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TIESĪBZINĀTNE

Nikita Nikiforov

LATVIAN, LITHUANIAN AND ESTONIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FORMATION UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE BOLOGNA PRINCIPLES AND DECISIONS

In 2016, it celebrated 17 years of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia participation in the Bologna movement – the most ambitious and the most socially significant European educational projects of the late XX - early XXI centuries. In the last decade the Bologna process, its documents and decisions are the most debated issue in the field of higher education of the European countries and even abroad. However, despite the fact that the main objectives of the Bologna Declaration so far are achieved, the optimization problem of European higher education in the conceptual and the practical point plan remains relevant. All the more important is the political dimension of the Bologna process, the problems associated with the quality of higher education in different countries, management of educational processes with the participation of state and non-state actors, trends associated with the development of international cooperation in the field of education, the growing role of leading European universities as a special internationalization educational centers of training and research activities, dissemination of ideas of academic autonomy and academic freedom. A comparative analysis of the achievements of the Bologna movement in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia 10 main areas of the Bologna process, including the recognition of comparable degree system, the introduction of the credit system, promoting academic mobility, quality assurance of higher education and others.

Key words: Bologna process, the internalization of national education systems.

Latvijas, Lietuvas un Igaunijas izglītības sistēmu attīstība saskaņā ar Boloņas lēmumiem un principiem

2016. gadā tiek svinēta 17 gadi Boloņas kustībai Latvijā, Lietuvā un Igaunijā – vērienīgākais un sociāli nozīmīgākais Eiropas izglītības projekts XX un XXI gadsimta mijā. Pēdējo desmit gadu laikā Boloņas process, tā dokumenti un lēmumi ir bijis visvairāk apspriestais jautājums augstākās izglītības jomā Eiropas valstīs un pat ārpus tām. Tomēr, neskatoties uz to, ka galvenie Boloņas deklarācijas mērķi ir sasniegti, optimizācijas problēma Eiropas augstākās izglītības konceptuālo un praktisko punktu plānā paliek aktuālā nekā līdz šīm. Vēl arvien svarīgaka paliek Boloņas procesa politiskā dimensija un tā saistīta ar augstākās izglītības kvalitātes jautājumiem dažādās valstīs, izglītības vadības procesu, kas ietver valsts un nevalstiskos dalībniekus, tendences, kas saistītas ar attīstību un starptautisku sadarbību izglītības jomā, Eiropas vadošo universitāšu, kā īpašas internacionalizācijass centru pieaugošo lomu mācību un pētniecības darbībā, ideju,

akadēmiskās autonomijas un akadēmiskās brīvības izplatīšanu. Salīdzinošā analīze Boloņas kustības sasniegumiem Latvijā, Lietuvā un Igaunijā veikta atbilstoši 10 galvenajām Boloņas procesa jomām, tostarp atzīstot salīdzināmo akadēmisko grādu sistēmas, t kredītu sistēmu ieviešanu, akadēmiskās mobilitātes veicināšanu, kvalitātes nodrošināšanu augstākajā izglītībā u.c.

Atslēgas vārdi: Boloņas process, internacionalizācija valstu izglītības sistēmās.

Формирование образовательных систем Латвии, Литвы и Эстонии под влиянием Болонских принципов и решений

В 2016 году исполнилось 17 лет пребывания Латвии. Литвы и Эстонии в Болонском движении - самом масштабном и наиболее социально-значимом европейском образовательном проекте конца XX – начала XXI веков. В последнее десятилетие Болонский процесс, его документы и решения являются наиболее обсуждаемым вопросом в сфере высшего образования стран Европы и даже за ее пределами. Однако, несмотря на то, что основные цели Болонской декларации 1999 года к настоящему времени достигнуты, проблема оптимизации европейского высшего образования в концептуальном и в практическом плане сохраняет свою актуальность. Все более важным становится политическое измерение Болонского процесса, связанное с проблемами качества высшего образования в различных странах, управления образовательными процессами с участием государственных и негосударственных акторов, тенденциями, связанными с развитием международного сотрудничества в области образования, возрастания роли ведущих европейских университетов как особых интернационализирующихся центров учебной и научной деятельности, распространения идеи академической автономии и академических свобод. Произведен сравнительный анализ достижений Болонского движения в Латвии, Литве и Эстонии по 10 основным направлениям Болонского процесса, включая признание системы сопоставимых степеней, внедрение системы кредитов, содействие академической мобильности, обеспечение качества высшего образования и другие.

Ключевые слова: Болонский процесс, интернализация национальных систем образования.

Introduction

The analysis of the Bologna Process achievements (Nikiforovs 2010) is first and foremost the evaluation of implementation of its 10 main directions ("The Bologna process 10 Action Lines").

Six of them were outlined in the Bologna Declaration on the European Space for Higher Education of 19 June, 1999:

- 1. Adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees;
- 2. Adoption of a system essentially based on two (At present 45 countries participate in the Bologna Process. It is expected that by 2010 the number of universities included will reach 4000 with more than 12 million of students) cycles;
- 3. Establishment of a system of credits (such as in the ECTS system);
- 4. Promotion of mobility of students, researchers, instructors and staff;
- 5. Promotion of European co-operation in quality assurance;
- 6. Promotion of the European dimension in higher education.

The Bologna Declaration was followed up by the Prague Communique "Towards the European Higher Education Area" signed by 32 European Ministers in charge of

higher education (European Ministers 2001). They reaffirmed the principles of the Bologna Declaration and continued the list, specifying the importance of "lifelong learning" (7) and affirming that "students should participate in and influence the organization and content of education at universities and other higher education institutions" (8).

In the Berlin Communique "Realizing the European Higher Education Area" Ministers responsible for Higher Education from 33 European countries reviewed the progress of the Bologna Process and set priorities and news objectives for the coming years. They formulated the next two directions (European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education 2003):

- promotion of the attractiveness of the European Higher Education Area (9);
- doctoral studies and the synergy between the European Higher Education Area and the European Research Area.

On 19–20 May, 2005 Ministers responsible for higher education in the participating countries of the Bologna Process At present 45 countries participate in the Bologna Process. It is expected that by 2010 the number of universities included will reach 4000 with more than 12 million of students) met for a mid-term review and set goals and priorities towards 2010 (Bologna Process 2005). "We expect stocktaking to be based on the appropriate methodology and to continue in the fields of the degree system, quality assurance and recognition of degrees and study periods, and by 2007 we will have largely completed the implementation of these three intermediate priorities.

In particular, we shall look for progress in:

- implementation of the standards and guidelines for quality assurance as proposed in the ENQA report;
- implementation of the national frameworks for qualifications;
- the awarding and recognition of joint degrees, including at the doctoral level;
- creating opportunities for flexible learning paths in higher education, including procedures for the recognition of prior learning" (European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education 2005).

The following objectives are set for the beginning of 2010:

- establishment of the European Higher Education Area based on the principles of quality and transparency;
- achievement of balance between national and pan-European (Bologna) together with avoiding excessive diversity by 2010;
- ensuring the necessary autonomy of the higher education institutions;
- ensuring the sustainable funding of the higher education;
- completing the adoption of the three-cycle structure of higher education;
- ensuring extensive application of the overarching framework of qualifications.

"As we move closer to 2010, we undertake to ensure that higher education institutions enjoy the necessary autonomy to implement the agreed reforms..." (European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education 2005).

Since higher education institutions autonomy is considered as the necessary and crucial factor of the Bologna reforms let us see it as the 10th direction of the Bologna Process.

On the basis of the foregoing it seems relevant and reasonable to evaluate the results of implementing the Bologna's ambitions by Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia judging by the 10 main Action Lines of the Bologna Process.

The results of implementing the main directions of the Bologna Process by Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia

The objectives formulated in the Bologna Declaration are to be reached *within* the first decade of the third millennium (emphasis added). Therefore, it seems relevant and reasonable to sum up at least the preliminary results of the work done since 1999. Let us consider the results in relation to the Baltic States with regard to the topic of the given research work and since among the 31 signatures of the representatives of the European states there are signatures of the Ministers in charge of the higher education of the Baltic States:

- Tatiana Koke, State Minister of Higher Education and Science (Latvia)
- Kornelijus Platelis, Minister of Education and Science (Lithuania)
- Tonis Lukas, Minister of Education (Estonia).

1. Adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees. Implementation of the Diploma Supplement

The procedures of national recognition of degrees, periods of study and credit points in accordance with the Lisbon Convention and recommendations on the Provision of Transnational Education of Council of Europe/UNESCO were worked out after signing by Latvia the Lisbon Convention in 1997 and its subsequent ratification in 1999.

In the process of working out the procedures of national recognition, the amendments were made in the law on higher education institutions (Articles 84 and 85) and in the law on education (Article 11).

As far as the practice of issuing Diploma Supplements is concerned, Latvia was issuing them even before the Berlin conference of 2003.

Lithuania joined the Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education in the European Region developed by the Council of Europe and UNESCO (hereinafter the Lisbon Convention). The Lisbon Convention was signed on 11 April 1997 and ratified on 15 October 1998. The Ratification Document was ready on 17 December, 1998 and entered into force on 1 February, 1999.

The provisions on the approval of regulations of assessment and academic recognition of foreign qualifications giving access to higher education and higher education qualifications affirmed by the Resolution No 60 of 21 January, 2005 by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania (hereinafter the Regulations of assessment and recognition) assign institutions for carrying out assessment of foreign qualifications

giving access to higher education and higher education qualifications, to assess a foreign qualification as being equivalent to a corresponding qualification conferred in the Republic of Lithuania on condition that the holder of the qualification shall take a qualification examination and (or) complete supplementary courses, specifying the appeal procedures. The procedures of recognition of foreign higher education qualifications and of providing the information on recognition have been worked out by the members of the Lithuanian ENIC/NARIC and by the Ministry of the Education and Science. The assessment of foreign qualifications in relation to the higher education is regulated by the Rules of assessment of foreign qualifications giving access to higher education adopted by the order No 1–24 of the Director of the Lithuanian Center for Quality Assessment in Higher Education (hereinafter the Center). These rules determine the procedures and stages of qualifications assessment, identify substantial differences and dictate the specific requirements for achieving qualifications in other foreign countries (for instance for countries where most candidates are from).

The Diploma Supplement was adopted legally on the national level in 2004. Since 2006 it has been issued free of charge in English and Lithuanian to all graduates and corresponds to the EU/CoE/UNESCO Diploma Supplement format.

The Estonian ENIC/NARIC (Academic Recognition Information Center) was established as a structural unit of the Archimedes Foundation in 1997 aimed at assessing foreign access and higher education qualifications. The Center assesses the quality of foreign qualifications comparing them with qualifications obtained in Estonia and assists higher education institutions and employers in making decisions on recognition of foreign diplomas. A guide under the title "Principles of Assessment and Recognition of Qualifications of Foreign Higher Education and Comparison with Estonian Qualifications" has been published. In 1999 some universities commenced issuing the Diploma Supplement in the format elaborated by the European Commission and European Council. Since 2002 the Diploma Supplements have been issued in Estonian free of charge by all higher education institutions to all graduates. In case of further graduate's education abroad the Diploma Supplement is issued in English.

The question of mutual recognition of degrees, periods of study and credit points in the Baltic States was solved in 2000 when the Agreement of the Government of the Republic of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia "On the Recognition of Education in the Higher Education Area of the Baltic States" was signed and ratified. This Agreement was ratified on 12 December 2000 and came into effect on 12 January 2001.

2. Adoption of the three-cycle structure of education levels: Bachelor's study, Master's study and Doctoral study

In the Baltic States the adoption of the Bologna system of the three-cycle structure represented the transition from the Soviet system: "specialist – candidate of science – doctor of science" to the system "bachelor – master – doctor". Altogether, this transition was accomplished rather fast and smoothly. The implementation of the two-cycle structure in academic higher education started in Latvia in 1990. As of 2001, two-cycle system has been fully implemented also in the professional higher education

sector, thus introducing bachelor and master degrees in the whole system – with the exception; like in many countries, of medicine, dentistry and pharmacy.

At the same time the two-cycle education structure was adopted in Lithuania and Estonia.

In 1997 the structure of levels of the Lithuanian education system are implemented in accordance with ISCED classification system designed by UNESCO. Since September 2001 a new law regulating the implementation of binary system of higher education has been enacted.

As many other post-Soviet republics **Estonia** had the Soviet system till 1991: diploma of specialist (5 years) – candidate of science (3 years) – doctor of science (+...). In the period from 1991 till 1994: university diploma (5) – master (2) – doctor (4). From 1995 till 2001: bachelor (3) – master (2) – doctor (4). Since 2002 till present: bachelor (3) – master (2) – doctor (3–4).

According to the Universities Act adopted by the the Parliament of Estonia (Riigikogu) on 12 January 1995 "article 24. Academic levels. (2) At a university, higher education is acquired at three levels – Bachelor's study, Master's study and Doctoral study".

At the Berlin Conference of 2003 the Ministers considered it necessary to include the third doctoral level in the Bologna system of higher education. By this time, the Baltic States have already had all the necessary preconditions for implementing the given decision: the 5–6-year period of specialists training was modified into two-cycle system "bachelor – master", and the former system of postgraduate studies into doctoral studies. Thus, the establishment of doctoral studies as the third level of higher education has been accomplished in a relatively short period of time.

The three-level system of degrees was introduced into the Latvian system of higher education in 2000.

The three-cycle system has been legally enforced in Lithuania in 2000, though in fact it has been operating since 1993.

At the present time the system of doctoral studies in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia is fully established and is performing successfully. Thus, more than 90 doctoral programmes were licensed in the Republic of Latvia in 2008.

3. Introduction of the credit point system ECTS (European credit Transfer System)

The credit point system is fully operating in Latvia since 1998. The system is readily compatible with ECTS but uses 40 (not 60) credits per year. Complete switch to ECTS is foreseen in the draft of the new law on Higher Education. The Law was adopted in first reading by the Parliament of the Republic of Latvia and is highly probable to be enacted in 2009.

Lithuania also uses 40-credit point system per year. Though in the Diploma Supplement the ECTS points together with national credit points are mentioned. Following the Lithuanian Universities Rectors' Conference proposal the Ministry of Education and Science is preparing to make amendments in the Law on Higher Education regar-

ding the switch to the European credit system (ECTS) (http://ec.europa.eu/education/ects/ects en.htm).

The Estonian national credit points system is very similar to the Latvian and Lithuanian ones. Nowadays it is successfully performing and the switch to ECTS is planned in the nearest future.

4. Promotion of mobility of students, researchers, instructors and staff

The possibilities for mobility of students, researchers, instructors and staff of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian higher education institutions were very promising from the outset. The main obstacle for external mobility of students for several years was lack of funding. But due to funding via EU foundations in the last two years the situation has dramatically improved. Thus in Latvia for instance the cumulative state and EU funding has risen from 200 000 Euro in 2005 to 500 000 in 2006.

Promotion of mobility of students, researchers, instructors and staff of higher education institutions is a strand of politics of the Lithuanian government. The organized mobility is performed mainly via Leonardo da Vinci and Socrate programme and also via foundations specially appointed by the Ministry of Education and Science. The volume of student mobility reached 1200 people in 2007.

The following activities of higher education institutions supported by the Ministries of Education stimulate the student mobility of the Baltic States and to the Baltic states:

- increasing quantity of courses taught in English;
- development of interdisciplinary courses taught in English for the coming foreign students;
- improvement of living conditions of foreign students;
- active participation in international student exhibitions in Europe and worldwide;
- amendments to the law regarding the language of tuition, permitting the use of foreign language in the programmes where foreign students are enrolled.

In the Baltic States the academic mobility was initiated in connection with the supportive EU programme "Tempus Share" and later as a result of implementation of European Union cooperation programme "Erasmus".

5. Promotion of European co-operation in quality assurance

Quality assurance system of higher education was created in Latvia in mid-1990s. The first accreditation in Latvia happened in 1996. By the end of 2002 all programmes of studies and visas have completed the process of accreditation. According to the adopted regulations the accreditation is valid for 6 years (conditional accreditation – for two years). During this period the accredited programmes and higher education institutions should submit yearly self-assessment reports. The repeated accreditation can be carried out on the basis of institutions' self-assessment by one expert (not three as the first accreditation) who needs to validate the information presented in self-assessment reports.

New procedures for Accreditation aimed at improving their efficiency were ratified (Cabinet of Ministers of Latvian Republic 2006). These procedures deal with external system of quality control and also affect some other aspects, such as promotion of inter cycle access, formation of curriculum based on results, implementation of inner quality control system of higher education institutions.

The Lithuanian national system of quality assurance of higher education has been established in 1995. Nowadays it complies with standards and governing principles of quality assurance in the European Higher Education Area. The article 1 of the Lithuanian Higher Education System Development Plan for 2006–2010 provides for renewal of curriculum and quality assessment of higher education.

The recognition of the issued diplomas in Estonia depends on the accreditation of a study programme and of an institution itself. The full accreditation of a program is in force for 7 years, the conditional accreditation – for 3 years. In the period of 1997–2002 the first round of accreditation was carried out. Altogether 500 curricula were accredited.

Nowadays the Baltic States perform the internal quality assurance system in form of annual self-assessment reports from the institutions that are compulsory to all state and non-state higher education institutions, and external quality assessment perfomed by independent centers of quality control.

6. Promotion of the European dimension in higher education

The Latvian Government contributed to the implementation of the following crucial Bologna priorities into the national system of higher education:

- 1. establishment of two-cycle structure (in 1990);
- 2. creation of quality assurance system with international representatives' participation and accreditation of programmes and institutions (since 1996);
- 3. full establishment of the credit points transfer and accumulation system (since mid-1990s);
- 4. implementation of the Diploma Supplement issued to all graduates in Latvian and English (since 1 January 2004);
- 5. development of national programme for doctoral studies and post doctoral research support (mostly in natural sciences and engineering); development of national programme on implementation of lifelong learning.

The draft Law on Higher Education that has to replace the current law on higher education institutions in 2009 was approved by the Government for further approval of the Parliament. The draft Law covers numerous topical issues related to the Bologna Process, such as the structure of qualifications, qualifications based on results, flexible methods of education, recognition of prior learning, promotion of joint degrees and many others.

The Latvian higher education institutions more actively take part in European events in order to promote the European dimension in higher education: by means of European University Association activities as experts in projects happening in new countries joining the Bologna Process or outside it; as European speakers at conferences outside Europe. Latvia is a host country for conferences/seminars on European higher

education with the participation of non-EU countries. When organizing international conferences the Latvian higher education institutions usually invite representatives from the neighbouring non-EU countries, mainly Belarus and Russia (National Report of the implementation of the Bologna process in Latvia, 2006). The good example is the Bologna seminar "New Challenges in Recognition" held in Riga on 25–27 January 2007, organized by the Ministry of Education and Science of Latvia together with the Council of Europe and "Socrates" programme.

The implementation of the Bologna Process in Lithuania since 2004 has been supervised by the national Bologna Follow-Up Group, which consists of the members of the Ministry of Education and Science, The Centre for Quality Assessment in Higher Education, the Rectors' Conference of Lithuanian Universities, the Directors' Conference of Lithuanian Colleges, students. This group is directly responsible to the Minister of Education and Science and coordinates dissemination of the information on the Bologna Process in Lithuania (National Bologna Follow-Up Group 2006).

The Lithuanian national Bologna promoters' group effectively implements Bologna ideas in the academic society, organizes national conferences on Bologna issues inviting foreign experts, etc. There is a close cooperation between the national Bologna promoters' group and the national Bologna Follow-Up Group. Representatives of the business sector and staff trade unions are not members of these groups, nevertheless, they are permanent partners in ongoing discussions on how to involve in and play more actively contributing to the enhancement of the quality and competitiveness of the national higher education, how to meet the needs of a contemporary labour market in specialists training in higher education institutions.

Estonian institutions of higher education also participate in the work of the following international networks: the Institutional Network of the Universities from the Capitals of Europe (UNICA), the European Associations of Institutions in Higher Education (EURASHE), regional network of conferences of rectors, thematic networks supported by the European Commission and other field specific associations or networks.

Promotion of the European dimension in higher education in Estonia gets support on the state (governmental) level and also on the level of the higher education institutions. After 2003 the state-support schemes for mobility of students and academic staff have been worked out, as well as the *strategy document* for the *internationalization* of *Estonian* higher *education* and international marketing strategy of higher education in Estonia (Aru et al. 2009).

Estonian institutions on higher education actively participate in educational and research programmes of the European Union. Although only a few institutions of higher education have developed a purposeful strategy supporting internationalization, the majority of institutions of higher education consider it important to increase the number of foreign students.

Participation in numerous international professional networks in the framework of which conferences, development projects (development of curricula, application of principles of quality management, application of information and communication technology in studies, training courses in marketing and fund-raising), exchange of students, members of the academic staff and trainees is organised has been a significant development-stimulating power within the last ten years.

7. Lifelong learning

In Latvia the paths for achieving full qualifications in terms of lifelong learning have not yet been developed. However, it will be included through implementation of the just-launched national programme for developing and implementing lifelong learning strategies.

There are no national procedures for recognition of prior learning as yet. The problem is partly related to some attempts in recent past to use "previously acquired" courses of doubtful quality in order to shorten actual study time. This has created some mistrust in the society and therefore extensive developing of recognition of something acquired outside higher education system might not be well accepted. At the same time, on a case- to-case base higher education institutions may assess achievements outside higher education system and give some number of credits for it. The task to develop methodologies for recognition of prior learning has been assigned to Latvian ENIC/NARIC centre.

Nowadays there are multiple opportunities for distance and electronic learning in the Latvian higher education institutions. For instance, the teaching staff of the University of Latvia and Baltic International Academy where more than a third of all Latvian students study were specially rewarded for distance learning courses development.

In Lithuania study periods are recognised by higher education institutions themselves. An *Order of the Ministry on the Procedures of Recognition of Study Periods* determines institutions' rights and obligations in study period recognition that both gives access to studies and allows the transfer of accumulated credits.

The following shall be recognised in Lithuanian higher education institutions: results of studies at a foreign higher education institution; results of studies at another Lithuanian higher education institution of the same or different type; results of studies in accordance with another study programme of the same higher education institution. Recognition of non-formal or informal prior learning is in future plans.

Results of continuing studies may be evaluated by credits in the order established by a higher education institution. A person who earns a required number of credits in accordance with a certain study programme, may, in the order established by the Government, be recognised as having acquired a higher education and be awarded a qualification.

Higher education institutions may create conditions for a student to study according to an individual study programme drawn up in the order established by that higher education institution.

By now compared with Latvia or Lithuania the conception of lifelong learning has been most developed in the Republic of Estonia where it got funding from the European Social Fund (ESF) in the amount of 1 million euros.

The programme of lifelong learning is regulated by the all embracing document "Lifelong Learning Strategy 2005–2008 in Estonia" (Estonian Ministry of Education and Research 2005). The documents covers not only principles and requirements of lifelong learning, but also purposes, measures and plan of actions. The general purpose of the strategy is to raise the opportunities and motivation of Estonian population to participate in formal, non-formal and informal training with the purpose of improving

one's knowledge and skills in accordance with one's own needs and that of the citizenship, society and labour market. The strategy's aim is that the share of participants in education and training among people aged 25–64 will reach the level of 10% by the year 2008. In order to promote learning, education legislation must: include the idea of lifelong learning as pervasive; stand on common ground, use common terminology, be intelligible and unbiased towards all people willing to study; involve as many institutions as possible from all three sectors in the provision of training; establish a mechanism to finance and assure the quality of lifelong learning; allow recognition of previous learning and working experience in further studies.

The strategy of lifelong learning relates to all forms of formal education got within the system of adults' education obtained outside daytime or full time, non-formal education (connected with work and widely spread adult education), necessity and consideration of informal education, including the system of recognition of previous learning and working experience and improvement of system of professional qualifications as well as need in quality assurance and the availability of training.

8. Involvement of students in the organization, content and quality assurance of education

Latvian Student Association is a body representing students' interests at national level. Student representatives participate in the Higher Education Council, and in the Accreditation Commission, as well as national Bologna group.

According to Law on Higher Education Establishments, students' representation in Senates of higher education institutions is at least 20% of senate membership. Student participation in faculty boards is regulated through by-laws of the higher education institutions, and it is often the same minimum 20%.

Students take active part in providing quality assurance of studies. Along with assisting in the activities of the Accreditation Commission of the Ministry of Education and Science, students take part in managing network of quality assurance national agencies through the representatives in Senates of higher education institutions that are shareholders of these agencies and govern their work. Student representatives' are always included in the team of expert groups who assess the quality of studies as observers or experts. Experts groups always meet students of the higher education institution assessed without academic or administrative staff present.

In Lithuania the students' involvement in the system of higher education is set out by the Law on Higher Education. Minimum 10 percent of a self-governing body of a public higher education institution (both a senate of a university and an academic council of a college) have to be student representatives.

Student representatives are also members of the supervising and advisory body – a council of a higher education institution. Besides, each higher education institution has a commission for dispute resolution to settle disputes between students and administration of a higher education institution. Students are represented in this body on a par with the administration. However, student unions expect and expressed their wish to increase the role of students' influence to the governance and the quality of

studies in higher education institutions. The Ministry supports this point of view and is ready to take into consideration their relevant proposals, if received (Lietuvos Respublikos Seimos 2000).

The Lithuanian Centre for Quality Assessment in Higher Education started including students as full members in peer teams for external evaluation in 2006. Students are also included in internal quality assurance arrangements.

The legislation of **Estonia** provides the obligation of students' participation in the council of a university or institution of applied higher education and the representatives of students should make up not less than one fifth of the membership of the council.

9. Autonomy of higher education institutions and academic freedom

The range of issues that the higher education institutions of Latvia and Lithuania can decide autonomously (independent from Governments and other institutions) is more or less the same. The Baltic institutions of higher education have the right:

- 1) to develop and approve the constitution of the institution of higher education;
- 2) to form the academic staff of the institution of higher education; and
- 3) to independently determine:
 - a) the content and forms of study programmes,
 - b) additional provisions for the admission of students,
 - c) basic trends of scientific research work,
 - d) the organisational and managerial structure of the institution of higher education, and
 - e) rates of work remuneration which are not less than the rates determined by the Cabinet; and
- 4) perform other activities, which do not contradict with the principles and tasks for the operation of the institution of higher education determined by the founder thereof and this Law.

In the Republic of Latvia the higher education institutions' autonomy is regulated by the Law On Institutions of Higher Education (section 4) (Ministry of Education and Science), passed on 17 November 1995. In the Republic of Lithuania – by Law on Higher Education (Article 9 Higher Education Establishment Autonomy), passed on 05.10.1995.

Academic freedom is described in detail in the legislation of the Republic of Latvia (Law On Institutions of Higher Education, section 6 "Academic freedom") with respect to the freedom of studies, research work and artistic creation and rights of students to choose an institution of higher education, a faculty (department), study programme, periods of study and certain study disciplines.

In legislation of Lithuania (Law on Higher Education, Article 9) the academic freedom covers rights to select study forms and subject areas, to award research degrees, qualifications, academic titles.

Estonian public universities are remarkably autonomous. In addition to organising the academic life of the university the competence of universities extends to opening new curricula, establishing admission terms and conditions, approving the budget,

deciding about the structure, approving the development plan, electing the rector and making restricted decisions in matters concerning assets.

Institutions of applied higher education are legally more restricted in their activities and the approval of the Ministry of Education and Research is required to open new curricula and establish terms and conditions for admission. Unlike universities, with whom the state enters into an agreement of state commissioned education, appropriations from state budget funds to institutions of applied higher education and vocational educational institutions are made under the directive of the Minister of Education.

Republic of Estonia Education Act (Riigikogu 1992) outlines in detail:

- the extent of authority of legislative and executive power (Article 5);
- authority of Ministry of Education and Research (Article 6);
- authority of local governments (Article 7).

However, the concepts of "education institutions autonomy" and "academic freedom" are not found in the Law. Nor can they be found in the Applied Higher Education Institution Act that regulates the operation of state institutions of applied higher education. Legal status of institution of applied higher education is defined in the Article 3 in the following way: "An institution of applied higher education is a state agency administered by the Ministry of Education".

The problem of autonomy is touched in the Estonia Private Education Institution Act. The exact terms of an institute's establishment are set by the Ministry of Education and Research (Article 3, Terms of Establishment); Article 6 Permission on foundation; Article 7 Refusal in granting the permission on foundation; Article 8 Licence on instruction; Article 11 Refusal in registration; Article 20 Supervision over activity; Article 21 Termination of activity; Article 23 Closure.

In the Universities Act and in the Law on the University of Tartu the concepts of autonomy and academic freedom are also not mentioned.

10. Contribution to the European dimension in national systems of higher education

In the Republic of Latvia there are no specific legal obstacles for development and implementation together with other European higher education institutions of programmes of study, joint diploma issuance, recognition of degrees, periods of study and for implementation of other European aspects in the national system of education.

Regulations for accreditation of study programmes require that the programme is compared with two similar programmes in other countries of the European Union. This requirement ensures that European experiences are taken into account.

European themes (the specifics of state structure, legislation, social politics) are included in many higher education institutions programmes of law, political sciences, economics, management, etc.

An important aspect of orientation towards European labour market has been adaptation of the study programmes leading to qualifications in regulated professions to the requirements of the EU directives. First of all, it has taken place in professions

covered by the EU sectoral directives, such as e.g. medical and veterinary professions, architecture, law and others.

The Latvian higher education institutions more actively take part in European events in order to promote the European dimension in higher education: by means of European University Association activities as experts in projects happening in new countries joining the Bologna Process or outside it; as European speakers at conferences outside Europe. Latvia is a host country for conferences/seminars on European higher education with the participation of non-EU countries.

In the Republic of Lithuania the key conception of the Lisbon Recognition Convention and the latter Supplementary Documents was included in national legislation in the sphere of higher education. The Centre for Quality Assessment has prepared the regulations on assessment of foreign qualifications.

The Law on Higher Education of the Republic of Lithuania (2000) and the General Requirements for Joint Degrees (2006) created a legal basis for higher education institutions of the Republic of Lithuania to conduct study programmes together with foreign higher education institutions and set common requirements for preparation and implementation of joint study programmes and award joint degrees and joint qualifications.

The similar legal acts of the Republic of the Lithuania (Regulations on the Assessment and Recognition of Foreign Qualifications) are applied to the assessment and recognition of joint degrees as well as others foreign qualifications of higher education. National legal acts oblige higher education institutions of Lithuania to enrol students who studied abroad.

The Law on Education of the Republic of Lithuania gives possibility for schools of foreign and international organizations to establish and organize studies in the Republic of Lithuania. The Law defines that education programmes of foreign states can be taught in language other than Lithuanian. However in that case the written permission of the Minster of Education and Science is required.

The Republic of Lithuania Government resolution On the Approval of the Lithuanian Higher Education System Development Plan for 2006–2010 is targeted at improving the procedure of preparation, assessment and registration of joint study programmes worked out by Lithuanian and foreign higher education institutions together and is regarded as precondition of higher education quality assurance in accordance with education needs.

Estonian institutions of higher education actively participate in educational and research programmes of the European Union. Although only a few institutions of higher education have developed a purposeful strategy supporting internationalisation, the majority of institutions of higher education consider it important to increase the number of foreign students.

Participation in numerous international professional networks in the framework of which conferences, development projects (development of curricula, application of principles of quality management, application of information and communication technology in studies, training courses in marketing and fund-raising), exchange of students, members of the academic staff and trainees is organised has been a significant development-stimulating power within the last ten years. Foreign relations are fostered

both in traditional universities and in institutions of higher education that provide applied higher education and have been founded later.

Estonian institutions of higher education also participate in the work of the following international networks: the Institutional Network of the Universities from the Capitals of Europe (UNICA), the European Associations of Institutions in Higher Education (EURASHE), regional network of conferences of rectors, thematic networks supported by the European Commission and other field specific associations or networks.

A new strategic goal for the European Union is "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy" (European Parliament 2000).

The guiding principles for future Community actions in the areas of education, training and youth are based on two basic issues and are set out by the Commission Communication: COM (97) 563. First of all to make "knowledge-based politics" one of the four fundamental pillars of the European Union's internal policies (as proposed in the Agenda 2000). And secondly to enhance the knowledge and skills of all Europe's citizens.

The gradual construction of an open and dynamic European educational area based on three main principles is the principal guideline. 1) the citizens of Europe will be able to develop their fund of knowledge; 2) development of employability through the acquisition of competencies made necessary through changes in work and its organisation; 3) enhancement of citizenship.

The very scale of these new challenges calls for a greater degree of integration between the fields of education, training and youth policy. The new generation of actions must focus upon a limited number of objectives:

- increasing the access of European citizens to the full range of Europe's education resources;
- innovation in resources; and
- wide dissemination of good practice in education.

Six main types of action are envisaged:

- physical mobility of learners and teachers, that includes extension of the arrangements for mutual recognition;
- virtual mobility and the various uses of new information and communication technologies, promoting universal access to new educational tools and stimulating the production and dissemination of European multimedia products and services which are appropriate for use for the education, training and youth;
- the development of cooperation networks at European level in order to permit exchange of experience and good practice;
- the promotion of language skills and the understanding of different cultures;
- the continuing improvement of Community sources of reference with regard to the education, training and youth systems and policies of the Member States (key data, databases, etc).

All these activities are designed and managed at a transnational level. The central idea underlying the development of the new generation of activities is based on the establishment of a framework of responsibilities shared between the Community, the Member States and the other parties involved: educational partners, social partners, economic partners, regional and local partners. This is also the necessary condition

for the Europe of knowledge to take shape (Commission of the European Communities 1997).

According to the "Treaty Establishing the European Community" (European Communities 2002) the Community action shall be aimed at:

- encouraging mobility of students and teachers, by encouraging inter alia, the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study;
- promoting cooperation between educational establishments;
- facilitate adaptation to industrial changes, in particular through vocational training and retraining;
- improve initial and continuing vocational training in order to facilitate vocational integration and reintegration into the labour market;
- stimulate cooperation on training between educational or training establishments and firms.

The Bologna Declaration is not just a political statement but but a binding commitment to an action programme. The action programme set out in the Declaration is based on a clearly defined common goal, a deadline and a set of specified objectives:

- a clearly defined common goal: to create a European space for higher education in order to enhance the employability and mobility of citizens and to increase the international competitiveness of European higher education;
- a deadline: the European space for higher education should be completed in 2010;
- a set of specified objectives:
 - the adoption of a common framework of readable and comparable degrees,
 "also through the implementation of the Diploma Supplement";
 - the elimination of remaining obstacles to the free mobility of students (as well as trainees and graduates) and teachers (as well as researchers and higher education administrators).

Among the latest event connected with the Bologna Process we'd like to draw your attention to the Recommendations of representatives of accreditation committees/agencies from countries which participated in Seminar on "Cooperation between accreditation committees/agencies" held on 14–16 February, Warsaw (European Higher Education Area 2005):

- Mutual recognition of education and diplomas can be supported by mutual acquaintance of quality assurance systems. Mutual recognition of accreditation decisions should be encouraged.
- 2) As a necessary condition of building an agreement between participating countries of Bologna Process, we consider that it should ensure and provide for:
 - regular, mutual sharing of information about education and accreditation systems;
 - mutual visits, joint training of experts;
 - promotion of mutual mechanisms of recognition:
 - promotion of similarities in higher education systems.
- 3) A higher education institution might apply for accreditation from an accreditation body from outside the country. This external quality assurance can be accepted and recognized if the external accreditation body is recognized by national authorities.

In preparation for the Conference of European Ministers for Education in Bergen (European Ministers Responsible for Higher education 2005) the European Consortium for Accreditation in Higher Education prepared the report on current state and perspectives of accreditation of programmes and higher education institutions in the European Space for Higher Education (European Consortium for Accreditation in Higher Education 2004).

The fourth chapter of the report is Transnational Recognition of Accreditation Decisions and states that in order to facilitate international acceptance of academic institutions, degrees and studies, "it will be necessary that future accreditation decisions in one country will also be recognised in another country" (European Consortium for Accreditation in Higher Education 2004).

The European Consortium for Accreditation in Higher Education calls upon the European Ministers for Education to contribute to the creation of the European Space for Higher Education by means of mutual recognition of the accreditation decisions of all Bologna signatory states (European Consortium for Accreditation in Higner Education 2004).

The significant contribution to the creation of the European space for higher education by concluding agreements on cooperation in the sphere of education by the Ministries of the Baltic States was made even before the direct appeal of the European Ministers in Bergen. However if the first Agreement on cooperation of the Baltic States in the sphere of education was signed on the level of Ministries (Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Lithuania 1990) and without direct regulative influence of recommendations of the European Union, in 15 years this Agreement has got the intergovernmental status and contained direct references to the Lisbon Convention of 1997, its direct practical regulative standard.

The Agreement's preamble states that striving to the further development and strengthening of the traditional fully formed friendly relations and cooperation between the three states and peoples, regarding the tasks and goals of the Baltic Cooperation Council, in accordance with the Agreement on economic cooperation between Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, realising that cooperation in the sphere of education *plays important role* (emphasis added) in reaching the above-mentioned goals.

The Agreement outlined the spheres (Article 2) and forms of cooperation (Article 3), and also for the first time touched the topical issue of mutual recognition of education documents' equivalence.

The Article 5 declares that the Contracting Parties shall study the subject on mutual recognition of equivalence of school certificates, diplomas, academic degrees and for this purpose shall exchange documentation and hold meetings of experts.

The Article 10 states that the present Agreement is concluded for a three-year period and its validity shall be automatically prolonged for new three-year period if none of the Contracting Parties declares its intention to denounce it within a specified time frame (Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Lithuania 1990).

In 2000 the governmental agreement among the Government of the Republic of Latvia, the Government of the Republic of Estonia and the Government of the Republic of Lithuania "On the Creation of a Common Educational Space in Higher Education

within the Baltic States" was signed in Kreting (Governments of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian Republics 2000).

The main aim of the Agreement was to stimulate the students' mobility and to grant them equal rights in all three countries.

In 5 years the Agreement among the Ministries of Education of the Baltic States turned into the Agreement between the Governments of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian Republics "On The Academic Recognition of Educational Qualifications in the Baltic Educational Space" (LR Saeima 2000).

Its preamble has significantly changed and became more up-to-date. "Desiring to enable all people of the Baltic States to benefit fully from the study opportunities in any of the States; considering that the Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications Concerning Higher Education in the European Region adopted in Lisbon on 11 April 1997, (hereinafter "the Lisbon Convention"), should be fully implemented in order to strengthen the Baltic common educational space and to stimulate the academic recognition as well as the mobility of students and teaching staff among the Republic of Latvia, Republic of Estonia and Republic of Lithuania; considering that a follow-up to the ratification of the Lisbon Convention in the Baltic States in a form of Agreement regulating the recognition of the concrete educational qualifications among the Baltic States is desirable...".

The Agreement has an Article "Definitions" (definitions of the terms used, Article 1) The basic principles of the Agreement are formulated:

- 1. The Baltic States the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Estonia and the Republic of Lithuania (hereinafter, States) agree to recognise each other's higher education qualifications and qualifications giving access to higher education unless there is an evidence of substantial differences.
- 2. This Agreement shall deal with the qualifications awarded after completion of study programmes, which are recognised in the home country.
- 3. A higher education qualification or a qualification providing access to higher education shall give its holder the same rights in the other Parties as it gives in the State in which it has been awarded. The following points are described in greater detail: 1) the specific admission requirements and admission to higher education studies (Article 4); 2) recognition of the first academic degrees for further studies (Article 5); 3) recognition of doctoral degrees (Article 7).
- 4. Consequences of this agreement regarding professional recognition (Article 10) and other important aspects of creating Common Educational Space within the Baltic States.

The very existence of such Agreement, its spirit and content undoubtedly promote the development of intellectual potential of each Baltic State in particular and of the region as a whole.

Conclusions

The above analysis has revealed some substantial achievements within the higher education systems of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, as far as the introduction of the 3 educational degrees and the European Diploma Supplements is concerned, along with guaranteeing the obligatory participation of students in higher school activities, the growth of international academic mobility, and the other activities in connection with the Bologna process.

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EKONOMIKA

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ПРИГРАНИЧНЫЕ РЕГИОНЫ ЛАТВИИ, ЛИТВЫ, БЕЛАРУСИ — ГДЕ ИНВЕСТИЦИОННЫЙ КЛИМАТ «ТЕПЛЕЕ»?

Начиная со второй половины XX века, важным направлением международной регионализации становится трансграничное и приграничное сотрудничество. В 90-е годы ХХ века резко изменился геополитический ландшафт мировой системы, в конкурентную экономическую борьбу наряду с фирмами стали все больше включаться территориальные системы – государства, регионы, города, районы. В последние десятилетия в региональной экономике возрос интерес к проблематике географической лимологии, т.е. приграничному сотрудничеству регионов. Как свидетельствует теория и практика, увеличение объема прямых иностранных инвестиций является значимым фактором роста экономики и создания рабочих мест. Следовательно, и мониторинг инвестиционного климата является весомым фактором, обуславливающим благосостояние и развитие территориальной системы. Целью статьи является изучение инвестиционного климата приграничных регионов Латвии (Латгальский регион), Литвы (Вильнюсский регион, Алитусский регион, Утенский регион, Паневежисский регион, Каунасский регион), Беларуси (Витебская область, Гродненская область, Минская область, Могилевская область, город Минск) и выявить его различия по данным опроса представителей малого и среднего бизнеса в рамках проекта «Создание единой системы поддержки предпринимательства и установление деловых контактов для устойчивого трансграничного сотрудничества Латвии, Литвы и Беларуси» (Б2Б), финансируемого программой трансграничного сотрудничества Латвия-Литва-Беларусь «Европейский инструмент добрососедства и партнерства 2007—2013 гг.»

Ключевые слова: приграничное сотрудничество, инвестиционный климат, инвестиционный потенциал, инвестиционный риск.

Latvijas, Lietuvas, Baltkrievijas pierobežas reģioni – kur investīciju klimats "siltāks"?

Sākot no XX gadsimta otras puses pārrobežas un pierobežas sadarbība kļuva par starptautiskās reģionalizācija nozīmīgu virzienu. XX gadsimta 90. gados strauji izmainījas pasaules sistēmas ģeopolitiskā ainava, ekonomikas konkurences ciņā reizē ar firmām sāka iekļauties teritoriālās sistēmas – valstis, reģioni, pilsētas, rajoni. Pēdējas desmitgades akadēmiskajā vidē, tai skaitā reģionālāja ekonomikā pieauga interese ģeogrāfiskas limoloģijas problemātikai, t.i., reģionu pierobežas sadarbībai. Kā liecina teorija un prakse, tiešo ārvalstu investīciju apjoma pieaugums ir ekonomikas izaugsmes un darbavietu radīšanas nozīmīgs faktors. Tātad arī investīciju klimata monitorings ir būtisks faktors, kas determinē teritoriālās sistēmas labklājību un attīstību. Raksta mērķis ir izpētīt Latvijas (Latgales reģions), Lietuvas (Viļņas reģions, Alitus reģions, Utenas reģions, Paņevežu reģions, Kauņas reģions) Baltkrievijas (Vitebskas reģions, Grodņas reģions, Minskas reģions, Mogiļevas reģions, Minskas pilsēta) pierobežas reģionu investīciju klimatu un noteikt tā atšķirtības pamatajoties uz mazā un vidējā biznesa pārstāvju aptaujas datiem, kas veikta Latvijas – Lietuvas – Baltkrievijas pārrobežu sadarbības programmas "Labu kaimiņattiecību un partnerības Eiropas instruments 2007.–2013. g." projekta "Uzņēmēj-

darbības atbalsta vienotas sistēmas izveide un lietišķo kontaktu dibināšanas stabilai Latvijas, Lietuvas un Baltkrievijas pārrobežu sadarbībai" ietvaros.

Atslēgas vārdi: pierobežas sadarbība, investīciju klimats, investīciju potenciāls, investīciju risks.

Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus cross border regions – where is the investment climate "warmer"?

Trans-border and cross-border cooperation has become an important trend of international regionalization since the second half of the 20th century. There was a dramatic change in the geopolitical landscape of the world system in the 1990s of the 20th century; territorial systems – states, regions, cities, and districts – alongside with business firms started to join the economic competition more and more. In the last decades of the academic realm, including regional economics, there has been an increased interest in geographic limology, i.e. region cross-border cooperation. As theory and practice testify, the increase in the volume of direct foreign investments is a significant factor of the economic growth and job creation. Therefore, monitoring of the investment climate is also a significant factor which determines the state's welfare and its development. The purpose of the article is to study the investment climate in cross-border regions in Latvia (Latgale region), Lithuania (Vilnius county, Alytus county, Utena county, Panevezys county, Kaunas county), and Belarus (Vitebsk oblast, Grodno oblast, Minsk oblast, Mogilev oblast) and to identify its differences on the basis of the survey of the representatives of small and medium-sized businesses carried out within the framework of the project "The Establishment of the United Entrepreneurship Support and Networking System for the Sustainable Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus Cross Border Cooperation") B2B funded by the programme of Latvia-Lithuania-Belarus cross border cooperation "European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument 2007–2013".

Key words: cross-border cooperation, investment climate, investment potential, investment risk.

Введение

Процессы глобализации и регионализации обусловили распространение международной регионализации как более широкого явления, предполагающего расширение экономических и иных связей между экономическими субъектами, регионами, национальными хозяйствами, входящими в один регион как страну. Так, начиная со второй половины XX века важным направлением международной регионализации становится трансграничное и приграничное сотрудничество.

Трансграничное сотрудничество — это совокупность экономических, социальных, научных, культурных, экологических и других взаимосвязей, проявляющихся в форме конкретных проектов и программ, которые реализуются на государственном, региональном и локальном уровнях с целью учёта совместных интересов территориальных сообществ на приграничных административно-территориальных единицах смежных государств (Perkmann 2003).

Наиболее эффективной организационной формой трансграничного сотрудничества в ЕС являются **еврорегионы** как социально-экономическая форма сотрудничества административно-территориальных единиц смежных государств. В них органы местного самоуправления приграничных регионов сотрудничают

в экономической, научной, культурной, гуманитарной, природоохранной сферах с помощью конкретных программ и проектов развития (Perkmann 2003).

Так, весьма важную роль в развитии добрососедских отношений на приграничных территориях и особенно в сфере поддержки сотрудничества предприятий, властей и домашних хозяйств должны играть еврорегионы, которые представляют собой хорошо известную и высоко ценимую форму трансграничного сотрудничества.

Идея трансграничного сотрудничества возникла в 50-е годы XX векав Западной Европе, первый еврорегион «*Euregio*» был основан в 1958 году на границе Германии и Нидерландов (см. «*Euregio*» официальный сайт). Тем временем, в Средне-Восточной Европе еврорегионы все еще являются новинкой, которая встречается порой с равнодушием, а порой и с недоверием и даже неприятием (Kosiedowski 2008). По данным Ассоциации Европейских приграничных регионов в настоящее время в Европе существует более 166 еврорегионов и структур типа еврорегионов (Association of European Border Regions 2015).

В последние десятилетия возрос научный интерес к проблематике трансграничного сотрудничества, о чем свидетельствует возрастающее число исследований в данной сфере. А. Слонимский, М. Слонимская, А. Поболь в результате исследования «Использование ресурсов предпринимательства для обеспечения устойчивого развития приграничных территорий (на примере граничащих регионов Беларуси и Литвы)» выявили, что главными формами приграничного сотрудничества организаций региональной инфраструктуры предпринимательства являются обмен официальными делегациями местных администраций с участием представителей регионального бизнеса, организация выставок и ярмарок, создание совместных предприятий, экспортно-импортные приграничные операции предприятий и др. Приграничное сотрудничество домашних хозяйств реализуется в виде челночной торговли и играет значительную роль в повышении благосостояния населения, обеспечении самозанятости, а также снижении социальной напряженности в регионе. Основным видом приграничного сотрудничества малых и средних предприятий является тип «фирма-фирма». Хотя деловые отношения между предприятиями практически всегда оформлены официальными договорами, значимое место занимает социальный капитал, а именно - личные знакомства и дружеские отношения между людьми. Белорусско-литовское предпринимательское сотрудничество осложняют административные барьеры, а именно, риски, связанные с возможными ошибками при таможенном оформлении грузов, а также риски, связанные с нестабильностью белорусского законодательства (особенно налогового) и достаточно жесткой политики государства в отношении частного бизнеса (Slonimskii et al. 2011).

Каждый третий владелец или менеджер малых и средних предприятий в приграничных регионах Беларуси, граничащих с EC, оценивают производимые ими товары или оказываемые услуги как инновационные. Причём эта доля выше в производстве -45%, чем в услугах -22%, что является отражением трудностей достижения высокого уровня инновационной активности бизнеса, специализирующегося на предоставлении услуг. Была выявлена тесная связь между наличием инновационных товаров и услуг и освоением новых рынков. Для предприятий с

инновационными продуктами характерно более активное освоение новых рынков, чем для фирм без инновационных изменений —соответственно 71% и 38%. Особенно различие проявляется при освоении географически новых рынков — 57% инновационных фирм осваивали неместные рынки по сравнению с 19% не относящихся к инновационным (Slonimskii, Slonimskaia 2015; Slonimskiy et al. 2009).

Также интерпретировалась ситуация на рынке труда в приграничных регионах Беларуси — ее особенность заключается в сложной комбинации трудовых отношений. С одной стороны, приграничные регионы представляют собой самостоятельные единицы, функционирующие по разные стороны границы в составе отдельных государств. С другой стороны, рынок труда приграничных регионов выполняет функции, связанные с миграцией рабочей силы. К основным проблемам развития приграничных региональных рынков труда можно отнести отсутствие взаимосвязанных согласованных режимов привлечения и использования внешних трудовых мигрантов из соседних стран. Сравнение рынков труда областей, граничащих с ЕС и с другими областями показало, что на данном этапе приграничное положение региона в Беларуси не оказывает прямого влияния на состояние его рынка труда (Vankevich 2007).

Следует отметить, что экономисты и социологи Даугавпилсского Университета также проводят исследования и участвуют в международных проектах, посвященных проблематике приграничного сотрудничества. Среди них можно отметить международный проект Польши, Латвии, Литвы, Беларуси «Конкурентоспособность регионов в условиях перехода к рыночной экономике», в рамках которого также было уделено внимание аспекту конкурентоспособности приграничных регионов – Латгалии. Утенского и Алитусского регионов. Населением Латгалии конкурентные преимущества региона оценены достаточно оптимистически и патриотично, но не в контексте позиции обострения конкуренции. Доминируют такие характеристики как состояние окружающей среды, памятники и туристические возможности, и лишь потом – более важные факторы экономического роста: квалифицированная рабочая сила, резервы территорий под инвестиции и возможность изменения их использования, наличие учреждений высшего образования и др. Мнения работников органов местной власти Латвии и Литвы достаточно близки – доминируют те же варианты ответов. Вместе с тем, 40% опрошенных руководителей фирм в Латвии и 42% в Литве указали, что причиной создания фирмы в данной местности были фактически внепроизводственные обстоятельства, а именно, местожительство собственников фирм. Лишь во вторую очередь были приняты во внимание низкие издержки производства свободные ресурсы относительно дешевой и квалифицированной рабочей силы, экономия на транспортных расходах и т.п. Тот факт, что в понимании собственников и менеджеров положительные обстоятельства не базируются на более широкий или глобальный аспект хозяйственной деятельности, может стать фактором риска потери конкурентоспособности приграничных регионов (Menshikov 2002).

В 2012 году организацией «ArGaumi» было проведено исследование «Перспективы сотрудничества бизнеса и науки» в Латгальском и Утенском регионах

при поддержке проекта «Содействие развитию предпринимательского потенциала в приграничных регионах Латгалия-Утена» программы трансграничного сотрудничества Латвии и Литвы (SIA «ArGaumi» 2012). В 2014 году экономистами Даугавпилсского Университета, а так же экспертами Литвы и Беларуси было проведено исследование «Стимулирование трансграничного сотрудничества предприятий малого и среднего бизнеса Латвия-Литва-Беларусь: проблемы, возможности, перспективы» в 11 приграничных регионах этих стран в рамках проекта «Создание единой системы поддержки предпринимательства и установление деловых контактов для устойчивого трансграничного сотрудничества Латвии, Литвы и Беларуси (Б2Б)» (Daugavpils Universitāte 2014). В последних двух упомянутых проектах автор статьи также принимала участие.

Вопросы трансграничного сотрудничества на границе Латвии с соседними государствами изменчивы и многообразны во времени и пространстве. В то же время знания об этом сотрудничестве как в Латвии, так и в других постсоциалистических государствах — соседях недостаточны и фрагментарны. Прежде всего, в связи с непродолжительным опытом работы в этой области. Следовательно, велика необходимость в исследованиях, разъясняющих сложную природу отношений между обществами, разделенными государственной границей.

Результаты исследования теории и практики изучения приграничного сотрудничества, в том числе в приграничных регионах Латвии, Литвы, Беларуси, позволяют сделать следующие выводы. Во-первых, приграничное сотрудничество может быть использовано приграничными регионами, находящимися на периферийных территориях своих стран, как конкурентное преимущество в достижении более высоких темпов развития по сравнению с центральными регионами (Vankevich 2007; Zitkus 2009). Во-вторых, приграничное сотрудничество укрепляет и сплачивает граничащие регионы, способствует политической и социальной стабильности (Assembly of European Regions 1996), а также является значимым фактором национальной безопасности страны (Makstutis 2009). Приграничное сотрудничество регионов должно стать новым вызовом долгосрочного, устойчивого экономического развития в Центрально-Восточной Европе, Европейском Союзе и всей Европе (Kosiedowski 2008).

В этом контексте изучение инвестиционного климата приграничных регионов приобретает в настоящее время очень важное значение для привлечения иностранных инвестиций, увеличения конкурентоспособности приграничных территорий, их устойчивого развития и повышения уровня жизни местного населения.

Теоретические и методологические аспекты инвестиционного климата

Понятие «инвестиционный климат» достаточно часто встречается в научных и общественных изданиях. Между тем в его определение авторы вкладывают различный смысл, а в большинстве нормативных документов применяется нечеткое и расплывчатое определение инвестиционного климата. В связи с тем, что

понятие «инвестиционный климат» в экономической науке является многосложным и неоднозначным, для более точного его определения автор предлагает сначала определить содержание двух производных этого понятия — «инвестиции» и «климат».

Поскольку речь идет о климате, то для понимания его сущности вполне можно использовать данное понятие в прямом метеорологическом значении (Nelson, Winter 1982; Viakina et al. 2012). Климат определяется как "... среднее физическое состояние климатической системы, которая включает атмосферу, гидросферу, криосферу, литосферу и биосферу, которые в свою очередь тесно взаимосвязаны" (Lucarini 2002). Климат определяется во временном периоде рядом средних величин структуры и динамики всех элементов климатической системы, а также корреляциями между ними. Климат является комплексным и сложным феноменом и его следует изучать как неделимое целое (Lucarini 2002).

В первой половине XX века понятие «климат» стало использоваться в американской и западноевропейской социологии и психологии с целью изучения социального климата как характеристики состояния общества, социальных условий и социальной среды. Наиболее глубоко была исследована природа социального климата как свойства организации, а позднее — психологического климата. В 60-е годы XX века интерес к научному изучению социального климата в психологии стал возрастать после экспериментов Р. Уайта и Р. Липпита (Elteren 1993).

Термин «инвестиции» происходит от латинского слова «*invest*», что в переводе означает «вкладывать»,при этом необходимо понимать, что имеется в виду не простое вложение ресурсов, а с целью увеличения инвестированного капитала в будущем (Zhulina 2006). Интерес к инвестициям в экономических теориях поддерживался давно, и в контексте экономической теории инвестиции имели несколько этапов развития. Предпосылкой к формированию теории и методологии инвестиционных процессов можно считать классическую школу экономической мысли периода зарождающихся рыночных экономических отношений — меркантилизм. Впервые идея о необходимости инвестиции» не используется (Vaggi, Groenewegen 2006).

А. Смит предложил инвестиционную идею нормы накопления — он исходил из того, что все сбережения автоматически превращаются в инвестиции, а результатом инвестиций являются доходы предпринимателей, которые, в свою очередь, также расходуются на потребление: «то, что сберегается в течение года, потребляется столь же регулярно, как и то, что ежегодно расходуется, и притом в продолжение почти того же времени, но потребляется оно совсем другого рода людьми» (Smith 1962). Огромный вклад в теорию инвестиций внес Дж. Кейнс, в центре его экономической модели — уровень занятости рабочей силы, который он связывает с уровнем «эффективного спроса». Идеальное экономическое равновесие — это такое положение, когда весь национальный доход расходуется на потребление и инвестиции (капиталовложения), когда величина инвестиций равна величине сбережений. Но по мере роста доходов населения, как правило, увели-

чивается потребление, хотя не такими темпами, какими растет доход, ибо люди склонны инвестировать, откладывать сбережения (Keins 1993). Позднее английский экономист Р. Харрод и американский экономист Е. Домар предложили однофакторную модель, в которой определяющим фактором экономического роста и его темпов является рост инвестиций. Согласно модели Харрода-Домара, инвестиции, с одной стороны, способствуют росту национального дохода (эффект мультипликатора), с другой — увеличивают производственные мощности. В свою очередь, рост дохода способствует увеличению занятости (Harrod 1959).

Обобщив результаты теоретических исследований ученых можно дать следующее уточненное определение: инвестиции — это все виды ценностей, направленные на воспроизводство всего общественного и индивидуального капитала, его поддержание и расширение, с целью получения прибыли и (или) иного полезного эффекта.

Рассмотренное определение понятий «инвестиции» и «климат» позволяет обоснованно подойти к изучению природы инвестиционного климата. Категория «инвестиционный климат» появилась как один из элементов, составляющих социальный климат, который характеризует экономическую сторону жизни обшества. В трактовке понятия «инвестиционный климат» многие экономисты сходятся в едином мнении, которое определяет это понятие как среду, в которой протекают инвестиционные процессы и на которую влияют в совокупности социальные, экономические, организационные, правовые, политические, социокультурные и другие предпосылки, предопределяющие привлекательность и целесообразность инвестирования в ту или иную хозяйственную систему (Tsakunov 1998; Obozov 1998). Другие ученые характеризуют инвестиционный климат более узким спектром факторов. Например, профессор Стэнфордского Университета Б. Вейнгаст определяет инвестиционный климат как «комплекс политических, нормативных и институциональных факторов, которые обеспечивают достаточно сильные стимулы частному сектору инвестировать в привлекательные проекты» (Weingast 1995).

В 90-егоды XX века Всемирный Банк активно проводил исследования по проблематике инвестиционного климата и мероприятиям по его улучшению. С начала XXI века термин «инвестиционный климат» стал более широко использоваться, его распространение также связано с реорганизацией Всемирного Банка и появлением Департамента инвестиционного климата (World Bank Investment Climate Department). Н. Стерн, ведущий исследователь инвестиционного климата Группы Всемирного Банка и основоположник данного направления в деятельности Всемирного Банка, инвестиционный климат определил как «политика, институциональная и поведенческая среда, влияющие на прибыль и риски, связанные с инвестициями» (Stern 2002). В исследовании Всемирного Банка используется похожее широкое определение: «инвестиционный климат включает в себя факторы, поддерживающие эффективное функционирование рынка товаров, финансовых и нефинансовых рынков; услуги инфраструктуры; а также недостатки в правовой, нормативной и институциональной сфере экономики» (World Bank 2003). Позднее в Отчете о всемирном развитии, посвященном теме инвестици-

онного климата, было предложено более простое определение понятия: «набор локальных факторов, формирующих возможности и стимулы фирм к производительному инвестированию, созданию новых рабочих мест и расширению масштабов деятельности» (World Bank 2004).

Иное определение дает Институт новой экономики: «инвестиционный климат — это совокупность политических, экономических, социальных и юридических условий, благоприятствующих инвестиционному процессу; равных для отечественных и иностранных инвесторов, одинаковых по привлекательности для вложения в национальную экономику» (Izriliiana 2006). Близкую трактовку инвестиционного климата дает Организация по безопасности и сотрудничеству в Европе: «бизнес и инвестиционный климат — это среда, которая стимулирует иностранные и местные компании вести бизнес и получать прибыль в данной стране» (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe 2006). Данные определения раскрывают, скорее, понятие «благоприятный инвестиционный климат», чем инвестиционный климат в целом, что можно отметить как недостаток данных определений. Инвестиционный климат в регионе может быть как благоприятным, так и неблагоприятным для инвестора, поэтому определение этого понятия не должно отражать только благоприятствующие условия, а призвано дать многогранную оценку объективно сложившейся ситуации.

Если рассматривать инвестиционный климат со стороны потенциального инвестора, то многие исследователи определяют его как совокупность условий (факторов), влияющих на желание инвестора осуществить вложения (Perry 2015). А именно, сторонники данного подхода рассматривают инвестиционный климат как две составляющие – инвестиционный потенциал и инвестиционные риски. Инвестиционный потенциал оценивается на основе макроэкономических характеристик, а инвестиционные риски - с позиции вероятности потерь инвестиционного дохода. Рейтинговое агентство «Эксперт РА» в аналитическом исследовании инвестиционной привлекательности российских регионов использует данный подход и определяет: «... инвестиционная привлекательность тождественна понятию инвестиционного климата и включает в себя инвестиционный потенциал объективные возможности страны, а также инвестиционный риск – условия деятельности инвестора». Многие экономисты используют данный подход при изучении инвестиционного климата. Инвестиционный потенциал региона включает частные потенциалы: ресурсосырьевой, финансовый, производственный, инфраструктурный, институциональный, инновационный, трудовой, потребительский и другие. Инвестиционный риск включает частные риски: криминальный, законодательный, политический, экономический, социальный и др. Общий инвестиционный потенциал и риски региона определяются как усредненное значение частных показателей (Zimin 2013; Kovalev et al. 2007; Obukhova, Mashkina 2014). В данном исследовании автор также использует рисковый подход для понимания инвестиционного климата.

История оценивания инвестиционного климата стран мира насчитывает более полувека. Первые оценки такого рода были разработаны и применены западными экспертами в середине 60-х годов XX века. Одним из первых в этом направ-

лении было исследование Гарвардской школы бизнеса, в основу которого была положена экспертная шкала, включавшая 6 характеристик стран: законодательные условия для иностранных и национальных инвесторов, возможность вывоза капитала, состояние национальной валюты, политическая ситуация в стране, уровень инфляции, возможность использования национального капитала (Stobaugh 1969). Этот список показателей был недостаточно детален для адекватного отражения всего комплекса условий, обычно принимаемых во внимание инвесторами. Поэтому дальнейшее развитие методического аппарата сравнительной оценки инвестиционного климата стран пошло по пути расширения и усложнения системы оцениваемых экспертами параметров и введения количественных (статистических) показателей.

В настоящее время существует большое количество индикаторов, разработанных международными организациями, которые можно использовать для оценки инвестиционного климата. Некоторые индикаторы основываются на микроэкономических, бизнес-ориентированных факторах, в то время как другие — на макроэкономических и политических факторах. К тому же, наряду с индикаторами бизнес- и инвестиционного климата имеются индикаторы, которые косвенно характеризуют факторы, относящиеся к инвестиционному климату, например: индекс коррупции, индекс экономической свободы и др.

Изученные индикаторы инвестиционного климата можно классифицировать следующим образом: ключевые индикаторы Группы Всемирного Банка; другие ключевые индикаторы; индикаторы, связанные с инвестиционным климатом. Группа Всемирного Банка провела ряд исследований инвестиционного климата, используя различные методики (World Bank Group 2015c). В Индексе легкости ведения бизнеса (Doing Business) рассматривается 10 переменных условий ведения бизнеса через призму *dejure* — законов и регламентов — в 183 странах мира, опираясь на оценки специально отобранных экспертов (World Bank Group 2014b). «Исследования предприятий» (Enterprise Surveys), наоборот, изучают опыт фирм в 135 странах Восточной Европы и Центральной Азии в различных областях предпринимательской деятельности (World Bank Group 2014a). «Снимок бизнес среды» (Business Environment Snapshots) предоставляет обобщенные данные и аналитический материал Группы Всемирного Банка по исследованиям инвестиционного климата, а также объемную сравнительную базу данных из различных источников (World Bank Group 2015a). Проект «Инвестирование за границу» (Investing Across Borders) предоставляет сравнительные данные правового регулирования прямых иностранных инвестиций в странах мира по результатам опроса экспертов юристов, бизнес-консультантов, специалистов по инвестициям (World Bank Group 2015b).

К группе других ключевых индикаторов можно отнести Индекс глобальной конкурентоспособности (*Global Competitiveness Index*) Всемирного Экономического Форума, который включает 12 факторов конкурентоспособности более чем по 140 странам, среди которых есть и уровень развития предпринимательской среды (World Economic Forum 2015). «Инвестиционный климат Африканско-Карибско-Тихоокеанских стран — стимулирующие возможности среды для част-

ного сектора» (*Private Sector Enabling Environment Facility of the African-Caribbean-Pacific Countries Business Climate*) предоставляет базу данных индикаторов инвестиционного климата, которая включает различные аспекты инвестиционной активности 15 стран Западной Африки (Economic Community of West African States Commission. BIZCLIM Programme 2015).

Помимо рассмотренных индикаторов существует ряд других, которые в той или иной степени связаны с инвестиционным климатом. Например, «Женщины, бизнес и закон» (Women, Business and the Law) (World Bank Group 2015d): индикаторы регулирования рынка товаров Организации экономического сотрудничества и развития (OECD Indicators of Product Market Regulation) (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development 2015); Индекс экономической свободы (Index of Economic Freedom) (Wall Street Journal and Heritage Foundation 2015): Индекс глобализации (Globalization Index) (KOF Swiss Economic Institute 2015); Индекс свободы в мире (Freedom in the World Index) (Freedom House 2015); Исследование бизнес-среды (Business Environment Survey) (Common wealth Business Council 2015); Бизнес-среда (Business Environment) (Economist Intelligence Unit 2015); Индекс непрозрачности (Opacity Index) (PwC 2015); Индекс привлечения прямых иностранных инвестиций (Inward FDI Performance Index) (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development 2015a); Индекс потенциала прямых иностранных инвестиций (Inward FDI Potential Index) (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development 2015b) и др.

Ориентируясь на показатели данных индикаторов, сложно объективно оценить благоприятность инвестиционного климата в той или иной стране и его изменения в связи с различными методологиями и подходами. Для детального анализа причин изменения инвестиционного климата необходимо интерпретировать составляющие показатели данных интегральных индикаторов. Международные индексы часто меняют критерии, используемые при расчете интегральных индексов — это означает, что в рядах статистических данных, которые они используют, отсутствует последовательность (Ohotina 2013). Индикаторы инвестиционного климата, присвоенные международными организациями, часто критикуют за то, что они ориентированы на международные финансовые рынки, и не всегда учитывают национальную и региональную специфику (Ohotina, Lavrinenko 2013). Несмотря на критику некоторых индикаторов, рассмотренные международные индексы инвестиционного климата и связанные с ними индикаторы служат ресурсом для ученых, исследователей, интересующихся инвестиционным климатом в стране, а также для инвесторов.

Эмпирические данные и анализ

Эмпирической базой для изучения инвестиционного климата приграничных регионов Латвии (Латгальский регион), Литвы (Вильнюсский регион, Алитусский регион, Утенский регион, Паневежисский регион, Каунасский регион), Беларуси (Витебская область, Гродненская область, Минская область, Могилевская область, город Минск) являются данные опроса представителей малого и

среднего бизнеса в рамках проекта «Создание единой системы поддержки предпринимательства и установление деловых контактов для устойчивого трансграничного сотрудничества Латвии, Литвы и Беларуси».

Одним из ограничений эмпирического исследования являются различные методические подходы к определению размера бизнеса и многообразные критерии определения малого и среднего бизнеса (Lapusta, Starostin 2007; Brooksbank 1991; Velu 1980; Bolton 1971). В настоящем исследовании в литовских и латвийских регионах для определения понятия малого бизнеса использовались критерии EC (Smalland Medium Enterprise Statistics — Definitions 2000), а в белорусских регионах — критерии, установленные законодательством Республики Беларусь (Zakon Respubliki Belarus' 1996).

Дизайн выборки по виду отбора — комбинированный, по методу — бесповторный, по способу отбора — стратифицированный. Требования репрезентативной выборки означают, что по выделенным параметрам состав обследуемых единиц должен приближаться к соответствующим пропорциям в генеральной совокупности (Iadov 2005). В процессе работы над базой в программе SPSS данные опроса подверглись взвешиванию по основным направлениям стратификации — количество (микро, малых, средних) предприятий по всем видам деятельности в приграничных регионах Латвии, Литвы, Беларуси. В результате чего отклонения параметров выборки от параметров генеральной совокупности составили менее чем 2.5%. Всего было опрошено 600 предприятий малого и среднего бизнеса в исследуемых регионах.

Для оценки инвестиционного климата использовался рисковый подход, а именно оценивались две его составляющие: инвестиционный потенциал и инвестиционные риски. Инвестиционный потенциал региона включает в себя такие частные потенциалы: производственный, трудовой, потребительский, инфраструктурный, финансовый, институциональный, инновационный, природно-ресурсный, туристический. А инвестиционный риск включает в себя такие частные риски: законодательный, политический, социальный, экономический, экологический, криминальный, финансовый.

Так как показатели интегральной характеристики оценены по 5-балльной системе, была произведена унификация данных по принципу линейного масштабирования — преобразование, в результате которого область возможных значений определяется отрезком [0;10] с учетом влияния показателей на интегральный показатель инвестиционного климата как стимулянт, так и дестимулянт (Aivazian 2005). Таким образом, интегральный показатель инвестиционного потенциала является средним арифметическим величин нормированных значений частных потенциалов, интегральный показатель инвестиционного риска — средним арифметическим величин нормированных значений частных рисков.

Рисунок 1 Оценка инвестиционного потенциала по приграничным регионам (1— низкий потенциал, 10— высокий потенциал)



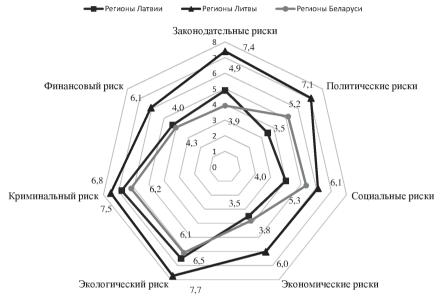
Источник:

расчеты автора по данным опроса предприятий 2014 года в проекте «Создание единой системы поддержки предпринимательства и установление деловых контактов для устойчивого трансграничного сотрудничества Латвии, Литвы и Беларуси»

Как показывает сравнение оценок видов потенциала руководителями предприятий, наиболее высокие оценки получили приграничные регионы Литвы и лидируют по следующим видам: производственный потенциал оценен в 6.5 баллов, трудовой -6.2, инфраструктурный -5.8, институциональный -5.6, природно-ресурсный -5.9. Лишь потребительский и инновационный потенциалы преобладают в регионах Беларуси - соответственно 5.9 и 4.7 балла, а оценки финансового потенциала одинаковы в Литве и Беларуси -4.8. А Латвия, представленная Латгальским регионом, имеет наиболее низкие оценки по всем частным потенциалам, кроме туристического -6.6 (Рис. 1).

В соответствии с оценками руководителей предприятий по всем видам рисков, наиболее благоприятная ситуация в приграничных регионах Литвы. По сравнению с регионами Беларуси и Латвии здесь значимо ниже законодательные, политические, экономические, а также финансовые риски. В регионах Беларуси наиболее высокие законодательные, финансовые, криминальные и экологические риски, а в регионах Латвии — политические, социальные и экономические риски (Рис. 2).

Рисунок 2 Оценка инвестиционного риска по приграничным регионам (1— высокий риск, 10— низкий риск)



Источник: расчеты автора по данным опроса предприятий 2014 года в проекте «Создание единой системы поддержки предпринимательства и установление деловых контактов для устойчивого трансграничного сотрудничества Латвии, Литвы и Беларуси»

Во всех регионах интегральный (обобщенный) инвестиционный потенциал, рассчитанный как среднее значение по всем видам потенциала, был оценен в диапазоне среднего значения, и ни в одном из регионов не оценен как низкий или высокий. Минимальное значение в Минском и Латгальском регионах составило 4.6 балла, максимальное в Вильнюсском регионе — 6.8, далее следуют Каунасский — 6.2 Гродненский — 6.1, Могилевский — 5.7, Минск — 5.5, Утенский — 5.4, Алитусский — 5.2, Витебский — 4.8 и Паневежисский регион— 4.7.

Аналогично оценен интегральный инвестиционный риск, рассчитанный как среднее значение по всем видам рисков. Наиболее рисковая ситуация преобладает в Могилевском регионе — 4.2 балла, Латгальском — 4.8, Минске и Витебском регионе — 4.9. Ниже среднего по инвестиционным рискам следуют регионы: Гродненский — 5.1, Минский — 5.6. Наименее значимые риски в Паневежисском — 6.4, Утенском — 6.5, Вильнюсском — 6.8, Каунасском — 7.0, Алитусском регионах — 7.7 (Рис. 3).

Рисунок 3 Оценка инвестиционного потенциала и инвестиционного рискапо приграничным регионам*



Источник

расчеты автора по данным опроса предприятий 2014 года в проекте «Создание единой системы поддержки предпринимательства и установление деловых контактов для устойчивого трансграничного сотрудничества Латвии, Литвы и Беларуси»

* инвестиционный потенциал: 1 — низкий потенциал, 10 — высокий потенциал; инвестиционный риск: 1 — высокий риск, 10 — низкий риск

Если провести соотношение в соответствии со средним уровнем интегрального инвестиционного риска и средней величиной совокупного инвестиционного потенциала региона, можно предложить следующую типологию инвестиционного климата (Табл. 1):

- 1) инвестиционный потенциал региона выше среднего, а инвестиционный риск ниже среднего, т.е. благоприятная ситуация по двум показателям;
- 2) инвестиционный потенциал региона ниже среднего и инвестиционный риск ниже среднего, т.е. неблагоприятная ситуация по инвестиционному потенциалу и благоприятная по риску;
- 3) инвестиционный потенциал региона выше среднего и инвестиционный риск выше среднего, т.е. благоприятная ситуация по инвестиционному потенциалу и неблагоприятная по риску;
- 4) инвестиционный потенциал региона ниже среднего, а инвестиционный риск выше среднего, т.е. неблагоприятная ситуация по двум показателям.

Таблица 1 Классификация инвестиционного климата по критериям инвестиционного потенциала и инвестиционной безрисковости

		Инвестиционный потенциал					
	·	1. Выше среднего (благопри-	2. Ниже среднего (небла-				
		ятная ситуация)	гоприятная ситуация)				
	А. Ниже среднего	Благоприятный инвести-	Инвестиционный климат				
IPIĶ	(благоприятная	ционный климат	с достаточно низким				
HI O	ситуация)		потенциалом, но без				
тищи			высоких рисков				
Инвестиционный риск	В. Выше среднего	Инвестиционный климат	Неблагоприятный				
Be	(неблагоприятная	с достаточно высоким по-	инвестиционный климат				
ΝΉ	ситуация)	тенциалом, но с присутст-					
		вием рисков					

Источник: разработка автора по Zimin 2013; Andrianov et al. 2007; Obukhova, Mashkina 2014

Далее в соответствии с расчетами автора была проведена следующая типологизация исследуемых регионов.

Группа 1А. Данная группа характеризует инвестиционные возможности, оптимальные условия инвестирования при рисках ниже среднего значения. В этой группе оказались 5 регионов: Вильнюсский регион, Алитусский регион, Утенский регион, Каунасский регион, Гродненская область. Данные регионы предлагают инвесторам хорошие возможности при рисках ниже среднего, что дает возможность рассматривать данные регионы в качестве потенциальных полюсов роста.

Группа 1В. Регионы с потенциалом выше среднего и рисками выше среднего. К данной группе относятся г. Минск и Могилевская область. Инвестирование в эти регионы, с точки зрения частных инвесторов может быть сопряжено со значительными объективными трудностями, а также рядом субъективных препятствий. Для данных регионов следует более подробно изучить оценку всех видов рисков и потенциала, а также более привлекательных отраслей.

Группа 2А. Регионы с потенциалом чуть ниже среднего, риск выше среднего. К этой группе относятся Паневежисский регион и Минская область. Попадание в эту группу может быть обусловлено двумя основными причинами — снижение некогда более высокого потенциала, например, в результате финансового кризиса или других факторов, или же эти регионы изначально были с низким уровнем потенциала. Данные регионы могут быть интересны консервативным инвесторам, которых привлекают низкие риски и сохранившийся потенциал, хотя и невысокий.

Группа 2В. Регионы с потенциалом ниже среднего не в состоянии создать устойчивые низкорисковые условия инвестирования. К данной группе относятся Латгалия и Витебская область. Для регионов этого типа требуется разработка специальных государственных структурно-инвестиционных программ, поскольку

экономика этих регионов, за искличением отдельных сфер, недостаточно привлекательна для частных инвесторов.

В некоторых регионах на оценку инвестиционного климата вцелом, а также на оценку инвестиционного потенциала и рисков в частности статистически значимое влияние имеют показатели деятельности предприятий. Итак, в Латгальском регионе предприятия с более продолжительным сроком деятельности оценивают инвестиционные риски региона ниже (коэффициент корелляции Спирмена $r=0,375^{**}$) и инвестиционный климат благоприятнее ($r=0,347^{**}$) по сравнению с предприятиями с относительно коротким сроком деятельности. Кроме того, улучшение деятельности предприятий по некоторым показателям имеет корелляцию с изучаемыми переменными. Предприятия с положительной динамикой рентабельности за последние 3 года выше оценивали инвестиционный климат региона ($r=0,311^*$), предприятия с увеличивающейся долей рынка ниже оценивали инвестиционный риск региона ($r=0,345^{**}$) и выше — инвестиционный климат региона ($r=0,476^{**}$).

В Вильнюсском регионе, Витебской и Гродненской областях предприятия с большим количеством занятых выше оценивали инвестиционный потенциал региона (соответственно $r=0,262^{**},\ r=0,479^{**}$ и $r=0,443^{**}$). В Вильнюсском регионе предприятия с более длительным сроком деятельности выше оценивали работы выше оценивают инвестиционный потенциал (соответственно $r=0,341^{*}$), а в Гродненской области — инвестиционный климат ($r=0,442^{**}$).

В Вильнюсском регионе предприятия с положительным изменением дохода за последние 3 года более высоко оценивали инвестиционный климат региона (r = 0.262*).

В Витебской области на предприятиях с увеличением объема проданной продукции и предоставленных услуг повышалась также и оценка инвестиционного потенциала (r=0,395**) и инвестиционного климата (r=0,412**). Такое же влияние оказало увеличение объема экспортированной продукции и услуг предприятия на оценку инвестиционного климата (r=0,412**).

В Каунасском регионе более высоко инвестиционные риски оценили предприятия с большим количеством работников (r = -0.327*). Предприятия, на которых наблюдалось улучшение показателей деятельности за последние 3 года, оценили инвестиционные риски выше — увеличение дохода предприятия (r = -0.377*), объема проданной (r = -0.396**) и экспортированной продукции и услуг (r = -0.410**).

Как показали результаты корреляционного анализа, на оценки инвестиционного потенциала и рисков, а также инвестиционного климата значимо влияют длительность работы предприятия и опыт деятельности предприятия, а именно — насколько успешно происходило финансово-экономическое развитие предприятия.

Выволы

Трансграничное и приграничное сотрудничество становится важным направлением международной регионализации начиная со второй половины XX века. Наиболее известной организационной формой трансграничного сотрудничества в различных сферах в ЕС являются еврорегионы — в настоящее время существует более 166 еврорегионов и структур типа еврорегионов.

В последние десятилетия возрос и научный интерес к проблематике трансграничного сотрудничества, в том числе в приграничных регионах Латвии, Литвы, Беларуси. В настоящее время возрастает число исследований и проектов в сфере приграничного сотрудничества, в связи с чем, изучение инвестиционного климата приграничных регионов приобретает актуальность. Для понимания инвестиционного климата в данном исследовании автор использует рисковый подход, а именно инвестиционный климат рассматривается как две составляющие — инвестиционный потенциал и инвестиционные риски. Инвестиционный потенциал региона включает частные потенциалы: производственный, трудовой, потребительский, инфраструктурный, финансовый, институциональный, инновационный, природно-ресурсный, туристический. Инвестиционный риск включает частные риски: законодательный, политический, социальный, экономический, экологический, криминальный, финансовый. Общий инвестиционный потенциал и риски региона определяются как усредненное значение частных показателей.

В совокупности упомянутые частные виды потенциала и рисков приграничных регионов Латвии, Литвы, Беларуси, отраженные в макроэкономических показателях, являются индикаторами инвестиционного климата данных регионов. Для комплексной оценки инвестиционного климата приграничных регионов Латвии, Литвы, Беларуси субъективная оценка данного показателя требует продолжения исследования, основанного на объективных показателях – а именно, – социально-экономических показателях данных регионов в аспекте всех видов инвестиционного потенциала и рисков, упомянутых в опроснике. Приграничные регионы Латвии, Литвы, Беларуси располагают значительным человеческим, производственным, географическим потенциалом. Несмотря на определенные социально-экономические различия, территории приграничных регионов трех стран имеют общие сильные стороны, а именно – выгодное географическое расположение между западным и восточным рынками; конкурентное преимущество, благодаря относительно низкой стоимости рабочей силы; количество университетов и научно-исследовательских институтов; хорошо развитая сеть учреждений среднего и профессионального образования; развитая базовая инфраструктура коммерческих предприятий. Также следует отметить некоторые общие угрозы, на которые следует обратить внимание в перспективе - препятствия для сотрудничества в силу существующих внешних границ ЕС; неравное экономическое развитие стран, входящих и не входящих в ЕС; экономическая эмиграция; различия в национальных законах, касающихся коммерческой деятельности. Необходимо отметить также следующие общие возможности для использования в приграничном сотрудничестве - развитие трансграничного трудоустройства; усиление связей в области исследований, разработок и инноваций между университетами и коммерческими предприятиями; использование финансирования инфраструктуры и повышения потенциала со стороны ЕС.

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SOCIĀLĀ PSIHOLOĢIJA

Oleg Hmilyar

SYMBOLIC-PROXEMIC ZONES REGULATION BY PERSONS OF DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS

The success of any communication process largely depends not only on what interlocutors say, but also on how they give and receive messages and at what distance it is done. For optimization of this process it is important to know the laws of proximity language. The particularity of proximity language is that it is driven by subconscious impulses of a person while he/she lacks the opportunity to forge them. This allows an individual to trust symbolic language more, than a usual verbal message channel. We believe that the distance between a transmitter and a receiver of the message is the most symbolic and relevant feature in the interaction process. Psychological experiment consisted of four episodes. All participants (208 male and 183 female) were evaluated according to the "Portrait" technique that required all participants to approach at a maximal comfortable distance to photographs of persons located in a "symbolic circle". During a psychological research it is investigated how a person regulates his/her behavior in a symbolic-proxemic zone in regards to people of different ages. In the article we also studied how the choice of a particular proximity zone of interaction is made based on sex, height of the person, subject of the message transmitted/received as well as the characteristics of relationships of people, current emotional state and personal temper of an individual. It was indicated that in order to gain encouragement by another person, a personality reduces a distance of contact therefore showing a proxemic distance is correlated with a level of negative attitude to a partner. Control of the proxemic distance significantly depends on internal symbols such as social status, introversion-extraversion, total size and content of message.

Key words: symbol, proxemics, interaction, proxemic zones, symbolic regulation, message transmitter, message receiver.

Dažādu vecuma grupu personu simboliski-proksēmiskās telpas regulācija

Jebkuras mijiedarbības panākumi lielā mērā atkarīgi ne tik daudz no tā, ko runā saskarsmes partneri, cik no tā, kā viņi nodod un saņem ziņu, kā arī kādā attālumā notiek saskarsmes process. Lai optimizētu minēto procesu, svarīgi zināt proksēmiskās valodas likumus. Proksēmiskās valodas īpatnība saistīta ar to, ka tās izpausmes nosaka cilvēka zemapziņas impulsi, kā arī nespēja tos "viltot", kas ļauj personībai uzticēties simboliskajai runai vairāk, nekā vienkāršam verbālajam informācijas nodošanas kanālam. Šajā zinātniskajā rakstā mēs pamatojamies uz to, ka attālums starp ziņas sūtītāju un saņēmēju lielā mērā ir simboliska un relevanta pazīme mijiedarbības procesā. Psiholoģiskais eksperiments tika veikts četros posmos. Pētāmajiem (208 vīrieši un 183 sievietes) tika piedāvāta metodika "Portreti", atbilstoši kurai visiem eksperimenta dalībniekiem nepieciešams ieņemt komfortu attālumu attiecībā uz cilvēku fotogrāfijām, kuras izvietotas "simboliskajā aplī". Pētījuma gaitā noskaidrots, ka cilvēks regulē savu uzvedību simboliski-proksēmiskajā telpā attiecībā uz dažāda vecuma cilvēkiem. Tāpat arī tiek pētīts, cik lielā mērā tās vai citas proksēmiskās mijiedarbības zonas izvēli nosaka dzimums, cilvēka augums, ziņojuma tēma, savstarpējo attiecību raksturojumi starp cilvēkiem, emocionālais stāvoklis un

personības temperamenta tips. Tika noskaidrots, ka, vēlēdamies iegūt cita cilvēka atbalstu, personība samazina mijiedarbības distanci, tādējādi parādot, ka proksēmiskais attālums korelē ar negatīvas attieksmes pret sarunu biedru līmeni. Proksēmiskās telpas regulāciju nozīmīgi ietekmē tādi iekšējie simboli kā sociālais prestižs, introversija-ekstraversija, kopējais ziņojuma apjoms un saturs.

Atslēgas vārdi: simbols, proksēmika, mijiedarbība, proksēmiskās zonas, simboliskā regulācija, ziņojuma sūtītājs, ziņojuma saņēmējs.

Регуляция символично-проксемического пространства лицами разных возрастных групп

Успех любого взаимодействия в значительной степени зависят не столько от того, что говорят собеседники, сколько от того, как они передают и принимают сообщение, а также на каком расстоянии при этом происходит процесс общения. Для того чтобы оптимизировать упомянутый процесс важно знать законы проксемического языка. Особенностью проксемического языка является то, что ее выявление обусловлено импульсами подсознания человека, а также отсутствием возможности их «подделать», что позволяет личности доверять этой символической речи больше чем обычному вербальному каналу передачи сообщения. В предложенной научной статье мы выходим из того, что расстояние между отправителем и получателем сообщения является наиболее символическим и релевантным признаком в процессе взаимодействия. Психологический эксперимент состоял из четырех серий. Со всеми исследуемыми (208 мужчин и 183 женщины) проводилась методика «Портреты», согласно с которой все участники эксперимента должны были занять комфортное расстояние относительно фотографий людей размещенных в «символическом кругу». В ходе психологического исследования нами устанавливается, как человек регулирует свое поведение в символично-проксемическом пространстве относительно людей разного возраста. Нами также изучается насколько выбор той или иной проксемической зоны взаимодействия обусловлен полом, ростом человека, темой сообщения, характеристиками взаимоотношений между людьми, эмоциональным состоянием и свойствами темперамента личности. Установлено, что желая завоевать ободрение другого человека, личность уменьшает дистанцию взаимодействия, тем самым показывая, что проксемическое расстояние коррелирует со степенью негативного отношения к собеседнику. На регуляцию проксемического пространства значительное влияние осуществляют такие внутренние символы, как социальный престиж, интроверсия-экстраверсия, общий объем и содержание сообщения.

Ключевые слова: символ, проксемика, взаимодействие, проксемические зоны, символическая регуляция, отправитель сообщения, получатель сообщения.

Introduction

Exploring the role of a symbol in the regulation of individual behavior scholars come from the fact that the symbol is a semantic design of an object (Klimenko 2013). In a sense, the symbol captures the essence of psychic phenomena and the genesis of knowledge of this essence. Being simultaneously *a code*, which contains sensory-intuitive patterns of mental reflection, which is transmitted to another person and *a language psycholinguistic unit* that carries thoughts, feelings and images in a coded form, – the symbol serves as a method of orientation and recognition of the unknown through converting unconscious into the heritage of thoughts, feelings and imagination. These processes in the "person-person" system provide identification of the transmitted

messages, help understanding each other, the implementation of the command and the appropriate reaction (Hmilyar 2013).

In the structure of symbolic behavior regulation an important role is given to a proxemic system. According to Hall, proxemics regulates micro space while message is transmitted (Hall 1965). Symbolic regulation depends on the size of "personal space"; emotional charge and personal "weight"; various reactions related to violation of boundaries and other people's intrusion into personal space (Knapp, Hall 2004). Personal space is dynamic: with the reduction of distance emotional stress increases and vice versa, with the increase – decreases. An intrusion into personal space zone leads to changes in behavior of the subject, including his posture (Sommer 1969).

According to the Argyale's hypothesis concerning the balance between such symbolic behavior structures as touching, eye contact and distance, the intensity of use of each of them is inversely proportional to the intensity of others. If one of the elements is used more intensively, the intensity of the use of others decreases. For example, the further the distance and less possible are touches, the more intense the eye contact is (Argyale 1972).

Labunskaya, considering the problem of symbolic-proxemic regulation believes that the choice of a distance for interaction is determined by the social prestige of the persons who transmit/receive messages as well as it is driven by their ethnicity, sex, age and the nature of relationships between them. It is particularly important for a researcher to know the relations between the process of sending/receiving messages and physical location of the interlocutors in the space. In this context proximity is one of the main "tools" for both of the transmitter and receiver of the message. Through changing own position in the space or by moving the interlocutors around, the researchers achieve changes in the group dynamics (Labunskaya, Mendzherytskaya, Breus 2001).

Modern proxemics is interested in verbal and nonverbal behavior of people in dialogic communicative spaces of different types as well as the impact of age, culture, social functions and meanings of the space and spatial objects that are relevant to humans.

The distance between the transmitter and receiver is the most symbolic and relevant in the transfer of message (Argyale 1972; Labunskaya 2001). It depends on the symbols of sex, positive or negative attitude to the message, olfactory symbols, volume of speaking, opportunities for a message transmitter to touch the recipient, look into his/her eyes and feel the physical warmth (Mahniy 2012; Heidmets 1985).

The results of longitudinal observations highlight a group of factors influencing the encoding and decoding choice of proximic message symbols. These include: gender, age, height, ethno-cultural identity, the subject of conversation, conditions under which it takes place, physical characteristics and emotional state of the interlocutors, as well as the characteristics of personal relationships between the interacting people, personal temperament traits, etc.

The article is aimed to clarifying the proxemic symbols that influence the process of behavior regulation of the transmitter and the receiver of the message.

Method

To implement the aim outlined above, we conducted four series of a psychological experiment. The first series of the experiment was aimed at clarifying the decoding features of proximic space while dealing with people of different age groups. The persons who participated in the research were with higher education (n = 391 people) (officers, psychologists and volunteers) aged 18–45 years, including 208 men and 183 women. Every participant of the experiment was subjected to the method called "Portraits" under which he/she was asked to take a comfortable distance with respect to the pictures of people placed in a "symbolic circle". There were 12 portraits offered (6 males and 6 females). The photos in the "symbolic circle" were placed at large, equally distanced from one another. Each photo (both male and female) showed persons of different ages. 5 age groups were presented in the psychological experiment: 18 to 25 years, 26 to 35 years, 36 to 45 years, 46 to 50 years, and above 50 years.

Having entered into the center of the "symbolic circle" the persons participated in the experiment acted according to the following instruction: "Dear Sir/Madam, there are 12 photos of both sexes in front of you. Please, look at them carefully and take the distance you feel like most comfortable in regards to each of the photos". In some cases, the instruction was corrected and a participant of the experiment would determine the maximum distance at which he/she would allow individuals depicted on each picture to get closer to him/her. To facilitate the decoding of the participant's action in a certain symbolic zone, each picture was numbered in accordance to the age of the person represented on it.

Results of the first series of the psychological experiment were reflected in a protocol, interpretation of which allowed identification of the proxemic symbols role in the process of behavior regulation for people of different age groups.

Results

The interpretation of the psychological experiment results.

The results of longitudinal observations show that in vivo interaction (when people are not aware that they are being watched) women, unlike men, are inclined to speak at a shorter distance (regardless of the sex of the interlocutor).

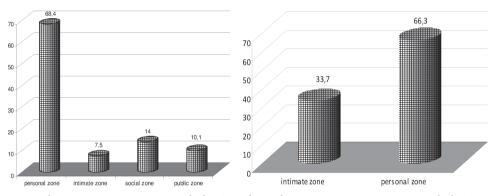
Most men are less careful about keeping a certain distance considering the nature of relationships, but in general they tend to keep a greater distance from the interlocutor as opposed to women (Argyale 1972; Mahniy 2012). It was found that 68.4% of men from 18 to 25 years prefer the personal zone (46 cm - 1.2 m) while interacting with representatives of the same sex whose age ranges from 18 to 50 years which mainly involves visual eye contact to support the conversation. However, the introverts position themselves within 98 cm - 1.2 m while transferring or decoding messages, in other words, they tend to keep more personal distance zone while extroverts feel comfortable within a 55 cm - 89 cm. In the intimate zone (0 - 45 cm), which is usually characterized by a high trust, tactile contact and soft speech, only 7.5% of the research participants aged from 18 to 25 years acted effectively and this was only with the persons of 36 to 45 years age group.

Another 14% of the experiment participants find themselves comfortable within the distance of 1.2 m - 3.6 m, i.e. in the social zone while interacting with men aged 46-50 years, and 10.1% of the persons surveyed chose the distance greater than 3.6 m. while interacting with the persons more than 50 years old.

While regulating own behavior with the opposite sex, 33.7% of men aged 18–25 years develop interaction with their female peers and women aged 36–45 years within the intimate zone of communication.

As far as interaction with the other age groups, 66.3% men perform interaction within the personal zone (0.46 cm – 1.2 m). Graphically the symbolic zone regulation, which is inherent to the men aged 18–25 years, is shown on Fig. 1 (a, b).

Figure 1 Symbolic zone regulation by persons aged 18–25 years



(a) in the "man-man" interaction link (%) (b) in the "man-woman" interaction link (%)

Source: the author's elaborated on the basis of own empirical findings

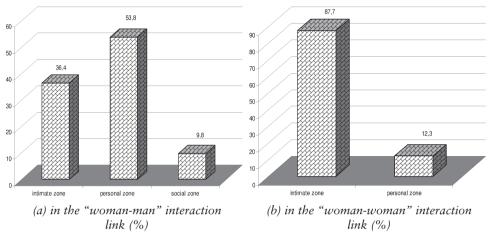
The results of the experiment show that the men of 18–25 years age group while regulating their behavior approach women much closer than men. In this case none of the persons who were surveyed chose social or public zone but preferred closer distance while positioning themselves towards the photos of females. Therefore, for the men surveyed the age indicators of behavior regulation in the "man-man" interaction link are quite significant and an increase of age difference leads to an increase of proxemic distance of interaction between them.

The analysis of the survey results for women aged 18–25 years showed that their interaction in the "woman-man" link with persons aged 36–45 years and older than 50 years falls into personal zone in 53.8% of cases. (see Fig. 2, a). The women feel themselves comfortable interacting with the men aged 18–35 years in the intimate zone. The greatest distance at which the women aged 18–25 years felt themselves comfortable interacting with men was found for the men aged 46–50 years (9.8%) which was within the social zone with an average of 2.45 m.

Surveying the behavioral trends in the "woman-woman" link, in 87.7% of cases the women aged 18–25 interacted with women aged 18–45 years in the intimate zone

(Fig. 2, b). Another 12.3% of women of the same age group interacted with the women aged 46–50 years and older than 50 years within the personal zone (1.10 m).

Figure 2 Symbolic zone regulation by persons aged 18–25 years



Source: the author's elaborated on the basis of own empirical findings

Comparing to the previous age group (see Table 1) the men aged 26–35 years who were surveyed interact with each other in the "man-man" system at a greater distance.

Table 1 Symbolic zone regulation by men aged from 26 to 35 years

Age		"men-men" behavioral regulation (%)																
26–35	18-25 years			26–35 years		36-45 years			46-50 years			rs	50 years and above					
vears	I	P	S	P	I	P	S	I	P	S	P	I	P	S	P	I	P	S
	12.5	26.5	49.0	12.0	12.5	75.0	12.5	12.6	31.4	37.7	18.3	12.5	38.7	12.5	36.3	12.5	19.0	68.5

Note: I – intimate zone; P – personal zone; S – social zone; P – public zone **Source:** the author's elaborated on the basis of own empirical findings

The Table 1 shows that the men aged 26–35 prefer the personal zone while interacting with the persons of the same age group (75%) and the men aged 46–50 years (38.7%). For 12.5% of the persons the interaction in the "man-man" takes place comfortably within the intimate zone regardless of the interlocutor's age.

Exploring age characteristics of the proxemic symbols, the researchers note that the greater the age difference between the individuals who interact is, the greater is

the distance between them (Nierenberg, Calero 1990; Mahniy 2012). On Nirenberg's opinion, the proxemic distance of interaction increases gradually from 6 years of age to early teens, then the adult norms are set. The results of our research indicate that this trend is also observed in adulthood. So, when the men of age group 26–35 years interacted with younger persons (18–25 years), then only 12% of the respondents considered the public zone (greater then 3.6 m.) as comfortable. While dealing with peers, the public zone was chosen by 12.5% of respondents; with persons of 36–45 years the public zone was considered as comfortable by 18.5% of the persons surveyed and when dealing with men aged 36–45 years this trend was shown by 36.3% of the respondents (see Table 1). Noticeably, the men aged 26–35 years did not interact with persons older than 50 years in the public zone. Simultaneously, in the 68.5% of cases the social zone average was 3.48 m, which also gives reason to believe that an increase of the age difference leads people to increase the distance between the transmitter and receiver of the message.

In the psychological experiment among women aged 26–35 years in the "woman-woman" interaction link the public zone of message transfer and receipt was not noticed at all (Table 2).

Table 2 Symbolic zone regulation by women aged from 26 to 35 years

Age		"woman-woman" behavioral regulation (%)												
26–35 vears	18-25 years			26–35 years			36–45 years			46–50 years		50 years and above		
	I	P	S	I	P	S	I	P	S	P	S	I	P	S
	13.4	70.3	16.3	22.5	69.7	7.8	23.7	49.7	26.5	71.2	28.8	17.9	54.4	27.7

Note: I – intimate zone; P – personal zone; S – social zone; P – public zone.

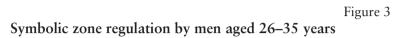
Source: the author's elaborated on the basis of own empirical findings

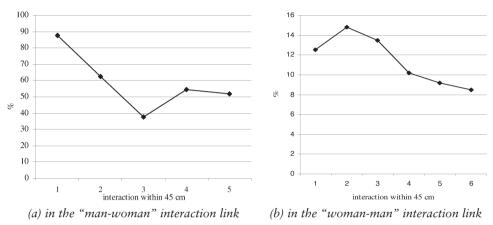
The women aged 26–35 years believe that the most acceptable interaction zone is the personal one, which dominates regardless of the age of the interlocutress. In the intimate zone the women aged 26–35 years deal more often with the women of 36–45 years (23.7%) and their peers (22.5%). The social zone of contact for the women of 26–35 years rests as the most comfortable for 27.7% of the females surveyed while interacting with women aged 36 years and above.

The behavior regulation of the men aged 26–35 who were surveyed in the "manwoman" link shows that for 87.5% of them the interaction with the women of 18–25 years takes place exclusively in the intimate zone. This trend is shown on Fig. 3 (a).

Although decreasing with an increase of a woman's age, it does not exceed 51.6% when dealing with the women who are older than 50 years. However, the percentage of the women aged 26–35 years who interact comfortably with men of different age groups in the intimate zone is much lower. So, only 14.8% of the women aged 26–35 years felt themselves comfortable while interacting this close with the men of 18–25 years. When the females were dealing with their mail peers, this figure turned 13.5%.

However, with the increase of the men's age this percentage declined. The interaction with men older than 50 years (8.5%) in the intimate zone of communication is less by 43.1% when compared with the same pair of "man-woman" (Fig. 3, b).





Source: the author's elaborated on the basis of own empirical findings

The women aged 26–35 years interact in a personal zone with their mail peers (75.7%) and the men aged 46–50 years (52.6%) whereas they do it in a social zone with the men aged 18–25 years (51.8%) and above 50 years (62.5%).

Analysis

While regulating own behavior the women who were surveyed during the psychological experiment saw the main difficulty in the absence of opportunities to decode the mental state of the person depicted in the photo. In natural environment during own behavior regulation with a particular person women (as well as men) choose a smaller distance with a friendly person and distance themselves from an unfriendly, evil, bad one. The women keep close distance in a conversation until the information transmitted/received is good or neutral.

Among women aged 36–45 years who were surveyed the interaction in the "woman-woman" link is carried out in the following symbolic-proxemic domain: when dealing with women aged 18–45 years, it takes place in a personal zone whereas when dealing with persons older than 50 years the interaction is performed in public zones. In the "woman-man" link the women preferred the personal zone while interacting with the persons aged 18–25 and their peers, when dealing with men aged 26–35 the preference was given to the social zone, and in a case with the men older than 50 years – to public zone.

Evidently, the intimate interaction zone was not externalized while surveying the women aged 36–45 years. On the other hand, among the men aged 36–45 years who were surveyed in the "man-woman" interaction link, the intimate zone is dominating (68.4%) during information transmission/reception when dealing with the women aged 18–35 years. Also, for the men aged 36–56 years the interaction with the women aged 36 years and above takes place in a personal zone for 50% and in a social zone – for 48% of male responders. The public zone was subsistent only to 2% of the men surveyed.

The main purpose of the second series of the psychological experiment was aimed at finding out how the stages of information transmission and the nature of message subjects (personal, non-personal) affect the behavioral regulation of a person.

Exploring the regulation of symbolic space, we found that the changes in distance allow decoding important parts of the message (Table 3).

Table 3
Various proxemics zones symbolic behavioral regulation

Person's behavior proxemic regulators	Intimate zone	Personal zone	Social zone	Public zone
Beginning of message transmission			+	+
End of message		+		
Change of the message subject			+	
Personal messages	+			
Non-personal messages	may ta	ike place in all	4 zones	
Praise	+	+		
Negative comment				+
Neutral comment			+	
Anger condition	+			+

Source: the author's elaborated on the basis of own empirical findings

As it is shown in Table 3, if the beginning of the message in most cases took place in the social and public zones, the last part of it was carried out in the personal ones. We recorded this trend even when the message transmitter and receiver did not come to a mutual agreement at the end of conversation. Thus, the person whose opinion was not always shared having transmitted/received the message was the first one to invite or enter him/herself into the personal zone.

Changing the message subject (even if its transfer was carried out in the intimate zone) caused a change in the communication distance. In most of the cases, the change of the message subject took place in the social interaction zone. Personal messages usually proceeded in an intimate (76.5%) and personal (23.5%) zones (if other personal factors would not neutralize them). Non-personal messages among those observed were communicated in all four zones.

The main purpose of the third series of the psychological experiment was aimed to finding out how the starting attitude to the same message subject, semantic comment on the actions of the persons observed, and certain mental state can affect the distance when receiving and transmitting messages. The third series of experiment was con-

ducted after a module test with students was performed. To get a personal performance assessment every person who was observed entered the lecture room where he/she listened to the test administrator's comments of different content addressing the student: either negative, neutral or positive. It is determined that the persons who were given a negative comment positioned themselves mostly in a public zone (96.7%) while only 3.3% of the students of this category stayed in a distant social zone (the lecture room was designed for 157 seats). Those of the persons observed who listened to a positive comment from the examiner, positioned themselves in an intimate and personal zones. In the case when the comments were neutral the 88.1% of the persons positioned themselves in a social zone (Table 3). Thus, having received negative evaluation, people tend to set a greater distance than in dealing with the same person before he/she hurt them, especially if the offender is seen as a person of higher status. Regardless of the message subject when conversation partners come closer to each other it may lead to the reduction of the time needed to transfer the message.

It was found that the current mental state of a person has a significant impact on the regulation of a symbolic zone. For example, the state of anger revealed itself in an ambivalent way. So, in case of danger from an angry person the most comfortable zone for interaction was the public one. At the same time seeking for revenge the person in a state of anger often interfered in the intimate zone of his/her abuser. Thus, changes in the emotional state sometimes lead to big differences, depending on how close or far we want to be in regards to others. This thesis is clearly seen when a proxemic distance is regulated by a person who is depressed, tired, in a state of overexcitement or joy.

In the fourth series of the experiment we researched how the height of the message transmitter and receiver affects the symbolic zone regulation. It is observed that in the eyes of others the symbolic height of a person is not always equal to the factual one but often depends on the social status. During the psychological experiment we have confirmed a number of hypotheses that there is a clear link between the transmitter's and receiver's height and the distance at which the message transfer takes place (Table 4).

Table 4 Symbolic zone regulation by persons of different height

Person's behavior proxemic regulators	Intimate zone	Personal zone	Social zone	Public zone
Height: "tall-short" (men)		+		
Height: "tall-tall" (men)		+		
Height: "short-tall" (men)			+	+
Height: "short-short" (men)	+			
Height: "short-tall" (women)	+	+		
Height: "short-short" (women)				+
Height: "tall-short" (women)			+	+
Height: "tall-tall" (women)			+	
Extraversion	+	+		
Introversion			+	+

Source: the author's elaborated on the basis of own empirical findings

Thus, tall men always tend to get closer to their shorter interlocutors during the interaction process. So, in 84.8% of cases transfer/receipt of the message between men in the "tall-short" link is carried out in a personal zone. Same trend is observed when both men are tall.

At the same time, the smaller is the height of the person, the bigger distances he/she prefers. Normally, the interaction between men in the "short-tall" link took place in a public zone (81.4%) and in a distant social zone (18.6%). The men in the "low-low" link often interact on the verge of intimate and personal zones.

The women who were observed showed a different tendency. So, the interaction between women in "short-tall" link was taking place in an intimate and personal zones while behavior regulation among women in "short-short" link was carried out in the most distant – public zone. The interaction between women in "tall-short" link took place mainly in distant social and public zones while tall women felt the most comfortable interacting in the social zone. We have registered many cases when obese persons of both sexes tended to keep greater distances than lean persons during the transfer/receipt of messages.

The proxemic zone regulation is also largely influenced by such internal symbols as social prestige, introversion-extroversion, total volume and content of the message. The behavior regulation also depends on external symbols such as the size of the room, lighting, etc.

Several researches have been conducted regarding the influence of introversion and extraversion on the proxemic relations regulation. There were many cases when an extrovert, trying to hide his feelings, was more expressive than an introvert, and to a greater degree gave away his/her intentions (Knapp 1977). Applying this assertion during a psychological experiment, we can note that introverts in 72.7% of cases interacted in social and in 27.3% of cases in the public areas while extroverts acted on the contrary: in 21.6% of cases they felt better in an intimate and personal zones (78.4%). In other words, an extravert may well be satisfied by having less personal space than an introvert.

Conclusion

The psychological experiment results give reason to believe that behavioral regulation can be predicted with a high probability based on the indicators of proxemics available. In an effort to win approval of another person an individual reduces the distance of interaction – as opposed to the cases when the individual, for whatever reasons, intends to avoid approval. This thesis supports the hypothesis that the proxemic interaction distance is correlated with the level of negative attitude to the interlocutor.

In the process of message encoding /decoding the regulation of a symbolic space by persons of different age groups is very significant. The symbolic behavior of an individual organizes the space-time characteristics of the interaction. The proxemic behavior regulation can influence various aspects of the interacting subjects as representatives of different nations have different ideas about its optimality. The ignorance of culturally determined differences of different nations representatives proxemic zone behavior could cause misunderstandings, misconceptions about the behavior and culture of others. However, the impact of ethnicity on the amount of personal space can not be considered as definitively established and this will make our prospects for future research.

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EXPECTING REFUGEES IN LATVIA: INTERGROUP ANXIETY

In the context of the contemporary refugee crisis in Europe, Latvia has agreed to provide shelter to several hundreds of refugees. However, Latvian society remains very sceptic about such plans, and reportedly demonstrates strong negative attitudes towards refugees. The host society is preparing for a new social context, which may change the status quo and challenge national identities in Latvia. Although the surveys indicate that the level of negation in the society is close to 80%, media report that these feelings do not really impact the behaviour of Latvian residents, reflecting cognitive and emotional components of such attitudes only. According to the survey, by the end of 2015 the factual experience of interaction with refugees did not exceed ten per cent of Latvian population. Therefore, most of the real attitudes are formed by mass media and other socialisation agents. In order to uncover the nature of these feelings, the present study has been designed to make an in-depth social psychological study on prejudicial attitudes. One thousand Latvian residents evenly representing Latvia's demographic composition have taken part in this study. A modified Stephan's Intergroup Anxiety Questionnaire has been used to assess participants' real and imagined discomfort and anxiety level when interacting with refugees. According to the Integrated Threat Theory, this is one of emotional components of attitudes. The results identify factors influencing the formation of such attitudes and reveal how they may shape the identity of the host society in future. When evaluating their prejudicial attitudes towards refugees. Latvian residents demonstrate conformity in answers. Carefulness and impatience are the most typical emotions describing how Latvian residents feel or would have felt when interacting with refugees. The results indicate that the level of readiness to accept newcomers in Latvian society is very low. Most of these attitudes are formed not as a result of interaction with the new group, but based on the assumptions; they are anchored in the fear of the unknown and in doubts that the coming changes in the established balance of interethnic relations in Latvia will bring in more opportunities than threats. The study suggests that there is a strong link between the current situation and Latvian ethnopolitics.

Key words: attitudes, emotions, intergroup anxiety, Latvia, prejudicial attitudes, refugees.

Sagaidot bēgļus Latvijā: starpgrupu trauksme

Reaģējot uz mūsdienu migrācijas krīzi Eiropā, Latvija ir piekritusi dot patvērumu dažiem simtiem bēgļu. Tomēr Latvijas sabiedrība paliek ļoti skeptiska attiecībā uz šādiem plāniem un demonstrē izteiktu negatīvu attieksmi pret bēgļiem. Uzņemošā sabiedrība gatavojas jaunam sociālam kontekstam, kas var izraisīt pašreizējās situācijas maiņu un kļūt par izaicinājumu Latvijā pastāvētajām sociālo grupu nacionālām identitātēm. Kaut gan aptaujas norāda, ka apmēram 80% iedzīvotāju demonstrē negatīvu attieksmi pret bēgļiem, sabiedriskie saziņas līdzekļi informē, ka šīs jūtas kopumā neietekmē Latvijas iedzīvotāju uzvedību, bet tikai atspoguļo attiecības kognitīvo un emocionālo komponentu. Saskaņā ar pētījuma rezultātiem, uz 2015. gada beigām ne vairāk kā sabiedrības vienai desmitdaļai bija faktiskā pieredze komunikācijā ar bēgļiem, līdz ar to reālā attieksme, pārsvarā, veidojas ar sabiedrisko saziņas līdzekļu un citu socializācijas aģentu starpniecību. Lai izpētītu aizspriedumu dabu, tika izstrādāts un īstenots sociālpsiholoģiskais pētījums, kurā piedalījās viens tūkstotis dalībnieku, vienmērīgi atspoguļojot Latvijas demogrāfisko sastāvu. Lai izpētītu reālu vai iedomātu diskomfortu, kuru izraisa komunikācija

ar bēgļiem, tika izmantota modificēta Stefana Starpgrupu trauksmes noteikšanas aptauja. Saskaņā ar Integrēto draudu teoriju, starpgrupu trauksme ir viens no attieksmes emocionālajiem komponentiem. Pētījuma rezultāti identificē faktorus, kas ietekmē aizspriedumu veidošanos, un ieskicē viņu potenciālo ietekmi uz uzņemošās sabiedrības nacionālajām identitātēm nākotnē. Noteicot aizspriedumus attiecībā uz bēgļiem, Latvijas iedzīvotāji demonstrē atbilžu saskaņotību. *Piesardzība* un *neiecietība* ir vistipiskākās emocijas, kuras izpaužas Latvijas iedzīvotāju reālajā vai iedomātajā komunikācijā ar bēgļiem. Pētījuma rezultāti apliecina, ka jaunas ārgrupas uzņemšanas gatavības līmenis ir ļoti zems. Vairums aizspriedumu veidojas uz iztēlošanas pamata, nevis pēc reālas komunikācijas ar ārgrupas pārstāvjiem, kas, savukārt, izpaužas bailēs no nezināmā un bažās par to, vai pastāvošā starpetnisko attiecību līdzsvara mainīšana radīs vairāk iespēju, nekā trauksmju. Pētījums sasaista šo situāciju ar Latvijā īstenoto etnopolitiku.

Atslēgas vārdi: aizspriedumi, attieksme, bēgļi, emocijas, Latvija, starpgrupu trauksme.

Латвия в ожидании беженцев: межгрупповая тревожность

Отвечая на вызовы настоящего миграционного кризиса в Европе, Латвия согласилась предоставить убежище для нескольких сотен беженцев. Тем не менее, в латвийском обществе преобладает скептическое отношение к таким планам, и оно демонстрирует крайне отрицательное отношение к беженцам. Принимающее общество готовится к новому социальному контексту, который может изменить существующее положение вещей и стать вызовом для национальных идентичностей представленных в Латвии социальных групп. Несмотря на то, что, согласно опросам, около 80% жителей Латвии демонстрируют отрицательное отношение к беженцам, средства массовой информации сообщают, что эти чувства в целом не влияют на поведение латвийцев, а отражают лишь когнитивный и эмоциональный компоненты отношений. Согласно результатам исследования, к концу 2015 года не более 10% населения Латвии имели фактический опыт общения с беженцами, что указывает на то, что большая часть реального отношения формируется средствами массовой информации и другими агентами социализации. Целью данного исследования являлось социально-психологическое изучение особенностей предрассудков. Тысяча респондентов, равномерно отражающая демографический состав Латвии, приняла участие в исследовании. Для изучения реального и воображенного дискомфорта и уровня тревожности латвийцев при общении с беженцами был использован модифицированный Опросник межгрупповой тревожности Стефана. Согласно Интегрированной теории угроз, межгрупповая тревожность является одним из эмоциональных компонентов отношения. Результаты исследования идентифицируют факторы, влияющие на формирование предрассудков, и дают возможность понять, какое влияние они могут оказать на идентичности принимающего общества в будущем. При оценке предрассудков в отношении беженцев латвийцы демонстрируют сходство в ответах. Осторожность и нетерпимость являются самыми типичными эмоциями, которые возникают при реальном или предполагаемом общении латвийцев с беженцами. Результаты показывают, что уровень готовности принять новую группу в Латвии очень низок. Большинство этих отношений формируется на основе предположений, а не в результате общения с группой. Они основаны на страхе перед неизвестным и на сомнении в том, что наступающие перемены в установленном равновесии межэтнических отношений в Латвии принесут больше возможностей, чем угроз. Исследование связывает данную ситуацию с особенностями реализуемой в Латвии этнополитики.

Ключевые слова: беженцы, Латвия, межгрупповая тревожность, отношение, предрассудки, эмоции.

Introduction

The contemporary refugee crisis in Europe has not only challenged the founding principles of the European Union; it also activated certain psychological mechanisms in the European societies and once again reminded that the ideas of national belonging and nationalism are still valid, and proved that globalisation has not eliminated nationhood – instead, it has complicated the construction of collective identities (Scholte 1996).

Although the asylum system in Latvia was established in 1998, a relatively small number of asylums granted in the country (165 in the last 7 years) have been ensuring that this category of Latvian population is remaining invisible in political, economic and social terms. Therefore, the current plan of relocating several hundreds of refugees to Latvia from refugee camps in Southern Europe has raised strong opposition in the society. It is feeling threat to its norms, values, welfare, and identities. In a way, the society is expecting the appearance of another out-group, which will challenge the status quo and the established patterns of ethnic and intergroup relations in Latvia. The appearance of such a group will have a definite effect on the ways Latvian society and its ethnic groups identify themselves.

According to the Eurobarometer data, Latvian population has the most sceptic attitude towards refugees in the whole of the EU, and this negativity is expressed among 80% of Latvian residents (European Commission 2014). Due to the fact that less than 10% of the population in Latvia have actually had the factual experience of interacting with refugees, this fear is irrational and is based on the assumption, not the fact. Although it is clear that this negative attitude generally reflects the fear of the unknown, a closer study of these feelings may be helpful for unfolding the structure of national identities in Latvia and learning about some of their interplaying components.

The aim of the current study is to examine the levels of intergroup anxiety, which is expressed among Latvian residents, when they evaluate real or assumed interaction with the arriving refugee group. It also aims to determine the predictive variables of these levels.

Intergroup anxiety

The term *attitudes* stands for a relatively enduring organisation of beliefs, feelings and behavioural tendencies towards socially significant objects, groups, events or symbols (Hogg 2006). *Intergroup anxiety* reflects the emotional component of attitudes, and describes the ambiguous feelings of discomfort or anxiety when interacting or anticipating interaction with members of the out-groups. The anxiety is caused by expectations that such interaction will result in aversive experience and will have negative consequences (Levine, Hogg 2009). Intergroup anxiety is an important mediator between intergroup contact and attitudes towards out-groups (Stephan, Stephan 1985; Stephan et al. 1999). In order to understand the nature of this feeling, which is reportedly present among the majority of Latvia's population, we have to take a closer

look at the ways socialities form and reproduce their identities, and to define the role of nationalism in maintaining the established hierarchy in the Latvian society.

Sociality

The European social thought has been occupied with ideas about how people see themselves in relation to others in groups and communities for at least four centuries (Berry et al. 2002). The term *identity* has its origins in post-structuralist philosophy and means a substantive individual way of locating oneself in a social world. Therefore, it is an outcome of a complex series of social processes. Identity does not form spontaneously; it is learned and never fixed. It is best understood as a project – always under construction and never perfect. Identity is a matter of locale, network and memory; it is carried in language and reproduces itself in routine social practice. Social identity is a critical part of individual's self-concept which derives from the knowledge of one's membership in social groups, paired with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. Social identities are constituted by narratives, which are often attached to cultural and institutional formations (Somers, Gibson 1998; Preston 1997; Zaretsky 1998; Tajfel 1978; Turner, Brown 1978; Calhoun 1998b; Renwick 1996). People learn to react based on their loyalties, defending those groups that are important to their definition of who they are. The stronger the loyalty, the more likely members of a group are to share similar views and endorse similar strategies (Druckman 1994). When individuals start to identify with one group, they demarcate themselves from others. Therefore, inclusion and exclusion are related, being mutually interactive concepts (Holmes 1999; Brewer, Miller 1996).

Any social group is a part of a wider social context, i.e. it coexists with other groups to which it is related, allied or is hostile to. Armstrong notes that groups tend to define themselves not referring to their own characteristics, but by exclusion – comparison to the out-groups. Taking into account that collective identities have to have a spatial referent, the out-groups may be internal, external, or both (Ozkirimli 2000; Petersoo 2007; Hutchinson, Smith 1994). In order to survive as a distinct entity, social groups have to maintain certain level of internal cohesion. Therefore, the norms of the group strongly encourage conformity and discourage deviance (Scheff 1998). Collectivities have both an inward and an outward dimension. The inward dimension gives an in-group its cohesion, but its outwardness – its sense of particularity. Collectivities erect boundaries to demarcate themselves from others in order to secure the consistency of the group identity (Schöpflin 2003).

Nationality

Building attachments to groups is a part of a normal socialisation process. As people grow older, they become less focused on themselves per se and more focused on themselves as a part of a larger social setting. Groups are organised to meet human needs, which determine their structures and processes. At the level of a nation, the group gives individuals a sense of security, a feeling of belonging, and prestige, thus

fulfilling economic, socio-cultural and political needs. The more secure individuals feel in their groups, the more healthy their relationship to the in-group and the lower their need for distancing their group from others (Druckman 1994).

Billig (1995) emphasises that national identity is a form of life, which is daily lived in the world of nation-states. Nationalism encourages identification of individuals not with locality or webs of their specific interpersonal relationships, but with an abstract category (Calhoun 1998a). Images provide individuals with maps of the groups in their environment. When these images become shared within a group, they become stereotypes. A stereotyped image consists of descriptive, affective and normative components. In fact, individuals and groups are motivated to form and maintain enemy images even in the absence of hostile intentions. It has been discovered that people tend to actively seek and interpret information that confirms the negative image; they are oriented towards possible negative outcomes and focus on duties obligations and security rather than aspirations and opportunities (Haslam, Holland 2012). However, according to the Reference Group Theory, nationalism does not necessitate that other nations are viewed with hostility (Stein 2001; Druckman 1994; Kellas 1998). Stereotypes are language formulas, which are reproduced in everyday communication. Sulmane and Kruks (2001) note four major topics, which are used in mass media to form stereotypes: threats to "our" culture, threats to "our" security, threats to "our" social and economic interests, and inferiority.

Social systems engage in certain social practices, which are responsible for distributing social value in these systems. According to the Social Dominance Theory, human society is ordered by systems of group-based hierarchies, in which both dominant and subordinate groups coexist, and that group members are mostly motivated to behave in ways that sustain these hierarchies (Pratto et al. 2006; Sidanious, Pratto, 1999). Not only they are motivated to protect the group and preserve their social status, they also feel compelled to justify their group behaviour through hierarchical system representing through three components: legitimatising myths, trimorphic structure, and social dominance orientation (Redmond 2009). Legitimising myths represent the way how group based hierarchies are produced and maintained; they make up attitudes, beliefs, stereotypes, values and ideologies that fuel moral, cognitive and intellectual justification for the social practices, which distribute social value within the system (Sidanius, Pratto 1999). Ethnic nationalism is a good example of such a myth.

Ethnopolitics

Nationality rights have always been a problem in international affairs. States seek to control the boundaries of their citizenries and to exclude or discriminate against foreigners. Most states prefer their citizens to be members of a homogeneous nation, and they use their immigration laws to restrict this (Kellas 1998).

Castles (2003) and Brown (2000) distinguish three basic theories of social organisation of immigration societies. The first model is exclusionary. It means that the host society does not wish to accept immigrants and their children as the members of their

nation. In this model, ethnopolitics is aimed to complicate immigrants' integration process by sets of limitations (citizenship, political, economic, social rights). In case of differential exclusion immigrants are incorporated into certain areas of society but denied access to others. Immigrants become ethnic minorities and a part of civil society but are excluded from full participation in economic, political, social and cultural relations. The result is immigrants becoming socio-economically disadvantaged, reproducing strong link between class and ethnicity. The second model is assimilative. It implies that immigrants are expected to accept certain cultural, linguistic and social characteristics in order to become indistinctive members of the host society. Cultural assimilation in this case is the price of joining the nation. The third model is multicultural. It means the host society is providing equal rights in all spheres of social organisation, preserving the cultural diversity of immigrants, at the same time expecting from them conformity to certain key-values of the host society.

Danjoux (2002) insists that civic-ethnic duality in nationalism is not an antithesis; every historical nation entails both a civic and an ethnic principle, and these principles can never be made fully congruent – neither conceptually, nor practically. However, according to Soysal (1996), the contemporary trends imply that the nation state is no longer the source of legitimacy for individual rights; therefore, classical conceptions of national citizenship do not reflect the dynamics of membership and belonging in contemporary Europe. These processes indicate the formation of a new model of membership, which is constructed around deterritorialised notions of personal rights. The postnational model implies plurality of membership forms, with uneven distribution of rights among various immigrant groups and citizens. In the emerging European system, certain migrant groups are more privileged than others (Ibid).

Citizenship policies determine the political system. Inclusivity and exclusivity, being central in the development of state and nation, influence the nature of nationality concept. An exclusive citizenship policy, which is providing advantages for specific ethnic groups, promotes the introduction of an ethnic democracy, which signifies ethnic domination (Kalnins 1997).

Multilayer in-group/out-group system

Latvia has never been considered as an immigration country. However, ethnic composition of Latvia reflects the coexistence of various ethnic groups, which to a large extent is due to a number of dramatic historic events that have deeply traumatised Latvian ethnic nation. The pressure on national culture, language and identity during the period of Soviet occupation has resulted in implementing the politics of exclusion (Plakans 1995). Similar to Estonia, the restored state in Latvia became an instrument of the ethnic majority for the implementation of its needs and ideals. The path towards social and political evolution of the state was expected to go through the revitalisation of the past, which was believed to contain genuine democratic experience (Jurgaitiene, Jarve 1997). Considering the Soviet period's immigrants as a threat to their national security, Latvians and Estonians used citizenship as the instrument for attainment of national and cultural homogeneity (Aasland 2002; Aarebrot 2000; Danjoux 2002).

The result of the introduced exclusionary ethnopolitics in Latvia was the formation of ethnic democracy, i.e. a democracy in which the dominance of one ethnic group was institutionalised. The model combined some elements of liberal democracy with explicit ethnic dominance; it was based on institutional hegemony of Latvians by the range of political rights and the political status of Latvian language (Rodin 1997). As a result, the Latvian population has been divided for the last two decades – various communities have been coexisting, often each in its own informational space, implementing some of their needs and ideals together (as one in-group), and some – separately (as an in-group and an out-group). This situation has produced the complex multilayer in-group/out-group system, dividing the society by ethnicity, language, citizenship. Therefore, the appearance of the new out-group (refugees), in case it reaches the critical mass in Latvian society, may be seen both as a threat to the established ethnic relations in Latvia, or as an opportunity to reform the system and form an inclusive in-group together with the former out-group members.

A number of studies (Pedersen et al. 2005; Pedersen et al. 2006; Hartley, Pedersen 2015) have demonstrated that the antagonism towards refugees rests on acceptance of several inaccurate beliefs or myths; they are often seen as a direct threat to national sovereignty, economy and social cohesion, therefore rising discussions about support, rights and entitlements to be granted to them in the host society (Verkuyten 2004). More traditional immigrant societies, such as Australia or the United States, have longer history in performing studies on attitudes towards refugees (Murray, Marx 2013; Suhnan et al. 2012; Yakushko 2009; Finney, Peach 2004; Haslam, Holland 2012; Schweitzer et al. 2005). Latvian social sciences are now facing a changing social context, which may challenge the foundations of the established balance in the society. It has a long way to go, meanwhile, the present study is the first attempt to learn about the nature of Latvians' attitudes towards an out-group that is not yet there.

Research overview and method

The current research project has been implemented in Latvia between September and December 2015. The active phase of surveying matches the period of time, when the Latvian government developed and approved the action plan on the intake of refugees from Southern Europe, the Parliament (Saeima) adopted the new Asylum Law (2015), but the society was occupied by formulating its opinion on refugee issues.

Participants

One thousand Latvians evenly representing various population groups in accordance with Latvia's demography and geography voluntarily participated in this study: age (16–94, *Mean*=42.81, *SD*=16.64), gender (55.1% females, 44.9% males), residence (34.2% Riga, 65.8% rest of Latvia), mother tongue (43.5% Latvian, 56.5% other).

Procedure

The survey has been available in paper form in two languages – Latvian and Russian. Filling out the questionnaire has taken place both individually and in groups. The structure of the questionnaire has the following model: in the first pillar respondents answer demographic questions, in the second – questions on cognitive component, third – emotional, and fourth – behavioural component of the attitude. The current article focuses on the measures and results of the first and third pillars.

Measures

The demographic pillar of the questionnaire consists of two sections. The first section includes questions on respondents' age, gender, mother tongue, place of residence (Riga or the rest of Latvia), employment (including occupation, economy sector, and study field for students), level of education, level of income per family member. The second demographic section covers the informational environment of the respondents (language of mass media, frequency of consuming the mass media content in different languages), their travelling patterns, communication with foreigners, and emigration experience, including the geography and the period of emigration. In order to introduce the respondents to the issue in question (attitudes towards refugees), the survey offers two open questions: we ask for a subjective definition of the term *refugee* and the main reasons for how people become refugees. This section ends with a question on personal experience in interaction with refugees, including the evaluation of such communication; a question on personal political preferences (on the scale from far left to far right), and a question, whether participants follow the formation of the public opinion concerning the acceptance of refugees in Latvia.

The third pillar of the survey covers the emotional component of the attitudes. This component is assessed using two questionnaires. A modified version of the Intergroup Anxiety Questionnaire, which was originally developed by Stephan and Stephan (1985), has been used to assess participants' imagined discomfort and anxiety level when interacting with refugees. This questionnaire consists of the following ten emotions: awkwardness, embarrassment, happiness, acceptance, confidence, irritation, impatience, suspicion, carefulness, relaxation. The response format consists of a Likert 9-point scale ranging from 1 (I do not feel this emotion at all) to 9 (I feel this emotion strongly), which requires participants to indicate the extent to which they feel these emotions are or would have been present in their interaction with refugees. Items were reversed scored where necessary to create an index reflecting the intergroup anxiety of the participants, where higher values indicated higher levels of intergroup anxiety.

It has to be noted that the scales used in this survey do not provide numeric answers. An unconventional approach has been applied, i.e. the respondents are given an unmarked scale between two polar answers and it is up to respondent's personal perception how to interpret this scale. The unmarked scales have been later processed according to Likert approach. Such approach ensures more honest answers and minimises responding in a socially desirable manner.

At the end of the survey, the question concerning the level of participant's loyalty to the Latvian state is asked, which is followed by the last question concerning the phenomenon of false consensus (Ross 1977) – we ask, whether respondents think that the majority of their fellow citizens have a similar attitude towards refugees. This is based on the assumption that people overestimate the extent to which others share their attitude (Haslam, Holland 2012).

Results

Examination of the items on intergroup anxiety scale suggested a possible two-factor breakdown of the measure: *Non-acceptance* and *Conditional acceptance*. An exploratory factor analysis method was performed to assess this possibility (see Table 1). A Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin of 648 showed the data set to be factorable. A Principle component extraction using Varimax rotation method found two factors with eigenvalues greater than one. The variance accounted for by the first factor was 40.53%. The variance accounted for by the second factor was 23.23%, with the cumulative variance from these two factors accounting for 63.76% of the total variance in the measure. The two subscales are presented in Table 1. An oblique rotation was applied supporting a moderately negative correlation between the two factors -.582. The Non-acceptance component included four items, i.e. *Suspicion, Irritation, Impatience* and *Carefulness*; but the Conditional acceptance component – three: *Awkwardness, Embarrassment*, and *Acceptance*. The rest of items were excluded from analysis. Reliability analyses using Cronbach's α revealed that the items on the Non-acceptance (α =.774) and Conditional acceptance (α = 745) measures had adequate internal consistency.

Table 1
Results of Exploratory Factor Analysis
for the Intergroup Anxiety Measure

Scale items	1. Component (Non-acceptance)	2. Component (Conditional Acceptance)
Suspicion	.843	022
Irritation	.788	.220
Impatience	.711	.266
Carefulness	.695	058
Awkwardness	.217	.848
Embarrassment	.211	.830
Acceptance	125	.710
Eigenvalues:	2.83	1.63
Total variance explained:	40.53%	23.23%

Note: Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Boldface indicates item loading > 4.

Source: elaborated by the authors

A preliminary descriptive analysis represented in Table 2 indicates the means and standard deviations of the measures for both components. The results indicate that over 60% of participants scored above the mid-point on intergroup non-acceptance anxiety scale and, in the same time, over 70% of participants scored below the mid-point on intergroup conditional acceptance anxiety scale. This percentage highlights the high prevalence of non-acceptance of refugees in the current sample.

Two items, i.e. *carefulness* and *impatience*, have the highest values in intergroup anxiety scale. These are the most typical emotions describing how the most of Latvian residents would feel when interacting with refugees.

Table 2
Basics Statistics for all measures (N=1000)

Measures	Alpha	M	SD
Non-acceptance scale	.774	5.00	1.99
Suspicion		3.86	2.72
Irritation		3.50	2.56
Impatience		5.89	2.66
Carefulness		6.74	2.37
Conditional acceptance scale	.745	3.25	1.93
Awkwardness		3.53	2.49
Embarrassment		3.46	2.48
Acceptance		2.77	2.13

Source: elaborated by the authors

The regression analysis determining major predictors of intergroup anxiety of Latvian residents interacting with refugees has been performed after preliminary descriptive analysis. Dependent variables (non-acceptance and conditional acceptance scales mean values) did not estimate normal distribution parameters. Therefore binary logistic regression method was chosen in this case, where only variance from the first (coded with 0) and last (coded with 1) quartiles of the scales were taken into analysis. The first model involved a total of 55.7% of participants (443 out of 1000) leaving a sample of 557 for the regression analyses in relation to non-acceptance scale and 53.7% of participants (463 out of 1000) leaving a sample of 537 for the regression analyses in relation to conditional acceptance scale.

In order to determine predicting variables of intergroup anxiety of Latvian residents towards refugees two binary logistic regression models (Method=Enter) were constructed. They indicated the most important predictors of psychological non-acceptance (see Table 3) and conditional psychological acceptance of the refugees in the host society (see Table 4).

Table 3 Binary logistic regression model predicting non-acceptance of Latvian residents when interacting with refugees

Variables entered	В	S.E.	(Exp)B	R ² (Cox&Snell)	R² (Nagelkerke)
Model				.197	.263
False consensus	1.146**	.285	3.145		
Public opinion	704**	.224	2.022		
Media content (Russian language)	406**	.090	.666		
Political orientation	181**	.049	.835		
Loyalty to Latvian state	125**	.037	.882		
Constant	3.264**	1.099	26.159		

Source: elaborated by the authors

Table 4
Binary logistic regression model predicting conditional acceptance of
Latvian residents when interacting with refugees

Variables entered	В	S.E.	(Exp) B	R ² (Cox&Snell)	R² (Nagelkerke)
Model				.175	.234
Study	1.963**	.399	7.124		
False consensus	-1.136**	.273	.321		
Emigrational experience	968**	.307	.380		
Media content (Russian language)	377**	.092	.686		
Level of Education	.263**	.107	1.301		
Media content (Latvian language)	.210*	.087	1.233		
Political orientation	138**	.050	.871		
Income	137*	.069	.872		
Constant	2.345**	1.042	10.434		

Source: elaborated by the authors

The results show that in total 71.8% of predictions were accurate in the first regression model and 67% of predictions were accurate in the second regression model. Both models in general indicate only modest improvement in fit over the baseline model. This becomes evident taking into account descriptive data, indicating that in evaluating prejudicial attitudes towards refugees Latvian residents tend to show conformity in answers. Nevertheless, these models helped distinguishing variables with bigger predictive effect.

The first model indicates that Latvian residents, who feel certain that their opinion is shared by the majority of the in-group, follow the formation of public opinion, do not consume media content in Russian language, support political parties standing up

for bigger social guarantees and express low loyalty to Latvian state tend to demonstrate the highest intergroup anxiety according to the non-acceptance model.

The second model indicates that Latvian residents, who study, have lower levels of income, feel certain that their opinion is not shared by the majority of the in-group, have emigrational experience, do not consume media content in Russian language, but follow the one in Latvian, have higher levels of education, support political parties standing up for bigger social guarantees tend to demonstrate the highest intergroup anxiety according to the conditional acceptance model.

Conclusions

The study has achieved its aims – the levels of intergroup anxiety and their predictive variables have been examined. The analysis indicates that only some of the variables, which have been taken into consideration in the design of the study, have actual predictive effect on the levels of intergroup anxiety. These are the [Latvian and Russian] language of the media content consumed by the participants, their political orientation, their levels of income, education and loyalty to the Latvian state, their occupation (study), their interest in following the formation of the public opinion, emigrational experience, and false consensus. *Carefulness* and *impatience* appear to be the most typical emotions describing how most of Latvian residents feel or would have felt when interacting with refugees. When evaluating their prejudicial attitudes towards refugees, Latvian residents demonstrate conformity in answers.

The results indicate that Latvian society is not open towards the appearance of a new out-group, i.e. the level of readiness to accept newcomers is very low. However, it has to be reminded that most of these attitudes are formed not as a result of interaction with the new group, but based on the assumptions. These feelings are anchored in the fear of the unknown and in uncertainty that the coming changes in the established balance of interethnic relations in Latvia will bring in more opportunities than threats. And this fear stands for at least both the largest ethnic groups in Latvia. It proves that the balance that has been reached during the two decades is in fact fragile, but ethnopolitics that has been implemented all these years – unsustainable.

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ZINĀTNISKĀ DZĪVE

AIZSTĀVĒTIE PROMOCIJAS DARBI

Viktorija Šipilova

STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN MANUFACTURING AND THEIR IMPACT ON ECONOMIC GROWTH



Author of the thesis Dr. oec. Viktorija Šipilova

Topicality of the research. The issue on sectoral structure of economy has acquired a new urgency nowadays. This finds roots in necessity of a regional economy to make the choice of sectors and branches of economic activity, which might be identified as priorities for the future economic growth, taking into account theoretical statements of economic growth, the aims set in the national and regional strategies and the experience of recent global economic downturn. Scientists and practitioners link the choice with the paradigm of the economic science – the economics of structural changes.

Sectoral structure of economy might be understood as more beneficial, if economic activity finds roots in application of the latest technologies and experiences structural changes towards sectors and branches with high and rising labour productivity. The strategy

"Europe 2020" set the manufacturing and high-tech sectors of manufacturing as the basis for the future economic growth. This, in turn, means that a large part of the regions in EU, including Latvia, have to increase the share of manufacturing in sectoral structure of economy and to encourage improvements in technological structure of manufacturing, what indicates on necessity of structural changes.

Application of *structural change analysis* in a framework of paradigm of the economics of structural changes finds widespread in foreign literature devoted to study of differentiated economic growth. Moreover, content of current strategies, related to economic growth, emphasizes the need of structural changes for sustainability.

It should be noted that the theoretical guidelines of the economics of structural changes as well as structural change analysis are hardly used in the works of Latvian

scientists. The studies mostly concentrate on analysis of sectoral structure of economy or its separate sectors (e.g., Auziņa 2009; Priede 2010; Šatrevičs, Zvanītājs 2010; Zorgenfreija 2014), evaluation of restructuring processes in society and the economy in context of new economy (e.g., the Latvian University 2004). In turn, theoretical and methodological possibilities of the economics of structural changes and structural change analysis do not find a place within the studies. Moreover, author pays attention on relatively rare use of the term "structural changes" and, mostly, outside the paradigm of the economics of structural changes.

The exception is a small number of scientific works developed by the scientists of Riga Technical University (e.g., Saulītis 2013; Mihnenoka, Saulitis 2013; Mihnenoka, Senfelde 2013) and the Latvian University (Skribane, Jēkabsone 2013, 2014).

Scientific findings, appraisals of economic experts and content of strategies developed for economic growth indicate the need to encourage structural changes in economy. However, lack of scientifically based knowledge about impact of structural changes on economic growth impedes this.

Rare scientific works, which apply theoretical and methodological guidelines of economics of structural changes for the Latvian economy (e.g., Havlik 2005), mainly, concentrate on the case of the EU-13 without exclusive attention to the case of Latvia. Moreover, such studies cannot fill the knowledge gap in Latvia.

The above facts contributed to the author's interest to introduce actively the theoretical and methodological approach of the economics of structural change to the studies about Latvian economy, and to present the most important research results in scientific publications and reports in international scientific conferences since 2011 (see chapter Information of the thesis).

The aim to base the future growth in Latvia on the manufacturing and in particular on high-tech sectors of manufacturing (as H an MeH¹ see the list of abbreviations) highlights the need in structural changes and indicates on urgency of research of structural changes.

The share of manufacturing in the Latvian economy is low (Ekonomikas Ministrija 2013), what is also mentioned as one of the causes of slow economic growth and its features. The causes for low share of manufacturing might be found in its technological structure, which demonstrates predominance of L sector both by value added and by employment (LR CSP 2014c). However, L sector has the success in business development as well as export and innovation (AS DNB bank 2014; Investment and Development Agency of Latvia 2014), which creates some contradictions with the views expressed by the scientific literature and the purposes of the growth strategies.

Structural changes in the science of economics are defined as the changes in relative significance of sectors and branches of economic activity, which are expressed as

¹ The abbreviations high (H), medium high (MeH), medium low (MeL) and low (L) technology sectors adopted by the author in the thesis refers to the statistical records adopted from the Eurostat (2014) in accordance with breakdown by technological intensity, while the terms "technologically higher/ lower intensive sector" indicate on comparative degree between the sectors.

dynamic of the share of sectors and branches in GDP, influenced by technological progress (e.g., Quatraro 2012; Stijepic 2010; AkaeB et al. 2009, etc.).

Structural change analysis, in turn, allows researchers to focus on a relatively small number of homogeneous set of elements of the phenomena, which makes up the structure of the research object, and is defined as crucial for the analysis (e.g., Silva, Teixeira 2008; Schiliro 2012, etc.).



Author of the thesis with the scientific advisor Prof. J. Saulītis, members of doctorate council and vice-rector for research of the Daugavpils University Asoc. prof. I. Kokina

The author examines the structural changes and their impact on economic growth by focusing attention on the technological structure of manufacturing. The choice finds evidence in the experience of scientific findings: (1) manufacturing stimulates economic growth, especially in economically less developed regions (UNIDO, UNUMERIT 2012); (2) changes in the structure of manufacturing accelerates economic growth (Ishikawa 1992); (3) the sector is able to boost productivity faster than other sectors. In addition, statistics show that the importance of the manufacturing for economic growth is retarded nowadays, as evidenced by: (1) increasing labour productivity and stable or decreasing share of the sector in GDP; (2) low level of income at a relatively high proportion of the sector, and vice versa. Author offers to search the reasons in the technological structure of manufacturing and its changes.

Methodological features of the structural change analysis, in turn, create a scientific basis and offer a wide range of instruments to assess the *structural changes*: (1) *between* the manufacturing *sectors*, (2) *within* manufacturing *sectors*, as well as (3) *changes inspecialization* for determination of result of structural changes – *shift in emphasis of economic activity in a framework of the existing technological structure or changes in technological structure*, as well as for identification, how this affects economic growth.

The Endogenous growth theory provides foundation for research of the region's economic growth in the context of structural changes.

The theory indicates that structural changes: (a) are linked with economic growth (e.g., Roberts, Settefield 2007) and (b) impact economic growth through industry-specific labour productivity differences, which causes the movement of labour force between sectors and branches (e.g., Dietrich 2009; Stijepic 2010), thus contributing to reaching of certain level of labour productivity (McMillan, Rodrik 2010) and affecting the GDP growth (e.g., Baumol 1967; Hartwig 2010).

This discovers the meaning of sectors and branches in processes of structural changes and economic growth during the certain period, because the determining of the direction of structural changes indicates on character of impact of structural changes on economic growth.

The scientific experience on the research problem. Identification of the starting point for the economics of structural changes is not an easy task, due to relatively recent application of the term "structural changes" in economic researches and diversity of its definitions.

Traditionally, the origins of the economics of structural changes are linked to the works of scientists of classical economy (Smith 1776; Ricardo 1817; Quesnay 1758). The classics began to make clear the link between sectoral structure of economy and level of economic development. Additionally, they assessed only a few particularly important variables during the researches.

Theoretical approaches for studying structural changes in economy differ among themselves by the dominant scientific problems in a framework of each approach. The author has systematized them as follows: (a) the role of sectoral structure of economy and structural changes in stimulating differences between developed, developing and transition regions (e.g., Easterley 2002; Rada, Taylor 2006; United Nations. Economic and Social Affairs 2006; Silva, Teixeira 2008 etc.); (b) the role of sectoral structure of economy and structural changes for economic growth in regional economies (e.g., Baumol 1967, Echevarria 1997; Amable 2000; Peneder 2003; Aiginger, Falk 2005; Hartwig 2010; Noseleit 2011; Janger et al. 2011 etc.); (c) sectors, branches of economic activity and meaning of their differencies for the economic growth in regional economies (e.g., Rosenstain-Rodan 1943; Kuznets 1971; Hartwig 2010; Silva, Teixeira 2008 etc.); (d) the individual's needs and their impact on formation of sectoral structure of economy (e.g., Foellmi, Zweimuller 2005 etc.). Special attention is devoted to the structural change analysis and its methodological features (e.g., Peneder 2002; Schiliro 2012; Красильников 1999; Казинец 1969, 1981 etc.).

Sectoral structure of economy is well represented in the works of Latvian scientists and experts of the Bank of Latvia, while theoretical and methodological guidelines of paradigm of the economics of structural change are not used. This limits the author's opportunities to use Latvian scientific knowledge in this field.

According to the "Term Database" of the Latvian Council of Science, it is possible to use the term "structural changes" in Latvian scientific literature, although, it is rarely used. Moreover, application of the term mostly occurs outside the frameworks of the economics of structural change and structural change analysis.

The Latvian scientific experience in the field of the economics of structural changes and structural change analysis indicates on the contributions of several scientists. For example, Saulītis (2013) has contributed to the debates about linkage between structural changes and resource potential; Mihnenoka & Saulitis (2013) and Skribane & Jekabsone (2013; 2014) have contributed to the analysis of relationship between structural changes and economic growth in Latvia and Mihnenoka & Senfelde (2013) have contributed to the analysis of linkages between structural changes and employment.

However, despite the application of theoretical guidelines of the economics of structural changes in these researches, the works mostly have not been based on application of structural change analysis.

The tendencies, mentioned above, indicate on the initial stage of the development of the economics of structural changes and structural change analysis in the Latvian scientific area. This, in turn, points on urgency and wide possibilities for introducing this approach in Latvia.

It should be noted that researches in a framework of the paradigm of the economics of structural changes is a new scientific direction in Lithuania and Estonia also. Recently researchers in Lithuania and Estonia have started to analyse the linkage between sectoral structure of economy and economic growth (e.g., Lankauskiene 2015) and to evaluate the significance of structural changes in the differences in labour productivity among regions (e.g., Sepp, Varblane 2014).

The author's contributions in the field of application of the theoretical and methodological statements of the economics of structural changes and structural change analysis for the purposes of the Latvian economy relate to (a) identification of linkage between structural changes and economic growth (e.g., Šipilova 2012c, 2013c, 2014d, 2014f; Baldi, Šipilova 2014a); (b) evaluation of interaction between structural changes, labour market and education (e.g., Šipilova 2013d, 2014a, 2014b); (c) significance of sectoral structure of economy and structural changes for regional differentiation (e.g., Šipilova 2013b; Šipilova, Baldi 2013); (d) tendencies of structural changes in employment in manufacturing (e.g., Šipilova 2014c, 2014g); (e) features and tendencies of structural changes in manufacturing in the EU (e.g., Šipilova 2013a, 2013e).

Features of the Latvian economy and sectoral structure of manufacturing, the objectives set for the future growth and experience of the Latvian scientists in the field of the economics of structural changes and structural change analysis have stimulated the choice to set the following aim and tasks for the doctoral thesis.

Aim: to study structural changes in manufacturing and their impact on economic growth in Latvia and its regions.

Additional aim – is to promote inclusion of theoretically methodological approach of structural changes in economy in scientific and practical fields in Latvia through publishing of results of the doctoral thesis.

Tasks:

 for 1.1 chapter – to research scientific literature for providing theoretical terminological and methodological basis of structural changes in economy for empirical part of the thesis,

- 2) for 1.2 chapter to research, how linkage of structural changes and economic growth and impact of structural changes on economic growth is theoretically explained and methodologically evaluated,
- 3) for 2.1 chapter to find out recent (actual/topical) tendencies of structural changed and basic statement of economic growth in economic area in EU,
- 4) for 2.2 chapter to assess structural changes in manufacturing in time and to define nature of impact of structural changes on economic growth in Latvia in context of EU economic area,
- 5) 3.1 chapter to offer a new classification of manufacturing sectors in Latvia, taking into account ability of the sectors to attract and to use efficiently resources, as well as to evaluate impact of structural changes on economic growth in context of new classification,
- 6) 3.2 chapter to assess structural changes in manufacturing in space and to define nature of impact of structural changes in manufacturing on economic growth in Latvia in regional aspect (regions and cities) in context of new classification of manufacturing.

The object of the thesis: structural changes in manufacturing in EU and Latvia. The subject of the thesis: impact of structural changes in manufacturing on economic growth in regions.

Hypothesis: structural changes in favour to high-tech sectors of manufacturing can provide positive impact on economic growth in region, in case, if labour productivity is growing.

The theoretical and methodological basis for the research. The theoretical basis of the thesis was developed in a framework of scientific direction "the role of structural changes for economic growth in regions", which determines that structural changes are linked with economic growth (e.g., Baumol 1967; Kuznets 1966, 1971; Echevarria 1997; Peneder 1999; Peneder 2003; Fagerberg 2000; Ros 2000; Savioti, Pyka 2004; Aiginger, Falk 2005; Dietrich 2009; McMillan, Rodrik 2010, 2011; Hartwig 2010, 2012; Janger et. al. 2011).

The author uses the term "economic growth" in the framework of Endogenous growth theory, which introduces that economic growth is related to the structural changes in economy and that raising of the share of sectors and branches with higher labour productivity is the aim of this relationship (e.g., Baumol 1967; Romer 1990; Echevarria 1997; Roberts, Setterfield 2007; Hartwig 2010).

One of the possibilities how to increase labour productivity is associated with the movement of labour force between sectors of economic activity, when it moves from the sectors with low to the sectors with high labour productivity, thereby increasing the overall productivity in the economy (McMillan, Rodrik 2011) and thus providing impact on economic growth.

The movement of labour between sectors of economic activity is a significant indicator of linkage between structural changes on economic growth and impact of structural changes on economic growth (e.g., Stijepic 2010).

The methods used:

- 1. Monographic method, logically constructive method (logical analysis and synthesis method, scientific induction and deduction method) have been used for:
 - 1) research of theoretical and methodological guidelines of the economics of structural changes and structural change analysis;
 - 2) systematization of the theoretical directions within the field of the economics of structural changes;
 - 3) defining the term "structural changes" within each theoretical direction depending on its sense;
 - 4) research of the theoretical and methodological guidelines for evaluation of impact of structural changes on economic growth;
 - 5) research of the EU and Latvia's growth strategies and planning documents.
- 2. Statistical methods of data analysis for grouping and analysis of dynamic of technological structure of manufacturing in conformity with the data on employment and value added.
- 3. Statistically mathematical methods for:
 - 1) correlation analysis detecting relationship between structural changes in manufacturing and economic growth in the EU, Latvia; detecting relationship between employment in manufacturing sectors and employment at country's level, at regions' level, and at cities' level;
 - 2) regression analysis detecting the causal link between structural changes in manufacturing and economic growth in Latvia;
 - 3) cluster analysis grouping of the EU regions depending on type of structural changes and its linkage with GDP growth.
- 4. Methods for evaluation of structural changes in the *time* and *space*:
 - 1) calculations of absolute indicators of structural changes in manufacturing Structural Change Index SCI (evaluation in *time*);
 - 2) calculations of relative indicators of structural changes in manufacturing Modified Lilien Index MLI (evaluation in time); Location Quotient LQ (evaluation in *space*).
- 5. Method for evaluation of impact of structural changes on economic growth: shift-share analysis decomposition of labour productivity growth.
- 6. Graphic and cartographic methods visualization of statistical data and results of calculations in the images and on the Latvian regional map.

The informative basis of the research: scientific studies obtained from the International Databases (e.g., Scopus, Science Direct, Jstor archive); scientific monographs; materials of the scientific journals "Structural Change and Economic Dynamics" (Scopus), "Regional Studies" (Scopus) etc.; reports of the international organizations (e.g., OECD, United Nations, International Monetary Fund); materials published by scientific institutions (e.g., The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies etc.); theses, which have been defended in Latvia; the author's own works published and presented at international scientific conferences; the data from the Lursoft database; the data from the Latvian Central Statistical Bureau database; the data from the Eurostat database; materials of the national libraries (National Library of Latvia

(Riga), United Nations Library (Geneva), Russian National Public Library for Science and Technology (Moscow)).

Limitations of the research. The doctoral thesis comprises research process at national and regional levels and the territorial units are understood as a region in both cases. The reason for this can be found in the Latvian scientists' works (e.g., Boroņenko 2009), where the region in the economic science has been defined as a territory with a specific economy.

The author of the thesis underlines that rare scientific works apply the guidelines of the economics of structural changes and structural change analysis for the Latvian economy. This in some extent restricts author's possibilities to use the experience of the Latvian scientists in this field. However, author might use contributions made by the Latvian scientists related to economic growth, sectoral structure of economy and manufacturing.

Achievement of the objective of the doctoral thesis is limited by the availability of statistical data on value added for the Latvian manufacturing². The data on value added for manufacturing at NACE Rev. 2. two-digit level for Latvia are confidential and are not published. This, in turn, affects the scope and period of the study. Data on value added for the Latvian manufacturing are available from 2005, according to the technological structure of manufacturing. Consequently, the author uses employment data in the part of the study, in which the manufacturing sectors at NACE Rev. 2. two-digit level need to be involved in calculations. Such decision is fully in line with the guidelines of the economics of structural changes and structural change analysis. This is supported also by the determination of impact of structural changes on economic growth. According to Stijepic (2010), the data on employment and labour force mobility between sectors of economic activity is recognized as an impact indicator. Specificity of calculations and availability of statistical data affect the research period in the third chapter of the thesis – from 2005 to 2012. It should be noted that this period is relatively successful choice for the study of the Latvian economy, because it covers all the possible changes of the economic cycles (Kosiedowski 2014).

Structural changes in economy is understood, first, as "spontaneous", which occur because of continuous technological progress and, second, as "directed", i.e. stimulated by the activities of economic agents depending on objectives set for the economic activity. The author understands structural changes as "spontaneous" within the research, because there are not sufficient data for detecting "directed" structural changes. However, author explains research results from the point of view of "directed" structural

² According to the NACE Rev. 2. classification economic activity is classified in to the *sectors* at "0" (zero) level and each sector is marked with letter. For example, Manufacturing (C) (as well as sectors inaccordance with technological intensity might be marked by letters, for example, H (high), MeH (medium high), MeL (medium low), L (low) sectors (H, MeH, MeL, L are abbreviations used by the author in the doctoral thesis)). According to the "1" (first) level of the NACE Rev. 2. classification, economic activity is classified in *branches*, which are marked with letter and two digits, for example, "Manufacturing of food products" (C10) (LR CSP 2015). Several branches with similar features of economic activity might be combined in groups for the statistical purposes, e.g., "Manufacturing of food products, beverages and tobacco" (C10-12).

changes. This means that the explanation of the current situation occurs in conformity with desirable direction of structural changes (e.g., tendencies of structural changes and the guidelines for the future economic growth). The choice finds roots in the previous experience of economy, when adherence to the principle of "laissez faire" for the structural changes has stimulated dominance of "stagnant" services over the manufacturing with high productivity.

The doctoral thesis is organized as follows. The first chapter of the doctoral thesis offers research of scientific literature for providing theoretical, terminological and methodological base for empirical part of doctoral thesis, as well as explain basic principles of impact of structural changes on economic growth and possibilities to define nature of such impact. The second chapter of the doctoral thesis is devoted for determining topical tendencies of structural changes and basic statements of economic growth within EU economic area and for evaluating structural changes in manufacturing in time. The second chapter provides answers to the questions about contribution of manufacturing sectors to the changes of technological structure of manufacturing, as well as defining nature of impact of structural changes on economic growth in Latvia in context of EU. The results of the third chapter of the doctoral thesis offer the new analysis-based classification of the Latvian manufacturing sectors, provide assessment of structural changes in manufacturing in space and determine the nature of impact of structural changes in manufacturing on economic growth in Latvia in regional aspect.

Scientific novelty, practical significance and application of the doctoral thesis.

- Scientific novelty:
 - theoretical approaches within the paradigm of the economics of structural changes were systematized;
 - definitions of the term "structural changes" depending on sense of each theoretical direction were offered;
 - structural changes in manufacturing in the *time* and *space*, as well as impact
 of structural changes in manufacturing on economic growth in Latvia and
 its regions were determined;
 - the new classification of manufacturing sectors, which is based not only on statistical classification, but also on the analysis was proposed;
 - theoretical and methodological approach, how regions can identify "desirable" movement (reallocation) of labour resources was offered.
- Practical significance and application:
 - introduction of theoretical and methodological guidelines of the paradigm of the economics of structural changes in scientific field in Latvia through publication of the doctoral thesis;
 - "desirable" direction of structural changes in Latvia was explained and factors, which might hamper positive impact of structural changes on economic growth in Latvia and its regions were detected;
 - the research results can be used for growth strategies in Latvia and its regions;
 - the materials of the research can be used for lectures and workshops in universities and other institutions of higher education within the economics' study programs.

The findings of the doctoral thesis can be used to ensure more efficient movement (reallocation) of the labour resources, taking into account strategic aims set for the future economic growth. It is possible through regular monitoring of structural changes by using the research framework, applied in the thesis.

Basic statements for defence:

- 1. Explanation of economic growth should be linked with identifying/understanding of structural changes.
- 2. Latvia demonstrates similar tendencies with EU economic area by structural changes in manufacturing and their impact on economic growth, which indicate on saving of manufacturing technological structure and insufficient (concerning to all sectors of economic activity) productivity growth.
- 3. The Latvian manufacturing is facing with domination of technologically lower intensive sectors and insufficient (concerning to all sectors of economy) growth of labour productivity in the high technology sectors, which are put in the strategic aims and in favour to which structural changes mostly occur in the Latvian region.

Conclusions:

- 1. Scientists recognize structural changes as feature of economy and devote them special direction of economic thought *the economics of structural changes* and special methodology *structural change analysis* for the purposes of research of structural changes in economic science. The appearance of the term "structural changes" in the scientific field is rooted in discoveries of classical physics in 19 century, when scientists have stressed the need to divide the research object into smaller parts (elements) and to study the changes in the set of the elements (structure), defining them as "structural changes". Since the time of the classical economics, the structural changes in economy are understood as changes in relative significance of sectors and branches of economic activity, which are expressed as the dynamic of the share of sectors and branches in economic structure, influenced by technological progress.
- 2. Sectoral structure of economy is one of the most significant elements of economic system. In turn, changes in economic structure are the prerequisite for economic growth. Research directions for structural changes in the economic science differ by the dominating issues. The author of the thesis has systematized research directions in accordance with the sense of the issues addressed within each direction. A significant part of the scientific literature on structural changes covers such directions as the role of structural changes for economic growth in regions and the role of sectors of economic activities for economic growth in regions. The author has developed the thesis in the framework of these two research directions.
- 3. The economics of structural changes and structural change analysis is a new direction in economic science in Latvia. Only few scientific works have been focused on structural changes in economy. A relatively recent development of studies that are devoted to structural changes in Latvia may stimulate: (a) possibility to take an erroneous decision in terms of redistribution of limited resources; (b) necessity in deeper understanding of the term "structural changes". Moreover, the basic statements of structural changes can be found in the content of the Latvian strategic

aims in the field of economy. In turn, the term "structural changes" is used rarely in scientific works in Latvia and mostly without a link with the theoretical and methodological approaches of structural changes in economy. Therefore, the author offers definitions of the term "structural changes" for each research direction, depending on research object and aims. For example in the framework of theoretical directions of the economics of structural changes, which are used as a basis for the thesis, the author defines the term as follows:

- changes in regional sectoral structure of economy as stimulating or impeding
 factor for the economic growth depending on the nature of impact of structural changes on economic growth (research direction the role of structural
 changes for economic growth in regions);
- changes in specialization in favour to the sectors of economic activity, which
 are conducive for economic growth currently at the certain stage of economic
 development in region (research direction the role of sectors of economic
 activities for economic growth in regions).
- The analysis of structural changes finds roots in the fundamentals of the classical economics. In general, the structural change analysis is differentiated from the standard economic analysis. The choosing of the relatively small number of elements and indicators from infinitely large diversity, characterizing economic system, and focusing on those, which form the economic structure, is the main feature of the structural change analysis. *Quantitative* evaluation of structural changes occurs in time (studying the changes) and in the space (studying the differences) by calculating absolute (speed) and relative (intensity) indicators. This provides a basis for evaluation of structural changes between the sectors, within the sectors and changes in specialization. The data on value added and employmentare used for the calculations. These data ensure the analysis of dynamic of GDP' sectoral structure. Qualitative assessment of structural changes means determination of direction of structural changes using analysis of time series of the object researched, its positions in economic system and aims set in the economy. Diversity and continuous modification of calculable indexes and coefficients leads to necessity to select criteria for choice of more appropriate indices for reaching targets of the thesis. The author has chosen Structural Change Index (SCI), Modified Lilien Index (MLI) and Location Quotient (LQ) in result of application of the selected criteria.
- 5. Linkage between structural changes and economic growth has been proven both in science and in practice. The evidence in science finds roots in the Endogenous growth theory and its objective to increase the share of sectors with higher labour productivity. In practice, in turn, prosperity was reached in the regions with rapid structural changes in favour to technologically high intensive sectors with high labour productivity. Manufacturing sector mostly has contributed there, because of its capabilities to maintain the economic development in high-income regions and to stimulate it in low-income regions. The movement of labour force between sectors of economic activity expresses impact of structural changes on economic growth. In a result of labour force movement, given the sector-specific labour productivity differences, the economy reaches certain level of labour productivity, which, according to Endogenous growth theory inevitably affects the economic

- growth. The framework of the shift-share analysis provides a basis for evaluation of the *nature of impact* (positive, negative) of structural changes on economic growth through the assessment of direction of the movement.
- 6. The Latvian strategic goals for economic growth are associated with structural changes in favour to the manufacturing and its technologically high intensive sectors with high productivity and the potential to increase it. That is why Latvia needs the convergence with the economically higher developed regions in the fields of the technological structure of manufacturing and labour productivity. However, opportunities of the economically less developed regions to diversify their economic structure are limited by the regional technological possibilities. Therefore, the transition from labour-intensive economy to an economy with high labour productivity in all EU regions should be based on such choice of the structural changes that takes into account signals from market and the regional potential.
- 7. The examined changes in the manufacturing indicate that Latvia and EU has similar tendencies. The data analysed have shown that labour productivity in manufacturing has increased, while its share in GDP has not increased. Such developments have questioned the contribution of technological structure of manufacturing to the economic growth. EU has experienced differences in terms of technological structure of manufacturing, but the ongoing trends of structural changes were similar. In-depth analysis of structural changes in manufacturing in time has showed that structural changes within the sectors (in particular within the "H+MeH") were faster and more intense. This, in turn, indicates that the structural changes in manufacturing have contributed to the shift of the accents in economic activity within the existing technological structure of manufacturing and have not contributed sufficiently to the changes of technological structure, what could take place in case, if structural changes between sectors in favour to the sector "H+MeH" dominate. The tendencies observed are not favourable for the economically less developed regions, including Latvia. Partly, improvements of the technological structure of manufacturing have included the shift of accents from the sector L to the sector H; however, this was not enough for reaching the targets set for the economic growth.
- 8. Discovery of the nature of the impact of structural changes on economic growth provides the answer for the question why the share of manufacturing in economic structure has remained unchanged or stable, if labour productivity in manufacturing in Latvia and EU have experienced growth tendency. This happens, because, in spite of positive impact of structural changes in manufacturing on economic growth, the impact becomes negative in context of all sectors of economic activity. This means that labour force has moved from the high-productivity sectors and branches to the low-productivity sectors and branches. Logically, that such development has changed the nature of the impact from positive to negative. The calculations made for the groups of the EU regions also confirm the results obtained. The analysis provided allows the author to conclude that changes of the nature of impact from positive to negative in context of all sectors of economic activity occur regardless of the type of structural changes and closeness of their linkage with economic growth.

- 9. The author offers the new classification of the manufacturing sectors for assessment of the impact of structural changes in manufacturing on economic growth in the Latvian regions. The new classification takes into account the data on resources' flows (labour force and financial capital) and growth of labour productivity. Such approach ensures the answer on the question about the nature (positive or negative) of the impact on economic growth of the sectors, which are more attractive for resources' flows. In accordance with calculations the sectors are divided as follows: MeL "wellbeing" sector and "desirable for structural changes", MeH and L sectors "undesirable for structural changes" and H sectors "desirable" in manufacturing and "undesirable" in context of all sectors of economic activity.
- 10. The data on correlation and causality between structural changes and economic growth, given the new classification of the sectors of the manufacturing, have characterized the existing tendencies, as an encouraging or a restrictive for economic growth. The calculations made have shown that the both sectors that are significant for economic growth the sector MeL and the sector H could be characterized differently, because of technological intensity and indicators of labour productivity growth. Technologically higher intensive sector (the sector H) has shown a weaker performance by growth of labour productivity in context of all sectors of the economic activity than technologically less intensive sector (the sector MeL). However, given the positive indicators of labour productivity growth and attraction of the biggest share of resources' flows (labour force and financial capital), the sector MeL could be considered as favourable for economic growth.
- 11. The results of the evaluation of structural changes in the *space* lead to the conclusion that changes in the direction of specialization in the Latvian regions and republic cities is another factor that impedes economic growth. The biggest part of the regions and cities during the period from 2005 to 2012 has intensified specialization in the MeH sector, which, according to the author's calculations, showed a negative trend for labour productivity growth both in the manufacturing and in context of all sectors of economic activity. Thus, structural changes in favour to the sector MeH have contributed to the negative impact on the economic growth. The negative effect is confirmed by the example of Latgale region also, where the traditional and brightly expressed specialization in the sector MeH has not led to significant improvements of regional positions in the Latvian GDP.
- 12. Complicating of the technological structure of manufacturing in the Latvian regions and republic cities and bright specialization in technologically high intensive sectors are the positive features of structural changes in manufacturing in Latvia. Such tendencies create favourable conditions for the fast and successful implementation of the strategic objectives set for the future growth, in case, if labour productivity growth will be sufficient.

The problems and possible solutions.

The author of the thesis has identified a number of problems during the research. Their nature makes it necessary to divide the problems logically into two groups – the research problems and the economic problems.

Research problems:

Problem 1: the theoretical and methodological **statements** of the economics of structural changes and structural change analysis **are not applied** in the scientific and practical field in Latvia, but at the same time the **term** "structural changes" is actively used and the strategic aims for the future economic growth **are linked with basics** of the economics of structural changes.

Possible solutions:

- 1) for higher education institutions inclusion of theoretical and methodological guidelines of the economics of structural changes and structural change analysis in the content of the courses "Macroeconomics", "Regional economy" etc.;
- 2) for higher education institutions, researchers organization of seminars and workshops in a framework of scientific conferences in Latvia about the essence of theoretical and methodological features of the economics of structural changes and new possibilities, which such approach can provide for researches about Latvian economy.

Problem 2: statistical data and time series on value added for the manufacturing sector at NACE Rev. 2. two-digit level in Latvia are limited by the availability and recording; this makes difficult to research the issue, which is topical in the scientific field, important for Latvia and included in the growth strategies.

Possible solutions:

- 1) for scientists to search the alternatives of the data that are acceptable within the framework of the theoretical and methodological guidelines of structural changes, for example, to use employment data in calculations;
- 2) for researchers to study periods, which are available in order to accumulate experience and research results in context of structural changes in the manufacturing;
- 3) for the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia to continue to maintain and improve the available data time series;
- 4) for the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia to coordinate publicity of the data with the Eurostat, because Latvia is the only EU Member State, which does not show the data on value added for all manufacturing sectors at the level NACE Rev. 2. two-digit in the Eurostat database.

Economic problems:

Problem 3: coordination of the strategic aims set for the future growth with the most popular direction, i.e. structural changes in favour to the high technology manufacturing, and focusing on quantitative indicators during the changes of technological structure of the manufacturing without assessment of linkages between potential of the existing technological structure of the manufacturing in region and labour productivity growth mostly takes place.

Possible solutions:

1) for Ministry of Economics, Latvian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI), industry associations, planning regions – to provide the analysis of strengths and weaknesses and the opportunities and threats (SWOT) and to determine the stages

- of the process of development of technological structure of manufacturing, putting them in the content of growth strategies;
- 2) for Ministry of Economics, Latvian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI), industry associations to improve perception of technological structure of manufacturing, understanding that modern development guidelines as the avoiding of copying and the underlining the regional differences are topical in parallel with the dominant trends in the field of structural changes; to determine the indicators for evaluation of the *process* (not only *result*) related to the improvement of technological structure of manufacturing (e.g., direction of structural changes; labour productivity growth etc.);
- 3) for Ministry of Economics, Latvian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI), industry associations to set targets for improvements of technological structure of manufacturing at intermediate stages of the process (e.g., speed and intensity of structural changes, direction of structural changes, labour productivity growth etc.) in order to identify the progress made with regard to an increase of the share of technologically high intensive sectors in economy and to determine the nature of the impact of structural changes on economic growth.

Problem 4: insufficient labour productivity growth in manufacturing sectors, which are essential to the future growth, in which the Latvian regions specialize and in favour to which the regions change the specialization.

Possible solutions:

- 1) for Ministry of Economics, industry associations, planning regions to diversify directions set for structural changes in the strategies, stressing the regional economy's potential and possibilities;
- 2) for industry associations, entrepreneurs to determine the increase in labour productivity as an objective (in all manufacturing sectors).

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PĒTĪJUMI UN PROJEKTI

Vera Boronenko

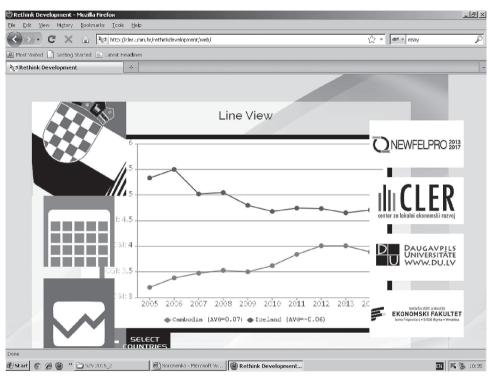
CASE STUDIES ON TERRITORY DEVELOPMENT IN ICELAND AND CAMBODIA

Within the research project "Rethinking Territory Development in Global Comparative Researches (Rethink Development" (2014–2016, Scientist in Charge – Dr. Saša Drezgić) managed by the author, which was realized at the Faculty of Economics of the University of Rijeka (Croatia), Iceland and Cambodia were identified as countries for the case study. The reason was the following: Iceland has relatively high achieved competitiveness level (measured by the Global Competitiveness Index (GCI) created by the World Economic Forum), and at the same time negative growth capacity, i.e. a trend of relatively fast declining of this competitiveness. Average annual change of the GCI of Iceland for the period 2005–2014 is -0.06 points on the scale from 1 till 7, and this decline is one of the highest in the world. Vice versa, Cambodia has relatively low achieved competitiveness level, and at the same time positive growth capacity, i.e. a trend of relatively fast increasing of this competitiveness. Average annual change of the GCI of Cambodia for the period 2005–2014 is +0.07 points on the scale from 1 till 7, and this growth is one of the highest in the world. Graphic comparison of the Global Competitiveness Index of Iceland and Cambodia which is created by interactive Global Rating of Territory Development¹ is shown on the Figure 1.

Case studies in Iceland and Cambodia aimed to investigate deeper these general trends of dramatic decrease in competitiveness of a high-developed and unique country (for Iceland) as well as of fast increase in competitiveness of a relatively low-developed country (for Cambodia). Territory development of these countries required explanations by means of searching for and analyzing those factors which promote recession in the territory development or vice versa accelerate it.

¹ The IT application The Global Rating of Territory Development" (http://cler.uniri.hr/rethinkdevelopment/web/), worked out by the specialists of the Center for Local Economic Development of the Faculty of Economics of the University of Rijeka (Director – Dr. Saša Drezgić).

Figure 1
Graphic comparison of the Global Competitiveness Index of Iceland and Cambodia, scores by the scale from 1 till 7, 2005–2014



Source: elaborated by the author using IT application "The Global Rating of Territory Development" http://cler.uniri.hr/rethinkdevelopment/web/

Case study in Iceland

Case study in Iceland was realized on March 2015 visiting the capital of the country – Reykjavik – as well as at the University of Akureyri Research Centre (http://www.rha.is/en). As it was ascertained during the meetings with the Director of the University of Akureyri Research Centre (RHA) Dr. Gudrun Rosa Dorsteinsdottir. RHA researcher Dr. Hjalti Johannesson, the Head of International Office of the University of Akureyri Mr. Runar Gunnarsson and their colleagues, the most important problems of Icelandic territory development, which the University of Akureyri feels, are disproportions in regional development of the country, including migration of labour force from regions to the capital area, as well as annually increasing lack of students at the University.



Fjord in Akureyri - the city at the Northern Iceland

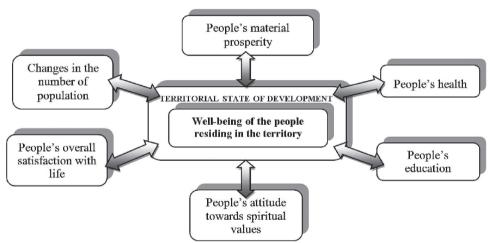


At the University of Akureyri Research Centre with the researcher Dr. Hjalti Johannesson and the Head of International Office of the University of Akureyri Mr. Runar Gunnarsson

As further author's analysis of Icelandic statistics shows the main directions for interregional migration flow "from capital area" are the closest regions – South and Southwest. Unit weight of interregional migrants from capital area to these two regions is 15–20% during the period 1986–2014 (data of Statistics Iceland). In its turn, migration between Northern and Eastern regions of Iceland is not significant – just some percentages during the period 1986–2014 (data of Statistics Iceland). Moreover,

statistical data show that interregional migration flows as a whole cover just about 3% of Icelandic population, and this tendency is rather stable during the period under research. Therefore, regional disproportions in Iceland could be interpreted in different ways on the basis of available statistics and research. It can be argued that Iceland has a more dynamic and developing capital and sub-capital area, as well as a stable stagnation in the periphery regions, i.e. Northern and Eastern ones. This situation reminds of two economic regions in Latvia described in the Doctoral thesis of the author (2009) – Riga and sub-Riga as well as all remained territory of Latvia. In general, it is quite strange and at the same time interesting that Iceland having the GDP per capita almost 4 times more than Latvia, has the same problems of regional disproportions. For Latvia it means, for instance, that the increase in the GDP per capita even till the level of "high developed" countries will not guarantee that problems of regional disproportions will be solved.

Figure 2 Structural elements of the state of territory development



Sources: Lonska J., Boronenko V. (2012) Correlation of objective and subjective territorial development indices in the world. European Integration Studies, No. 6, available: http://www.eis.ktu.lt/index.php/EIS/article/view/1468/1572;

Lonska J., Boronenko V. (2013) What is the key element for the territory's state of development? International Journal of Social, Behavioral, Educational, Economic, Business and Industrial Engineering, Vol. 7, No. 4, available: http://waset.org/publications/1490/what-is-the-key-element-for-the-territory-s-state-of-development-.

The study of actual trends and specifics of territory development in Iceland based on the research outcomes by Icelandic scientists – K. Benediktsson, A. Karlsdottir, H. Johannesson, J.Ž. Heišarsson, E.H. Huijbens, V. Sigurbjarnarson, G. Zoega – enabled the author to identify one more structural element of the state of territory development which should be added to the scheme presented on Figure 2, if we compare

territory development of whole countries but not just inner regions. This structural element is a level of regional disproportions, which should be taken into consideration alongside average indicators in the country. As for Latvia regional disproportions in territory development of the country are also significant and they are actively discussed in the scientific environment, although the economic performance of Iceland is much better as of Latvia (for instance, the average GDP per capita in Iceland is about 4 times higher than in Latvia), the authors came to the conclusion that the general economic well-being does not save the country from regional disproportions which retrieve territory development in the whole country.

Case study in Cambodia

Case study in Cambodia was realized just after visiting Iceland – on April 2015 – and it was really a big contrast, both in climate's aspect and territory development's aspect. First of all, no lack of students in Cambodian universities (as it was in Iceland), though technical level of universities is non-comparatively lower than in Iceland. Second – no so big regional differences as in Iceland (disparities between urban and rural areas are more peculiar for Cambodia), though GDP per capita in Cambodia in 2014 was 1081 USD, i.e. almost 50 times lower than in Iceland – 51262 USD (by the data published in the Global Competitiveness Report 2015–2016 of the World Economic Forum).



Angkor Wat – a temple complex in Siem Reap (Cambodia) and the largest religious monument in the world

I visited two Cambodian cities – the capital Phnom Penh and small, but well-known Siem Reap (due to Angkor – capital city of ancient Khmer Empire). My local experts in Cambodia were Dr. Sreang Chheat, the Program Coordinator at the Center

for Khmer Studies (CKS) located both in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap, Dr. Pisey Khin, the Director of the Nuppun Institute for Economic Research (NUPPUN) located in Phnom Penh, Mr. Paul Robinson, the guest teacher from the United Kingdom at the Royal University of Fine Arts located in Phnom Penh (for the moment of this case study he has been spending on his teaching in Cambodia 7 years) and Ms. Leona Gowanlock, nurse-volunteer from Canada worked at the Mercy Medical Center – a Christian Hospital outside of Phnom Penh during 2 years. It could be identified one more specific feature of Cambodian territory development from this list of experts – some kind of "humanitarian" migration to Cambodia from developed Western countries instead economical migration to Iceland from Eastern European countries and economically cultural one – from Scandinavian countries.



At the Royal University of Fine Arts in Phnom Penh - the capital of Cambodia



Conference Hall at the Royal University of Fine Arts

Searching empirical data about Cambodia, I found one non-understandable trend: life expectancy in 2010 or 2011 was 63 years (Global Competitiveness Report 2013–2014), but in 2013 – suddenly 71.4 years (Global Competitiveness Report 2014–2015). May be, there are some quick changes in Cambodian health care or population's health, which local people did not notice yet?

Dr. Pisey Khin, the Director of the Nuppun Institute for Economic Research (NUPPUN) which provides data about Cambodia for the Global Competitiveness Reports, commented this situation in such a way: "I think there may be a miscalculation in the data, which need to be figured out with the National Institute of Statistics (NIS). The health care system has remained worse as it has been, i.e. no improvement; while the food safety here is getting worse as well". The most interesting and sad in statistics – I see the figure of 71.7 years on life expectancy in the next Global Competitiveness Report 2015–2016, which was provided to world audience after this conversation. It means, that we can not trust to Cambodian data and have to check and re-check real situation with the help of local experts, who knows real daily life and territory development of Cambodia more preciously, than official statistics does.

Ms. Leona Gowanlock, nurse-volunteer from Canada worked at the Mercy Medical Center – a Christian Hospital outside of Phnom Penh during 2 years:

"I was quite surprised to the life expectancy is 71.4. That is a very good indicator and it makes me really wonder how they gather statistics for this. It has risen so quickly from 2011 when it was 63. I wonder if the Chinese population helps to bring that statistic up more? They seem to live quite healthy life styles in what they eat and their exercises etc. I actually thought it was much lower from what my language teachers have told me. I do not have a really good impression of the overall health system here, but I have learned quite a lot from my teachers and some observations. I have heard some very horrible stories about people not having money for health care and being turned away. They simply die. One man and his wife on being refused entrance to the hospital for her to have a baby – there were complications – he went looking to borrow some money somewhere – meanwhile she died while waiting!

People who don't have money and especially those up country where there are few health facilities available, are especially at risk. Those who have some money will go to Vietnam as they have better health care there. People with a bit more will go to Thailand for help. Those who are wealthy can go to Singapore for good treatment. This is why I so appreciate Mercy Medical Centre, because their focus is on the very poor and providing medical help for them.

Having visited some villages up country I found that teaching on basic hygiene, wound care, etc. is necessary. There are things being done though to help – maybe more by outside groups that come in. My organization seeks to help in medical training as well which gives Cambodians opportunity to then multiply efforts in various parts of the country.

My teachers also told me stories of Medical personal who have simply bought their certificate for their degree and really know nothing of medical treatment. I find this hard to believe – but there is so much corruption still in the country and lack of trust. It is still taking a long time to rebuild the country after its terrible history".

Mr. Paul Robinson, the guest teacher from the United Kingdom at the Royal University of Fine Arts, also stressed the corruption in the education system of Cambodia – starting with primary school and finishing with universities, where students will not pass any exam without paying unofficial money to teacher (but, instead of this, a teacher is very respectable person in Cambodia).

So, the case study on territory development of Cambodia shows, first of all, that the official statistics and the data from official reports on territory development of Cambodia differ very much from local experts' evidences and opinions – probably, they differ also from real life of Cambodians, which, by the opinion of Mr. Paul Robinson just start to recover from awful historical heritage of civil war and following totalitarian regime of 1970s (it seems that first generation, which is free from fears of terrorism, starts to act at the political, economical and social space of Cambodia).



In the classroom at the Royal University of Fine Arts with students and their teacher from the United Kingdom Mr. Paul Robinson

National Report "The Cambodian Government's Achievements and Future Direction in Sustainable Development", prepared for Rio+20, United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development 2012 by the Government of Cambodia, says about fast economic growth – "from 1994 to 2011, Cambodia experienced an average growth rate of 7.7 percent, between 2004 and 2007, the economy grew above 10 percent annually" – and about "weak human resources". Conceptually understanding territory development through well-being of people residing in the territory, the author can argue, that any objective indicator of the economic development of the territory – foreign direct investments, a level of production or a level of employment – should be transformed into the well-being of its inhabitants; otherwise the territory's (or government's, as Cambodian National Report indicates) economic achievements do not make any practical sense for territory development. In comparison with Iceland, Human Development Index in Cambodia is significantly lower – 143rd rank between 188 countries (Iceland – 16th rank), by the data provided by the Human Development Report 2015.

In general, Cambodian life reminded me very much Soviet period in Latvia, as I remember this – poor technological level, government's declarations, "grey" economy, and people's ability to survive and to be smiled in any conditions of daily life.

*

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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.

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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, рукописи и дискеты (или CD) не возвращает.

Оформление рукописи 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* (*Win Word 2000/XP*); 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, Bela 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) Sociologicheskoje voobrazhenie. Moskva: Strategiya. (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 daudzbalsiba Zviedrijas latviesu dzivesstastos. *Latvijas Zinatnu Akademijas Vestis, A, 51*, Nr. *5/6*, 112.–129. lpp. (In Latvian)

Shmitt K. (1992) Ponyatie politicheskogo. Voprosi sociologii, № 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. (In Latvian) Dostupno: http://www.dpu.lv/LD/LDpublik.html (sm. 20.10.2002).

Библиография составляется в алфавитном порядке фамилий или названий (если автором является институция) авторов в соответствии с латинским алфавитом.

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