was also taken into account. In result, a correlation analysis was performed between the export by regions of Latvia and each individual probability factor of regional competitiveness using the Kendel correlation coefficient (2). The correlation analysis was carried out for all regions of Latvia together and for the individual regions of Latvia, except the Riga region, in order to demonstrate that the factor influence of clusters manifests itself only in the Riga region.

According to the correlation analysis, such factors as total industrial production, State Cluster Development, number of scientific institutions and non-financial investment contribute to the competitiveness of regions of Latvia (see Table 6). As the non-financial investment indicator correlates with the number of scientific institutions

and the total amount of industrial output, it can be considered as an indirect competitiveness factor. However, the other three factors, including the State of Cluster Development, are significant factors for assessing the competitiveness of the regions of Latvia.

However, the situation is different if we look at the results of correlation analysis for the regions of Latvia, excluding the Riga region. In this case the only factor contributing to regional competitiveness is the total amount of industrial production, which is a factor that theoretically promotes the regional competitiveness on the stage of efficiency. The factors, such as the State of Cluster Development and a number of scientific institutions are innovation factors, which affect the competitiveness only in the Riga region, which is on the stage of innovation. For time being clusters aren't expected to be a competitiveness factor in Vidzeme, Kurzeme, Zemgale and Latgale regions due to a lower level of their development. In such economic and social environment clusters can develop and function indicating that a particular region of Latvia is ready to move to the next – the highest stage of economic development, which is the stage of innovation.

Table 6

**The importance of various factors of Latvia's regional competitiveness, Kendel's correlation coefficient with the regions' export, 2015**

Regional competitiveness – export – possible factors	Regions of Latvia including Riga region		Regions of Latvia without Riga region	
	Correlation coefficient	Bilateral significance	Correlation coefficient	Bilateral significance
1	2	3	4	5
Total industrial output (EUR) per 1 inhabitant	.943**	.005	.900*	.037
State of Cluster Development, points from 1 to 10	.880*	.021	.830	.118
Scientific institutions per 100 000 inhabitants	.829*	.042	.700	.188
Non-financial investment (at constant prices in 2016, EUR) per capita	.829*	.042	.700	.188
Innovative enterprises per 10 000 people	.771	.072	.600	.285
Gross Domestic Product (real prices, EUR) per 1 inhabitant	.600	.208	.300	.624
Economically active enterprises (per unit) per 1000 inhabitants	.600	.208	.300	.624
Total added value (real prices, EUR) per inhabitant	.600	.208	.300	.624
Researchers (people) per 10 000 inhabitants	.486	.329	.100	.873°

*Sequel to Table 6 see on the next page*

*Sequel to Table 6*

	1	2	3	4	5
Population density (persons) per 1 km <sup>2</sup>		.486	.329	.100	.873
Employees (people) per 100 inhabitants		.486	.329	.100	.873

**Note:** \* correlation is significant at a level of .05 on both sides of the statistical significance; \*\* correlation is significant at .01 on both sides of the statistical significance level.

**Source:** the author's calculations according to the data of the Central Statistical Bureau of the Republic of Latvia; State of Cluster Development of Latvian regions is estimated by the author.

Based on the research of the impact of clusters on the competitiveness of Latvian regions, the author has proved that clusters of the Riga region, which is at the innovation stage, are an important factor contributing to the regional competitiveness. In turn, almost the rest of the territory of Latvia (except for the Pieriga region located around Riga) is at the stage of efficiency and, thus, is not competitive enough to promote an active development of clusters. In order to increase the regional competitiveness of Latvia, the most important factor is the productivity.

## Conclusions

- The framework for the contemporary EU regional policy has been build based on the place-based theory, which emphasizes the dichotomy “environmental prosperity – human prosperity” in connection with the territorial redistribution of economic activities; the distribution of EU regional policy financial instruments is in line with its main objectives.
- The nature of regional competitiveness is expressed by the ability of the region to create and ensure a competitive environment for economic development. This conceptual understanding is based on M. Porter's theory, as well as on the results of many studies in regional economic science. It is in line with the definition of the European Commission.
- Institutional and financial instruments of the EU regional policy are important for the regional competitiveness. They are sufficiently effective being actively used by supported territories, but these support instruments alone are not enough to significantly increase their competitiveness. It is, therefore, necessary to use other innovative regional competitiveness tools such as clusters.
- The system of the structural elements, indicators and influencing factors of the regional competitiveness developed by the author includes the elements of regional competitiveness, which constitute components of the regional competitiveness as well as indicators, that characterize regional competitiveness or indicate the achieved level of regional competitiveness) and factors, which in different ways and with different force influence regional competitiveness.

- The main challenge related to regional competitiveness elements, indicators and influential factors is that the elements, indicators and factors can simultaneously play different roles. For example, any indicator can also act as an internal factor, i.e. it doesn't only characterize the regional competitiveness and indicate its level for a particular region, but this indicator can also act as a factor influencing the level of regional competitiveness.
- Competitiveness factors depend on the level of economic development of the region – the lower it is the more regional competitiveness depends on the production factors. While in the regions with a high level of economic development, a key role is played by innovations, as well as by clusters the impact of which on regional competitiveness is defined as the incentive at the stage of innovation and as the characterizing at the efficiency stage.
- The term “cluster” originally appeared in the science of economics as a phenomenon of regional economics, emphasizing the aspect of regional localization in economic interactions. The cluster is one of the forms of economic interaction between the market participants. Two features: the diversity of types and statuses of activities of its members, as well as geographic concentration in one region, distinguish clusters from other forms of interaction.
- The author offers the definition of cluster, which corresponds to the basic principles for the definition of the term established by the Terminology Commission of Latvian Academy of Sciences: the cluster is a form of interaction between legally independent, but economically related regional market participants of different statuses, which is created to achieve competitiveness on the global market. This definition is created to clarify the key differences between the cluster and other forms of economic interactions.
- The practice of clustering in Latvia is relatively new and requires constant state support. Starting from 2012, the most successful cluster initiatives in Latvia are financially supported by the state managed Cluster Support Program. If the selection criteria of selecting clusters to be supported by this programme are not improved, it can be considered that its aim is not the creation and development of new clusters in Latvia, but the provision of short-term financing for the financing of SME (Small and medium-sized enterprises) projects. In Latvia, the only one cluster organization has been active in a long-term – the Latvian Information Technology Cluster, which was officially established in 2007.
- According to the author, the state support for clusters should be implemented in two directions: 1) for competitive clusters in a form of direct funding for cluster projects proposed by the potential or actual cluster members; 2) for uncompetitive cluster initiatives, or for small, specific niche cluster initiatives, the stimulation of the environment and the creation of such ecosystem which helps to create cluster initiatives through training of entrepreneurs and employees, financing research and cooperative activities, the internationalization of enterprises etc. When creating the cluster support programmes and setting the conditions for participation in calls, the responsible institutions should take into account the characteristics and nature of the cluster in order not to result in the situations where support can be

obtained by any groupings of joint undertakings stating common objectives, such as to promote exports.

- The State of Cluster Development, as well as the trends of the economic activity concentration, which are usually visible before cluster creation, in a chaptericular territory can signal to regional policy makers about regional competitiveness achieved and regional specialization. Only in those places where clusters have already developed and operate, for example in Latvia clusters are mainly located in the Riga region, their activities can influence the decisions of regional policy makers.
- Clusters are usually not developing at the stage of the production factors of the regional economic development. At the efficiency stage, clusters are a regional competitiveness indicator, which shows that the region has reached a particular level of competitiveness, where cluster development can be promoted. While at the stage of innovation, the clusters are a regional competitiveness factor and, as the correlation analysis shows, their impact on the regional competitiveness is strong and statistically significant ( $r = .727$ ,  $p = .000$ ).
- When studying the impact of clusters on the competitiveness of Latvia's internal regions, the Author has proved that it is precisely in the Riga region, which is the only one in Latvia at the stage of innovation, where clusters are a significant factor of the regional competitiveness, along with some other factors having an impact on the regional competitiveness at the innovation stage. In the territory of Latvia outside Riga, the most important factor for competitiveness is the productivity of industrial production ( $r = .900$ ,  $p = .037$ ).

Notes:

(1) The author proposes a term to distinguish principally different directions of the nature – “logical” and “mathematical”, which are always simultaneously analyzed in the process of correlation analysis.

(2) The Kendel correlation coefficient is chosen due to the variability of the correlated variables.

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Arta Snipe

## SEPARATION OF OWNERSHIP AND COMPULSORY LAND LEASE IN LATVIA: CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

When independence was proclaimed in Latvia in 1990, one of the problems to be solved was restitution. Latvia decided to restore ownership rights to the former owners (or their heirs) of the properties nationalized since 1940 rather than paying out compensation. Although the aim of returning the original properties was “to create owners” and thus promote economic growth, the result was social tension between the groups put into controversial positions, with previous owners and their heirs versus the persons now using their property. In the cases where ownership rights of the former owners or their heirs were restored to land on which apartment houses were built during the Soviet times, a unique situation arose whereby the land and the buildings on it had different owners. This is an exception to the general principle that real estate of land and buildings are indivisible. No other country in Central or Eastern Europe chose to return the original property if it had changed so significantly (had been developed). In 2015, in Latvia there were 285 549 buildings located on 95 254 land plots, owned by physical persons or entities other than building owners. 3 677 of those were apartment houses (totaling 110 970 apartments) located on 7 354 land plots. These numbers show the importance of the described problem as at least one tenth of the society is directly or indirectly involved in the problem of split ownership of a property. In 1991, the legislature of Latvia made the decision to regulate the relationships between the landowners and building owners as lease agreements. Practice has shown that apartment owners are unwilling to enter into lease contracts and pay the land lease. The courts are overwhelmed with statements of claims and civil proceedings between landowners and apartment owners. Apartment owners lodge complaints to the government, parliament, and ombudsman while landowners go bankrupt as they do not have the income to cover real estate taxes that they now must pay. Thus, it is apparent that even after almost three decades of independence and almost thirty years after the beginning of land reform Latvia has not dealt with the consequences of the decisions the legislature made in 1990s. It is now acknowledged by the government that policy and regulations should be adopted to solve the problems related to separation of ownership and resolve the social tension arising from the consequences of restitution, including compulsory land lease. The article discloses the main legal problems associated with separation of ownership and compulsory land lease, giving an insight into the historical circumstances that have led to the current situation.

**Key words:** property reform, restitution, separation of ownership, compulsory land lease.

### **Разделенная собственность и принудительная аренда земли в Латвии: проблемы и решения**

Когда в 1990 году в Латвии была восстановлена независимость, одной из проблем, которую необходимо было решить, была реституция. В Латвии было решено восстановить права бывших владельцев (или их наследников) собственности, национализированной после 1940 года, вместо выплаты компенсации. Целью возвращения первоначальной собственности было «создать класс собственников» и способствовать таким образом экономическому росту. Но результатом стало социальное напряжение между группами, представленными в противоречивые позиции с предыдущими владельцами и их наследниками, выступающими против нынешних владельцев квартир. В тех случаях, когда права собствен-

ности бывших владельцев или их наследников были восстановлены на землю, на которой в советское время были построены жилые дома, возникла уникальная ситуация, при которой земля и здания на ней имели разных собственников. Разделенная собственность — это исключение из общего принципа, согласно которому земельные участки и здания неделимы. Ни одна другая страна в Центральной или Восточной Европе не возвращала первоначальную земельную собственность, если на этой земле были построены здания. В 2015 году в Латвии было 285 549 зданий, расположенных на 95 254 земельных участках, принадлежащих физическим или юридическим лицам, которые не являлись владельцами этих зданий. 3677 из них были жилые дома (всего 110 970 квартир), расположенные на 7 354 земельных участках. Эти цифры показывают важность описанной проблемы, поскольку одна десятая часть общества Латвии в какой-то мере вовлечена в проблему разделенной собственности. В 1991 году законодатели Латвии приняли решение регулировать отношения между землевладельцами и владельцами зданий с помощью договоров аренды. Практика показала, что владельцы квартир не хотят заключать договора аренды и оплачивать аренду земли. Суды «завалены» исковыми заявлениями и гражданскими разбирательствами между землевладельцами и собственниками квартир. Владельцы квартир подают жалобы правительству, парламенту и омбудсмену, в то время как землевладельцы банкротятся, поскольку у них нет дохода для покрытия налога на недвижимость. Таким образом, очевидно, что даже после почти трех десятилетий независимости и почти тридцати лет после начала земельной реформы Латвия не справилась с последствиями решений, принятых законодательным органом в 1990-х годах. В настоящее время правительство признает, что должны быть приняты нормативные акты для решения проблем, связанных с разделением собственности, и для устранения социальной напряженности, возникающей в результате последствий реституции, включая обязательную аренду земли. В статье раскрываются основные правовые проблемы, связанные с разделением собственности и принудительной арендой земли, и дается представление об исторических обстоятельствах, которые привели к сложившейся ситуации.

**Ключевые слова:** разделенная собственность, принудительная аренда земли, земельная реформа.

## Introduction

After the collapse of the Soviet regime, the restoration of prewar property relations was a legal and moral prerequisite for the restoration of the prewar state in most Central and Eastern European countries (Feldman 1999). Private property restitution was an integral part of the transition in most post-communist countries, including Latvia. It was a general acceptance that, in the interests of justice, some form of restitution was essential after the collapse of state socialism in the region (Blacksell, Born 2002).

The key to economic growth is efficient economic organization – establishment of institutional arrangements and property rights. Growth won't occur unless it is possible to channel individual economic effort into activities that bring the private rate of return. For that defined and enforceable property rights are essential (North, Thomas 1973).

Restitution was a cornerstone for economic organization and a precondition for economic growth after the restoration of the independence. From an exclusively economic perspective, restitution does not seem to represent the most rational or productive

use of state-owned property (Pogany 1997). However, although the restitution laws initially slowed economic reform, most countries chose in favor of restitution as it served an important moral purpose of justice. Restitution laws also introduced the concepts of private property and ownership and familiarized the society with market oriented legal principles and practices (Crowder 1994).

### Historical aspects

In 1990, when the independence of the Republic of Latvia was restored, one of the jobs for the Supreme Council (Parliament) and the Council of Ministers was to reinstate the role of private property and think about how to promote private economic initiative (Grutups, Krastins 1995). In order to ensure that ownership relations corresponded to market economy principles, conversion of state-owned properties was utilized (1). The goal was to ensure that the foundation for economic development would involve private initiatives and the liquidation of state-owned monopolies. This would mean restructuring the national economy and restoring justice (2).

The goal of property reforms was to influence the national economy, as well as to have an effect for each person, allowing him or her to change his or her lifestyle and standard of living (Augstaka Padome 1991a, S. Buka). The Supreme Council understood the possible social consequences of property conversion. "The use of conversion that is careless or based on unobjective assumptions could become one of the new reasons for a social explosion in Latvia if social guarantees are not ensured for everyone" (Augstaka Padome 1991a, S. Buka). Still, there were no alternatives to land reform and changes in property ownership rights in order for the transfer to a market economy to succeed (Grutups, Krastins 1995). The aim of the legislature was to "create owners" (Augstaka Padome 1991a, I. Godmanis), the hope being that this would also create an effective market economy (3).

Conversion of state-owned properties included the privatization of state-owned and local government properties, as well as the reinstatement of property rights. The principle of the continuity of the Latvian state was enshrined in the May 4, 1990, declaration on the restoration of Latvia's independence. The basic laws related to property conversion materialized this principle by strengthening restitution as one of the basic methods of conversion (4). The government nullified laws or regulations that related to the nationalization or otherwise unacceptable expropriation of properties. The fundamental principle was that ownership rights to properties that were alienated or otherwise expropriated after June 17, 1940, could be restored to any former owner or his or her lawful heir irrespective of the person's current citizenship. The drafting of these regulations offered the legislature a choice in form and scope of the restitution. This involved determining the range of subjects eligible to claim properties (Marcuse 1996), deciding whether to return the original property in old boundaries or instead use various forms of compensation mechanisms (Blacksell, Born 2002; Pogany 1997).

Land reforms in Latvian cities and in rural areas were considered separately and were regulated by different laws. At first the agrarian reform was held in the countryside. This model was used as a "tested prototype" so as to draft legal provisions

concerning reforms related to urban lands one year later (Grutups, Krastins 1995). Before land reforms began in the countryside, people were asked to share their opinions, and government policies were explained publicly. Parliament organized a sociological survey which found that people supported land reforms (Grutups, Krastins 1995). Public opinion led to the decision that former owners or heirs of properties that had been expropriated after June 17, 1940, would have their properties returned, or they would receive compensation in the form of certificates. The preference was to return original properties, not pay cash compensation, as the latter would not create private property owners, and it would not facilitate the country's move toward a market economy. It would also mean financial burden for the national budget (Grutups, Krastins 1995).

From the very beginning, it was clear that the main conflicts are going to be in terms of the interests of current holders of the land and those who owned the land in the past (Augstaka Padome 1991c, V. Dozorcevs). There were attempts to strike a balance between these groups of owners and their interests, counting on the status of a *bona fide* beneficiary (Grutups, Krastins 1995). There was a nearly prophetic warning from Parliament member J. Skapars, who said that restoration of property rights to former landowners “might replace old problems with new and very harsh new ones” (Augstaka Padome 1991d, J. Skapars). Despite this, arguments in favor of historical justice took the upper hand, with politicians deciding that the restoration of property rights would facilitate market development and maintenance of properties (Augstaka Padome 1991c, A. Grutups).

Both regulations concerning land reform in the rural areas and in the cities had the same underlying principle that former landowners and their heirs would have a priority in terms of regaining land that they once owned, though there were exceptions that were aimed at striking a balance between the users of the land and its former owners (Grutups, Krastins 1995). The initial version of the law “On land reform in the cities of the Republic of Latvia” (5) suggested limited rights of *bona fide* land users to gain ownership of the land. When reviewing the draft law on third reading, however, members of the parliament decided that it had to be returned to second reading so as to include rules that would protect the owners of individual buildings on plots of land, giving right to use and buy land on which their buildings were located (Augstaka Padome 1991d, V. Seleckis, L. Alksnis and A. Kiršteins). Once the law was adopted on final reading, it had an exception to say that landowners or their heirs could not regain properties that they had willingly sold after July 20, 1940. The same was true if Latvian citizens lived on the land and had legally built homes on it (Parzemes reformu Latvijas Republikas pilsetas 1991, Art. 12). In that case, compensation was to be paid to former landowners or their heirs with government issued compensation certificates (6). The government did not have money to buy the land or to pay cash compensation (Saeima 1996, A. Seile).

In other cases, in which there were buildings or planned buildings on the land of former owners that were necessary for public needs, former landowners or their heirs could:

- Request the restoration of ownership rights to the land and receive a lease fee from the owner of the building, with the amount of the fee being limited by law;

- Request an equally valuable plot of land in the same city;
- Receive compensation in accordance with the law (7).

There were problems in finding equally valuable plots of land simply because the amount of land was limited. There was a long-lasting lack of clarity about property compensation issues and insufficient assets to cover compensation certificates. This led to a situation whereby most former landowners and heirs chose to ask for the restoration of their rights even if there were buildings on the land (Grutups, Krastins 1995).

This meant that land reform laws restored property rights to former landowners or heirs to land that had been taken away between 1940 and 1980. At the same time, ownership rights were preserved in relation to buildings that had lawfully been built by the owners or legal managers of same. This led to the separation of ownership (*dalītie īpasumi* (in Latvian)), where land belongs to one person while the buildings on it – to another. The law also stated that legal relations among parties (owners of the land and buildings) must be regulated in accordance with terms of lease agreement. This lease agreement shall be established by the lessor and the leaseholder by fulfilling the duty set by law rather than concluding a voluntary agreement. Therefore, this legal concept is called a compulsory lease (Grutups, Krastins 1995; Rozenfelds 2004; Grutups, Kalnins 2002; Satversmes tiesa 2009, Case No. 2008-34-01, 4, 6, 14.2). These issues are regulated by Article 4(5) and Article 12 of the law on land reform in Latvian cities (Par zemes reformu Latvijas Republikas pilsetas, (8) and Articles 50 and 54 of the law privatizing state and local government-owned residential buildings (Par valsts un pasvaldību dzīvojamu māju privatizāciju (9).

### The experience of other countries

Lithuania and Estonia, in contrast to Latvia, did not restore property rights to former owners of land on which buildings owned by third parties were located. Such land was kept in the hands of the government, allowing the owners of the buildings to use and buy the land (10). Only in Latvia, a situation arose whereby two sovereign and parallel property ownership rights applied to the same spatially delimited object (Rozenfelds 2012). Such separated ownership temporarily existed in East Germany. After German reunification, the legislature purposefully transformed these relations to ones that established hereditary building rights, which meant voluntary (contractual) separated ownership on the land and buildings (Ruda et al. 2008). However, when the German government thought about restoring property rights to real estate that had been nationalized in the past, it also presented an exception to say that ownership would not be restored to land that was used by local governments or had buildings on it (Kozminski 1997).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and its authoritarian socialist system, the transfer to a market economy occurred in nearly all Central European countries and some Eastern European countries. The only difference related to the way in which legislatures and governments in each country decided to compensate for property

right violations that occurred during the rule of the Communist regime. The choice in each country was based on various economic circumstances, including the expected influence on privatization and economic policies in the country, as well as political circumstances, including international agreements and foreign pressure (Pogany 1997; Gelpert 1993). Among the former republics of the Soviet Union, only the Baltic States approved regulations that spoke to restitution. No such regulations exist in any of the members of the Confederation of Independent States (Fisher, Jaffe 2000). To a greater or lesser extent compensation mechanisms related to the rights of former owners were created in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the former East Germany, Bulgaria and Romania after they escaped the influence of the USSR (Fisher, Jaffe 2000). Property rights were not restored and compensation regulations were not approved in Poland, Albania or the former components of Yugoslavia (except for Slovenia).

Hungary decided to implement a compensation mechanism that had a few exceptional situations, with the compensation for the value of expropriated properties in cash or with certificates, ignoring the inevitable criticisms that said that the sums offered were nowhere near the market value of properties that had been expropriated (Blacksell, Born 2002; Pogany 1997). In Bulgaria, property rights were restored for rural properties. The issue was not important in cities, because in 1947 and 1948, all land that was appropriate for buildings was expropriated by the state. Landowners had received compensation in the form of flats in newly built apartment buildings (Strong et al. 1996). Czechoslovakia also decided to restore property rights related to formerly nationalized properties, but as was the case in Estonia and Lithuania there was the exception that property rights would not be restored to plots of land that had no buildings in the past, but had buildings at the time when restoration decisions were being made. In such cases, former owners only had the right to receive property compensation (Fisher, Jaffe 2000; Strong et al. 1996). Poland unlike other former socialist countries, did not pass a single set of regulations to regulate the restoration of property rights (Aslund 2007; Pogany 1997). There were several reasons for this, including that extent of nationalization in Poland was probably the lowest of all the socialist countries (Fisher, Jaffe 2000; Strong et al. 1996). Still, there was much grumbling about decisions that were made by the Communist Party in 1945 and 1946. These were known as the *Bierut Decrees* because the boss of the Communist Party was Boleslaw Bierut. These conflicts still have not ended. Former owners have used the right to restore property rights or gain compensation from the country through administrative processes and litigation, but there are still debates in Poland about approving a unified law that would speak to the compensation mechanisms for the rights of former owners (Wnukowski 2017).

All of this shows that among former socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe, Latvia's choice to restore ownership to encumbered (built-up) properties was unique. This, in turn, means that no neighboring country has encountered the problem that Latvia has had to deal with – the collision among the interests of building and land owners in a situation of separated ownership.



### **The current situation with properties having separated ownership**

Although legal norms provide for the pre-emption right to the owners of land and buildings, there are still a great many properties with separated ownership on the land and the buildings (11). The norms do not regulate a mechanism for the use of the pre-emption right, i.e. the scope of these rights, the usage procedures, the control mechanisms or the consequences of violations of these rights especially in cases when the sold land plot is used for the maintenance of several apartment buildings.

It was initially planned that separated ownership would be a temporary situation (Saeimas Valsts parvaldes un pasvaldības komisija 2018). When initial land reforms were planned, members of the Supreme Council assumed that if there were buy-out right, right of first refusal or right of last refusal, or any kind of pre-emption right in the law, the issue of separated ownership would resolve on its own, because the ownership of the properties would merge (Augstākā Padome 1991b, A. Seile and J. Lazdins). That did not happen, at least regarding apartment buildings.

According to the Latvian State Land Service (*Valsts zemes dienests*), there were 285 849 buildings in Latvia in 2015 which were on 94 254 plots of land that belonged to others (Tieslietu ministrija 2015). Among these were 3 677 privatized apartment buildings, containing 110 970 flats, and the buildings were on 7 354 plots of land that belonged to others (Tieslietu ministrija 2015). Approximately 30% of these buildings were in Riga, and there were lots of them in other major towns such as Jūrmala, Daugavpils, Jelgava and Ogre (Valsts zemes dienests 2015). Most of these buildings were in large blocks of apartment buildings that had been erected during the Soviet era (Valsts zemes dienests 2015). In many cases, several buildings or parts of buildings were found on the same plot of land, because many of the land properties were relocated in areas that used to be suburban during the period of nationalization. This related to pastures and farmland on which new neighborhoods were built between the 1950s and 1980s (Rīgas dome 2017). In most cases there is one apartment building on a plot of land, but there are cases in which as many as 40 buildings are on a single plot of land. There is also a case of whereby one building has been erected on nine plots of land (Valsts zemes dienests 2015).

The issue of separated ownership and compulsory land lease affects a wide range of social strata. This includes the owners and residents of the aforementioned nearly 111 000 flats, and that means that the problem of separated ownership is seen as an important issue in politics (Saeimas Valsts parvaldes un pasvaldības komisija 2018). Government declarations, work plans and programs have spoken to this issue since 2012 (12). At the government level, it has been understood that laws need to be amended to facilitate the unification of the ownership and prevent any future separation of ownership (Tieslietu ministrija 2012) (13). The first draft law on unification of separated ownership was prepared by the Ministry of Justice and submitted to Parliament in mid-2015 (Saeimas Valsts parvaldes un pasvaldības komisija 2018). The concept of the draft law was based on the idea that after apartment owners would have the right to purchase land, special norms related to land lease fee limitations would be repealed so as to encourage apartment owners to buy-out the land that is

under their buildings (Tieslietu ministrija 2015). The purchase price for each household was planned to be between 20 and 30 euros per month, with the whole sum being paid off over the course of 10 years (Tieslietu ministrija 2015). In thinking about various ways of unifying separated ownership, the Ministry of Justice indicated that this would best strike a balance among the parties that were involved in the process. A ruling from the European Court of Human Rights led the Ministry of Justice to indicate in its annotation to the law that forced ownership right transfer from one private individual to another could be seen as something that served public interests (European Court of Human Rights (1986), Case James and Others v. the United Kingdom, p. 39).

Still, the law was only adopted on first reading by the Saeima (14). After first reading, the working group that had been set up by the Saeima received a series of objections that made it impossible to reach agreement about several essential issues. Objections related to shortcomings in the law were presented by the Latvian Association of Large Cities and the National Ombudsman. The experts said that the draft law did not provide for an effective legal mechanism to unify separated ownership, because the schedule for paying the buy-out price was too short (Latvijas Lielo pilsētu asociācija 2016). There were also criticisms of the calculations that supported the draft law, the concern being that it would create too much of a financial burden for the owners of apartments (Tiesībsargs 2017).

In April 2018, the same working group developed a new draft law that was submitted to the Saeima. The goal of the draft law, again, is to ensure a chance to unify the separated ownership of property. The council of apartment owners can use a special legal right to buy-out the land that is necessary for maintenance of the building (Saeimas Valsts parvaldes un pasvaldības komisija 2018). Despite the political goal of creating regulations to gradually unify the separated ownership, the legislature still has doubts about the most effective mechanism (15). On the other hand, despite possible models of buy-out procedure, there will always be buildings in which owners cannot or do not want to purchase the land. This means that separated ownership and compulsory land lease will be a legal reality in Latvia for a long time to come.

### The legal concept of compulsory land lease

The 1991 law on land reform in cities spoke to protecting the rights of Latvian citizens who had, in *bona fide*, planted individual gardens or built residential buildings on land that was taken away from owners after June 17, 1940, providing for the right of such people to obtain plots of land under their buildings. This solution, however, did not apply to cases in which the owner of the building did not want to or did not have the right to buy the land because, for instance, he or she was not a citizen of Latvia. This led to a situation in which ownership rights to a building belonged to one individual or legal entity, while the ownership of the land belonged to another.

After the restoration of Latvia's independence, several pre-occupation legal acts were reinstated, among them the Latvian Civil Law from 1937. Taking into account the fact that 50 years had passed and changes in society and social order have taken place, it was decided to pass special laws about when and how certain parts of the

Civil Law would take effect, approving amendments, as well as transitional regulations (Augstaka Padome 1991e, J. Vebers).

The Civil Law part on property rights is based on Roman legal principles, including the presumption that everything that is built on land belongs to land (*omne quod inaedificatur solo credit*). The Civil Law does not provide for the double ownership (*dominium duplex*), i.e. a legal concept according to which the owner of real estate grants a long-lasting or permanent and inheritable usage rights to another person (Svarcs 2011). For that reason, taking into account the provisions already included in the land reform laws, the law that regulated the implementation time and procedure of the Civil Law part on property rights (16), included an exception to presumption of the unity of the land and the building (Par atjaunota Latvijas Republikas 1937. gada Civillikuma ievada, mantojuma tiesību un lietu tiesību daļas stāšanās laiku un kārtību 1992).

This norm provided legal basis for the exceptional existence of horizontal segregation of ownership in a property. It says that land and buildings can be two sovereign objects of ownership, with each of them having restrictions in relation to the other property (Rozenfelds 2008). The norm refers to special legal norms that establish the lease relations between the land owners and building owners.

Legal doctrine states that “this regulation also includes fiction, because in practical terms, only one of the property rights can really be utilized, while the other property’s owners suffer from restrictions and cannot fully exercise their ownership rights” (Rozenfelds 2008). Fictive or realistically unusable are the land owner rights, because land owners haven’t got full right of control over their property, i.e. owners cannot possess and use their land. However, they must bear the obligations and duties of the maintenance of the land (Tieslietu ministrija 2012). The landowner only has the right to receive monetary compensation from third parties that are using his or her land.

### **Intricacies of the legal framework regulating compulsory land lease**

When the law on land reform in Latvian cities was adopted in 1991, support was given to the proposal that owners of buildings should have the right to receive lease fee from the users of the land. Some members of the Supreme Council objected against this “feudal lease”, which was created by these regulations, but the majority decided that the failure to restore property rights would legitimize what the Soviet Union did (“an international act of banditry” (Augstaka Padome 1991c, R. Rikards)) and what the Latvian SSR did, expropriating properties (Augstaka Padome 1991c, L. Mucins; Augstaka Padome 1991b, J. Bojars).

Members of the Supreme Council did not debate whether these lease relationships should be considered as rights on property (right *in rem*) or ones that emanate from obligation. Civil legal relations at that time were still regulated by the norms of the Soviet Latvian Civil Code, and these norms did not distinguish obligation rights and property rights. The code did not even allow private individuals to buy property or have a right in the property of another, like encumbrance (*ius in re aliena*) (Vebers

1979). On the other hand, the code did have general rules about concluding agreements and about rent of properties (17).

Parliament member L. Mucins had this to say during the debates: “I think that rent exists in the world, as well as the circumstances where the real estate ownership is separated, if the land belongs to one person, while the building belongs to someone else; all of this can be resolved with legislation”. He added that the Legislative Issue Commission was dealing with the issue of including a whole chapter in the Civil Code. L. Mucins also said that before the Civil Law took effect in 1937, Baltic laws had norms that in great detail regulated relationships when land belonged to one person, while the building belonged to another (Augstaka Padome 1991c, L. Mucins). Presumably L. Mucins was thinking about quitrent (18) regulated in Local Law Collection of Baltics (19).

Legislative decisions about land reform were always focused on protecting and guaranteeing both the rights of landowners and building owners so as to ensure the fairest balance possible between their interests. When regulations were being prepared, the legislature did not think about nuances related to the new legal concept of lease, assuming that these issues could be addressed in greater detail in the Civil Law. The right to receive a lease fee was seen by the legislature as the most appropriate way of ensuring that the rights of landowners would be observed and legal relations between landowners and building owners would be regulated (Satversmes tiesa 2009, Case No. 2008-34-01, p. 4).

In the Civil Law, that was reinstated after the laws on land reform took effect, the principle of freedom of contract is enshrined (Svarcs 2011). Compulsory land lease bears little similarity to contract and it is not in line with the definition of leases in the Civil Law and content of legal concept of lease in the Civil law system. Article 2112 of the Civil Law states that “a lease or rental contract is an agreement pursuant to which one party grants or promises the other party the use of some property for a certain lease or rent fee. “Under Latvian law of obligations, a contract within the widest meaning of the word is any mutual agreement between two or more persons on entering into, altering, or ending legal relations. In the narrower sense, a contract is understood as an expression of common intent of the parties with the purpose of establishing obligations (Article 1511 of the Civil Law). When it comes to properties with separated ownership, compulsory land lease does not comply with the principle of freedom of contract. It is not established by voluntary agreement. Lease relations begin before any agreement has been reached on the lease fee and the payment terms. Obligations between landowners and building owners are established when the ownership rights of both owners are registered in the Land Book (and sometimes even before that). Parties have limited rights to agree on the essential elements of a lease agreement – the object of the lease and the fee (as it is required by Article 2124 of the Civil Law). Parties often do not know the boundaries of the land plot that is being leased. In most cases, this is determined by administrative acts, allowing parties to agree only on the lease fee (Par zemes reformu Latvijas Republikas pilsetas 1991, 12 (1) note under 1) and 2); Par valsts un pasvaldību dzīvojamu māju privatizāciju 1995, 1. 20), 54 (1). If agreement is not reached, the lease fee is determined by law or a court ruling.

Existence of compulsory land lease relations mean that both the landowner and the building or apartment owner are obliged to enter into a land lease agreement (Par zemes reform Latvijas Republikas pilsetas 1991: 12 (1) note under 1) and 2), 12 (2), 12 (2<sup>1</sup>), 12 (3), Par valsts un pasvaldību dzīvojamu māju privatizāciju (1995), 50 (1) 3), 54 (1), Augstākās tiesas Senāts 2007a, SKC-535/2007; Augstākās Tiesas Senāts 2007b, SKC-712). Parties cannot choose their contractor, and they cannot terminate the lease agreement (Satversmes tiesa 2009). Restriction to terminate the lease relations in other way than by unifying the ownership of the property means that the legal aspects of these relations bears more similarity to rights on property (rights *in rem*) than to obligations. These legal relations are related to a property not to a person, owner of a property, as it would be under the law of obligations (Rozenfelds 2008). All of this leads to a conclusion that compulsory land lease under the Civil Law system has characteristics of right on property, namely, real right on the property of another that can be used even against the will of the owner.

Compulsory land lease is more comparable to an encumbrance – usufruct or real right (20). It manifests as a restriction on landowners' right to use, enjoy, and dispose of their property. In accordance with Articles 2130–2144 of the Civil Law it is the duty of the land owner to transfer the property into the building owner' possession and to ensure it can use it as a lessee (Rozenfelds 2008). When it comes to building owners, one can observe characteristics of servitude, real right, building right (*emphyteusis*) as well as elements of the quitrent not regulated in the Civil Law. Owners of buildings or apartments have no restrictions on the use and possession of their property. They also have the right to use the property of another (usufruct), i.e. the right to possess it and to derive the utility, profits, and advantages that land may produce, bearing only the duty to pay the fee to the landowner.

In 1940, in commenting on the Civil Law, Professor V. Sinaiskis argued that the use of the property of another in the civil legislation can be regulated in two ways: 1) as usufruct – a real right on the property of another and 2) as contractual right under the law of obligations. The difference between the two is that in the former case, the use of someone else's property is absolute (direct) in the sense that the user can use the property irrespective of the other party (owner of the property). In the latter case, the usage rights are relative (indirect), as they to involve the agreement with the other party (Sinaiskis 1996). When it comes to compulsory land lease, the right to use the property of another, although to a limited extent, is absolute as this right does not depend on the will of the owner of the property. Thus, its legal characteristics bring it close to the right *in rem*.

The Civil Law part on property rights was reinstated on September 1, 1992. To legalize existing properties with separated ownership, the law (21) included an exception from the general *superficies solo credit* presumption that is enshrined in Article 968 of the Civil Law (22). The legislature did not amend norms that regulated reforms so as to replace the legal concept of compulsory land lease with, for instance, servitude or real right that could be included in the Civil Law system. Neither did the legislature reinstate the provisions on quitrent, provided in Local Law Collection. Instead the concept of a “lease” is still applied to quasi-contractual legal relations which, in contrast to the legal concept of lease under the Civil Law, are not contracts. They do not

contain the essential element of a contract – common intent of the parties. The coercive nature thereof means that compulsory land lease is more similar to encumbrance than contract (Rozenfelds 2012).

### Alternatives in regulating legal relations in properties with separated ownership

Legal relations that are very similar to compulsory land leases in Latvia are regulated also in a different way. The exception relates to properties at the free ports in Riga and Ventspils. Respective laws provide that the free port has the right to establish a personal servitude on the land occupied by it if the land belongs to another (23). If a servitude is established, the free port pays the taxes and covers the expenses relating to the maintenance of the land. If the free port does not exercise the right to establish a personal servitude on the land owned by other persons, it is presumed the rights of the owner are not restricted and the respective taxes and expenses are to be paid by the owner of the land. The law provides that the user of the land pays compensation for the servitude to the owner in amount that shall not exceed five per cent annually of the cadastral value of the land.

It is said that differences in freeport regulations are down to the fact that “the legislature has decided that a port is a closed territory with a special operation regime and particular conditions of economic activities” (Satversmes tiesa 2009, Case No. 2008-34-01, 15.1). The main difference relates to the rights of the land user. The free port has not only the right to use the land that is owned by other persons for port needs, but also to lease it out and construct buildings and structures that are necessary for the operation of the port. This means that the free port can use the land and deal with it disregarding the will of the landowner. This right is far more extensive than is the case, for instance, apartment owners. When it comes to compulsory land lease, owner of a building has the rights to use the land parcel only at the extent provided for in a lease agreement (if it has been concluded in writing) (Satversmes tiesa 2009, Case No. 2008-34-01, 15.2).

Legal scholars have argued that buildings on the land that is owned by other person could be classified in law as a predial servitude (Satversmes tiesa 2009, Case No. 2008-34-01, p.4). This would need an addition to the list of existing servitudes on the basis of the example that is found in the Swiss Civil Law. Alongside the existing predial servitudes Article 1172 or Article 1173 of the Civil Law could state that a servitude to the land that is necessary to maintain the building may also be established for the benefit of buildings (Rozenfelds 2008). The fact that compulsory land lease is more comparable to predial servitudes in the sense that there is a right to use and not to possess the land disregarding the will of the landowner, derives from the predial servitudes connection with the property not with the owner of it. The owner of the property is free of any active obligations vis-à-vis the user of the servitude, and the obligations largely mean refraining from things that would hinder the ability to use the servitude right (Article 1140 of the Civil Law). It has also been argued that a return to the hereditary lease (*emphyteus*), building rights or *dominium directum* and

*dominium utile* would help to deal with the problem of separated ownership. The Civil Law, for instance, could enshrine a new legal concept of compulsory land lease, similar to hereditary lease (Rozenfelds 2008). Parliament has objected to this idea, however, arguing that the replacement of compulsory land lease with a servitude would be useless and complicated (Satversmes tiesa 2009, Case No. 2008-34-01, 23.1).

What Parliament member L. Mucins said during the debates about the right of landowners to receive “rent” from the building owner suggest that as the draft law was being prepared, there was an idea about restoring the regulation of quitrent so as to regulate legal relations between the owners of land and buildings on it (Augstaka Padome 1991c, L. Mucins). However, this was not done. The law on land reform in Latvian cities still includes the right to receive a “lease fee” without any reference to a special norm (*lex specialis*). Thus, this right is dependent on the execution of the lease agreement.

The Civil Law does not include the legal concept of hereditary lease (*emphyteusis*) that is part of Roman law. This concept was regulated by Articles 4132–4154 of the Local Law Collection (Tiutriunov” 1927). Although there are some similarities between compulsory land lease and hereditary lease, where the actual right to use the property belonged to the person who does not have formal ownership, these concepts are very different (Rozenfelds 2008). Hereditary lease is heritable and transferable obligation to economically use the immovable property belonging to another person, gaining fruits from it in return to a specific annual lease fee. Historically this legal concept was introduced by the Roman Empire, which leased out its plots of land to ensure independent farming (Kalnins 2010). Hereditary lease does not cover the legal issues of the construction of individual buildings on leased property, as this is regulated under building right (*right of superficies*) or hereditary building right known in Germany (*Erbbaurecht*). Building right is heritable and transferable real right on the property to erect and use a building built on a land owned by another. After the end of the building right the building erected on the basis of the building right becomes the property of the landowner as an essential part of the land. In 2015, the Civil Law of Latvia was amended to include regulations for building right, but these norms apply to the right to build and use non-residential buildings or engineering structures (Article 1129.<sup>1</sup> of the Civil Law). The building right only regulates the voluntary establishment of separate ownership and the scope of the rights and obligations of the parties during the existence of the building (Saeimas deputati 2013, [2]).

The 1937 Civil Law includes a regulation for an atypical legal concept for Roman law – a charge established on an estate (Rozenfelds 2008). Yet the Civil Law did not take over the regulation of quitrent that was included in the Local Law Collection. Quitrent was regulated in the Local Law Collection as a subtype of a charge established on an estate. The decision was made because at the time the Civil Law was written, it was assumed that existing cases of separated ownership will be eliminated by unifying the property rights under the procedure specified in a special law (24). Although there are noticeable similarities between quitrent and hereditary lease, quitrent was a concept of rights on property while, while hereditary lease was a concept of law of obligations. The latter could become a real obligation if the agreement is corroborated in the Land Book (Bukovskii 1914; Konradi, Valters 1935). Norms regulating quitrent as a special

case indicated the situation in which the lessor built a building on the leased plot of land, finding that in that case the buildings remained the property of the lessor (Konradi, Valters 1935). Quitrent ended when the last lessor died if he did not have any heirs, or there was a confusion of rights such as in case of the landowner exercising the right of first purchase to acquire the building or the owner of the building buying the land. The rights of landowners were protected by a law that said that if quitrent payments had not been paid for three years, then the landowner had the right to demand that the building be sold via a public auction (Konradi, Valters 1935).

It may be that the inclusion of the regulation of the legal concept of compulsory land lease in the part on property rights in the Civil law, in line with the building rights, as a special case of quitrent, would have resolved a series of practical problems related to receiving payments for the use of land. E.g., this may have solved the issues in relation to the binding nature of the court rulings to the new building owners and building managers, and also helped in seeking out ways of unifying the separated ownership of property (Snipe, Slitke 2007).

### Challenges in applying the law

Currently disputes between landowners and building owners are reviewed by courts on the basis of the law on land reform in Latvian cities and the law on privatization of state and local government residential buildings. The rights and duties of building managers are regulated by applying norms from the law on administration of residential houses (25). Although both the privatization and the land reform process concerning the specific property has long been completed, the disputes are still dealt in accordance with the norms from laws that regulate land reforms and privatization. This is because the Civil Law and other laws do not have any regulations concerning the compulsory land lease. To a certain extent, legal norms of the Civil law regulating lease agreement can be applied, but due to the previously described peculiar legal characteristics of the compulsory land lease these norms do not resolve a series of problems.

There are essential differences in opinions expressed in legal writing and case law with regards to the sources of obligations in case of compulsory land lease: do these obligations arise from a contract or directly from the law, regardless of a declaration of will. The answer to this question is crucial as it depends on the scope of rights and obligations of the parties, the time when obligations have to be fulfilled, and the limitation period of the claims.

Article 1402 of the Civil Law says that obligations arise from contracts, from wrongful acts or directly from law. The formulation of this text suggests that obligation can only have one of the three bases. Unlike the property rights, obligations cannot rise from court ruling, as it has only a declarative force. Court ruling specifies the basis of the obligation, but does not create one (Klot 1940). In legal writing, an opinion has been expressed that one obligation can have several bases (Rudans 2006). Still, a separation between two semantically similar concepts should be made: there is a “basis of an obligation” in obligation law and “basis of a claim” in civil procedure.



The latter relate to actual factual matters concerning establishment of obligations (adjudicative facts) which the claimant brings to justify their claim (Augstakās Tiesas Senāts 2006, SKC-635/2006). This means that a distinction must be drawn between competing bases of claims and the basis of an obligation. The same facts can give rise to various obligations; this concept is called competition of claims (Brox 2000). The person who is raising the claim can choose and change the subject-matter of the claim, but that does not mean that there is just one obligation between the parties.

The compulsory land lease being a part of the law of obligations, over the course of time, led courts and legal scholars to express opposing views about the basis of obligations in these relations – is the basis of the obligations a contract or do these obligations derive directly from law. The identification of the basis of obligations is linked to the moment when obligations are established, when the right to claim the performance is established and when this right terminates or expires. There is also the debatable issue of the time when the duty to pay taxes is established. Court rulings about this issue are radically different, thus inevitably causing social tensions in society.

Given that compulsory land lease affects so many people, there is a reason to think that ensuring legal certainty is necessary which can be achieved with normative regulation of these relations. The law must address the main problems in application of substantive and procedural provisions of law that are currently incomplete, as seen in many court cases. The author of the article is a sworn attorney who specializes in the area of compulsory land lease issues. Author's clients, landowners, during years 2017–2018, have asked for legal help with more than 4000 claims against the apartment owners regarding collection of lease fees.

Experts have made several proposals on regulation of compulsory land lease, which include drafting a new law to regulate compulsory land lease or establishing servitudes where now compulsory land lease relations exist. It would be desirable to ensure that compulsory land lease is regulated as a separate and new legal concept, but from the perspective of the legal system, this legal concept should be included in the Civil Law system, as opposed to creating a new hybrid, legal concept bearing the characteristics of both rights on property and law of obligations.

### **Final remarks**

Creation of the separated ownership was a political decision made in order to enable restitution of original properties. From today's perspective, this political decision of 1990's may be criticized. Nonetheless, the current legislature has to deal with the consequences of this decision. As a considerable part of the society is directly involved in these relations, it is a challenge for the legislature to adopt a regulation that is not populist and short-sighted. There may be a temptation to adopt a regulation favorable to apartment owners while infringing the fundamental rights of land owners, as the 110 000 apartments affected house a big part of voters.

Currently the legislature has chosen to approach the problem by drafting a law for unifying separated properties, however a single law will not solve this multilayered problem. In author's opinion, the public policy should be directed in three directions

simultaneously. First, a law should be drafted that would provide a procedure to voluntarily unify the ownership of property. Second, a public policy should be adopted to motivate the involved parties to use this procedure (i.e. tax exemptions, state aid or state guaranteed loans for purchasing the land under a building). Third, the legislature should adopt amendments to the law that would guarantee a simple and easy procedure for collecting lease fees until the ownership is unified.

Further on, given the characteristics of the compulsory land lease described in the article, the author believes that a new Civil Law chapter should be adopted to regulate basic aspects of compulsory land lease. It should consolidate regulations currently included in the laws regulating land reform and privatization processes so as to determine the rights and obligations of parties in compulsory land lease legal relations. This chapter should be included in the part on property rights of the Civil Law, in lieu of the former chapter of quitrent. It shall describe the content of obligations, the origin and scope of the right to claim, the amount of lease fees for the cases where the parties haven't got an agreement, the criteria to determine the border of the leased land plot and other obligations and rights for the parties, as well as the termination of compulsory land lease relations (i.e. with the confusion of rights, or if a building was destroyed).

#### Notes:

- (1) See: Section 2 of the Decision No. 120 of Ministru Padome (the Council of Ministers) (1990) "Par neatliekamam ipasuma konversijas realizācijas pasākumiem Latvijas Republikā" [On urgent measures for the implementation of property conversion in the Republic of Latvia]. Available: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=72721>. (In Latvian)
- (2) See the preambule of the decision of Augstākā Padome (the Supreme Council) (1991) "Par valsts ipasumu un tā konversijas pamatprincipiem" [On State property and the basic principles of its conversion]. Available: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=65829>. (In Latvian)
- (3) For comparison see Crowder 2012, p. 262.
- (4) See *supra* note 2, Sections 3.1) and 5.3).
- (5) Par zemes reformu Latvijas Republikas pilsētas (1991) [On land reform in the cities of the Republic of Latvia]. Available at: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=70467> (In Latvian)
- (6) See Regulation No. 220 of Ministru Kabineta (the Cabinet of Ministers) "Par kompensācijas apreķināšanu bijušajiem zemes īpašniekiem vai viņu mantiniekiem un maksas noteikšanu par ipasuma nodoto zemi pilsētas" (1994) [The calculation of compensation for former landowners or their heirs and setting the payment for urban land transferred]. Available: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=58871> and Regulation No. 171 of Ministru Kabineta (the Cabinet of Ministers) "Noteikumi par kompensācijas apreķināšanu bijušajiem zemes īpašniekiem vai viņu mantiniekiem un maksas noteikšanu par ipasuma nodoto zemi pilsētas" (1997). Available: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=43364>. (In Latvian)
- (7) See *supra* note 5, Section 12 (2) in wording in force until 14.11.1995.
- (8) See *supra* note 5.
- (9) Par valsts un pasvaldību dzīvojamu māju privatizāciju (1995) [On privatization of state and local government residential houses]. Available: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=35770>. (In Latvian)
- (10) Maareformi seadus (1991) [Land Reform Act]. Available: <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/529062016001/consolide>, see Section 7; Pilieciņu Nuosavybes Teisiu Įstatymai

- Turta Atkurimo Istatymas (1997) (Law on the restoration of the rights of ownership of citizens to the existing real property Nr. VIII-359. Available: <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalActPrint/lt?jfwid=5sjolg0fi&documentId=TAIS.364111&category=TAD>, see Section 12. (In Lithuanian)
- (11) Pre-emption right is provided in: Section 14 of Par atjaunota Latvijas Republikas 1937.gada Civillikuma ievada, mantojuma tiesību un lietu tiesību dalas speka stasanas laiku un kartību (1992) [On the time and procedure of entry into force of the reinstated introduction, inheritance rights and property rights parts of the Civil Law of the Republic of Latvia, 1937] Available at: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=75530>, Section 17 of Par zemes reformu Latvijas Republikas pilsetas, see *supra* note 5, Section 54(3) of Par valsts un pasvaldību dzīvojamu māju privatizāciju: Latvijas Republikas likums, see *supra* note 9. (In Latvian)
- (12) See section 119.1 of the Order No. 84 of Ministru Kabineta (the Cabinet of Ministers) “Par Valdības rīcības plānu Deklarācijas par V. Dombrovska vadīta Ministru kabineta iecerēto darbību īstenošanu” (2012) [On the government action plan declaration on the implementation of the planned activities of Valdis Dombrovskis’ Cabinet of Ministers]. Available: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=244182>. (In Latvian)
- (13) See Order no 541 of Ministru Kabineta (the Cabinet of Ministers) “Par Koncepciju par Civillikuma lietu tiesību dalas modernizāciju” (2010). [On the concepts on modernization of the part on property rights of the Civil Law]. Available: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=217866>. (In Latvian)
- (14) See the database of parliamentary documents of 12th Saeima. Available: <http://titania.saeima.lv/LIVS12/saeimalivs12.nsf>. (In Latvian)
- (15) On 11.03.2019. a public discussion in possible models for unifying the separated ownership was held in Saeima. Information and presentations Available: <http://saeima.lv/lv/aktualitates/saeimas-zinas/27738-diskusija-saeima-parruna-dalita-ipasuma-izbeigšanas-problematiku>. (In Latvian)
- (16) See *supra* note 11.
- (17) Compare Chapter 3, Chapter 29 of the Civil Code of LSSR.
- (18) Grund- oder Erbzinsrecht in German; *czynsz* in Polish, *cens* in French, and *census* in English.
- (19) Svod mestnikh uzakonenii gubernii Ostzeiskikh (In Russian); Provincialrecht des Ostseegouvernements (In German)
- (20) According to regulation No. 241 (2006) of Ministru Kabineta, a building owned by a third person is considered as an encumbrance of the land property.
- (21) Section 14 of the law “Par atjaunotā Latvijas Republikas 1937. gada Civillikuma ievada, mantojuma tiesību un lietu tiesību dalas speka stasanas laiku un kartību”. See *supra* note 11.
- (22) Section 968 of the Civil Law provides: “A building erected on land and firmly attached to it shall be recognized as part thereof.”
- (23) Section 4 of Rigas brīvostas likums [The free port of Riga law]. Available at: <https://likumi.lv/ta/en/en/id/3435-the-free-port-of-riga-law>; Section 4 of Ventspils brīvostas likums [The free port of Ventspils law]. Available: <https://likumi.lv/ta/en/en/id/41737-the-free-port-of-ventspils-law>. (In Latvian)
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## **THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN RESOLUTION OF TERRORISM CRISIS SITUATIONS**

Present article analyses the role of communication in dealing with terrorism phenomena from policy crisis perspective and provides list of elements, including legal, involved in resolving crisis communication triggered by terrorist attacks. The hypothesis for this research suggests that crisis situations caused by terrorist attacks require particular measures which pre-emptively help to act and engage toward the crisis event promptly and in a timely manner. The article provides concrete communication steps for government to take before and after the occurrence of the terrorist attacks in addition to presenting some examples of communication approaches used by governments in the event of terrorist attacks in the past. Over last few years, the approach of the governmental security management agencies has changed and terrorism attacks are met with a range of countermeasures. In communication field the surging number of terrorism situations has driven state and private stakeholders towards broader use of social networks to increase the public outreach. However, experts' prognosis towards terrorism incidents occurring also in the future suggest rather some increasing trends, thus requiring also adequate and adapted measures to tackle the crisis. The research paper in the conclusion sets out a number of recommendations and crisis communications techniques, as well as their legal aspects that can be applied specifically in the crisis communication to foster resolution of the terrorism crisis situations.

**Key words:** communication, crisis communication, terrorism crisis situation.

### **Роль коммуникации в разрешении вызванных терроризмом кризисных ситуаций**

В данной статье анализируется роль коммуникации в борьбе с терроризмом, а также элементы коммуникации, в том числе и юридические, связанные с регулированием кризисных ситуаций, вызванных террористическими актами. Гипотеза данного исследования предполагает, что кризисные ситуации, вызванные террористическими действиями, требуют определенных мер юридического воздействия, которые помогают своевременно и упреждающе действовать при кризисном событии. В статье приводятся конкретные шаги в области коммуникации, которые должны предприниматься правительством до и после возникновения террористических кризисных ситуаций, а также представлены некоторых примеры коммуникационных подходов, используемых правительствами в случае террористических актов. За последние несколько лет изменился подход правительственных ведомств к общественной безопасности, в результате чего правительственные институции и службы государственной безопасности стали реагировать на террористические акты гораздо быстрее и точнее. Растущее число ситуаций, связанных с терроризмом, побудило государственные и частные заинтересованные стороны к более широкому использованию социальных сетей в области коммуникации для расширения охвата населения. Однако прогноз экспертов в отношении террористических кризисных ситуаций в будущем содержит некоторые растущие тенденции, требующие ещё более адаптированных мер для решения кризисных ситуаций, вызванных терроризмом. В заключении статьи излагается ряд рекомендаций и методов, рекомендуемых к использованию как в отношении самой коммуникации, так и в отношении её правовых аспектов, для более своевременного и успешного разрешения террористических кризисных ситуаций.

**Ключевые слова:** коммуникация, кризисная коммуникация, террористическая кризисная ситуация.

## Introduction

Crisis, by definition, can mean predicament, emergency, calamity, disaster, or catastrophe, “anything that interrupts the normal flow of business” (Hagan 2007). According to W.T. Coombs (2007) a crisis is “the perception of an unpredictable event that threatens important expectancies of stakeholders and can seriously impact an organization’s performance and generate negative outcomes” (Coombs 2007). Crisis communication can be defined broadly as “the collection, processing, and dissemination of information required to address a crisis situation” (Coombs, Holladay 2010). In an early stage and before the occurrence of a crisis, the crisis communication involves collecting information about potential risks, and taking decisions about how to deal with potential crisis situations. It involves also the training approach of staff member and the defining the role of each (crisis spokesperson) in the process of a crisis situation. This involves the processing and evaluation of information obtained in order to make it ready for the decision making team to take a decision about it (Coombs, Holladay 2010).

The occurrence of a terrorist attack is indeed a subject of a case of crisis communication. Communication is very crucial tool in preventing terrorists from weakening public morale and from planting mistrust between public audience and government. Effective communication can prevent terrorists from achieving their aims in disrupting everyday life, undermining public moral and the legitimacy of the societies that they attack, thus also avoiding substantial damages to the established and state guaranteed legal order. Often terrorists try to display a government’s failure to defend its citizens and to stimulate disproportionate responses that suggest a lack of competence of the governments and administration at various levels. Recognizing that the state administrations are empowered to preserve the security of citizens (Tumalavicius 2016) terrorist attacks may also significantly harm not only the image of administration, but also the legal system of the state itself.

### Communication methods used by the terrorist organisations

Since terrorist attacks trigger intense public reactions and overwhelm specialized state and local response capacities, they require even more effective and specific communication approaches than do other accidents (e.g. natural disasters). Terrorist organizations like al-Qaeda or ISIS understand completely the media politics and the matrix of communication strategy and they try to communicate their media materials to its audience also in certain structured way. This strategy was stressed upon in one of the most influential jihadi book titled “The Management of Savagery” written by an Islamist strategist under the name of “Abu Bakr Naji” saying: “One of the most important things that will assist our media policy is to communicate our media material to its intended audiences” (Abu Bakr Naji 2006).

After the 11<sup>th</sup> of September terrorism has evolved its communication strategies, relying more and more on internet and social media and used visual communication focused on the use of images (e.g. the videos of executions) in order to create shock



and panic among the targeted audience (Pece 2018). The modern communication technology enables jihadists to reach any potentially desired public audience in the real time. Terrorist attacks can be used as a mean to recruit more jihadists and to create division between western communities and the Islamic minorities living among them also following the aim to weaken the states' political and legal systems (Pece 2018).

The rise of the social media provided platforms for the spreading of the terrorist messages. The emergent digital technologies expanded their communicative possibilities. The more brutal pictures are the more coverage and attention they receive in the new media. Against such sophisticated and aggressive propaganda, governments need to be equipped with an efficient and comprehensive communication plan and a strong legal basis to utilise such communication strategies.

### **Risk perception**

The essence of communication lies in its pre-emptive dimension which helps to act and engage toward the crisis event promptly and in a timely manner. Risk perception requires reliable sources of information, good coordination among relevant agencies and the existence of a risk management strategies.

**Reliable source of information.** The most reliable source of information can be obtained through one's own agencies such like the national intelligence agency, which is authorized by law to collect and analyse information that is of importance for the protection of the country (Tumalavicius 2016). The intelligence agencies are also authorized to request information from postal or telecommunication services, financial institutions, airlines, and Internet service providers, as required for the performance of its functions, including personal data, and to inspect official registers.

Following the September 11 terrorist attacks and the subsequent terrorist attacks in Madrid and London, federal law enforcement/police agencies were also strengthened with preventive powers to protect against "home grown terrorists" including, among other things, the authority to intercept communications. Intelligence, which is a product that results from the collection, collation, evaluation, analysis, integration, and interpretation of collected information, has the crucial role in prevention and risk elimination of the terroristic threats. The development of an intelligence product involves gathering of information from different sources. The collected information may sometimes be fragmented information about fast-breaking events and may therefore contain substantial inaccuracies or uncertainties. Fragmented information must be resolved quickly through further evaluation and analysis. The multiplicity of sources can reduce the chance of erroneous conclusions and vulnerability to deception. The large volumes of complex intercepted data which involves analysis, evaluation, and translation makes it sometimes difficult for the intelligence agencies to react promptly and in a timely manner. It is important therefore to enhance the effectiveness of the intelligence through acquiring new reporting sources and recruitment of additional specialised experts as well as employing new electronic analytical tools.

One of the successful modern methods applied by security agencies in some countries is the usage of the ATDS tracking system (Elovici et al. 2010). This system focussed on tracking down potential terrorists accessing terrorist-generated Web sites based on the content of information accessed by the Web users. The detection component is planned to operate in a real-time, wide-area network where it should be capable of simultaneously monitoring hundreds and thousands of users. ATDS is an example of applying data mining (clustering) algorithms and information retrieval techniques in the international effort against the terror presence on the Internet. Detecting potential terrorist users in the real time will allow the intelligence to gain additional time to develop an intelligence product and react promptly. This advanced system is highly recommended to anticipate the activities of potential terrorists.

### **Coordination of communication among relevant state agencies**

The coordination of communication among multiple agencies has become a substantial communication concern. Good communication and exchange of relevant information is very essential element for terrorism risk eliminations in timely manner. A failed response in crisis situation illustrates lack of coordination between agencies and communication which can be and often are regarded as a contributor to the failure by the victims.

Coordinated communication beforehand, during and in the aftermath of the terrorist attack aims at:

- ensuring constant flow of information. Every state legal entity potentially involved in the terrorism crisis resolution must have the same level of knowledge to make the right decisions within the area of legal responsibility;
- ensuring clear and smooth procedures in which the division of responsibilities between the organizations / entities is clearly defined and known to all those involved;
- “speaking with a single voice to avoid discrepancies and contradictory statements to the public this way ensuring credibility;
- appearing as a single unit, to generate confidence and trust.

It is important here to make the communication simple and transparent. Roles and responsibilities must be defined clearly even beforehand. For instance, it is important to define and legally ground the roles and responsibilities between national and regional (municipal) authorities, between federal and regional police and between national politicians and local politicians in order to avoid discrepancies and contradictory statements. It is also crucial to determine who will take lead in decision making process in order to avoid the rise of conflict situations in the decision-making process.

## **Crisis communication plan**

By its definition, crisis communication is “the collection, processing, and dissemination of information required to address a crisis situation” (Coombs 2010). The crisis management plan involves identifying who to contact, when and how. A crisis communication plan constitutes an essential part of the larger crisis management plan. Before a terrorist attack takes place, it is important to establish a crisis management plan that can anticipate all possible hazards (e.g. overall all-hazards approach) where the crisis communication part has its own significant role. This plan can include checklist for things that must be done, contact information, and methods to follow in each scenario. The communication plan should include also guidelines on how to respond to wide range and variety of possible scenarios of terrorist attacks (Stephens, Hartmann 2002).

The existence of an updated and tested crisis communication plan has become a “must” in every organization that might face various crisis situations, even more relevant it is for the situations where the terrorist attacks is not excluded. The crisis communication plan should deal with unexpected/unpredictable situations and prepare for it. Rumours and manipulated news are quite common in times of crises, which aims at exaggerating the crisis and distorting the truth, therefore it’s important to be fully prepared to present your side of the story. When a crisis hits, there will be little time left to think. However, if the one already has a crisis communications plan in place before the crisis happens this will put the responsible institutions in the best position to perform an immediate and structured response and eliminate or maximally minimize the damages.

## **Structure of the crisis communication plan**

**Crisis cell room/team/spokesperson.** Depending on the crisis nature and dimensions, the members of the crisis cell room at a state of federal level should include members representing security departments (e.g. Ministry of the Internal, defence Ministry, Intelligence). The core team will be on the decision making level and will be required to evaluate the situation and take decisions and necessary measures. The crisis room should be set up in the secure location and should be equipped with computers, phones, podium, microphone, copy machines, office supplies, digital camera, printers, food and drink and anything else one can think of that the team will need, especially due to the fact that the length of its operation is often unpredictable. The crisis cell room might be a potential target for terrorists, thus it is essential to locate it in well protected area. Targeting the crisis cell room by terrorist can trigger devastating consequences and may destabilize the government especially if the crisis room consists of members of high ranked officials (core team). As a negative example it can be illustrated by the incident when the terrorist bombed the Syrian National Security Centre (Crisis Cell) in Damascus on July 18, 2012 (Fahim 2012), there were killed and injured a number of top military and security officials of the Syrian government. The terrorist attack happened during a meeting of ministers and a larger number of

heads of security agencies. This attack resulted in the death of the Syrian Defence Minister General Dawoud Rajiha, Assef Shawkat, president Bashar al-Assad's brother-in-law and deputy defence minister General Hasan Turkmani.

Therefore, it is highly recommended not to have all decision making members (core team) of the country in one location. It is also important to include a spokesperson in the team, who will be responsible of making statements and sending messages to ensure that the government has the control over the situation. Experts recommend that spokespersons have media training and practical skills on how to respond to questions of the media (Coombs 2014). The spokesperson should have, among other things, should avoid using sentences such like "no comment". The wording of "no comment" has a rather negative impact and it indicates that the spokesperson is hiding something. The spokesperson needs to handle difficult questions and provide consistent answers to questions such like: Who? Why? Where? What? When and How? The messages should be tailored to suit different targeted audience eager to receiving information. The answers of the spokesperson should be simple and short leaving no space for misinterpretation. They also must be truthful and sincere in order to be received with credibility by the targeted audience which in larger scale are citizens and inhabitants of the state(s). It is always important to create the impression that the government is in full control of the situation. There will be a need for the spokesperson to communicate promptly and to keep the press informed at all times. It is also important to always be seen as cooperative and to act proactively by sharing information generously within the limits that would not harm the potential further investigation. The more the spokesperson acts proactively, the easier it will be to convey the message to the public as in situations of lack of information, media and other public will have seek for other information sources which subsequently can be information that is not correct and causing the panic or other unwanted outcomes or, this way, even availing the terrorists to issue their further messages thus undermining the efforts to minimize the crisis consequences.

**Defining procedures and reporting lines.** In crisis situations the time is a critical element therefore it is important to ensure that the flow of information goes smoothly and fast. This requires tailoring reporting lines according to the structure of the organization. Fast reporting leads to fast response especially in a case of terrorist attacks where time constitutes a vital element. Information will flow in the real time through reporting lines before being reviewed, approved and prepared for the decision makers to deal with. The reporting lines should be tailored to the existing hierarchies of the organization. The pathways of information flow will be channelled through communication with the media, victims, politicians and employees (VIMEO, THE SAFE-COMMS 2011). Finally, it should be stressed that a crisis communication plan must be an integral part of the crisis management plan in order to ensure clear responsibilities and harmony among different institutions and organizations involved in the crisis management or even within the same but larger scale institution.

## Occurrence of the terrorist attack

The occurrence of the terrorist attack triggers shock and confusion that also prevails among the public audience throughout the whole of incident. The media interest at this stage is very high, with breaking news and hundreds of calls and e-mails directed at the crisis communications team. Rumours fly around and the picture of the situation is not clear. Public audience is lacking information and needs to understand what happen especially at the initial stage of the incident. The first information at this stage come usually from the police agencies, however they need to act very cautiously in order to evade any early attribution of responsibility. It is important to make sure that the flow of information comes from a public institution first. The pressure from the media is immense seeking to obtain confirmed facts about the situation. The reporters will try to approach anyone who could give them information, therefore it is essential to provide sufficient information only from institutional official sources. Nevertheless, the information provided need to be confirmed facts that leave no space for misinterpretation by any party. After hours the picture start to get clear and the process of normalisation at the scene starts.

**Analysing and monitoring of the social media.** At this point communication experts will need to monitor and analyse the news, developments and debates within the social Web. The dynamics of the debates will be assessed and evaluated. The public institution will immediately start operating by spreading their messages and communications via social media (e.g. Twitter, Facebook, Instagram). Campaigning will be an integral part of the crisis communication plan in order to ensure transparency and authenticity of the information.

**Activation of the crisis communication plan.** The action plan taken by the crisis team room will be designed according to the different phases of the crisis/terrorist attacks. The phases can be amended or adjusted according to the context of the terrorist attack (e.g. intensity, scope). The following phases can build the fundamentals of the crisis communication plan.

The first phase of the attacks is usually characterised by a state of confusion, arouse of emotions and incomplete information. The communication here aims at providing credible clear information about the situation. The messages should aim at providing the true information to the public and the families of the victims/hostages. There is also a need to provide the public with contact addresses and hot line numbers in order to receive information. The crisis team need to start campaigning on the social media (e.g. Twitter, Facebook) to gain the solidarity of the population. Internally the crisis team will start taking crisis management measures to deal with the crisis. Politicians need also to be informed with confirmed facts.

The second phase is characterised by initiation of investigative police measures. The public is on hold looking to receiving updated information about the investigation, arrest, defuse a bomb or rescue measures. The families of the victims need to receive psychological support. It is important here to provide constant information update on the social media and to show that the whole nation is united together in the face of crisis/attack.

The third phase is characterised by the provision of official statements about the current situation, number of casualties, impacts and damages, condemnation of the attacks. There will be several condemnation and solidarity messages from different countries around the world. It is important to announce that the world is standing with nation and giving its support and solidarity. This should be repeated constantly on TV, Twitter and press release to show that the nation is not alone. Reports on statements of eye witnesses will give more credibility and trust to the public audience. The reaction of the population on the social media should be monitored and analysed carefully by the experts. The spokesperson needs to give official statements or hold press conference regarding the current situation.

The fourth phase is characterised by normalisation of the situation. It is important here to show that situation started to get back to its pre-crisis stage through providing videos and pictures of daily life routines. This will help to restore feeling of normality and security among the targeted audience. The police and investigative authorities need to provide positive results (e.g. apprehension, detention of suspects or perpetrators). Messages of normalisation should also be present on social media (Twitter).

The fifth phase should focus on adopting recovery measures and restoring confidence. The government should organize memorial ceremonies for the families of the victims accompanied by wide TV and news coverage and with participation of government officials from both inside and outside the country. It is always helpful to provide the public audience about stories of success (e.g. heroic acts by some citizens that saved lives of many). The investigation measure should come by now to its concluding phase. It is also important to keep monitoring the reactions of the population on social media and to anticipate and prevent anyone from manipulating/exploiting the terrorist attacks for their own benefits.

The sixth phase should focus on documenting lessons learned thorough identifying mistakes and translating them into finding decision alternatives for the future. Learned lessons will contribute to enhancing and improving of the action plan in the future.

### **Two examples of past experiences (failed communication / successful communication)**

When terrorist attacks occur they can sometimes deliver different results on the political level in a country thus impacting also on legal functioning of the state. Crucial is how a government with its institutions manage a terrorist attacks and cope with its consequences. This lies in the approach taken by a government on how to deal with the terrorist attack and how to communicate it to public audience. Terrorist attacks entail also communication elements (Canel, Sanders 2010). The purpose of a terrorist attack is often to pass on also a political message or to affect the policy of a country. With the occurrence of a terrorist attack, the terrorists step into the matrix of communication influences.

Terrorists try to put the reputation of the government at stake while the public audience takes the role of a jury that judges the government's response towards the terrorist attacks. Therefore, leaders need to show composure to their public audience

that they are controlling the crisis situation and that they are competent to deal with the task. In the following examples there were different communication approaches followed by the governments of Spain and France in dealing with terrorist crisis events thus leading to different outcomes from the two attacks.

**The attacks of Madrid 2004 (Narrow framing of the initial response).** The terrorist bombings of four trains in Madrid on March 11, 2004 resulted in casualties of 191 dead and almost 2000 wounded. The attacks took place only three days before general elections in Spain. The attacks presented a strategic surprise and eventually led to withdrawal of Spanish military personnel from Iraq. They also had tremendous impact on the elections results. The indiscriminate, lethal attacks caused a state of shock in the country, brought the election campaign to a sudden end, and led to the defeat of the party in power.

The Spanish government has tried to frame the attacks in a context that fits in its political strategy through blaming immediately the terrorist organization ETA for the attacks. With attributing immediately the responsibility of the attacks to ETA, the Spanish government has acted in a narrow perspective. The government of Spain failed to provide the population with credible and clear information about the attacks and their perpetrators. The narrow framing of the response by attributing the initial responsibility to ETA did not achieve the expected broad consensus among the Spanish audience nor among political leaders. In the case of London attacks in 2005 the British government avoided the narrow framing followed by the Spanish government and did not attribute the responsibility – for instance – on the terrorist group IRA (Irish Republican Army). The narrow framing of the initial response was indeed a fatal mistake of the Spanish government. The government had to refrain from attributing the responsibility to any particular group. The Government had to focus in its approach – for instance – on the contrast between the terrorist ideology of intolerance and the Spanish way of life (e.g. values of freedom and tolerance). Such a communication approach would have drawn public attention to unity and solidarity and would have made the government appear as defender of democratic values. This would have kept the government in the broad framing of the communication response without jumping too quickly to conclusions. Yet the government’s demonstration of national unity in the face of the attacks soon broke down as the police investigation began to focus in its investigations on the Islamist militant group al-Qaeda (Ray, Encyclopaedia Britannica 2004). Spontaneous protests took place in Madrid, Barcelona, and other cities as demonstrators chanted, “We want to know the truth before we vote”. The Spanish government failed to provide the thirsty audience with the truth. Instead of appearing as a victim, the Spanish government appeared as a liar (Coombs 2014). The public audience did not care any longer about who were behind the attacks; they wanted to know who had lied. This mistake was successfully used by the opposition who managed to turn the table against the government and eventually win the elections (CNN ARCHIVE 2018). From the very beginning the French government described the attacks as “terrorist attack of the most extreme barbarity” and called the slain journalists “heroes” (Withnall 2015). The attacks were described as “attacks on the values of the republic”. Those statements show clearly that the government adopted from the very beginning the strategy of representing the terrorists as “those” who are opposed to “all” the rest

of mankind. A more open approach was adopted by focussing on showing solidarity and unity in front of terrorism, paying tribute to the resilience of the Parisians and condolence to the families of the victims. The slogan "*Je suis Charlie*" was soon adopted which symbolizing support for freedom of speech and resistance to armed threats (Petrikowski 2015). Within few days of the attack, the slogan "*Je suis Charlie*" had become one of the most popular news hashtags in Twitter history (Goldman, Pagliery 2015). Focussing on issues like French values, sympathy for the victims, the resilience of Parisians became an integral part of the government's communication approach. With the assistance of the social media the government succeeded in initiating an image that generated the spirit of solidarity and unity within the French society. The rest of the world began to identify itself with the slogan "*Je suis Charlie*". The French government also managed to communicate successfully with its French Muslim community. The Government maintained a careful balance between France's commitment to protect its five-million-strong Europe's largest Muslim minority and to uphold the principle of free speech even for caricatures that Muslims find offensive. The communication approach has succeeded in positioning the government in the victim's category and portraying itself as one of the victims. Associating itself with the victims, the government managed to evade any tangible inquiry by the opposition.

### Conclusion

The former communication strategies used by governments (e.g. control of the media and censorship) are no longer valid. Freedom of press and the flow of information in the real time, especially though social media, has become self-evident and beyond any preliminary auditing. If public institutions do not start to spread information to the media, then the media will get it from "the others" and this will likely cause loss of trust and credibility among the population towards the government and state security institutions. Although it is not possible to prevent the images of horror, they can be replaced by positive messages of confidence and call for support to the victims of the terrorist incident. The main aim is to establish and communicate trust and minimize the consequences caused by the terrorist attack at all levels whether those affecting human life, health, property or state functioning or its legal systems.

The importance of having a crisis communication plan and strategy has become an integral part of any government response to crisis and particularly in the event of terrorist attacks.

The challenge is to demonstrate strength and certainty and to instil confidence in the population. The aim of terrorists is to transmit a message to the public audience in order to affect their opinion about their government's policy and consequently to change the political course of the government. Therefore, it is very important for any government to apply modern and updated methodical approach to cope its communication response effectively to the terrorist attack.

The applied communication response also needs to be tailored to best deal with the negative consequences of the attack. Therefore, it can be highly recommended to analyse the past experiences of government's crisis response while dealing with wide



range of terrorist attacks and learn from those the best in order to be prepared for different scenarios in order to be able to expect the unexpected.

Various phases of the terrorism crisis resolutions analysed in the research are present in every crisis situation caused by the terroristic attack regardless its scale and possible aim, therefore governmental and state institutions entitled to deal with reestablishment of the public peace and order aftermath of the terrorist attack shall include those elements in their crisis response strategies.

Special attention needs to be addressed towards social media as its widespread availability and two-way communication option gives a unique opportunity for the state organisations to convey the required messages in faster and more audience tailored ways. Moreover, monitoring of social media during the crisis can give an immediate feedback from the society and this way to help tackling the negative consequences of the terrorism crisis in more prompt way at the same time serving also a possible preventive tool to avoid more casualties and damages or when required to rebuild the trust and re-establish the peace and order in the state.

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**Derya Deniz, Nida Ateş**

## **POSTTRAUMATIC STRESS SYMPTOMS AND WORLD ASSUMPTIONS OF PERSONS WITNESSING A TERRORIST ATTACKS**

The aim of this study is to compare participants' level of posttraumatic symptoms and the assumptions of the world according to participants' trauma witness situation and to examine the relationship among tendency of individualism-collectivism, level of posttraumatic symptoms and the world assumptions. The case that witnessed on this trauma was happened on December 10, 2016 and took place at Vodafone Arena stadium in Istanbul, Turkey. The explosion happened after a soccer match, and terrorists attack carried out against security forces. It was targeted police car with a bomb outside Vodafone Arena and 46 people were killed and 150 people were injured in the blasts attributed by some members of a terrorist organization. The sample of the study was composed of 99 females and 34 males of the students from a university in İstanbul, 133 participants in total. Demographic form, Post Traumatic Stress Symptom Scale, Individualism-Collectivism Scale, and World Assumptions Scale were used in this study. There was a significant difference between the trauma symptoms' levels according to the presence or absence of trauma events in the past. The results indicated that trauma symptoms' levels of participants, who had traumatic experience, were higher than participants who had no traumatic experience earlier. The ANOVA test results demonstrated that the way of witnessing trauma affects justice assumption scores and it was observed that there was a statistically significant difference in the scores of groups. The scores of justice assumptions of the visually witnessed group in the terrorist attack were higher than the scores of the group who learned the incident from the news sources and social media. Furthermore, the scores of justice assumption of the eye-witnesses group of terrorist attack were higher than the group who ear-witnesses the terrorist attack. The ANOVA test results indicated that the way of witnessing trauma affects control assumption scores and it was found that there was a statistically significant difference in the scores of control assumptions of the groups. The scores of control assumptions of eye-witnesses group in the terrorist attack were higher than the scores of the group whose relatives died or injured in the incident. According to the Pearson correlation analysis results, there was a positive correlation between the tendency of individualism and assumption of randomness.

**Key words:** trauma, world assumptions, individualism, collectivism.

### **Симптомы посттравматического стресса у очевидцев террористических актов и их восприятие мира**

Целью данного исследования является сравнение уровня посттравматических симптомов у очевидцев террористических актов и восприятия ими окружающего мира в зависимости от способа наблюдения за травматической ситуацией, а также изучение взаимосвязи между позицией на оси индивидуализм-коллективизм, уровнем посттравматических симптомов и восприятием мира. Террористический акт, повлёкший за собой изучаемую травматическую ситуацию, произошёл 10 декабря 2016 года на стадионе *Vodafone Arena* в Стамбуле (Турция) после футбольного матча и был совершён по отношению к работникам охраны. В частности, была взорвана полицейская машина, стоявшая возле стадиона, в результате чего 46 человек погибли и 150 человек были ранены. Выборка исследования состояла из 99 женщин и 34 мужчин – всего 133 студента Стамбульского Университета. При проведении исследования были использованы следующие инструменты: демогра-

фический опросник, шкала симптомов посттравматического стресса, шкала индивидуализма-коллективизма и шкала восприятия мира. В результате исследования были обнаружены статистически значимые различия между уровнями посттравматических симптомов в зависимости от наличия или отсутствия травматического опыта в прошлом. Так, уровень посттравматических симптомов у тех очевидцев, кто уже имел травматический опыт в прошлом, был выше, чем у очевидцев террористического акта, не имевших подобного опыта. Результаты теста *ANOVA* показали, что способ наблюдения за травматической ситуацией также повлиял на дальнейшее восприятие справедливости, и наблюдались статистически значимые различия между очевидцами и теми, кто узнал о террористическом акте из новостей и социальных медиа. У первых показатель восприятия справедливости был выше, чем у последних. Кроме того, показатель восприятия справедливости был выше у тех очевидцев, кто видел (и, соответственно, слышал) террористический акт, по сравнению с теми, кто его только слышал. Результаты теста *ANOVA* показали, что способ наблюдения за травматической ситуацией влияет также и на восприятие контроля, и есть статистически значимые различия между группами. Так, показатели восприятия контроля у тех очевидцев, кто видел террористический акт своими глазами, были выше, чем у тех, чьи родственники были убиты или ранены. Результаты корреляционного анализа с помощью коэффициента Пирсона показали также наличие прямой взаимозависимости между склонностью к индивидуализму и восприятием произошедшего как случайности.

**Ключевые слова:** травма, восприятие мира, индивидуализм, коллективизм.

## Introduction

Trauma is defined as an unusual condition that paralyses one's natural coping skills which allows the individual to view the world, to sense and to connect the internal and external focused stimuli (Aker, Onder 2003). One of the elements that defines an event as a trauma is that the incident is perceived as a threat to one's life and/or body integrity (Karakaya et al. 2007). Another factor is that the individual cannot make sense of the event that one experienced. The traumatic event does not match with the existing cognitive schematics due to the nature of the event which is outside the individual's daily life experiences, thus the individual cannot make sense of the event. The reason for not being able to perceive the traumatic event is that the event creates excessive physical stimulation and it impairs cognitive functions (Sungur 1999). According to DSM-IV, trauma is defined as exposure to actual or threatened death, injury, or a threat to the body integrity of one's own (American Psychiatric Association (APA) 2000). In DSM-V, the following scenarios are added to the definition of trauma: "[i]n addition to witnessing the traumatic event in person; learning that a traumatic event occurred to a close friend or family member, and experiencing first-hand repeated or extreme exposure to aversive details of the traumatic event" (American Psychiatric Association (APA) 2013). In addition to unintentional events such as natural disasters and traffic accidents, intentional factors such as human trafficking, sexual harassment, rape, terrorist attacks, physical assaults and torture are also traumatising intentional factors (Golge 2005). Terrorism is a form of violence that is specifically designed to create the highest psychological effect on masses (Demirli 2011). Many studies report that high rates of PTSD are observed in individuals who have witnessed a direct terrorist attack (Norris et al. 2002).

Studies carried out with the victims of trauma have drawn attention to the fact that individuals often behave according to unquestioned assumptions (Wickie, Marvit 2000). Traumatic events can show the nature of one's basic beliefs and provide information on the basic assumptions about one's normal life is based by causing these assumptions to be shaken (Janoff-Bulman 1992). Basic assumptions proposed by Janoff-Bulman such as "overall benevolence of the world", "meaningfulness of the world" and "self worth" make life safe and comfortable for individuals. However, by shattering these core assumptions, traumatic events cause the individual to perceive their own vulnerability and to question their positive beliefs about the world (Janoff-Bulman, Berge 1998). It can be said that self-construction is an important factor affecting the belief and value systems of individuals. Culture has a great influence on the formation of self-constructions. Because culture is a collection of behaviours and values of a society (Guvenc 1985). Cultures can be classified in two ways: individualism and collectivism. According to this theory to approach different cultures, individualism gives the person the right to control his or her own life with freedom. As for the collectivist societies, the group comes first, and the self is based on the social system rather than individual characteristics. Individuals in individual communities are independent and autonomous from the group they are in. They prioritise individual goals against group goals and they are concerned with ensuring justice. Those who are in collectivist cultures; however, are dependent on the group (family, tribe, nation and so on) they are in. They give priority to group goals in the face of individual goals, and they are concerned with relations (Triandis 2001). However, the cultural tendencies of individuals in the same society may differ (Triandis 1995); this case is especially relevant to the developed countries in a transitional period and that host various immigrant nationalities, such as Turkey (Farh et al. 2007; Imamoglu, Karakitapoglu-Aygun 2004). Indeed, Goregenli's (1995) study shows that it is not possible to classify Turkish individuals as individualist or collectivist.

People grow up in a certain cultural environment, and the cultural environment influences the construction of self and therefore influences cognition, emotion and motivation (Matsumoto 2000). In fact, traumatic experiences may cause the victims to develop different assumptions about themselves and the world according to their self-construction.

A car bomb detonated outside the Besiktas Vodafone Arena football stadium on the night of December 10, 2016, after a football match. 46 people were killed in the attack and 150 people were injured. Since the attack was carried out at the centre of the city, there was a large number of eyewitnesses, as well as people who followed the events through the media coverage. At the same time, this attack can be considered as one of the largest terrorist attacks in terms of its casualties.

The aim of this study is to compare participants' level of traumatic symptom and the assumptions of the world according to participants' trauma witness situation and to examine the relationship among tendency of individualism-collectivism, level of traumatic symptoms and the world assumptions. For this fundamental purpose, the following hypotheses were tested.

Hypothesis 1. There is a significant difference between the trauma symptom levels of participants who suffered trauma and who did not go through trauma in the past.

Hypothesis 2. Trauma symptom levels of participants who had traumatic experience are higher than the participants who had no traumatic experience.

Hypothesis 3. The traumatic symptom levels of the group whose relatives died or injured in the incident are higher than the group who learned the incident from media resources.

Hypothesis 4. There is a positive and significant relationship between participants' individualism tendencies and trauma symptom levels.

Hypothesis 5. There is a positive and significant relationship between participants' individualism tendency and randomness assumptions.

### Method of the research

**Sample.** The sample of the study was composed of 99 females and 34 males of the students from a university in İstanbul, 133 participants in total. There were 10 eye-witnesses, 12 ear-witnesses, 10 participants whose relatives died or injured in the attack, 101 participants who learned this incident from media resources. 96 of the participants had traumatic experiences before this attack, 37 of them had no traumatic experiences earlier from this incident.

**Data Collection Tools.** Demographic form, Post Traumatic Stress Symptom Scale, Individualism-Collectivism Scale and World Assumptions Scale were used in the study.

**The World Assumptions Scale.** The World Assumptions Scale (Janoff-Bulman 1989) contains 32 items that are rated on a likert scale bounded by 1 (strongly disagree) and 6 (strongly agree). The scale has eight sub-dimensions: justice, randomness, controllability, benevolence of people, world benevolence, self-worth, self-control, and luck. Yilmaz (2008) purposed to investigate the reliability and validity of the Turkish version of World Assumptions Scale. The sample of the study consisted of 219 adults in total. According to the principal component analysis, it was revealed that the scale had six factors. The internal consistency of the scale was .70, and the test-retest reliability coefficient was .58.

In order to measure the individualism collectivism tendency, the Individualism-Collectivism Scale developed by A. Ton (2008) by using Turkish Proverbs. The scale of validity reliability studies indicates that the scale consisting of two independent factors: individualism and collectivism (Ton 2008).

**Post Traumatic Stress Symptom Scale.** Post Traumatic Stress Symptom Scale is a form which is created from 36 substances by Sahin et al. (2001). In their study, they utilized from Post-trauma Stress Disorder Checklist (Weathers et al. 1994) and Impact of Events (Horowitz et al. 1979) to develop the Post Traumatic Stress Symptom Scale. The factor analysis conducted by Dinvar (2011) within the reliability validity study of this scale yielded three factors comprising avoidance, recurrent thoughts, and physiological arousal on which accounted for 53.3% of the total variance. Cronbach alpha internal consistency coefficients ranging between .89 and .91 for subscales were obtained as a result of the analysis about the reliability of the scale (Dinvar 2011).

The participants' assumptions about the world and the levels of traumatic symptom levels were compared with the ANOVA multiple comparison tests according to the groups divided by 4 witnesses situation (eye-witnesses group, ear-witnesses group, the group whose relatives injured or died and the group who learned the attack from media resources). The data of the study is needed to be confirmed by three conditions in order to apply parametric tests. Firstly, the data is required to have ratio or interval scale and to confirm normal distribution, as well as having group variance equality (Buyukozturk 2014). For this reason, the comparisons among the levels of symptoms of trauma, individualism – collectivism tendency levels and the assumptions of the world were done with t test and ANOVA analysis. Comparisons of participants' traumatic symptom levels and world assumptions according to genders of the participants were done with independent t-test. In addition, comparisons of participants' traumatic symptom levels and world assumptions according to presence or absence of trauma events prior to assault event were analyzed with independent t-test. Pearson correlation analysis was conducted to investigate the relation among individualism tendency, collectivism tendency, traumatic symptoms levels and world assumptions of the participants.

### Results of the research

Table 1 indicates the means, standart deviations, skewness and kurtosis of the sub-dimensions of Post Traumatic Stress Symptom Scale, sub-dimensions of World Assumptions Scale and sub-dimensions of Individualism-Collectivism Scale scores.

Table 1  
Descriptive statistics of variables

Variable	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
Assumption of luck	12.79	4.69	.094	-.157
Assumption of benevolence of the world	13.61	5.17	.497	-.177
Assumption of control	16.50	4.33	.207	-.456
Assumption of randomness	12.10	2.90	.657	.036
Assumption of self-worth	12.10	2.90	.657	.036
Assumption of justice	7.75	3.23	.567	.020
Individualism	93.44	11.10	-.345	.979
Collectivism	99.79	11.7	.031	-.188
Trauma symptom level	34.37	18.23	.511	.104

Source: elaborated by the authors.

There was a significant difference between the control assumption levels of females and males ( $t(131) = 2.6; p < .05$ ). The results showed that control assumption levels of males ( $\bar{x} = 18.29$ ) were higher than control assumption levels of females ( $\bar{x} = 16.11$ ) (see Table 2).

Table 2

**Independent sample t-test analysis of control assumptions level according to gender**

	Gender	N	$\bar{x}$	ss	$Sh_{\bar{x}}$	t-test		
						t	Sd	p
Control assumptions	Male	34	18.29	4.29	.736	-2.6	131	.010
	Female	99	16.11	4.19	.421			

Note:  $p < .05$ .

Source: elaborated by the authors.

There was a significant difference between the trauma symptom levels of participants who suffered trauma and who did not go through trauma in the past ( $t(131) = 2.78$ ;  $p < .05$ ). The results indicated that trauma symptom levels of participants who had traumatic experience ( $\bar{x} = 36.91$ ) were higher than participants who had no traumatic experience ( $\bar{x} = 27.21$ ) (see Table 3).

Table 3

**Independent sample t-test analysis of control assumptions level according to presence of trauma in the past**

	Source	N	$\bar{x}$	ss	$Sh_{\bar{x}}$	t-test		
						t	Sd	p
Trauma symptom level	No trauma	37	27.21	15.80	2.59	-2.78	131	.006
	Traumatic past	96	36.91	18.73	1.91			

Note:  $p < .05$ .

Source: elaborated by the authors.

There was no significant difference in the trauma symptom levels of the groups that separated by the participants' traumatic witnesses status ( $p > .05$ ).

As shown in Table 4, the ANOVA test results indicated that the way of witnessing trauma affects justice assumption scores and also it was found that there was a statistically significant difference in the scores of justice assumptions of the groups separated by the trauma witness situation of the participants. ( $F_{(3,089)} = 0.018$ ,  $p < .05$ ) (see Table 4).

Table 4

**The results of one-way ANOVA analysis on groups' assumption of justice scores according to the way of witnessing trauma**

	Source	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	p
Assumption of justice	Between groups	122.737	4	30.684	3.089	.018
	Within groups	1271.564	128	9.934	-	-
	Total	1394.301	132	-	-	-

Source: elaborated by the authors.



Tukey test was done in order to find out whether there is a statistically significant difference in group scores of justice assumption. The justice assumption scores of eye-witnesses group ( $X = 12.166$ ) were higher than the group who learned the incident from media resources ( $X = 7.541$ ), ( $p = 0.006$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The justice assumption scores of eye-witnesses group ( $X = 12.166$ ) were higher than the scores of the ear-witnesses group. ( $X = 7.5$ ), ( $p = 0.030$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

As shown Table 5, the ANOVA test results indicated that the way of witnessing trauma affects justice assumption scores and also it was found that there was a statistically significant difference in the scores of control assumptions of the groups separated by the trauma witness situation of the participants ( $F_{(2,587)} = 0.040$ ,  $p < .05$ ) (see Table 5).

Table 5

**The results of one-way ANOVA analysis on groups' assumption of control scores according to the way of witnessing trauma**

	Source	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	p
Assumption of control	Between groups	183.627	4	45.907	2.587	.040
	Within groups	2271.817	128	17.749	–	–
	Total	2455.444	132	–	–	–

Source: elaborated by the authors.

Tukey test was done in order to find out whether there is a statistically significant difference in group scores of control assumption. The control assumption scores of eye-witnesses group ( $X = 21.33$ ) were higher than the scores of the group whose relatives died or injured in the incident ( $X = 13$ ), ( $p = 0.046$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

The correlation among the tendency to individualism, the tendency of collectivism, trauma symptoms level and sub-dimensions of world assumptions scale analyzed with Pearson Correlation. There was a positive correlation between the tendency of individualism and assumption of randomness ( $r = .296$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

## Conclusions

The genetic characteristics of people, their psychological history, and their ability to cope with certain stressors are different. For this reason, PTSD statements differ (Maria 2003). The conclusion of this study supports this claim, which is “those who have traumatic experiences in the past have a higher level of trauma symptom levels than those without a traumatic experience”. The traumatic experience goes through an assimilation or dissimilation process. After the trauma, the victims blame themselves by assimilating their knowledge according to their schematics. A victim such as this might blame himself/herself by thinking: “I would not have been in the wrong place at the wrong time. It happened to me because I deserved it”, instead of modifying their schemes. In that case, how traumas are perceived is as important as the trauma itself (Sungur 1999).

According to the findings of the study, the scores of justice assumptions of the eyewitnesses to the terrorist attack were found to be higher than those who are ear witnesses. Trauma is incompatible with the idea that the disasters do not happen to valuable people in a good and safe world and even though trauma impairs one's basic assumptions, in some cases, people are able to maintain a meaningful world belief. It is argued that this is due to the desire to avoid seeing the world as a threat (Janoff-Bulmann 1992). In this direction, the eyewitnesses are thought to use cognitive distortions related to the assumption of justice more because they are more exposed to the effects of trauma than that of a witness who hears the event.

According to the findings of the study, the control assumption scores of those who witnessed the terrorist attack at Besiktas were higher than those who lost their relatives in the bombing. The theoretical explanation for trauma is an explanation related to "attributions". According to this theory, it is emphasized that the individuals make attributions to their environment and experiences to understand, predict and control the events experienced during the traumatic event and that these attributions determine their individual responses (Mikulincer, Solomon 1988). For example, a rape victim might think that: "The world is not a reliable place. People may suddenly come across horrible things. So all I have ever learnt about the world was wrong". For this reason, the individual might assume control (Sungur 1999) by thinking that "I should make efforts to prevent bad things from happening to me". In this example, even though there is the mention of a traumatic process, it is thought to be an adaptive effort for the continuation of life. However, it is thought that the helplessness of the vicissitudes of the victims of a traumatic event that results in death reduces the control assumptions.

According to the findings of the study: "As the tendency of individualism increases, the assumption of randomness increases". It is thought that people with a tendency to collectivism tend to perceive the events that happened to them not to be coincidental but rather to be more incidentally perceived in relation to their environment and relatives because they act in accordance with norms and traditions. Those who have individualist tendencies; however, are thought to have higher assumptions of randomness for the events they experience as they show more autonomous behaviour.

The DSM IV defines trauma as follows: The individual has experienced, witnessed, or was confronted with an event that involved actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others (APA 2000). In DSM V, the following scenarios are added to the definition of trauma: "[i]n addition to witnessing the traumatic event in person; learning that a traumatic event occurred to a close friend or family member, and experiencing first-hand repeated or extreme exposure to aversive details of the traumatic event" (APA 2013). Those who view the traumatic events on social media or some other press coverage are not included in the definition, though. In their assessment, Mol et al. (2005) do not distinguish any difference between the problems of those who experienced traumatic events with the current definition of trauma and the problems of those who experience events that are outside this definition (divorce, unemployment, experience of theft without encountering the thieves, expected death at the family, etc.) in terms of their level of trauma symptoms. As a result of this study, there was no significant difference in terms of trauma indications between groups separated by DSM V's definition and those who view the trau-

matic events from the social media. Therefore, S. S. Mol et al. (2005) found that there was no significant difference in terms of trauma symptom levels between those who experienced burglary with encountering the burglars and those who do not encounter the burglars. In the same vein, there was no significant difference in trauma symptom levels between those who experienced personal injury with the terrorist attack and those who view the events from the social media. This lack of difference makes it clear that the definition of trauma needs to be revised. It is thought that this research contributes to the literature in terms of its re-evaluation of the concept of trauma as a result of not significantly changing trauma symptom levels according to the conditions of experiencing a traumatic event such as terrorist attacks.

As for the limitations of the study, it can be stated that the number of people who witnessed the terrorist attack visually and audibly is less than the number of people who learned the events from the social media. However, considering that the attack resulted in 46 dead and 150 wounded in a city with a population of 20 million, it is thought that the expected difference between the rates of those who witnessed such terrorist incidents on the scene and learned the events from the social media is thought to be represented by the number of samples in the study.

In future studies, it is thought that the application of the same research pattern in a larger sample group that witnessed traumatic life events will contribute to the literature in terms of the definition of trauma.

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Aleksandrs Kolesovs

## ADAPTATION OF THE MEANING IN LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE IN LATVIAN

The aim of the present study was adapting the Meaning in Life Questionnaire (MLQ) in Latvian and testing its validity. The MLQ is a compact ten-item-long questionnaire operationally defining the construct of meaning in life as a search for meaning and the sense of its presence. The existential and positive psychology approaches emphasize the significance of these components of meaning in life for understanding effective functioning. The original MLQ was translated to Latvian and then back to English. After a comparison of texts, psychometric properties of the improved Latvian version were tested. Participants of the study were 406 people, ranged in age from 18 to 49 (66% females). University students formed the most part of the participants (88%). The Satisfaction with Life Scale and the Individual Future Orientation Scale were applied for testing the convergent validity of the MLQ. The results of the exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses supported the two-factor structure of the Latvian version of the MLQ and an acceptable fit of the model to data. Both scales also demonstrated good internal consistency. An absence of a significant relationship between the presence of meaning and search for it forms a topic for deeper qualitative and quantitative investigations. As expected, the presence of meaning in life associated positively with satisfaction with life and future orientation. The search for meaning linked positively to future orientation and not associated with life satisfaction. The presence of meaning in life and satisfaction with life demonstrated weak positive correlations with age. However, the linearity of this relationship should be tested in older adults. The search for meaning was not related to age. There were no significant gender differences in the presence or search for meaning in life. As a result of adaptation, the Latvian version of the MLQ can be applied in studies on meaning in life, views of the future, and different aspects of well-being.

**Key words:** meaning in life, Meaning in Life Questionnaire, adaptation, Latvian version.

### Адаптация «Опросника смысла жизни» на латышский язык

Целью данного исследования была адаптация «Опросника смысла жизни» (MLQ) на латышский язык и проверка его валидности. Это компактный опросник из десяти пунктов, который операционно определяет понятие смысла жизни как поиск смысла и его наличие. Экзистенциальный подход и позитивная психология подчеркивают значение этих компонентов смысла жизни для понимания эффективного функционирования индивида. Оригинал MLQ был переведен на латышский язык, а затем — обратно на английский. После сравнения текстов были проверены психометрические свойства улучшенной латышской версии. Участниками исследования стали 406 человек в возрасте от 18 до 49 лет (66% из них были женщины). Студенты университета составляли большую часть участников (88%). «Шкала удовлетворенности жизнью» и «Шкала индивидуальной ориентации на будущее» были применены для проверки конвергентной валидности MLQ. Результаты поискового и подтверждающего факторного анализа подтвердили двухфакторную структуру латвийской версии MLQ и приемлемый уровень соответствия модели полученным данным. Обе шкалы продемонстрировали также хорошую внутреннюю согласованность. Отсутствие существенной связи между наличием смысла и его поиском является темой для более глубокого качественного и количественного исследования. Как и ожидалось, наличие смысла в жизни было положительно связано с удовлетворенностью

жизнью и ориентацией на будущее. Поиск смысла был положительно связан с ориентацией на будущее и не связан с удовлетворенностью жизнью. Наличие смысла в жизни и удовлетворенность жизнью продемонстрировали слабую положительную взаимосвязь с возрастом. Тем не менее, линейность этого отношения должна быть проверена на выборке пожилых людей. Поиск смысла не был связан с возрастом. Не было также и существенных гендерных различий в наличии или поиске смысла жизни. В результате адаптации латышская версия *MLQ* может быть применена в исследованиях смысла жизни, взглядов на будущее и различных аспектов благополучия.

**Ключевые слова:** смысл жизни, «Опросник смысла жизни», адаптация, латышская версия.

## Introduction

A broad humanistic perspective (Buhler 1971) and existential and positive approaches (Frankl 1963; Ryff, Keyes 1995) emphasized meaning in life among the central concepts in understanding healthy psychological functioning. Empirical findings demonstrated that meaningful life contributes to subjective well-being, positive health outcomes, and coping with stressful life events (Hoet al. 2010; Park J., Baumeister 2017; Park C.L., George 2013; Vella-Brodrick et al. 2009). The Meaning in Life Questionnaire (MLQ, Steger et al. 2006) represented the construct of meaning in life as having two dimensions – the presence of meaning and search for it. This model described different modalities of individual pursuit for meaning and raised researchers' interest, resulted in adapting the MLQ in more than 30 languages. Applications of the MLQ revealed cross-cultural differences in the relationship between the search and the presence of meaning in life (Chan 2017; Steger et al. 2008). Increased topicality of meaning in life in empirical studies in Latvia (e.g., Dombrovskis 2017; Levina et al. 2018) and usefulness of MLQ in the assessment of this psychological construct (Steger et al. 2006; Steger et al. 2008; Steger, Kashdan 2007) resulted in setting the aim of the present study – adapting the MLQ in Latvian and testing its construct validity.

Steger et al. (2006, p. 81) defined meaning in life as “the sense made of, and significance felt regarding, the nature of one’s being and existence”. This definition integrates experienced significance of life (Crumbaugh, Maholick 1964) and generalized reflections on individual existence (e.g., Baumeister 1991). Simultaneously, the MLQ improved the measurement of meaning in life in two ways. First, the questionnaire involved the search for meaning (Frankl 1963), added to the general reflection on the presence of it. Second, items were critically assessed to avoid imposed correlations with expected consequences of the presence of or the search for meaning in life. For example, authors of the MLQ excluded items addressing life satisfaction or thoughts regarding suicide.

The developed questionnaire demonstrated high reliability of scales and stability of its factorial structure in a series of studies in the United States (Steger et al. 2006; Steger, Kashdan 2007; Steger et al. 2009). Following adaptations revealed good or acceptable fit of the MLQ in different cultural settings (e.g., Chan 2017; Damasio et al. 2016; Pezirkianidis et al. 2016; Singh et al. 2016; Steger et al. 2008). Steger et al. (2008) also demonstrated that culture moderates the relationship between the search

for meaning and its presence. The negative relationship among Americans changed to a positive relationship among Japanese (Steger et al. 2008). The application of the model also extended further theoretical perspectives for the development of the conception of meaning in life (Martela, Steger 2016).

Validation of the MLQ involved testing the connection between meaning in life and satisfaction with it constituting a consequence of meaningful life (e.g., Steger, Kashdan 2007). Studies (Chan 2017; Pezirkianidis et al. 2016; Steger, Kashdan 2007; Steger et al. 2009) confirmed a positive correlation between the presence of meaning and satisfaction with life, ranged from .46 to .61. This connection was topical for younger and older adults (Steger et al. 2009). In addition, older adults demonstrated some increase in the presence of meaning while younger adults were higher in their search for meaning in life (Park N. et al. 2010; Steger et al. 2009). The relationship between the search for meaning and satisfaction with life was negative ranging from -.26 to -.46 (Park N. et al. 2010; Steger et al. 2009).

This study suggested an additional option for testing the validity of the MLQ. The positive link between the purpose in life and its meaning (Baumeister 1991; Steger et al. 2006) let to assume that meaning in life associates with individual future orientation, defined as engagement in prospective thinking and outcome-relevant behavior (Seginer 2009). Motivational, cognitive, and behavioral components of future orientation (Seginer et al. 2004) involve particular goals and desired states, considered as kinds of life purpose (Baumeister, Wilson 1996). An empirical qualitative study (Kolesovs et al. 2018) also revealed the connection between a construal of the goal or purpose in life and its meaning. Therefore, a positive relationship between individual future orientation and presence of meaning was expected. At the same time, the behavioral component of future orientation includes exploration of goals and opportunities (Seginer et al. 2004), which can associate with a search for purpose and meaning in life. These two assumptions were tested in the study.

## Method

**Participants.** Participants of the study were 406 people ranged in age from 18 to 49 ( $M = 23.20$ ,  $SD = 5.83$ ). Sixty-six percent of them were females. The snowball convenience sample involved students from different universities and their friends. As a result, students constituted the most part of the participants (88%). About 27% of participants were graduated, and 50% percent were employed. Only 10% have been married, and 16% have had children.

**Materials.** The Meaning in Life Questionnaire (MLQ, Steger et al. 2006) was adapted in Latvian within the present study (1). The back translation procedure had aimed at maximal congruence of the Latvian version of the MLQ with its original. Two independent translators performed the translation with the following comparison of two texts in English and improvement of the translated version.

The questionnaire contains ten items organized in two subscales – Presence (five items) and Search (five items). Participants respond to each item on a seven-point Likert-type scale from 1 ('absolutely untrue') to 7 ('absolutely true'). Items 1, 4, 5, 6,

and reversed Item 9 form the Presence subscale. These items represent the degree to which participants feel the presence of meaning in their lives. An item example: “I have a good sense of what makes my life meaningful”. Items 2, 3, 7, 8, and 10 form the Search subscale, which examines the extent of searching for meaning in life. An item example “I am looking for something that makes my life feel meaningful”. Higher scores on Presence or Search subscales indicate a higher level of presence or search for meaning in life, respectively.

In a series of studies (Steger et al. 2006), fit indexes for two factors of the original MLQ indicated good or acceptable model fit: GFI, CFI, NFI, and TLI varied from 0.91 to 0.99; RMSEA values were from 0.04 to 0.09. Both scales demonstrated high reliability. Internal consistency of the Presence scale and Search scale varied from .82 to .86 and .86 to .87, respectively. One-month test-retest stability coefficients were .70 (the Presence scale) and .73 (the Search scale). Steger and Kashdan (2007) also confirmed that the search and presence of meaning in life and satisfaction with it demonstrate a similar level of stability over a one-year interval. Pearson correlation coefficients were .41 for the presence of meaning, .50 for its search, and .40 for satisfaction with life.

The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS, Diener et al. 1985) was applied for the assessment of life satisfaction. The scale consists of five items assessed on a seven-point Likert-type scale. An item example: “The conditions of my life are excellent.” A Latvian version of the scale was applied (Upmane 2010). Cronbach’s alpha coefficient was .83 for this scale.

The Individual Future Orientation Scale (IFOS, Kolesovs 2017) assessed the general future orientation, based on its motivational, cognitive, and behavioral components (Seginer et al. 2004). This scale involves multiple domains of life and provides a more generalized view of individual future orientation if compared with a very detailed single-domain approach (Seginer et al. 2004) and, simultaneously, a more detailed view if compared with a highly generalized assessment of future orientation (Zimbardo, Boyd 1999). A seven-point Likert-type scale was suggested for answers. The scale was developed and applied in Latvian.

Motivational subscale contains six questions regarding perceived control over goals, an expectancy of their fulfillment, and perceived value. Each aspect of motivation was assessed for near and distant goals. For example, the question “How important are these goals for you?” represented the perceived value of goals. Cronbach’s alpha for this subscale was .70. Test-retest reliability for the motivational subscale within a four-week interval was .73.

Cognitive subscale evaluated the content of future goals by two questions: “To what extent you associate near [next question – distant] goals with the following domains?” Nine specific domains were assessed for near and distant goals (18 items): education, occupation and career, family and marriage, children, friends, parents and relatives, leisure, property and money, and personal growth. Cronbach’s alpha for the cognitive subscale was .83. Test-retest reliability for this subscale was .85.

Behavioral subscale assesses individual commitment to goals and exploration of opportunities for their fulfillment. These aspects are evaluated by six questions regarding



definitiveness of near or distant goals, efforts in their specification, and exploration of opportunities for their fulfillment. For example, the question “Do you have defined your personal goals?” represented the commitment to goals. Cronbach’s alpha for this subscale was .81. Test-retest reliability for the behavioral subscale was .72.

The general future orientation can be calculated as a result of summing values of three scales – motivational, cognitive, and behavioral. The sum should be divided by three. The internal consistency of the summary scale was .86, and test-retest reliability within a four-week interval was .81.

**Procedure.** Participation in the study was voluntary and anonymous. After the informed consent was received, students filled in the inventory. The MLQ was administered in a paper-and-pencil format without a time limit. IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows 22.0 and ‘lavaan’ (0.5–23) for R (Rosseel 2012) were applied for computations.

## Results

The data were analyzed in three steps: the exploratory factor analysis (EFA), the confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), and convergent validity analysis. The latter included testing the relationship of both aspects of meaning in life with life satisfaction and future orientation.

An EFA was performed through principal axis extraction with varimax rotation on ten items for a subsample of 200 participants. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure was .83 that demonstrated a good level of sampling adequacy. Bartlett’s test of sphericity confirmed that data were suitable for the factor analysis,  $\chi^2(45) = 1140.73$ ,  $p < .001$ . The EFA revealed two factors explaining 62.6% of the variance. Table 1 presents factor loadings, explained variance, reliability coefficients, and descriptive statistics for both factors.

Table 1  
Exploratory factor analysis on items of the Latvian MLQ via  
principal axis factoring with varimax rotation,  $n = 200$

	Item (in Latvian)	Factor 1	Factor 2
1.	<i>Es saprotu savas dzīves nozīmi.</i>	.70	-.02
2.	<i>Es mekleju kaut ko, kas padarītu manu dzīvi jēgpilnu.</i>	-.09	.80
3.	<i>Es allaz cēnos atrast savas dzīves merķi.</i>	.08	.88
4.	<i>Man ir skaidra dzīves merķa izjūta.</i>	.84	.06
5.	<i>Man ir skaidra izjūta, kas tieši padarī manu dzīvi jēgpilnu.</i>	.79	-.01
6.	<i>Es esmu atklājis(-usi) apmierinosu dzīves merķi.</i>	.83	.06
7.	<i>Es vienmēr mekleju to, kas ļautu sajūst manas dzīves nozīmīgumu.</i>	.22	.76
8.	<i>Es mekleju dzīves merķi vai misiju.</i>	-.03	.76
9.	<i>Manai dzīvei nav skaidra merķa.</i>	-.73	.12
10.	<i>Es sava dzīve mekleju jēgu.</i>	-.40	.65

*Sequel to Table 1 see on the next page*

*Sequel to Table 1*

Characteristic	Factor 1	Factor 2
Eigenvalue	3.26	3.00
Explained Variance, %	32.6	30.0
Number of Items	5	5
Cronbach's Alpha	.88	.87
M (SD)	4.79 (1.40)	4.67 (1.44)

**Notes:** Factor loadings over .30 are shown in bold. Item 10 was included in calculation of the sum in Factor 2 only.

**Source:** elaborated by the author.

Factor 1 included items of the Presence subscale. Factor 2 demonstrated higher factorial loadings on items of the Search subscale. Item 10 demonstrated positive factor loading on Factor 2 and negative cross-loading on Factor 1. However, the correlation between both factors was not significant,  $r(198) = -.08$ ,  $p = .267$ . Therefore, Item 10 was included in sums of Factor 2 only, as considered by the original MLQ (Steger et al. 2006).

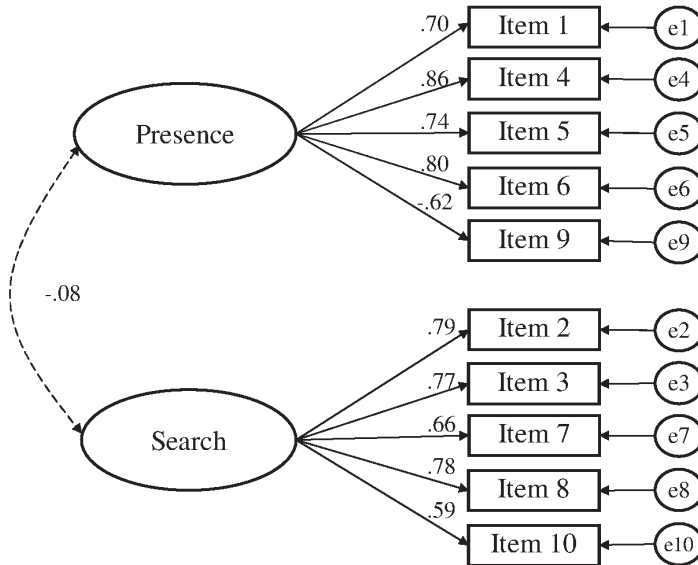
The CFA tested the two-factor model of the original MLQ with Satorra-Bentler correction (Satorra, Bentler 1994) in a subsample of 206 participants. Scaling correction value was 1.30. The analysis revealed acceptable fit of the model to data:  $\chi^2(34) = 90.67$ ,  $p < .001$ , AGFI = 0.98, CFI = 0.92, TLI = 0.89, RMSEA = 0.09 (90% CI from 0.07 to 0.11,  $p = .001$ ), SRMR = 0.10. In accordance with L. Hu and P.M. Bentler (1999), general and comparative fit indexes were close to or higher than 0.90, while baseline close-fit indexes were not higher than 0.10. Figure 1 presents the results of the CFA for a two-factor model.

The one-factor model (ten items as generalized meaning) demonstrated a low level of fit to data:  $\chi^2(35) = 451.08$ ,  $p < .001$ , AGFI = 0.87, CFI = 0.41, TLI = 0.24, RMSEA = 0.24 (90% CI from 0.22 to 0.26,  $p < .001$ ), SRMR = 0.24. A comparison of non-corrected parameters of two nested models confirmed that the two-factor model is significantly better,  $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 446.30$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\Delta\text{CFI} = 0.49$ .

The model was construct-level metric invariant (Cheung, Rensvold 2002) in comparison with the configural model for gender,  $\Delta\chi^2(8) = 8.52$ ,  $p = .384$ . Therefore, factorial loadings were similar in females and males. The comparisons also revealed no significant gender differences in the presence of meaning,  $t(404) = 1.41$ ,  $p = .159$ , search of it,  $t(404) = 0.96$ ,  $p = .336$ , life satisfaction,  $t(304) = 1.22$ ,  $p = .223$ , and future orientation,  $t(318) = 1.02$ ,  $p = .310$ .

Convergent validity was tested in the whole sample of participants. The following correlation analysis assessed the relationships between the variables (Table 2).

Figure 1  
Confirmatory factor analysis on the Latvian MLQ, n = 206



Note: dashed line indicates non-significant covariance.

Source: elaborated by the author.

Table 2  
Pearson correlations between the Latvian MLQ, satisfaction with life, future orientation, and age, n = 406

Variable	MLQ-P	MLQ-S	SWL	FO	Age
1. Presence of meaning in life (MLQ-P)	-				
2. Search for meaning in life (MLQ-S)	-.10	-			
3. Satisfaction with life <sup>a</sup> (SWL)	.47***	-.10	-		
4. Future orientation <sup>b</sup> (FO)	.50***	.17**	.37***	-	
5. Age	.21***	.07	.16**	.13*	-

Note: <sup>a</sup>n = 306. <sup>b</sup>n = 320.

Source: elaborated by the author.

As expected, the presence of meaning correlated positively with life satisfaction. There was no significant correlation between the search for meaning and life satisfaction. At the same time, meaning in life and satisfaction with it demonstrated a weak positive correlation with age while the search for meaning was not related to age. Future orientation correlated positively with the presence of meaning and (at a lower degree) with the search for it. Future orientation also correlated positively with life satisfaction and age.

## Discussion

The results of EFA and CFA confirmed the factorial structure of the MLQ (Steger et al. 2006). In the Latvian sample, two factors presented the search for meaning in life and its presence. The non-modified model demonstrated acceptable fit to data. In addition, the internal consistency of the Latvian version of the MLQ was high. Cronbach's alpha coefficients of .87 and .88 were in accordance with those of the original questionnaire (Steger et al. 2006).

An absence of significant correlation between two factors demonstrated their relative independence. Therefore, the results reveal the middle way to conceptualizing this relationship. It contrasts with the negative relationship in the American sample and the positive one in the Japanese sample (Steger et al. 2008) and confirms the mediation of the relationship by cultural settings.

The positive relationship of the presence of meaning in life with life satisfaction concurs with previous studies (Chan 2017; Pezirkianidis et al. 2016; Steger, Kashdan 2007; Steger et al. 2009) and confirms theoretical views on their association (e.g., Steger, Kashdan 2007). An absence of the relationship between the search for meaning and life satisfaction indicates that existential exploratory activities have no substantial effect on life satisfaction in this specific group and context.

Expected positive relationship between future orientation and the presence of meaning in life confirmed that the generalized indicator of individual motivation, views of goals in different domains, and the involvement in goal pursuit (Kolesovs 2017) can associate with the purpose in life (Baumeister, Wilson 1996) contributing to its meaningfulness (Baumeister 1991; Steger et al. 2006). Therefore, meaning in life is positively associated with domains of personal goals. The aim of a further study is establishing a connection between this level of goals and a higher level of purpose in life, reflected the main personal goals, in their association with meaning in life.

The results also confirmed a positive connection between future orientation and the search for meaning. It concurs with the view of future orientation as involving exploration of goals and opportunities for their achievement (Seginer et al. 2004). However, the closeness of this connection is quite low. Therefore, the connection between the search for the purpose and the search for meaning in life should be explored in greater detail.

Focused on adapting the MLQ in Latvian, this study has visible limitations. The most part of the participants was university students. Therefore, a generalization of the results is more valid for the part of the population, accepted this developmental challenge. The sample also underrepresented older and married adults. Correlation between the presence of meaning and age was in accordance with the previous studies (Park N. et al. 2010; Steger et al. 2009). At the same time, an additional study is needed for the assessment of linearity of this relationship in older adults in Latvia.

Broader testing of convergent validity of the MLQ was limited by a set of selected questionnaires. At the same time, further validation procedures should take into account critical suggestions regarding the content of measures assessing meaning in

life (e.g., Steger et al. 2006). Establishing stability of the Latvian MLQ asks for an additional study involving a test-retest procedure.

Positive relationships among future orientation, meaning in life, and satisfaction with it open another topic for further studies. A mediational role of meaning in life should be tested for the relationship between personal goals, associated with purposeful life, and positive outcomes of the meaningful life involving satisfaction with it. Life-span dynamics of the variables and their relationships form a topic for a longitudinal study.

## Conclusions

The results of adaptation of the MLQ in Latvian concur with a set of studies, adapting the questionnaire worldwide. It can be concluded that:

- the Latvian version of the MLQ demonstrates the structure, reliability, and convergent validity close to the original;
- the presence of meaning in life and search of it constitute two aspects of meaning, which can be investigated in their relationships with individual views of the future, the sense of purposeful life, and different aspects of healthy functioning and well-being;
- the relationship between life satisfaction and the presence of meaning was positive;
- the study also confirmed a positive relationship between future orientation and the presence of meaning. The association of future orientation with the search for meaning was relatively weak;
- dynamics of meaning in life is a question for further studies.

Note:

(1) Translations of the Meaning in Life Questionnaire

English (Steger et al. 2006)	Latvian	English (back translated)
1	2	3
1. I understand my life's meaning. [P]	1. <i>Es saprotu savas dzīves nozīmi.</i>	1. I understand the meaning of my life.
2. I am looking for something that makes my life feel meaningful. [S]	2. <i>Es mekleju kaut ko, kas padarītu manu dzīvi jēgpilnu.</i>	2. I am looking for something that makes my life meaningful.
3. I am always looking to find my life's purpose. [S]	3. <i>Es allaz cenšos atrast savas dzīves merķi.</i>	3. I am always looking to find my life's purpose.
4. My life has a clear sense of purpose. [P]	4. <i>Man ir skaidra dzīves merķa izjūta.</i>	4. I have a clear sense of life's purpose.
5. I have a good sense of what makes my life meaningful. [P]	5. <i>Man ir skaidra izjūta, kas tieši padara manu dzīvi jēgpilnu.</i>	5. I have a clear sense of what makes my life meaningful.
6. I have discovered a satisfying life purpose. [P]	6. <i>Es esmu atklājis(-usi) apmierinošu dzīves merķi.</i>	6. I have revealed a satisfying purpose of life.

Sequel to Table see on the next page

Sequel to Table 1

1	2	3
7. I am always searching for something that makes my life feel significant. [S]	7. <i>Es vienmer mekleju to, kas lautu sajust manas dzives nozīmīgumu.</i>	7. I am always looking for something that would make me feel significance of my life.
8. I am seeking a purpose or mission for my life. [S]	8. <i>Es mekleju dzives merki vai misiju.</i>	8. I am looking for a purpose or mission for my life.
9. My life has no clear purpose. [P, reversed]	9. <i>Manai dzīvei nav skaidra merka.</i>	9. My life has no clear purpose.
10. I am searching for meaning in my life. [S]	10. <i>Es sava dzīve mekleju jegu.</i>	10. I am searching for meaning in my life.

Notes: P – Presence of meaning in life. S – Search for meaning in life.

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## NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

“Social Sciences Bulletin” publishes original research papers on the problems of social sciences (sociology, political sciences, economics, social psychology, law), as well as review articles, information on conferences and scientific life. The Editorial Board accepts articles in English, Latvian, and Russian. The scope of problems of articles is not limited.

The articles submitted to the Editorial Board are reviewed by two reviewers and the editor. The Editorial Board observes mutual anonymity of the authors and the reviewers. The authors have a right to get acquainted with the reviews and the critical remarks (comments) and, if it is necessary, they may make some changes, coming to an agreement about the terms with the editor. The Editorial Board has a right to make necessary stylistic corrections, change the layout of the scientific paper to come to the uniformity of the layout. The corrections made by the Editorial Board will be agreed with the author.

The articles are evaluated according to the adopted scientific criteria: correspondence of the research to the present-day theoretical level in the domain of the chosen problem; sufficient empirical basis; originality of empirical material; originality of hypotheses, conclusions, and recommendations; topicality of the subject investigated. The logics and clearness of the exposition is evaluated as well. Preference is given to fundamental studies.

The Editorial Board does not pay royalties; manuscripts and CDs are not given back.

### Layout of Manuscripts

Articles, which do not have an appropriate layout, will not be accepted.

**Volume of article:** 30,000 – 60,000 characters with spaces.

Manuscript should be submitted by e-mail. Text should be composed using *Times New Roman* font Word format .doc or .docx; font size – 12, line spacing – 1. Text should be aligned 3.5 cm – from the left side, 2.5 – from the right side, 2.5 cm – from the top and the bottom. If special computer programmes are used, then they should be submitted together with the article.

**Summary:** 2,000–2,500 characters. Articles in Latvian should contain a summary in English and Russian; articles in English should be provided with a summary in Latvian and Russian; articles in Russian should contain a summary in Latvian and English.

**Language of article:** scientific, terminologically precise. If author prepares an article in a foreign language, then he/she should take trouble about the linguistic correction of the written text consulting a specialist of the corresponding branch of social sciences – native speaker. *Articles, which have a wrong spelling, will not be accepted and reviewed.*

**Layout of article.** References should be placed in a text according to the example: (Turner 1990); (Mills, Bela 1997). Explanations and comments should be given in the endnotes. Tables, charts, schemes, diagrams, etc. should have indication of the source of the material and, if necessary, then the method of making the table, the chart, the scheme (calculations, data gathering, etc.) should be marked. These materials should have ordinal numbers and titles.

References should be compiled according to the given samples:

**Monographs** (books, brochures):

Mills Ch.R. (1998) *Sotsiologicheskoe voobrazhenie*. Moskva: Strategia. (In Russian)  
Turner J.H. (1974) *The Structure of Sociological Theory*. Homewood (Illinois): The Dorsey Press.

**Articles in collections:**

Turner R.H. (1990) A Comparative Content Analysis of Biographies. Øyen, E. (ed.) *Comparative Methodology: Theory and Practice in International Social Research*. London, etc.: Sage Publications, pp. 134–150.

**Articles in magazines:**

Bela B. (1997) Identitātes daudzbalstība Zviedrijas latviešu dzīvesstāstos. *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vestis*, A, 51, Nr. 5/6, 112.–129. lpp. (In Latvian)

Shmitt K. (1992) Poniātie političeskogo. *Voprosy sotsiologii*, № 1, str. 37–67. (In Russian)

**Articles in newspapers:**

Strazdins I. (1999) Matemātikai pasaule un Latvija. *Zinātnes Vestnesis*, 8. marts. (In Latvian)

**Materials from the Internet:**

Soms H. *Vestures informatika: Saturs, struktūra un datu bāze Latgales dati*. Available: <http://www.dpu.lv/LD/LDpublik.html> (accessed 20.10.2002). (In Latvian)

References should be compiled in the Roman alphabet's order according to the authors' names or titles (if the institution is the author).

## ВНИМАНИЮ АВТОРОВ

В журнале «Вестник социальных наук» публикуются оригинальные научные статьи по проблемам социальных наук (социологии, политических наук, экономики, социальной психологии, юриспруденции), а также рецензии на научные исследования, обзоры конференций, информация о научной жизни. Редакция принимает статьи на английском, латышском и русском языке. Проблематика статей не ограничивается.

Статьи, представленные в редакцию журнала, рецензируются. Отзыв о каждой статье дают два рецензента, а также редактор журнала. Редакция соблюдает принцип анонимности авторов и рецензентов. Авторы статей имеют право ознакомиться с рецензиями и критическими замечаниями и, в случае необходимости, внести исправления и изменения в свои исследования, причем срок внесения корректировок должен согласовываться с редактором. Редакция сохраняет за собой право внести в статью необходимые стилистические исправления, а также изменения в оформление научного аппарата с целью достижения его единообразия. Исправления, произведенные редакцией, согласуются с автором.

Статьи оцениваются в соответствии с критериями научности: соответствие современному теоретическому уровню в изучении выбранной проблемы; достаточная эмпирическая база; оригинальность эмпирического материала; новизна и оригинальность гипотез, положений, рекомендаций; актуальность темы исследования. Оценивается также сама логика и ясность изложения. При отборе статей для публикации преимущество дается исследованиям фундаментального характера.

Редакция гонорары не выплачивает, поданные статьи и CD не возвращает.

### Оформление статьи

Статьи, оформление которых не будет соответствовать данным требованиям, к публикации не принимаются.

**Объем статьи:** 0,75 – 1,5 авторских листа (30000 – 60000 знаков, включая пробелы).

Рукопись статьи должна быть представлена по электронной почте. Текст набирается шрифтом *Times New Roman MS* Word файл .doc или .docx; размер букв – 12, межстрочный интервал – 1. Поля слева – 3,5 см, справа – 2,5 см, сверху и снизу – 2,5 см. Если в наборе статьи использовались специальные компьютерные программы, то они должны быть представлены в редакцию.

**Резюме:** 2000–2500 знаков. Статьи на латышском языке сопровождаются резюме на английском и русском языке; статьи на английском языке – резюме на латышском и русском языке; статьи на русском языке – резюме на латышском и английском языке.

**Язык статьи:** научный, терминологически точный. Если автор готовит статью на иностранном (неродном) языке, то он должен сам позаботиться о лингвистическом редактировании статьи; желательна консультация носителя языка, являющегося специалистом соответствующей отрасли социальных наук. *Статьи, язык которых не соответствует правилам правописания, не будут рассматриваться и рецензироваться.*

**Научный аппарат статьи.** Ссылки даются в тексте по следующему образцу: (Turner 1990); (Mills, Bala 1997). Примечания и пояснения располагаются после основного текста. В оформлении таблиц, графиков, схем, диаграмм должны указываться ссылки на источник материала, при необходимости также должна указываться методика разработки (расчета данных, выведения сводных показателей и т.д.) таблиц, графиков, схем. Все подобные материалы должны иметь заголовки и порядковые номера.

**Библиография** должна быть составлена и оформлена точно, в соответствии с предлагаемыми ниже образцами:

**Монографии** (книги и брошюры):

Mills Ch.R. (1998) *Sociologicheskoe voobrazhenie*. Moskva: Strategija. (In Russian)  
Turner J.H. (1974) *The Structure of Sociological Theory*. Homewood (Illinois): The Dorsey Press.

**Статьи в сборниках:**

Turner R.H. (1990) A Comparative Content Analysis of Biographies. Øyen, E. (ed.) *Comparative Methodology: Theory and Practice in International Social Research*. London, etc.: Sage Publications, pp. 134–150.

**Статьи в журналах:**

Bela B. (1997) Identitates daudzbalisiba Zviedrijas latviesu dzivesstastos. *Latvijas Zinatnu Akademijas Vestis*, A, 51, Nr. 5/6, 112.–129. lpp. (In Latvian)  
Shmitt K. (1992) Poniatie politicheskogo. *Voprosy sotsiologii*, № 1, str. 37–67. (In Russian)

**Статьи в газетах:**

Strazdins I. (1999) Matematiki pasaule un Latvija. *Zinatnes Vestnesis*, 8. marts. (In Latvian)

**Материалы в Интернете:**

Soms H. *Vestures informatika: Saturs, struktura un datu baze Latgales dati*. Dostupno: <http://www.dpu.lv/LD/LDpublik.html> (sm. 20.10.2002). (In Latvian)

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**Sociālo Zinātņu Vēstnesis**  
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