DAUGAVPILS UNIVERSITĀTE HUMANITĀRO UN SOCIĀLO ZINĀTŅU INSTITŪTS

SOCIĀLO ZINĀTŅU VĒSTNESIS

SOCIAL SCIENCES BULLETIN BECTHИК СОЦИАЛЬНЫХ НАУК

2016 1 (22)

Žurnālā "Sociālo Zinātņu Vēstnesis" tiek publicēti oriģināli zinātniskie raksti sociālajās zinātnēs (socioloģijā, politikas zinātnē, ekonomikā, sociālajā psiholoģijā, tiesību zinātnē), kā arī zinātnisko pētījumu recenzijas, konferenču apskati, informācija par zinātnisko dzīvi. Redakcija pieņem rakstus latviešu, angļu un krievu valodā.

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Daugavpils Universitāte

Reģistrācijas Nr. 000702889 Reģistrācijas apliecība Nr. M 000331

Dibināts 2004. gadā

© Daugavpils Universitāte

ISSN 1691-1881

Ir iekļauts datu bāzē: / Included in the database: / Включён в базу данных: EBSCOhost SocINDEX, Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (CEJSH), World Interdisciplinary Network for Institutional Research (WINIR), Electronic Journals Library of University of Regensburg

"Social Sciences Bulletin" publishes original research papers on the problems of social sciences (sociology, political sciences, economics, social psychology, law), as well as review articles, information on conferences and scientific life. The Editorial Board accepts articles in English, Latvian, and Russian.

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Publisher

Daugavpils University

Registration No. 000702889 Registration certificate No. M 000331

Established in 2004

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RAKSTI

EKONOMIKA

Vera Komarova, Saša Drezgić

PRICE OF PROGRESS: HUMANITARIAN PRICE OF TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS IN THE GLOBAL WORLD

Current decline in competitiveness of many highly developed capitalist countries with innovation-driven economy stimulates scientists to find explanations for this by rethinking territory development's conceptual framework. Based on relevant publications of A. Toffler (1970, 1980), Ch. Murray (2003), G. Easterbrook (2004), R. Wright (2004), own research findings as well as ideas of Development Economics and Philosophy of Technology, the research hypothesis is as follows: territory development in the modern world declines when humanitarian price of technological progress begins to outweigh benefits, and this price determines different paths of development for concrete territories. Scientific approach proposed for using in this research is based on the fundamental economic Law of Diminishing Marginal Productivity applied for technological progress and humanitarian price of the progress in different parts of the world, which are perceived – based on the conception of F. Braudel – as "worlds-economies". Therefore, the main objective of this article is to outline key elements and tasks of the further empirical and econometrical researches aiming to propose a relevant methodology and techniques of measuring humanitarian price of technological progress for different territories as well as to define mechanisms to reduce this price in existed "worlds-economies". The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7 2007-2013) under grant agreement n° 291823 Marie Curie FP7-PEOPLE-2011-COFUND (The new International Fellowship Mobility Programme for Experienced Researchers in Croatia - NEWFELPRO). This article has been worked out as a part of the project "Rethinking Territory Development in Global Comparative Researches (Rethink Development)" which has received funding through NEWFELPRO project under grant agreement n° 10.

Key words: price of progress, humanitarian price, technological progress, *Law of Diminishing Marginal Productivity*, "worlds-economies".

Progresa cena: tehnoloģiskā progresa humanitārā cena globālajā pasaulē

Pašreiz novērojamais daudzu kapitālistisko valstu ar inovatīvo ekonomiku konkurētspējas kritums veicina pētniekus meklēt šī fenomena skaidrojumus konceptuālā jēdziena "teritorijas attīstība" pārvērtēšanas kontekstā. Balstoties uz ar šo tēmu saistītiem E. Tofflera (A. Toffler) (1970, 1980), Š. Mjurreja (Ch. Murray) (2003), G. Esterbruka (G. Easterbrook) (2004), R. Vraita (R. Wright) (2004) darbiem, personīgajiem pētījumiem, kā arī uz tādu zinātnisko disciplīnu kā "attīstības ekonomika" un "tehnoloģiju filosofija" idejām, autori izvirzīja hipotēzi: mūsdienu

pasaulē teritorijas attīstībā var novērot kritumu tad, kad tehnoloģiskā progresa humanitārā cena sāk pārspēt labumu no tā, un tieši šīs progresa cenas lielums determinē atšķirības konkrēto teritoriju attīstības virzienos. Autoru piedāvātā zinātniskā pieeja, balstās uz fundamentālo robežproduktivitātes krituma ekonomikas likumu, kas var būt pielietots arī tehnoloģiskā progresa un tā humanitārās cenas izpētei dažādās pasaules daļās, kas tiek uztvertas, balstoties uz F. Brodēla (F. Braudel) koncepciju, kā "pasaules-ekonomikas". Raksta galvenais mērķis ir noteikt galvenos elementus un uzdevumus turpmākajiem empīriskajiem un ekonometriskajiem pētījumiem, kas tiks veltīti dažādu teritoriju tehnoloģiskā progresa humanitārās cenas mērīšanas piemērotākās metodoloģijas un metodikas meklējumiem, kā arī šīs cenas pazemināšanas mehānismu noteikšanai pastāvošajās "pasaulēs-ekonomikās". Šis pētījums tiek finansēts no Eiropas Savienības 7. ietvara programmas (FP7 2007–2013) granta Nr. 291823 Marie Curie FP7-PEOPLE-2011-COFUND (Jaunā starptautiskā stipendiju programma pieredzējušo pētnieku mobilitātei Horvātijā – NEWFELPRO). Raksts tapis projekta "Teritorijas attīstības pārvērtēšana globālos salīdzinošos pētījumos (Attīstības pārvērtēšana)" ietvaros, kas guvis finansējumu projektā NEWFELPRO ar granta līgumu Nr. 10.

Atslēgas vārdi: progresa cena, humanitārā cena, tehnoloģiskais progress, robežproduktivitātes krituma likums, "pasaules-ekonomikas".

Цена прогресса: гуманитарная цена технологического прогресса в глобальном мире

Наблюдающееся в настоящее время падение конкурентоспособности многих высокоразвитых капиталистических стран с инновативной экономикой стимулирует учёных к поиску объяснений этого феномена через концептуальное переосмысление понятия «развитие территории». Опираясь на связанные с данной темой работы Э. Тоффлера (A. Toffler) (1970, 1980), Ш. Муррэя (Ch. Murray) (2003), Г. Истербрука (G. Easterbrook) (2004), Р. Райма (R. Wright) (2004), на результаты собственных исследований, а также на идеи таких научных дисциплин как «экономика развития» и «философия технологий», авторами была выдвинута следующая гипотеза: развитие территории в современном мире идёт на спад, когда гуманитарная цена технологического прогресса начинает перевешивать его блага, и именно разница в этой цене детерминирует также разницу в путях развития для конкретных территорий. Научный подход, предложенный авторами в рамках данного исследования, опирается на фундаментальный экономический закон убывающей предельной производительности, приложенный к технологическому прогрессу и его гуманитарной цене в различных частях мира, которые воспринимаются — на основе концепции Ф. Броделя (F. Braudel) - как «миры-экономики». Основной целью данной статьи является обозначение ключевых элементов и задач будущих эмпирических и эконометрических исследований по поиску наиболее приемлемой методологии и методики измерения гуманитарной цены технологического прогресса для различных территорий, а также по определению механизма снижения этой цены в существующих «мирах-экономиках». Данное исследование получило финансирование от Седьмой Рамочной Программы Европейского Союза (FP7 2007—2013) в рамках Договора о гранте № 291823 Marie Curie FP7-PEOPLE-2011-COFUND (Новая международная программа стипендий для мобильности опытных исследователей в Хорватии – NEWFELPRO). Данная статья написана в рамках проекта «Переосмысление развития территории в глобальных сравнительных исследованиях (Переосмысление развития)», получившего финансирование через проект NEWFELPRO по Договору о гранте №10.

Ключевые слова: цена прогресса, гуманитарная цена, технологический прогресс, *закон убывающей предельной производительности*, «миры-экономики».

Introduction

Within the authors' currently realized scientific research project "Rethinking Territory Development in Global Comparative Researches (Rethink Development)" supported by the Marie Curie FP7-PEOPLE-2011-COFUND program – NEWFELPRO (The New International Fellowship Mobility Program for Experienced Researchers in Croatia) the Global Rating of Territory Development (1) was created. Using this IT application, a current tendency that growth capacity of many countries which we use to perceive as "developed" is not just lower than in the case of the so called "developing" countries (as it is by the scientifically proved convergence principle) but often it is even negative, was identified (Boronenko, Lonska 2013).

For example, according to the data published during the last 5 years by the World Economic Forum on Global Competitiveness Index, i.e. in the period 2011–2015, the top 10 countries – Switzerland, Singapore, USA, Finland, Germany, Sweden, Netherlands, UK, Hong Kong, Japan (in 2011 Denmark replaced Hong Kong in the top 10) – permanently occupied the first 10 placed in the Rating of Global Competitiveness. None of these countries, except the Netherlands and Hong Kong, show a positive growth trend of its competitiveness if we look at the annual average change of the Global Competitiveness Index for the period 2005–2014, but 6 countries from the top 10 – USA, Finland, Germany, UK, Denmark and Sweden – show a decline trend of their competitiveness (annual average change of GCI for the period 2005–2014).

At the same time there are a lot of countries which have never been leaders of the Rating of Global Competitiveness, but they have become leaders of the above mentioned alternative Global Rating of Territory Development, showing a tendency of highest growth capacity measured by the average annual difference between Global Competitiveness Indexes for the period of 2005–2014. They are Cambodia, Turkey, China, Ethiopia, Qatar, Guatemala, Gambia, UAE, Georgia, and Indonesia. At least half of these countries – "growth leaders" do not occupy the last places in the Rating of Global Competitiveness of the World Economic Forum – for example, in the latest Global Competitiveness Report 2015–2016 (Schwab, 2015) Qatar occupies 14th place in competitiveness among 140 world countries, the UAE – 17, China – 28, Indonesia – 37, Turkey – 51.

Therefore, the principle of convergence which states that less developed countries always develop faster than the more developed ones is again broken. For the world countries in general this scientifically proven principle of convergence (Sala-i-Martin 1995; Barro, Sala-i-Martin 1991, 1992, 1997; Cheshire, Carbonaro 1995; Cheshire, Magrini 2000; Quah 1993, 1996, 1997) is correct, but there are sufficient number of exceptions which make search for other reasons for stable progress in some countries and stable decline in others. The attempt to find these reasons in the energy consumption (nature-friendly element) and institutional environment (human-friendly element) has been already made by one of the authors within the above mentioned research project "Rethink Development" supported by the NEWFELPRO program (2). As a result of this attempt, China has been identified as both nature-friendly (with relatively low per capita consumption of energy resources) and human-friendly (with relatively high

index of social infrastructure), Qatar and the UAE have been identified as human-friendly with surprisingly high index of social infrastructure.

Coming back to the facts in the run of the statistics analysis of the World Health Organization it has been discovered that while 5% of women and 3% of men suffer from obesity in the countries with a low level of income, 22% of both men and women suffer from obesity in the countries with a high level of income (World Health Organization 2013). As it can be concluded from health statistics, obesity can be referred to the so-called "civilization diseases" which start to occupy top places among human death factors in "developed" countries. These diseases increasingly depend on the lifestyle that people choose, as well as on their ability to use the available resources (Pakholok 2013). Moreover, total fertility rate per woman in high income countries is only 1.8 (which is lower than the level of reproduction of population), but in low income countries – 4.0, but the crude death rate (per 1000 population) is 8.4 in high income countries and 9.4 in low income ones (World Health Organization 2013), i.e. there is a difference but not as large as in the case with the fertility rate. In general, the interrelation between the level of income in the country and crude death rate is rather interesting: 9.4 per 1000 population in low income countries, 8.0 – in lower middle income countries, 7.0 - in upper middle income countries, and 8.4 - in high income countries. It turns out that countries pay for the increase in income from upper middle level to high level with the increase in crude death rate.

All above mentioned facts make us question the efficiency of the use of resources by people and sustainability of the progress in so called "developed" countries – those ones with a high income level which have chosen a development path based on a market economy and consumers' society – as well as about their further growth capacity. There arises the question about the humanitarian price of this progress which possibly becomes too high nowadays and, therefore, restrains and in some cases even turns back the further progress in the countries which have achieved a high level of competitiveness and high living standard.

Current state of knowledge

Adherents of market fundamentalism and liberalism in economics – starting with the 18th century's classicists-physiocrats, who substantiated the efficiency of the "laissez faire" principle (Adam Smith, Benjamin Franklin, George Whatley), and to the relatively recent and very recent modern times (Mises 1927; Schumpeter 1934; Hayek 1941; Friedman M. 1962; Friedman D. 1973, 1989, 2014; Rockwell 2014) – have been actively searching for a moving force and factors of progress but not for the analysis of its social consequences. For example, J. Schumpeter in his theory of economic development comes to the conclusion that everything that has been considered as destabilizing factors, i.e. monopolies, economic cycles, competition, in fact are the factors for advancing progress. The scientist believed that destroying competition, struggle for influence, and firms' restrictive activity (advertising, patents, etc.) all advance the long-term development process (Schumpeter 1934). Schumpeter is the first economist who introduced the concepts "change" and "innovation", and he related these concepts

to rates of economic development. Innovations enable receiving profit at a micro-economic level, and they influence the general economic growth at the macroeconomic level (Schumpeter 1989).

However, social consequences of the unprecedented technological progress accumulated and intensified in real life have become the problem space which is dealt with in such science discipline as social economics (Milgate, Newman 1989). The subject of social economics is the study of the economics of growth in people's well-being in the system interrelation with the use of their potential for sustainable development of economy and social sphere (Slezinger 2001). The Association for Social Economics (ASE), founded in New York City in 1941, is a learned society in the broadly defined area of social economics. The fields of research promoted by the ASE include the mutual relationships among ethics, social values, concepts of social justice, and the social dimensions of economic life. The Association was founded originally as the Catholic Economic Association (CEA) by American Jesuits Thomas Divine (he was the 1st President of it) and Bernard William Dempsey, who received his PhD in Economics from Harvard University in 1940, and was a student of J. Schumpeter (!). B. Dempsey published "Interest and Usury" in 1943 and "The Functional Economy: The Bases of Economic Organization" in 1958. Th. Divine published "Interest, An Historical and Analytical Study in Economics and Modern Ethics" in 1959. The CEA was renamed the Association for Social Economics in 1970 in order to enrich the Association's scope on ethics and social justice in economics with a more universal audience.

American philosopher, sociologist and futurologist, one of the authors of the concept of post-industrialized society A. Toffler can be referred to as the father of the study of the issues close to the topic of the article – price of progress (3), and as the opponent of the adherents of "radical capitalism" (Friedman D. 1989). Two of A. Toffler's classic works seem to be the most interesting in relation to the proposed research: "Future Shock" (1970) and "Third Wave" (1980). In the first work A. Toffler argued that society is undergoing an enormous structural change, a revolution from an industrial society to a "super-industrial society". This change overwhelms people. He believed the accelerated rate of technological and social change left people disconnected and suffering from "shattering stress and disorientation" - future shocked. A. Toffler stated that the majority of social problems are symptoms of this future shock. In his discussion of the components of such shock, he popularized the term "information overload" (Toffler 1970). Toffler's idea that the rates of changes are too fast for society to perceive them and it reflected the attitudes existed in the 1960s: the Third Wave of changes which transformed all aspects of human existence replaced industrialism. Computer, jet plane, contraceptive pills and high technologies are the symbols of the Third Wave (Toffler 1980).

Two opposing opinions on the issue of "technological unemployment" illustrate the debate between the adherents of "radical capitalism" and those who are concerned about its social consequences and humanitarian price, which lasted for several decades:

1) An idea, which still prevails today, is that of "technological unemployment", i.e. the idea that improved methods of production lead to unemployment. The idea

- did not occur to them that reducing the amount of labor required for the production of a certain amount of goods or items would make possible the freeing up of materials and labor for the production of other items (Mises 2004 Lecture Transcriptions published 30 years after his death).
- 2) Job cuts are one of the main consequences of technological progress. Even if workers stay at a company, they are constantly required to re-qualify, to upgrade their qualifications, to be responsible under the conditions of competition for working places. A hired worker is required to have a well-developed sense of professional mobility. The lack of the sense of mobility could result in future shock, excessive conservatism and increase in aggressiveness and conflict within society (Toffler 1970). The scope of computer revolution which caused automation and robot automation in industrial production is really huge (Toffler 1980).

According to L. Mises, the basis for such contradictory understanding of social consequences of technological progress is the West-East conflict: "The East never developed the idea of scientific research – the search for knowledge and truth for its own sake - which the Greeks gave to civilization. A second achievement of the Greeks, which has always been foreign to the East, is the idea of political liberty of government – of political responsibility of the individual citizen. These ideas, widely accepted in the West, never found counterparts in the East. Even today, only a small group of Eastern intellectuals follow these ideas" (Mises 2004). But the matter is that his opponents – A. Toffler, R. Wright, G. Easterbrook - are American intellectuals, but not Eastern ones. The Russian scientist V. Speransky reasonably criticizes the reference by L. Mises (as well as by other 20th and 21st centuries scientists and social activists) to a famous citation of R. Kipling "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet". V. Speransky writes, "There will be no division into East and West, according to Kipling, if a strong one meets a strong one, if two equals meet. R. Kipling, a writer, poet and soldier knew very well the nature of human collisions: a dialogue is only possible between those who are equally strong. Not between the ones who strive to become strong or declare themselves strong, but between real equals, the self-sufficient ones. The whole ballad by R. Kipling (Kipling 2001) states that in the dialogue between strong, equal to each other in power and influence counterparts, problems of opposition between East and West fade away" (Speransky 2011). Therefore, the basis for contradictions can hardly be found in the paradigm West-East, especially nowadays, when, according to the Ratings of Global Competitiveness of the World Economic Forum, a lot of countries in the East demonstrate consistently high indicators of competitiveness and growth capacity (for instance, such countries as Qatar, the UAE, China, Indonesia, Turkey).

The Human Capability Approach is possibly the most vivid example of the fact that the decrease in the humanitarian price of technological process is the problem of both West and East (as well as of North and South); and East is able to propose effective solutions in this field. The Human Capability Approach is an economic theory conceived in the 1980s as an approach to welfare economic (Sen 1983). In this approach, A. Sen (the Indian economist and philosopher, who since 1972 has taught and worked in the UK and the USA; he was awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize in

Economic Sciences in 1998 and Bharat Ratna in 1999 for his work in welfare economics) brings together a range of ideas that were previously excluded from traditional approaches to the economics of welfare. The core focus of the Human Capability Approach is on what individuals are able to do (i.e., capable of). Therefore, the expansion of human capabilities is considered nowadays the basic criterion of technological progress. But the use of GDP and GNP as an approximation of well-being and development have been critiqued widely, because they are often misused as indicators of wellbeing and human development when in fact they are only telling about the economic capacity of a country or an average income level when expressed on a per person basis. Ideas of A. Sen and other Eastern scientists are recognized worldwide and they are taken up for further development by West, for example, the Human Development and Capability Association (HDCA) (4) which was launched in September 2004 at the Fourth Capability Conference in Pavia, Italy, and supported by the Canadian International Development Research Centre (IDRC), as well as a peer-reviewed journal, the Journal of Human Development and Capabilities: A Multi-Disciplinary Journal for People-Centered Development (5).

In spite of this "West-East union" in the field of people-centered development it is possible to suppose that L. Mises's skepticism to some extent can be justified by the fact that the notion of human capabilities is hardly interpreted in the same way by West and East. This entails the "trap of progress" which was well described by Ronald Wright in his book "A Short History of Progress" (Wright 2004): "Paleolithic hunters who learned how to kill two mammoths instead of one had made progress. Those who learnt how to kill 200 by driving a whole herd over a cliff [improving human capabilities, by some understanding of the Human Capability Approach] had made too much. Many of the great ruins that grace the deserts and jungles of the earth are monuments to progress traps, the headstones of civilizations which became victims of their own success. The twentieth-century's runaway growth has placed a murderous burden on the planet. This modern predicament is as old as civilization. Only by understanding the patterns of progress and disaster that humanity has repeated since the Stone Age can we recognize the inherent dangers, and, with luck, and wisdom, shape its outcome". In "The Progress Paradox" (2004), G. Easterbrook draws upon three decades of wide-ranging research and thinking to make the persuasive assertion that almost all aspects of Western life have vastly improved in the past century – and yet today, most men and women feel less happy than in previous generations. Charles Murray in his book "Human Accomplishment: The Pursuit of Excellence in the Arts and Sciences, 800 B.C. to 1950" (2003) explains this paradox, "Innovation is increased by beliefs that life has a purpose and that the function of life is to fulfill that purpose; by beliefs about transcendental goods and a sense of goodness, truth and beauty; and by beliefs that individuals can act efficaciously as individuals, and a culture that enables them to do so. Murray argued that there is an absence of this in the current secularist and nihilist society which has caused the decline". In his turn, R. Wright illustrates how various cultures throughout history have literally manufactured their own end by producing an overabundance of innovation and stripping bare the very elements that allowed them to initially advance (Wright 2004).

It seems that R. Wright managed to identify the modern global challenge connected to unprecedented economic progress: "Capitalism lures us onward like the mechanical hare before the greyhounds, insisting that the economy is infinite and sharing therefore irrelevant. Just enough greyhounds catch a real hare now and then to keep the others running till they drop. In the past it was only the poor who lost this game; now it is the planet" (Wright 2004). Technology generated a deep contradiction between those who create civilization and those who would only like to use its products. The tragic meaning of the consequences of this new stratification is that modern world needs, first of all, representatives of "self-programmable" labour, and a relatively small number of "generic labour", which the vast majority of population belong to. Millions of people turn out to be "socially excluded". They are not needed in the modern world even as an object of exploitation, there is just not place for them here. Neither ruling classes nor society in general needs the class which is subjected to exclusion, and they do not depend on it, at least, economically (Tihonova 2006).

For the moment, the research problem is that losses of humanity caused by technological progress, i.e. humanitarian price of technological progress, for several decades, as the analysis of scientific literature showed, have been the subject of emotional debates among scientists and social activists, but not the subject of economic calculations which would enable researches to precisely and objectively evaluate humanitarian price of technological progress. Most probably, paths of territory development in the modern world chosen by countries and regions do not depend on the amount of such costs and they will hardly be qualitatively and quantitatively identical for each country in the world. Therefore, this unemotional calculation of humanitarian price of technological progress for different countries in the modern world, as well as the search for options to decrease this price are the main tasks of social scientists in the future in order to escape from this discussion deadlock which has no enough rationale in support of any position.

Key elements of the research

Research problem: Analysis of scientific literature, statistics and research outcomes showed that alongside achievements and successes in the economic development, there is also the price which the humanity (or a part of humanity) pays for new benefits received as a result of unprecedented technological progress. This price of technological progress has been already for decades the subject of heated debates between the supporters and opponents of technological progress and its "ecological environment" – market economy, radical capitalism, liberalism etc. However, these debates are of a rather emotional character and they contain few scientifically founded arguments and facts which confirm or disprove the high humanitarian price which mankind pays for its technological progress. Therefore, there is a contradiction between the necessity to clearly identify and precisely measure the humanitarian price of technological progress in various countries/regions of the modern world and the lack of scientifically-founded tools for identification and measurement of the price of progress, as well as mechanisms for its reduction in various "worlds-economies" (6).

Aim of the further empirical and econometrical researches: to work out and test scientifically-founded tools for identification and measurement of humanitarian price of technological progress, as well as the ways to decrease it which are applicable for various "worlds-economies".

Subject of the further empirical and econometrical researches: humanitarian price of technological progress understood as a difference between benefits (employment, improved living conditions, expectancy of life, education, health etc.) and losses (unemployment, death rate, diseases, suicides, crime rate, etc.), which are direct or indirect consequences of technological progress.

Research hypothesis: territory development in the modern world declines when the humanitarian price of technological progress begins to outweigh benefits from it, and as a result, humanitarian price of technological progress determines different paths of territory development.

Research questions which have to be answered within the research: 1) How humanitarian price of technological progress could be identified and calculated? 2) What are the differences in humanitarian prices of technological progress between existing "world-economies"? 3) What is the potential of each existing "world-economy" to reduce the humanitarian price of technological progress?

Scientific approach: methodology of the research

The scientific approach / thinking paradigm, which will be used in the *further empirical and econometrical researches*, is basing on two pillars: conceptual understanding of humanitarian price, and spatial understanding of the modern world. First one will be understood via economic Law of Diminishing Marginal Productivity applied to technological progress, second – via conception of "worlds-economies" which form a spatial framework for differences in humanitarian price of technological progress and mechanisms of its reduction.

Conceptual understanding of humanitarian price via Law of Diminishing Marginal Productivity applied to technological progress. Law of diminishing marginal productivity is an economic principle that states that while increasing one input and keeping other inputs at the same level may initially increase output, further increases in that input will have a limited effect, and eventually no effect or a negative effect, on output. The law of diminishing marginal productivity helps explain why increasing production is not always the best way to increase profitability. The law of diminishing marginal productivity shows that instead of continuing to increase the same input, it might be better to stop at a certain level, and to increase a different input, or produce an additional or different product or service to maximize profit.

Figure 1
Artific applying of the Law of Diminishing Marginal Productivity to technological progress (water) and territory development (flower)



Source: Obolenskaia 2014.

This law was first discovered in the 17th century. The law claimed that a permanent increase in the labor applied to a certain piece of land leads to a decrease in productivity of this piece of land. Economists in the 19th century applied this theory only to the sphere of agriculture, and did not attempt further application of the theory. In the 20th century the law of diminishing marginal productivity became universal and applicable for all types of activities once and for all. The authors suppose that in the 21th century this fundamental economic law can be applied to technological progress (production, output) and territory development (profit). In its turn, inputs (resources, factors of production) could be imagined as resources or factors of progress.

There are three main resources or factors of production in classical macroeconomic theory – land (all natural resources), labor (the ability to work) and capital (equipment, finances, buildings etc.); later the ability to combine resources – entrepreneurship – was added to three classical resources or factors of production, more later – information. Thinking about technological progress and territory development, the authors propose one more vital resource or factor of production – people's moderation / abstinence (the ability to satisfy needs, consuming less material resources), even morality / goodness. Although they are not economic categories, in modern reality of explosion of civilization diseases and vices, people's moderation / abstinence become economically valuable.

Coming back to the research hypothesis that territory development in the modern world declines when humanitarian price of technological progress begins to outweigh benefits from it, it can be argued that previously mentioned humanitarian price's outweighing the benefits from technological progress happens when, according to the law of diminishing marginal productivity, the rate of science-technological progress (one input) does not correspond to the level of people's moral-spiritual progress (another input) on the concrete territory. Speaking figuratively, if a person has such level of moral-spiritual development that only necessity of physical needs' satisfaction can get him up from the sofa, let him live in material poverty, as prosperity (which is the result of technological progress) will just spoil him in this case.

Spatial understanding of the modern world via conception of "worlds-economies". The second part of the research hypothesis – the resulting humanitarian price of technological progress determines different paths of territory development – states that in various countries and regions of the modern world the humanitarian price of technological progress and, as a result, path of territory development, could be different. But there arises the question of what qualitatively different spatial parts modern world consists of, and what the nature of significant differences between territories is. A conceptual answer to this question can be found in the paradigm of "worlds-economies" suggested by F. Braudel.

F. Braudel argued that the world's economic history is presented as an alternation of dominancy of certain economically autonomous regions of the world – "worlds-economies" (Braudel 1967). Then, in the 1970s the first report of the Club of Rome "The Limits to Growth" was published (Meadows et al. 1972), later – the second report as well as "The 30-Years Update" (Meadows et al. 2004), which developed the concept of "organic growth", considering every territory as a separate cell of the living organism of the world with its own function (or even mission), which have to be fulfilled instead of aspiration for universal quantitative indices of development (Mesarovic, Pestel 1974).

The authors have chosen two key indicators as a methodological basis for identification and empirical interpretation of modern "worlds-economies": the use of natural resources (within the framework of this research – use of energy), and the quality of social infrastructure. Why exactly these indicators? First of all, the challenge of limited natural resources which are not enough to provide comfort for all world population (to provide them not for everybody is inhuman and this is a permanent reason for conflicts and remodeling of the world) is a natural bond for the further increase in production and consumption, i.e. economic growth according to consumption-driven capitalist economy (Meadows et al. 1972, 2004; Lahart et al. 2008; Global Footprint Network, Mediterranean Ecological Footprint Initiative 2015). Moreover, "the resource constraints foreseen by the Club of Rome are more evident today than at any time since the 1972 publication of the think tank's famous book, "The Limits of Growth" (Lahart et al. 2008). The classical option (in according to this limitation) offered by the Club of Rome is to encourage social and economic patterns that would satisfy the needs of people under the minimal use of natural resources (Meadows et al. 1972).

Later some researchers argued that "recent economic research shows that the physical limits to natural resource supply do not cause any serious effects on economic growth. This is because growth depends more strongly on technical development, education, and economic policy" (Tahvonen 1998). In previous publications one of the author of this article and other researchers proved consistently that this is true only for the countries which are – according to the classification worked out by the World Economic Forum (Lopez-Claros et al. 2005) – at the innovation-driven stage (Boronenko 2007, 2009, 2014; Stankevics et al. 2014), including Finland – resident country of O. Tahvonen. But for the states which are at the efficiency-driven stage and especially at the factor-driven stage, exactly basic factor conditions such as low-cost labour and unprocessed natural resources are the dominant basis of competitive advantage and exports (Schwab 2012).

Therefore, the Club of Rome in their classical work "The Limits of Growth" stated that "it is possible to alter this growth trends and to establish a condition of ecological and economic stability that is sustainable far into the future. The state of global equilibrium could be designed so that the basic material needs of each person on the Earth are satisfied and each person has an equal opportunity to realize his individual human potential" (Meadows et al. 1972). How is it possible to achieve sustainable territory development while not consuming too much energy and other natural resources but at the same time striving for the well-being of the population, i.e. for the "production of qualitative people"?

R. E. Hall and Ch. I. Jones in their article "Why do some countries produce so much more output per worker than others?" (Hall, Jones 1998) argue that the primary, fundamental determinant of a country's long-run economic performance is its social infrastructure, i.e. institutions and government policies (Hall, Jones 1998). Social infrastructure gives incentives for productive activities or predatory behaviour, and workers choose between production and diversion depending on existing quality of social infrastructure in their countries. The opportunity to efficiently and economically use available resources (Pakholok 2013) directly depends on institutional environment within the country, i.e. on the country's social infrastructure which can either promote or impede a productive use of the resources available in the country. Individual achievements in health, education and income, while essential, do not guarantee in human development if social conditions constrain above mentioned individual achievements (UNDP 2013).

The World Economic Forum also argues that the importance of a sound and fair institutional environment has become all the more apparent during the recent economic and financial crisis and is especially crucial for further solidifying the fragile recovery, given the increasing role played by the state at the international level and for the economies of many countries. The quality of institutions has a strong bearing on competitiveness and growth. It influences investment decisions and the organization of production and plays a key role in the ways in which societies distribute the benefits and bear the costs of development strategies and policies (Schwab 2014).

So, further empirical analysis is realized based on these two dimensions – energy use ("nature-friendly" dimension) and social infrastructure ("human-friendly" dimension). The data on 124 world countries are the basis for empirical interpretation of modern "worlds-economies", the information on whose resource consumption was available, in particular, on energy consumption as the empirical indicator "energy use per capita (kg of oil equivalent) (World Bank 2015) – average meaning for 2007–2011, as well as the second indicator – the index of social infrastructure as the empirical indicator "Institutions" (score by the scale 1–7) (Schwab 2014) – average meaning for 2009–2013. So, the latest available data on energy consumption and social infrastructure published in the reports by the World Bank and the World Economic Forum have been used for the analysis.

First, the average indicators of energy use per capita and general index of social infrastructure (the world countries' social infrastructure is measured according to 21 indicators in annual Global Competitiveness Reports of the World Economic Forum) in the analyzed set of 124 world countries have been calculated. The average energy

consumption per capita for the period of 2007–2011 in the world is 2700.00 kg of oil equivalent with the scatter from 195 kg in Bangladesh (the minimal level of consumption) to 17419 kg in Qatar (the maximal level of consumption). The average index of social infrastructure for the period of 2009–2013 on a 7-point scale comprises 4.05 with the scatter from 2.33 in Venezuela (minimal, i.e. the worst value of the index) to 6.07 in Singapore (maximal, i.e. the best value of the index).

The whole set of 124 investigated countries has been divided into groups in relation to the average values of energy consumption and social infrastructure (see Table 1):

- 1) energy use per capita is higher than average meaning 2700.00 kg of oil equivalent within the set of investigated countries, but the index of social infrastructure is lower than average meaning 4.05 points within the set of investigated countries, i.e. the bad situation in terms of both indicators;
- 2) energy use per capita is lower than average meaning 2700.00 kg of oil equivalent within the set of investigated countries, and the index of social infrastructure is lower than average meaning 4.05 points within the set of investigated countries, i.e. the good situation in terms of energy use, but the bad one in terms of social infrastructure;
- 3) energy use per capita is higher than average meaning 2700.00 kg of oil equivalent within the set of investigated countries, and the index of social infrastructure is higher than average meaning 4.05 points within the set of investigated countries, i.e. the bad situation in terms of energy use, but the good one in terms of social infrastructure;
- 4) energy use per capita is lower than average meaning 2700.00 kg of oil equivalent within the set of investigated countries, but the index of social infrastructure is higher than average meaning 4.05 points within the set of investigated countries, i.e. the good situation in terms of both indicators.

Table 1 Methodical matrix of countries' groups classified by energy use per capita and index of social infrastructure

Energy use Social infrastructure	Higher than average ("bad" situation)	Lower than average ("good" situation)
Lower than average	"Energy consumers with poor	"Ecologists with poor social
("bad" situation)	social infrastructure" (1st group)	infrastructure" (2nd group)
Higher than average	"Energy consumers with strong	"Ecologists with strong social
("good" situation)	social infrastructure" (3rd group)	infrastructure" (4th group)

Source: elaborated by the authors.

The outcomes of the authors' calculations demonstrated the following distribution of the 124 investigated countries under review into the following groups which claim for the status of "worlds-economies":

 "energy consumers with poor social infrastructure" – Czech Republic, Iran, Italy, Kazakhstan, Libya, Russian Federation, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, South Korea, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukraine (11 countries);

- 2) "ecologists with poor social infrastructure" Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Cameroon, Colombia, Cote d'Ivoire, Croatia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Georgia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Kyrgyz Republic, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Macedonia, Mexico, Moldova, Mongolia, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Senegal, Serbia, Syria, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Thailand, Turkey, Venezuela, Vietnam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe (65 countries);
- 3) "energy consumers with strong social infrastructure" Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Kuwait, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Poland, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UAE, United Kingdom, USA (32 countries);
- 4) "ecologists with strong social infrastructure" Botswana, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Hong Kong, Jordan, Malaysia, Malta, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Portugal, Sri Lanka, Tunisia, Uruguay (16 countries);

The largest group – almost half of the investigated countries (most likely also in the world) is comprised of "ecologists with poor social infrastructure". The main feature of this "world-economy" is a relatively low energy use per capita, although the development level of social infrastructure does not allow the countries of this "world-economy" to achieve the main aim of territory development – human well-being (Lonska 2012, 2014; Lonska, Boronenko 2012, 2013), as the available country's resources cannot be used at their utmost for the territory development in general, but just for the development of certain privileged layers of society due to high level of crime, corruption, favouritism, etc.

The second largest group (32 countries) is comprised of the countries opposite to the first group in terms of both indicators – "energy consumers with strong social infrastructure". They are mainly the economically developed countries of Western Europe, Scandinavia and North America, as well as oil Muslim countries which consume quite a lot of energy, but – surprisingly for the authors – they have a strong social infrastructure which enables the efficient distribution and use of the available resources.

These two "worlds-economies" – "ecologists with poor social infrastructure" and "energy consumers with strong social infrastructure" – mainly correspond to developed and developing countries in the usual understanding of territory development within the framework of the evolutionary (quantitative) paradigm (Alchian 1950; Rostow 1960; Hodgson 1993; Friedman D. 1998; Gregory, Stuart 2005). The countries of former communist block in Central and Eastern Europe, Africa and South America which inherited from their authoritarian political regimes poor social infrastructure with crime, corruption, favouritism, etc. as well as relatively low level of energy use per capita, which can be explained by various reasons – such as insufficient development of the real sector of economy, a relatively low level of consumption in the economy in general, warm climate in many of these countries, etc. belong to the group of countries "ecologists with poor social infrastructure". What concerns the group of countries "energy

consumers with strong social infrastructure" as it has already been mentioned above, these are mainly economically highly-developed capitalist countries with a rather interesting "touch" of the group of "oil capital" countries. This is a group of Arabian monarchies supporting a peculiar way of development and then later the autonomy of the "Islamic world" from the capitalist system, in fact is orientated not to the separation from this system but to the inclusion into the system as a more equal of it (Avdiyev 1990).

The analysis of the data shows that on the background of the above mentioned relatively large "worlds-economies" there appears the beginnings of new "worlds-economies" which most probably are new centers of the future dominant "worlds-economies". These two groups of countries – "energy consumers with poor social infrastructure" (the leader is Russia) and "ecologists with strong social infrastructure" (the leader is China).

In order to reduce the distrust of scientific community on empirical identification of "worlds-economies" was suggested by the author, it is useful to compare differences in the average GDP between these four above described "worlds-economies" for statistical significance. Results of multiple comparisons' procedure made in SPSS showed that there are statistically significant differences in economic performance of the "worlds-economies" traditionally measured by the GDP per capita (Hanks 2009; Sala-i-Martin et al. 2013; Stankevics et al. 2014; Simpson 2015).

Table 2 Statistically significant differences between average GDP per capita (during the period of 2009–2013) in identified "worlds-economies"

"World- economies"	"Energy consumers with poor social infrastructure"	"Ecologists with poor social infrastructure"	"Energy consumers with strong social infrastructure"	"Ecologists with strong social infrastructure"
"Energy consumers with poor social infrastructure"	Average GDP per capita is 15661 USD	There is a statistically significant difference (p=0.007)	There is a statistically significant difference (p=0.000)	There is no statistically significant difference (p=0.420)
"Ecologists with poor social infrastructure"	There is a statistically significant difference (p=0.007)	Average GDP per capita is 4686 USD	There is a statistically significant difference (p=0.000)	There is a statistically significant difference (p=0.033)
"Energy consumers with strong social infrastructure"	There is a statistically significant difference (p=0.007)	There is a statistically significant difference (p=0.000)	Average GDP per capita is 46337 USD	There is a statistically significant difference (p=0.000)
"Ecologists with strong social infra- structure"	There is no statistically significant difference (p=0.420)	There is a statistically significant difference (p=0.033)	There is a statistically significant difference (p=0.000)	Average GDP per capita is 11839 USD

Source: elaborated by the authors using SPSS software and data of the Schwab 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013.

According to the data in Table 2, the countries of traditional capitalist "worldeconomy" (into which, as it has been discussed above, a group of Arabian oil monarchies has been added) has the highest average GDP per capita, and in this way it statistically significantly differs from all others "worlds-economies". It's opposite – "ecologists with poor social infrastructure" – have the lowest average GDP per capita, and also statistically significantly differs from all others "worlds-economies". There are no any statistically significant differences in the economic performance between two new emerging "worlds-economies": "energy consumers with poor social infrastructure" and "ecologists with strong social infrastructure" - both "worlds-economies" have approximately the same average GDP per capita. This is achieved mainly whether by means of intensive use of resources (in the first case), or by means of creating a social infrastructure which promotes a productive activity of economic subjects (in the second case). Therefore, the "worlds-economies" which were identified empirically have not only a specific combination of two characteristics chosen by the authors (scientific feasibility of these can be subjected to criticism and can be the topic for debate) but in the majority cases these "worlds-economies" have also statistically significantly different level of economic performance measured by the average GDP per capita for the period of 5 years.

The authors single out provisional leaders – politically and economically important and large countries of the identified "worlds-economies" (which enables to more easily perceive and identify the nature of each "world-economy" in the run of scientific debates):

- 1) the leader of the "energy consumers with poor social infrastructure" Russia;
- 2) the leaders of the "ecologists with poor social infrastructure" Brazil and India;
- 3) the leader of the "energy consumers with strong social infrastructure" UK and USA:
- 4) the leader of the "ecologists with strong social infrastructure" China.

The above mentioned countries-leaders of the identified "worlds-economies" are six destinations for further case studies of specifics of humanitarian price of technological progress. It can be supposed that – returning to the image on the Figure 1 – "soil", "water" and "flower" itself will be qualitatively different in currently existed "worlds-economies". It means that also humanitarian price of technological progress – as well as the potential to reduce it – will differ and have to be investigated in each "world-economy".

Conclusions

- 1) Technological progress creates deep contradictions between those who built a civilization and those who just use its products. The humanitarian price of this progress possibly becomes too high nowadays and restrains the further progress in the countries which have achieved a high living standard.
- 2) Humanitarian price of technological progress, for several decades, as the analysis of scientific literature showed, have been the subject of emotional debates among scientists and social activists, but not the subject of methodological discussions

- and econometric calculations which would enable researches to precisely and objectively evaluate humanitarian price of technological progress.
- 3) The scientific approach / thinking paradigm, which is proposed for using in the further researches on the issue of price of progress, is basing on two pillars: conceptual understanding of humanitarian price, and spatial understanding of the modern world. First one is understood via economic Law of Diminishing Marginal Productivity applied to technological progress, second via conception of "worlds-economies" which form a spatial framework for differences in humanitarian price of technological progress and mechanisms of its reduction.

Notes

- (1) The Global Rating of Territory Development (http://cler.uniri.hr/rethinkdevelopment/web/) is the interactive IT application created by the specialists of the Center of Local Economic Development (CLER) of the Faculty of Economics of the University of Rijeka (Croatia). By the content it is some kind of alternative to the Rating of Global Competitiveness annually published by the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Global Competitiveness Report. Using data on the Global Competitiveness Index (GCI) provided by the above mentioned annual Reports, growth / decline of GCI (difference between GCI for current and previous year) both annual and average for the period of 2005–2014 was calculated, and countries were rated by their growth capacity as it was did by the WEF with current competitiveness level (GCI) of the world countries.
- (2) In the article "Rethinking Territory Development and Integration in the Global World" submitted for publication in the materials of the 10th International Conference "Economic Integrations, Competition and Cooperation: Accession of the Western Balkan Region to the European Union" organized by the Faculty of Economics of the University of Rijeka (EFRI) in Opatija (Croatia) in 2015.
- (3) However, this topic has been touched upon in the art literature even earlier than in social science. Karel Capek, a Czech writer, first detected and introduced a new type of conflict into the world art literature. He wrote about an opposition between a science-technological progress and moral-spiritual progress, and their contradiction which is dangerous for humanity in the conditions of a proprietary society (Capek 1955). He also thought about those tragic consequences which are caused by the uncontrolled and chaotic, based on selfish economic interests, dramatic and even revolutionary development of science and technology. An Austrian satirist, Karl Kraus claimed that "spiritual sterilization of masses is one of the ways capitalism supports its own existence" (Kraus 1974).
- (4) Amartya Sen was the founding president of the HDCA and remained President until 2006 when philosopher, Martha Nussbaum, took over. She was succeeded in 2008 by Frances Stewart, who specialises in development studies. Economist, Kaushik Basu became president in 2010, and was replaced by another economist, Tony Atkinson in 2012.
- (5) It was established in 2000 as the Journal of Human Development, obtaining its current title in 2009. Its founding editors-in-chief were Khadija Haq (Mahbub ul Haq Human Development Center), Richard Jolly (Institute of Development Studies), and Sakiko Fukuda Parr (United Nations Development Programme).
- (6) A "world-economy" is an economically independent part of the globe, which in general is able to be self-sufficient; that one, whose organic unity is based on its internal linkages and interchanges (Braudel 1967) (see detailed description of methodological applying of this conception for the research in the next Chapter "Scientific approach").

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ТЕРРИТОРИАЛЬНОЕ РАСПРЕДЕЛЕНИЕ ПРЕДПРИЯТИЙ СФЕРЫ ИНФОРМАЦИОННО-КОММУНИКАЦИОННЫХ ТЕХНОЛОГИЙ В ЛАТВИИ

В контексте концепций регионального экономического развития в работе рассматривается территориальное распределение предприятий сферы ИКТ в Латвии. Отмечается, что интеграция Латвии в европейскую политическую, социальную и экономическую среду происходит неравномерно - если в политической и социальной интеграции особых проблем нет, то в области экономики определенные противоречия имеются и связаны они прежде всего с неравномерностью регионального развития и ростом различий между экономическими показателями регионов. В работе рассматриваются процессы экономической глобализации и экономической локализации. Типичным процессом экономической глобализации является процесс выравнивания экономических показателей регионов Европы, который обусловлен прозрачностью европейских государственных границ для основных производственных факторов – капитала, рабочей силы, природных ресурсов, товаров и услуг. Типичным процессом экономической локализации является процесс региональной локализации инновационного бизнеса, который обусловлен целым рядом существенных отличий инновационного бизнеса от не-инновационного. К числу таких отличий относятся необходимость более тесного сотрудничества государственных, академических и предпринимательских структур, более высокая потребность в кадрах высокой квалификации, специфика финансирования инновационного бизнеса. Предприятия сферы ИКТ в Латвии в значительной степени являются инновационными предприятиями и в соответствии с теорией для них должен наблюдаться эффект региональной локализации. В работе исследуется как количественное распределение предприятий сферы ИКТ по регионам, так и их вклад в региональную экономику в виде налоговых поступлений. Источником данных по территориальному распределению является открытая часть базы данных фирмы Lursoft. В работе подтверждается наличие ярко выраженной региональной локализации предприятий сферы ИКТ в Латвии. Из общего объема 311.34 миллионов уплаченных предприятиями сферы ИКТ налогов, 282.14 миллиона, или 90.62%, уплачены в Риге. Исследовано влияние размера предприятий на локализацию и показано, что ростом размера предприятия эффект локализации возрастает, то есть тенденция к локализации крупных предприятий выражена заметнее, чем к локализации малых предприятий. Если для предприятий с налоговыми выплатами менее 2500 евро в год доля Риги в налоговых выплатах составляет 68.86%, то для предприятий с налоговыми выплатами более миллиона евро доля Риги возрастает до 92%. Исследовано влияние возраста предприятий на региональную локализацию. Результаты работы могут быть использованы при разработке стратегии экономического развития регионов Латвии.

Ключевые слова: региональное экономическое развитие, сфера ИКТ, инновационный бизнес.

Informācijas un komunikācijas tehnoloģiju jomas uzņēmumu teritoriālais sadalījums Latvijā

Darbā tiek izskatīts IKT jomas uzņēmumu teritoriālais sadalījums pa reģioniem Latvijā. Atzīmēts, ka Latvijas integrācijas Eiropas politiskajā, sociālajā un ekonomiskajā telpā notiek nevienmērīgi – ja politiskā un sociālā integrācija norisinās bez īpašām problēmām, tad ekonomikas jomā būtiskākās pretrunas saistās ar nevienmērīgu reģionālo attīstību un atšķirību pie-

auguma tempu rādītājos starp reģioniem. Šajā darbā tiek izskatīti ekonomikas globalizācijas un lokalizācijas procesi. Tipisks ekonomiskās globalizācijas procesa piemērs ir Eiropas reģionu ekonomikas rādītāju izlīdzināšanās, kas pamatots ar Eiropas valstu savstarpējo robežu samazināšanos pamatražošanas faktoru attīstībai: kapitāls, darbaspēks, dabas resursi, produkti un pakalpojumi. Tipisks ekonomiskās lokalizācijas process ir inovatīvā biznesa reģionālā lokalizācija, kas pamatots ar veselu virkni nozīmīgu atšķirību starp inovatīvo uznēmējdarbību un ne-inovatīvo uzņēmējdarbību. Pie tādām atšķirībām pieder vajadzība cieši sadarboties valsts, akadēmiskajām un uzņēmējdarbības struktūrām, lielāka nepieciešamība pēc augstas kvalifikācijas speciālistiem, kā arī inovatīvā biznesa finansēšanas specifika. IKT jomas uzņēmumi Latvijā nozīmīgā līmenī ir inovatīvi uznēmumi, un, atbilstoši teorijai, šiem uznēmumiem ir novērojams reģionālas lokalizācijas efekts. Darbā tiek izpētīts, gan IKT jomas skaitliskais sadalījums pa reģioniem, tā arī to ieguldījums reģionālajā ekonomikā pēc nodokļu nomaksas apjoma. Informācijas avoti teritoriālajam sadalījuma ir Lursoft datu bāzes pieejamā sadala. Darbā apstiprinās sākotnēji izvirzītā IKT jomas uzņēmumu reģionālā lokalizācija. No kopējā IKT uzņēmumu nodokļu apjoma 311.34 mlj. EUR, 282.14 mlj. EUR, vai 90.62% samaksāti Rīgā. Izpētīta uznēmuma lieluma ietekme uz lokalizāciju, un apstiprinās, ka ar uznēmuma paplašināšanos, lokalizācijas efekts paaugstinās, respektīvi, lielajiem uzņēmumiem lokalizācijas tendence pamanāma izteiktāk, nekā mazajiem uzņēmumiem. Ja uzņēmumu ar nodokļu nomaksu mazāk kā 2500 EUR gadā īpatsvars Rīgas uznēmumu vidū ir 68.86%, tad uznēmumu apjoms ar nodokļu nomaksu vairāk kā 1 mlj. EUR pieaug līdz 92%. Ir izpētīta uzņēmuma pastāvēšanas ilguma ietekme uz reģionālo lokalizācijas procesu. Darba rezultāti var tikt izmantoti reģionu ekonomiskās attīstības stratēģijas izstrādei Latvijā

Atslēgas vārdi: reģionāla ekonomiskā attīstība, IKT joma, inovatīvā uznēmējdarbība.

The spatial distribution of enterprises of sector of information and communication technologies in Latvia

This paper contains the consideration of the spatial distribution of ICT sector enterprises in Latvia in the context of the concept of regional economic development. It is noted that the integration of Latvia into the European political, social and economic environment is uneven – there are no significant problems in the political and social integration, but in the field of economy certain contradictions exist. Most important of them are connected with the uneven regional economic development - differences between the economic performance of regions are growing but not decreasing. The paper deals with the processes of economic globalization and economic localization. A typical process of economic globalization is a process of the economic performance of European regions leveling, which happens due to the transparency of European state borders for the main production factors – capital, labor, natural resources, goods and services. A typical process of economic localization is the process of innovative business regional localization, which is caused by a number of significant differences between non-innovative and innovative businesses. Among those differences there are the need for closer cooperation between public, academic and business organizations, the higher the need for highly qualified personnel, the specific features in innovative business financing. ICT sector enterprises in Latvia are largely innovative enterprises, and in accordance with the theory the effect of regional localization should be observed for them. We investigate the quantitative distribution of the enterprises of the Latvian ICT sector by regions, as well as the contribution of ICT sector to the regional economy in the form of tax payments. The source of data on the territorial distribution is the open part of the company Lursoft database. The article confirms the existence of pronounced regional localization of ICT sector enterprises in Latvia. Out of the total 311.34 million taxes paid by ICT sector enterprises, 282.14 million, or 90.62%, are paid in Riga. The effect of localization increases with the size of the enterprise that is the

tendency to localize for large enterprises is expressed more noticeable than for a small business. If the share of enterprises with tax payments less than 2,500 euros per year is 68.86% in Riga, the share of enterprise with tax payments more than one million euros in Riga increases to 92%. The results can be used for the strategy of regional economic development creation.

Key words: regional economic development, ICT, innovative business.

1. Ввеление

Интеграция Латвии в европейскую политическую, социальную и экономическую среду происходит неравномерно. В политической интеграции никаких заметных проблем в настоящее время не наблюдается — Латвия является полноправным членом Европейского Союза, её безопасность, как и безопасность других европейских стран, гарантирована членством в НАТО, успешно завершилось президентура Латвии в Европейском Союзе. В социальной интеграции некоторые проблемные вопросы уже имеются — сюда прежде всего относится уменьшение численности населения и относительно новая проблема, относящаяся, впрочем, не только к Латвии но и к Европе в целом, связанная с потоком беженцев из Ближнего Востока. Однако в целом, несмотря на наличие некоторых проблем в процессе социальной интеграции, их остроту можно считать минимальной. Наибольшее количество вопросов возникает в связи с интеграцией Латвии в европейскую экономическую среду, поскольку ситуация здесь является наиболее противоречивой.

С одной стороны, в процессе интеграции в Европейскую экономическую среду Латвия имеет заметные успехи. Процесс экономического развития Латвии можно проследить по «Сообщениям о развитии народного хозяйства Латвии», которые министерство экономики Латвии, начиная с 1994 года традиционно публикует дважды в год в июне и декабре и которые содержат текущую оценку состояния экономики (LR Ekonomikas ministrija 2015). На сайте министерства экономики Латвии www.em.gov.lv доступен как последний выпуск «Сообщений» за декабрь 2015 года, так и архив за предшествующие годы. Резюмируя материалы «Сообщений», можно отметить следующие экономические успехи Латвии.

Во-первых, как отмечается в последнем «Сообщении о развитии народного хозяйства Латвии» за декабрь 2015 года, на протяжении последних лет Латвия демонстрировала одни из самых высоких в Европе темпов экономического роста. Средний темп пророста ВВП Латвии в 2011—2014 годах составлял 4.4% в год.

Во-вторых, в соответствии сисследованием Всемирного Банка «Doing Business» по оценке качества предпринимательской среды, Латвия находится на 22 месте среди 189 стран, занимая 10 место среди стран Европейского Союза. Всемирный банк включил Латвию в число 30 мировых лидеров, которые осуществили наиболее значительные преобразования по улучшению предпринимательской среды (LR Ekonomikas ministrija 2015).

В-третьих, Латвия достаточно хорошо перенесла кризисы как конца 90-х, так и 2007—2009 годов.

С другой стороны, наряду с успехами и достижениями, в экономическом развитии Латвии наблюдаются некоторые тревожные тенденции. Во-первых, на

протяжении уже достаточно продолжительного времени региональное экономическое развитие в Латвии идет в направлении, в некотором смысле прямо противоположном направлению развитию национальной экономики в целом: если разница в валовом национальном продукте на душу населения с европейскими странами у Латвии устойчиво сокращается, то внутри страны разница между различными регионами временами даже возрастает (Boronenko et al. 2014). Во-вторых, достаточно сильное негативное влияние на экономику Латвии оказала «война санкций» — например, оборот Вентспилсского порта за первые два месяца 2016 года по сравнению с тем же периодом 2015 года снизился на 18% (Delfi 2016). В-третьих, целый ряд крупных предприятий Латвии, на протяжении ряда лет являвшихся флагманами Латвийской экономики, в последнее время стал испытывать заметные экономические трудности.

Эти и некоторые другие негативные тенденции приводит к необходимости повышения внимания к проблемам экономического развития Латвии именно на региональном уровне. Следует отметить, что проблемы с региональным экономическим развитием имеются не только в Латвии — это проблема всё больше осознается всеми европейскими странами, что находит отражение в нормативных документах общеевропейского уровня. Так, например, вматериалахтак называемой платформы RIS3 «Research and Innovation Strategies for Smart Specialisation», которая выдвигает цели и задачи экономического развития Европы в среднесрочной перспективе, предполагаются существенные изменения в проведении региональной экономической политики, в том числе определение конкурентных преимуществ каждого региона Европы и разработку планов его развитию во вполне определенных направлениях (European Commission 2016a). Латвийская экономика не может функционировать в отрыве от основных принципов развития европейской экономики, поэтому оценка конкурентоспособности регионов и определение направлений их экономического развития в ближайшее время станут приоритетными задачами.

Предметом настоящей работы является исследование территориального распределения по регионам предприятий сферы информационных технологий и коммуникаций (ИКТ) Латвии, поскольку вопрос о локализации предприятий сферы ИКТ тесным образом связан с общими проблемами развития инновационного бизнеса и построения национальных инновационных систем. Первой серьезной теоретической проблемой развития инновационного бизнеса является вопрос о характере взаимоотношений между экономическим равновесием и динамикой неравновесных экономических процессов в долгосрочнойперспективе. Уже сам Н. Кондратьев после открытия длинных экономических циклов отмечал, что «каждому периоду экономического роста предшествует период значительных изменений производственных технологий» (Kondratjev 1935). Идея о взаимосвязи длинных экономических циклов с циклами развития инноваций получила дальнейшее развитие в трудах Й. Шумпетера, который построил теорию вложенных экономических циклов Кондратьева — Жугляра — Кичина. Взгляды Й. Шумпетера находились в остром противоречии с доминировавшей в то время базовой теорией рыночного равновесия Л. Вальраса, поскольку Й. Шумпетер рассматривал экономику не как статическую равновесную систему, а как динамическую систему, развитие которой описывается совершенно иными движущими силами, нежели те, которые рассматривала экономика рыночного равновесия (Schumpeter 1942). Теория «созидательного разрушения» Й. Шумпетера явилась первой теорией инновационного развития, связывающей динамику экономических циклов с проблемами регионального развития, поскольку вопрос о взаимодействии предприятий «новой экономики» Шумпетера с окружающей средой фактически является вопросом территориального характера.

Явление локализации инновационных предприятий было подмечено эмпирически и впервые описано основоположниками теории развития региональных инновационных систем М. Андерсеном и К. Карлссоном в 2004 году (Andersson, Karlsson 2004a, 2004b). Тенденция локализации инновационных предприятий находилась в противоречии с тенденцией выравнивания региональных различий в характеристиках бизнес среды и поэтому вызвала в Латвии значительный интерес. Причина повышенного интереса в Латвии к теориям регионального экономического развития в то время была связана с достаточно продолжительным периодом подготовки вступления Латвии в ЕС и вписыванием в систему европейских региональных экономических отношений.

Европейская Комиссия признала независимость Латвии в 1991 году, в 1993 году были подписаны первые договора об экономическом союзе между Латвией и Европейским Экономическим Союзом. Заявку на вступление в ЕС Латвия подала в 1995 году, первая оценка готовности Латвии к вступлению была произведена в 1997 году. Переговоры о вступлении в ЕС Латвия начала в 2000 году и завершила их в 2002 году в Копенгагене. Договор о вступлении Латвии в ЕС был подписан 16 апреля 2003 года в Афинах и ратифицирован 1 мая 2004 года в Дублине. С этого момента Латвия стала полноправным членом Европейского союза, что существенным образом изменило характер экономического развития страны. С формальной точки зрения важнейшим экономическим изменением, связанным со вступлением Латвии в ЕС, стало то, что в соответствии с европейским законодательством границы Латвии, подобно границам других европейских государств, стали прозрачными для потоков капитала, рабочей силы, природных ресурсов, товаров и услуг. Свободное перемещение важнейших производственных факторов через государственные границы неизбежно должно приводить к выравниванию характеристик бизнес среды — и действительно, до кризиса 2007— 2009 годов во всех европейских странах наблюдалась тенденция к сближению социально-экономических показателей. Выравнивались валовые национальные продукты на душу населения, налоговые ставки, банковские процентные ставки, уровни доходов населения и целый ряд других показателей.

Подмеченная М. Андерсеном и К. Карлссоном (Andersson, Karlsson 2004а, 2004b) тенденция к локализации инновационного бизнеса находилась в противоречии с описанной выше тенденцией выравнивания характеристик европейской бизнес среды и поэтому вызвала значительный интерес в контексте обсуждения формирования региональных инновационных систем европейских стран. Объяснение причин локализации инновационного бизнеса обычно сводится к детальному рассмотрению его особенностей по сравнению с не-инновационным.

Отличий инновационного бизнеса от не-инновационного обнаружено уже достаточно много — так ещё в 2001 году П. Кук отмечал, что особый характер развития инновационного бизнеса по сравнению с не-инновационным связан с тем, что в инновационном бизнесе для достижения положительного результата необходимо гораздо более тесное взаимодействие академической среды, правительственных структур и бизнеса, чем в обычной предпринимательской деятельности (Cooke 2001). Д. Шервуд отмечал существенные различия бизнес-циклов инновационных и не-инновационных предприятий (Sherwood 2002). А. Исаксен отмечал существенные коммуникационные различия в характере взаимолействия инновационных фирм с партнерами и, как следствие этого, большую склонность инновационного бизнеса по сравнению с не-инновационным к формированию региональных структур – кластеров, сетей сотрудничества, инкубаторов, парков высоких технологий и так далее (Isaksen 2001). А. Барток и С. Мани отмечали существенную разницу в подходе инвесторов к финансированию инновационных и не-инновационных предприятий, связанную с гораздо более высокой степенью неопределенности инновационного бизнеса в получении положительных результатов (Bartzokas, Mani 2004). Рост неопределенности в представлении инвесторов обычно связывается с повышенным риском, поэтому инвесторы склонны ожидать от инновационного бизнеса более высоких доходов в качестве компенсации за повышенные риски. Ещё одним существенным критическим фактором успеха инновационного бизнеса, отличающим его от не-инновационного, является более высокая чувствительность к материально-техническому обеспечению.

Эти и другие отличия инновационного бизнеса от не-инновационного в соответствии с наблюдением М. Андерсена и К. Карлссона в совокупности должны приводить к локализации инновационного бизнеса. Несмотря на то, что вопрос о том, какие именно факторы играют в такой локализации главную роль, продолжает оставаться дискуссионным, эмпирическая проверка локализации инновационного бизнеса представляет значительный интерес.

2. Территориальное распределение предприятий ИКТ сферы в Латвии

Источником информации о территориальном распределении предприятий ИКТ сферы в Латвии является открытый перечень предприятий Регистра предприятий Латвии, расположенный на странице http://dati.ur.gov.lv. Инструкция по пользованию перечем предприятий на латышском языке находится в документе по адресу http://dati.ur.gov.lv/ur_opendata.pdf. Предлагаемый регистром открытый перечень предприятий содержит данные по 372590 предприятиям Латвии и эти данные включают название предприятия, его адрес, регистрационный код, дату регистрации, дату прекращения деятельности и некоторые другие сведения. По известному регистрационному коду предприятия в открытой части базы данных фирмы Lursoft на сервере фирмы на странице http://company.lursoft.lv можно получить более детальную информацию о предприятии, включающую коды *NACE* классификатора видов деятельности и данныеоб объеме уплаченных налогов. Так, например, для получения информации о самой фирме *Lursoft* надо выйти на со-

ответствующую домашнюю страницу сервера Lursoft либо по названию фирмы http://company.lursoft.lv/lursoft, либо по её регистрационному номеру http://company.lursoft.lv/40003053936. Следует подчеркнуть, что поиск информации по названию предприятия сопряжен с некоторыми трудностями, поскольку точный адрес страницы по названию фирмы установить невозможно, но поиск по регистрационному коду фирмы возможен всегда. Имея перечень регистрационных кодов зарегистрированных в Латвии предприятий можно установить их коды NACE классификатора и выделить из общего списка фирмы интересующей сферы.

В настоящей работе к предприятиям ИКТ сферы отнесены 8092 зарегистрированных в Регистре предприятия, имеющие следующие колы *NACE*.

Таблица 1 **Коды классификатора NACE предприятий сферы ИКТ**

No	Код <i>NACE</i>	Расшифровка/пояснение
1	26.1	Производство электронных компонентов и плат
2	26.2	Производство компьютеров и периферийных устройств
3	26.3	Производство устройств связи
4	26.4	Производство бытовых электронных устройств
5	26.8	Производство оптических и магнитных носителей данных
6	46.51	Оптовая торговля компьютерами, периферийными устройствами и программным обеспечением
7	46.52	Оптовая торговля электронными и телекоммуникационными устройствами и их компонентами
8	58.2	Тиражирование компьютерных программ
9	61.1	Услуги кабельных телекоммуникаций
10	61.2	Услуги беспроводных коммуникаций
11	61.3	Услуги спутниковых телекоммуникаций
12	61.9	Другие телекоммуникационные услуги
13	62.01	Компьютерное программирование
14	62.02	Консультации по применению компьютеров
15	62.03	Управление компьютерными устройствами
16	62.09	Другие компьютерные и информационные услуги
17	63.11	Услуги по обработке и хранению данных
18	63.12	Обеспечение работы интернет-порталов
19	95.11	Ремонт компьютеров и периферийных устройств
20	95.12	Ремонт устройств связи

Источник: European Commission 2016b.

Исследование территориального распределения предприятий ИКТ сферы Латвии целесообразно проводить в двух направлениях. Прежде всего, разумеется, представляет интерес изучение количественного распределения фирм по регионам, однако следует отметить, что такое простое количественное распределение

не всегда адекватно отражает вклад ИКТ сферы в экономику региона. Поясним сказанное на примере города Вентспилса.

В Вентспилсе зарегистрированы 83 фирмы ИКТ сферы, которые в общей сложности заплатили в 2014 году 1471210 евро налогов (Таблица 2). При этом 1439350 евро, или 97.83% от общего объёма налогов, заплатили только 20 крупнейших из них, причем даже у них объемы выплаченных налогов различаются в десятки раз

Таблица 2 Распределение 20 предприятий сферы ИКТ г. Вентспилса по объему налогов, выплаченных в 2014 году. Названия предприятий изменены

№ Название толичитерония капитал, евро най налоги, евро ный налог, евро ный налог, евро 233270 1 Предприятие_02 1992 52920 239750 38020 71720 3 Предприятие_03 2011 2840 197230 45750 76060 4 Предприятие_04 2003 97980 111920 22830 41540 5 Предприятие_05 2013 2840 57690 23100 38230 6 Предприятие_06 2006 2844 46780 10350 11330 7 Предприятие_07 2007 4260 44010 5560 11700 8 Предприятие_08 2007 2840 38680 10110 12370 9 Предприятие_10 2005 53534 23340 3920 8060 11 <td< th=""><th></th><th></th><th rowspan="2">Год регис-</th><th>Уставной</th><th>Уплаченные</th><th>Подоход-</th><th>Социаль-</th></td<>			Год регис-	Уставной	Уплаченные	Подоход-	Социаль-
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8 Предприятие_08 2007 2840 38680 10110 12370 9 Предприятие_09 2009 2845 29300 2240 4700 10 Предприятие_10 2005 53534 23340 3920 8060 11 Предприятие_11 2002 2845 22360 3790 8420 12 Предприятие_12 2010 2840 19020 12310 3790 13 Предприятие_13 1994 2936 15600 2580 6900 14 Предприятие_14 2010 2840 8060 1230 10 15 Предприятие_15 2007 2840 8060 1230 10 16 Предприятие_16 2011 2840 7930 2250 3710 17 Предприятие_17 2013 2840 7750 880 730 18 Предприятие_18 1998 2828 7650 1060 3600 19 Предприят	6	Предприятие_06	2006	2844	46780	10350	11330
9 Предприятие_09 2009 2845 29300 2240 4700 10 Предприятие_10 2005 53534 23340 3920 8060 11 Предприятие_11 2002 2845 22360 3790 8420 12 Предприятие_12 2010 2840 19020 12310 3790 13 Предприятие_13 1994 2936 15600 2580 6900 14 Предприятие_14 2010 2800 9110 760 1200 15 Предприятие_15 2007 2840 8060 1230 10 16 Предприятие_16 2011 2840 7930 2250 3710 17 Предприятие_17 2013 2840 7750 880 730 18 Предприятие_18 1998 2828 7650 1060 3600 19 Предприятие_19 1999 2950 7430 1760 2810 20 Предприятий) 1439350 296550 540150 21 Всего (20 предприятия) 311342730 59488290	7	Предприятие_07	2007	4260	44010	5560	11700
10 Предприятие_10 2005 53534 23340 3920 8060 11 Предприятие_11 2002 2845 22360 3790 8420 12 Предприятие_12 2010 2840 19020 12310 3790 13 Предприятие_13 1994 2936 15600 2580 6900 14 Предприятие_14 2010 2800 9110 760 1200 15 Предприятие_15 2007 2840 8060 1230 10 16 Предприятие_16 2011 2840 7930 2250 3710 17 Предприятие_17 2013 2840 7750 880 730 18 Предприятие_18 1998 2828 7650 1060 3600 19 Предприятие_19 1999 2950 7430 1760 2810 20 Предприятие_20 2013 1 6770 0 0 21 Все предприятия (83	8	Предприятие_08	2007	2840	38680	10110	12370
11 Предприятие_11 2002 2845 22360 3790 8420 12 Предприятие_12 2010 2840 19020 12310 3790 13 Предприятие_13 1994 2936 15600 2580 6900 14 Предприятие_14 2010 2800 9110 760 1200 15 Предприятие_15 2007 2840 8060 1230 10 16 Предприятие_16 2011 2840 7930 2250 3710 17 Предприятие_17 2013 2840 7750 880 730 18 Предприятие_18 1998 2828 7650 1060 3600 19 Предприятие_19 1999 2950 7430 1760 2810 20 Предприятие_20 2013 1 6770 0 0 21 Всего (20 предприятия) 1471210 299280 545220 23 ИКТ сфера Латвии всего 311342730<	9	Предприятие_09	2009	2845	29300	2240	4700
12 Предприятие_12 2010 2840 19020 12310 3790 13 Предприятие_13 1994 2936 15600 2580 6900 14 Предприятие_14 2010 2800 9110 760 1200 15 Предприятие_15 2007 2840 8060 1230 10 16 Предприятие_16 2011 2840 7930 2250 3710 17 Предприятие_17 2013 2840 7750 880 730 18 Предприятие_18 1998 2828 7650 1060 3600 19 Предприятие_19 1999 2950 7430 1760 2810 20 Предприятие_20 2013 1 6770 0 0 21 Всего (20 пред- приятий) 1439350 296550 540150 22 Все предприятия (83 предприятия) 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83	10	Предприятие_10	2005	53534	23340	3920	8060
13 Предприятие_13 1994 2936 15600 2580 6900 14 Предприятие_14 2010 2800 9110 760 1200 15 Предприятие_15 2007 2840 8060 1230 10 16 Предприятие_16 2011 2840 7930 2250 3710 17 Предприятие_17 2013 2840 7750 880 730 18 Предприятие_18 1998 2828 7650 1060 3600 19 Предприятие_19 1999 2950 7430 1760 2810 20 Предприятие_20 2013 1 6770 0 0 21 Всего (20 пред- приятий) 1439350 296550 540150 22 Все предприятий 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	11	Предприятие_11	2002	2845	22360	3790	8420
14 Предприятие_14 2010 2800 9110 760 1200 15 Предприятие_15 2007 2840 8060 1230 10 16 Предприятие_16 2011 2840 7930 2250 3710 17 Предприятие_17 2013 2840 7750 880 730 18 Предприятие_18 1998 2828 7650 1060 3600 19 Предприятие_19 1999 2950 7430 1760 2810 20 Предприятие_20 2013 1 6770 0 0 21 Всего (20 предприятия (83 предприятий) 1439350 296550 540150 22 Все предприятий) 1471210 299280 545220 23 ИКТ сфера Латвии всего 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в О	12	Предприятие_12	2010	2840	19020	12310	3790
15 Предприятие_15 2007 2840 8060 1230 10 16 Предприятие_16 2011 2840 7930 2250 3710 17 Предприятие_17 2013 2840 7750 880 730 18 Предприятие_18 1998 2828 7650 1060 3600 19 Предприятие_19 1999 2950 7430 1760 2810 20 Предприятие_20 2013 1 6770 0 0 0 21 Всего (20 пред- приятий) 1439350 296550 540150 22 Все предприятия (83 предприятий) 1471210 299280 545220 23 ИКТ сфера Латвии всего 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	13	Предприятие_13	1994	2936	15600	2580	6900
16 Предприятие_16 2011 2840 7930 2250 3710 17 Предприятие_17 2013 2840 7750 880 730 18 Предприятие_18 1998 2828 7650 1060 3600 19 Предприятие_19 1999 2950 7430 1760 2810 20 Предприятие_20 2013 1 6770 0 0 21 Всего (20 предприятия (83 предприятия (83 предприятий) 1439350 296550 540150 22 Все предприятий) 1471210 299280 545220 23 ИКТ сфера Латвии всего 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	14	Предприятие_14	2010	2800	9110	760	1200
17 Предприятие_17 2013 2840 7750 880 730 18 Предприятие_18 1998 2828 7650 1060 3600 19 Предприятие_19 1999 2950 7430 1760 2810 20 Предприятие_20 2013 1 6770 0 0 21 Всего (20 предприятий) 1439350 296550 540150 22 Все предприятий (83 предприятий) 1471210 299280 545220 23 ИКТ сфера Латвии всего 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	15	Предприятие_15	2007	2840	8060	1230	10
18 Предприятие_18 1998 2828 7650 1060 3600 19 Предприятие_19 1999 2950 7430 1760 2810 20 Предприятие_20 2013 1 6770 0 0 21 Всего (20 предприятий) 1439350 296550 540150 22 Все предприятий (83 предприятий) 1471210 299280 545220 23 ИКТ сфера Латвии всего 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	16	Предприятие_16	2011	2840	7930	2250	3710
19 Предприятие_19 1999 2950 7430 1760 2810 20 Предприятие_20 2013 1 6770 0 0 21 Всего (20 предприятий) 1439350 296550 540150 22 Все предприятий (83 предприятий) 1471210 299280 545220 23 ИКТ сфера Латвии всего 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	17	Предприятие_17	2013	2840	7750	880	730
20 Предприятие_20 2013 1 6770 0 0 21 Всего (20 предприятий) 1439350 296550 540150 22 Все предприятий (83 предприятий) 1471210 299280 545220 23 ИКТ сфера Латвии всего 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	18	Предприятие_18	1998	2828	7650	1060	3600
21 Всего (20 предприятий) 1439350 296550 540150 22 Все предприятия (83 предприятий) 1471210 299280 545220 23 ИКТ сфера Латвии всего 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	19	Предприятие_19	1999	2950	7430	1760	2810
приятий) 1439350 296550 540150 22 Все предприятия (83 предприятий) 1471210 299280 545220 23 ИКТ сфера Латвии 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 0.58	20	Предприятие_20	2013	1	6770	0	0
22 Все предприятия (83 предприятий) 1471210 299280 545220 23 ИКТ сфера Латвии всего 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	21	, -			1439350	296550	540150
(83 предприятий) 14/1210 299280 545220 23 ИКТ сфера Латвии всего 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	-22						
23 ИКТ сфера Латвии всего 311342730 59488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	22				1471210	299280	545220
всего 311342/30 39488290 93236500 24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	22	<u> </u>					
24 % по отрасли в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	23	* *			311342730	59488290	93236500
в Вентспилсе 97.83 99.09 99.07 25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	24						
25 % по отрасли в 0.46 0.5 0.58	47	^			97.83	99.09	99.07
1146 113	25				0.46	0.5	0.50
		-			0.46	0.5	0.58

Источник: Lursoft 2016.

Таким образом, четверть предприятий ИКТ сферы в Вентспилсе платит почти 98% налогов данной отрасли, а три четверти — только два процента. Как видно из таблицы, распределение налоговых поступлений по ИКТ предприятиям Вентспилса является весьма неоднородным. Аналогичная картина наблюдается и в других городах. Именнопоэтому исследование простого количественного распределения предприятий по регионам не дает возможности точной оценки их вклада в экономику региона и необходимо также рассмотрение распределения по объему выплаченных налогов. Представляет интерес также рассмотрение возрастного распределения предприятий ИКТ сферы и исследование распределения налоговых поступлений в зависимости от продолжительности существования предприятия (Таблица 3).

Из Таблицы 3 следует, что 46% от общего объема выплаченных предприятиями ИКТ сферы Латвии налогов приходится на старейшие предприятия, созданные до 1995 года, что вполне естественно, поскольку они платят налоги наиболее продолжительное время. Предприятия, созданные с 1996 по 2000 год, выплатили 16% от общего объема налогов, с 2001 по 2005 год — 15%, с 2005 по 2010 год — 17%, с 2010 по 2014 год выплатили 7%. Из общего объема 311.34 миллионов уплаченных налогов 282.14 миллиона, или 90.62%, уплачены в Риге. Таким образом, статистика налоговых поступлений явственно свидетельствует о локализации предприятий ИКТ сферы Латвии в Риге. Аналогичную картину локализации предприятий ИКТ сферы Латвии дает рассмотрение статистикипо количественному распределению зарегистрированных предприятий ИКТ сферы в зависимости от объема выплаченных налогов (Таблица 4).

Интересно отметить, что с ростом размера предприятия эффект локализации возрастает, то есть тенденция к локализации крупных предприятий выражена заметнее, чем к локализации малых предприятий ИКТ сферы. Если для предприятий с налоговыми выплатами менее 2500 евро в год доля Риги в налоговых выплатах составляет 68.86%, то для предприятий с налоговыми выплатами более миллиона евро доля Риги возрастает до 92% (Таблица 5).

Таблица 3 **Объем налогов, выплаченных предприятиями ИКТ сферы Латвии в зависимости от года места регистрации**

<u>N</u> o	Год	Объем выплаченных налогов, тыс. евро												
145	регистрации	Латвия		Риг	a	Вентс	пилс	Даугавпилс	Елгава	Екабпилс	Юрмала	Лиепая	Резекне	Валмиера
1	<1995	141.840	46%	131.047	46%	0.260	18%	0.455	0.072	0.000	0.003	0.553	0.010	0.336
2	1996	11.789	4%	10.001	4%	0.000	0%	1.072	0.010	0.000	0.000	0.360	0.000	0.000
3	1997	8.415	3%	7.733	3%	0.005	0%	0.379	0.001	0.000	0.163	0.071	0.000	0.000
4	1998	4.430	1%	4.105	1%	0.008	1%	0.092	0.000	0.019	0.000	0.003	0.000	0.003
5	1999	15.742	5%	14.220	5%	0.007	1%	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
6	2000	10.082	3%	9.916	4%	0.000	0%	0.000	0.005	0.000	0.000	0.009	0.000	0.022
7	2001	5.077	2%	4.865	2%	0.000	0%	0.006	0.011	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
8	2002	5.017	2%	4.350	2%	0.023	2%	0.005	0.003	0.000	0.001	0.007	0.000	0.000
9	2003	4.794	2%	4.310	2%	0.112	8%	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.116	0.000	0.038	0.000
10	2004	8.126	3%	7.761	3%	0.000	0%	0.001	0.011	0.001	0.000	0.007	0.000	0.030
11	2005	19.231	6%	17.348	6%	0.562	38%	0.000	0.002	0.003	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000
12	2006	22.208	7%	19.959	7%	0.047	3%	0.153	0.006	0.000	0.170	0.012	0.054	0.002
13	2007	7.870	3%	6.594	2%	0.093	6%	0.159	0.008	0.006	0.008	0.122	0.000	0.045
14	2008	12.744	4%	12.052	4%	0.004	0%	0.001	0.004	0.000	0.019	0.000	0.000	0.026
15	2009	3.439	1%	2.343	1%	0.029	2%	0.005	0.003	0.000	0.008	0.110	0.004	0.000
16	2010	7.776	2%	6.274	2%	0.030	2%	0.144	0.129	0.000	0.040	0.029	0.004	0.103
17	2011	9.720	3%	7.885	3%	0.210	14%	-0.080	0.086	0.010	0.181	0.010	0.010	0.005
18	2012	6.411	2%	5.576	2%	0.005	0%	0.028	0.032	0.004	0.088	0.036	0.010	0.010
19	2013	5.304	2%	4.621	2%	0.076	5%	0.080	0.027	0.020	0.072	0.042	0.002	0.007
20	2014	1.326	0%	1.180	0%	0.001	0%	0.013	0.002	0.005	0.017	0.004	0.001	0.003
21	Всего	311.343		282.140		1.471		2.514	0.412	0.069	0.892	1.374	0.133	0.592

Источник: Lursoft 2016.

Таблица 4 Количество предприятий ИКТ сферы по регионам Латвии в зависимости от объема выплаченных налогов

	_	Количество предприятий ИКТ сферы									
№	Налоги, выплаченные в 2014 году, евро	Латвия	Рига	Вентспилс	Даугавпилс	Елгава	Екабпилс	Юрмала	Лиепая	Резекне	Валмиера
1	< 2500	5504	3790	58	114	90	32	128	83	30	53
2	2500-10 000	1373	973	12	23	22	6	28	22	8	7
3	10 000-50 000	745	551	8	15	6	2	13	5	1	5
4	50 000-100 000	170	142	1	2	1	0	2	1	1	1
5	100 000-200 000	116	92	2	3	1	0	2	2	0	1
6	200 000-500 000	80	68	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
7	500 000-1 000 000	44	41	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
8	Свыше 1 000 000	51	47	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	Всего	8083	5704	83	160	120	40	173	115	40	68

Источник: Lursoft 2016.

Таблица 5 Доля предприятий ИКТ сферы г. Риги в зависимости от объема выплаченных налогов

No	Налоги, выплаченные в 2014 году, евро	Латвия	Рига	Доля Риги,%
1	< 2500	5504	3790	68.86
2	2500-10 000	1373	973	70.87
3	10 000-50 000	745	551	73.96
1	50 000-100 000	170	142	83.53
5	100 000-200 000	116	92	79.31
6	200 000-500 000	80	68	85.00
7	500 000-1 000 000	44	41	93.18
3	Свыше 1000000	51	47	92.16

Источник: Lursoft 2016.

Из 51 предприятия ИКТ сферы, выплачивающих более 1 миллиона евро налогов в год, 47 находятся в Риге и еще 2 зарегистрированы в Марупе, которое фактически является пригородом Риги, то есть доля рижского региона в получении налогов от больших ИКТ предприятий приближается к 100%.

Выволы

Из вышесказанного следует, что наблюдающаяся на практикетенденция к локализации ИКТ сферы Латвии, являющейся одной из наиболее инновационных отраслей Латвийской экономики, находится в полном соответствии с теоретическими представлениями о локализации инновационного бизнеса. Причинами такой локализации, как уже отмечалось выше, являются выявленные существенные различия между инновационным и не-инновационным бизнесом, относящиеся к выполнению основных бизнес-функций: формированию организационных структур, менеджменту, управлению финансами, персоналом и материальными ресурсами, маркетингу. Кластерно-сетевое взаимодействие инновационных структур, возникающих на сталии описанного Й. Шумпетером «созидательного разрушения», требует особой благоприятной среды и зависит от большого количества факторов. К сожалению, сам Й. Шумпетер не привел каких-либо количественных соотношений, описывающих динамику роста и локализации инновационных структур, поэтому прямое сопоставление эмпирических данных с теоретическими представлениями Й. Шумпетера невозможно, однако на качественном уровне наличие соответствия является несомненным.

Несмотря на то, что рассмотренной явление локализации ИКТ сферы является закономерным, оно представляет собой достаточно серьёзную проблему с точки зрения высказанного в полицентрической модели развития Латвии стремления к выравниванию уровня благосостояния регионов Латвии. Данное обстоятельство обязательно должно учитываться при построении стратегии инновационного развития регионов Латвии и её координации со стратегиями развития регионов Европы (OECD 2015).

Благодарности

Авторы выражают благодарность Вентспилсской городской думе и Эгону Спалансу за возможность ознакомления с материалами по стратегии развития ИКТ сферы Вентспилса. Работа поддержана проектом *EKOSOC-LV* «Развитие инноваций и предпринимательства в Латвии в соответствии со стратегией интеллектуальной специализации», выполняемым в рамках Национальной Исследовательской Программы 5.2. «Содействие экономическим преобразованиям, интеллектуальному росту, управлению и законодательному развитию в целях устойчивого развития государства и общества — новый подход к созданию устойчиво обучающегося общества.

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ENTERPRENEURIAL POTENTIAL OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN LATVIA: THE CASE OF LATGALE REGION

At the present stage of the development of the modern society entrepreneurship is being positioned as an effective form of implementing human potential. Last two decades the attention of researchers is drawn to the matters of the development of human potential. However, until now in scientific literature there is no single unambiguously interpreted and interconnected system of notions to describe and analyze human potential. The category "potential" in its linguistic form includes the notion of an opportunity to implement, in this case, abilities of a person and not the process of implementing these abilities itself. In order to rebuild the economy and gain a higher level of employment Europe needs more entrepreneurs as well as high level of entrepreneurial potential of inhabitants, especially young people. The aim of the research is to determine the features of entrepreneurial potential, its structure and determinative factors. For achievement of this aim the empirical research on young people's entrepreneurial potential was realized in Latgale region of Latvia. The questionnaire elaborated by the authors was used for the survey. The survey was carried out on February-April 2014 in order to investigate young people's attitude towards entrepreneurship and their readiness to start a business in Latgale region. The target group of the survey or general population sample is all young people in Latgale region. Planned sample size – 382 respondents, achieved – 338 respondents, and they were selected randomly. In general, the most of respondents have positive attitude towards entrepreneurship. At the same time it can be concluded that according to young people's self-evaluation only a small proportion of respondents could be able to start their business. According their own opinion, they have to learn and acquire additional knowledge about entrepreneurship.

Key words: entrepreneurial potential, human potential, young people, Latgale region, Latvia.

Jauniešu uzņēmības potenciāls Latvijā: Latgales reģiona gadījums

Patreizējā sabiedrības attīstības posmā uznēmējdarbība pozicionējas kā efektīva cilvēkpotenciāla realizācijas forma. Pēdējās divas desmitgades pētnieki īpašu uzmanību pievērš cilvēkpotenciāla attīstībai. Vienlaikus zinātniskajā literatūrā nav neviena viennozīmīgas interpretācijas un likumsakarību izpratnes sistēma, kas palīdzētu aprakstīt un analizēt cilvēcisko potenciālu. Kategorija "potenciāls" savā lingvistiskajā formā ietver izpratni par realizācijas iespējamību, kas šajā gadījumā attiektos uz cilvēka iespējām, bet ne šo spēju jau notikušo īstenošanu. Lai pārveidotu ekonomiku un iegūtu iespējami augstāku nodarbinātības līmeni, Eiropai nepieciešams liels skaits uzņēmēju, tai skaitā, nepieciešams augsts iedzīvotāju uzņēmējdarbības potenciāls, jo īpaši jaunatnes vidū. Pētījuma mērķis ir uzņēmējdarbības potenciāla īpatnību, tā struktūras un noteicošo faktoru, noteikšana. Šī mērka sasniegšanai Latvijas Latgales reģionā tika veikts jauniešu uzņēmējdarbības empīrisks pētījums. Pētījumā tika izmantota autoru izstrādāta aptaujas anketa. Lai izpētītu Latgales jauniešu attieksmi pret uzņēmējdarbību un gatavību uzsākt savu biznesu laika periodā no 2014. gada februāra līdz aprīlim, tika veikta aptauja. Generālkopa izlases noteikšanai ir visi Latgales jaunieši. Plānojamais izlases apjoms - 382 respondenti, no kuriem reāli aptaujāti 338 respondenti, kas tika izvēlēti pēc nejaušības principa. Kopumā, lielākai daļai respondentu ir pozitīva attieksme pret uzņēmējdarbību. Tajā pat laikā iespējams secināt, ka, atbilstoši jaunatnes pašnovērtējumam, tikai neliela daļa no respondentiem ir spējīgi uzsākt savu biznesu. Pēc jauniešu pašu domām, viņiem nepieciešams mācīties un gūt papildus zināšanas par uzņēmējdarbību.

Atslēgas vārdi: uzņēmības potenciāls, cilvēkpotenciāls, jaunatne, Latgales reģions, Latvija.

Предпринимательский потенциал молодёжи в Латвии: пример Латгальского региона

На данном этапе развития современного общества предпринимательство позиционируется как эффективная форма реализации человеческого потенциала. Последние два десятилетия исследователи обращают особое внимание на развитие человеческого потенциала. Однако до сих пор в научной литературе нет ни одной однозначной интерпретации и системы взаимосвязанных понятий для описания и анализа человеческого потенциала. Категория «потенциал» в её лингвистической форме включает в себя понятие возможности реализации, в данном случае, способностей человека, а не уже свершившейся реализации этих способностей. Для того, чтобы преобразовать экономику и получить более высокий уровень занятости, Европа нуждается в большем количестве предпринимателей, в том числе, необходим высокий уровень предпринимательского потенциала жителей, особенно молодежи. Целью исследования является определение особенностей предпринимательского потенциала, его структуры и определяющих факторов. Для достижения этой цели в Латгальском регионе Латвии было проведено эмпирическое исследование предпринимательского потенциала молодежи. В исследовании использовалась анкета, разработанная авторами. С целью изучения отношения молодежи Латгалии к предпринимательству и готовности начать свой бизнес был проведен опрос в период с февраля по апрель 2014 года. Генеральной совокупностью для определения выборки являются все молодые люди в Латгалии. Планируемый размер выборки — 382 респондента, реально опрошено – 338 респондентов, которые были выбраны случайным образом. В целом, большинство респондентов высказывают положительное отношение к предпринимательству. В то же время можно сделать вывод о том, что, согласно самооценке молодежи, лишь небольшая часть респондентов в состоянии начать свой бизнес. По их собственному мнению, им необходимо учиться и приобретать дополнительные знания о предпринимательстве.

Ключевые слова: предпринимательский потенциал, человеческий потенциал, молодежь, Латгальский регион, Латвия.

1. Introduction

Entrepreneurship is one of the most dynamic forms of economic activity that is characterised by independence and economic freedom, risk, uncertainty about success, and innovation basis. Tendencies of personal freedom, personality development philosophy, self-realization through entrepreneurship suggest serious changes in social and economic relations and the fact that driving force of entrepreneurship is not only profit-making. Thus, it can be stated that at the stage of modern society development entrepreneurship is positioned as an effective form of implementing human potential.

The role of a human in the economic system is changing, entrepreneurial activity that operates as an economic factor involving part of human intellectual potential is becoming the main element of productive force in modern society.

Entrepreneurship takes new shapes, combining economic interests of the rational use of resources with nonmaterial interests of creative self-realization.

Social result of entrepreneurial activity is expressed as an employment indicator in the entrepreneurial sector; in turn, economic result is characterised by the added value indicators created by the entrepreneurship subjects.

For several decades researches were carried out on what encourages people to start their business, what personal qualities, abilities are necessary, what conditions influence the individual's decisions on starting a business. Researches provide various results about the influence of factors on starting a business. However, it is concluded that individual's intentions on starting a business are influenced by personal qualities and abilities (internal factors) and situational context (external factors) (Fini 2010).

Entrepreneurial potential is one of the indicators which can be used to analyze attitude and intentions of the society or the part of it towards starting own business.

The aim of the research: to substantiate the notion "entrepreneurial potential" of an individual, to determine the features of entrepreneurial potential, its structure and factors to reveal the potential. To carry out the empirical research on young people's entrepreneurial potential, to obtain significant empirical data allowing to solve the problems on how to reveal it productively.

2. Objectives and survey design

Last two decades the attention of researchers is drawn to the matters of the development of human potential. However, until now in scientific literature there is no single unambiguously interpreted and interconnected system of notions to describe and analyze human potential. The category "potential" in its linguistic form includes the notion of an opportunity to implement, in this case, abilities of a person and not the process of implementing these abilities itself. Therefore, inherited abilities of a person, abilities formed by social environment and education, opportunities determined by socio-economic and cultural conditions formed in the society can be applied to human potential.

According to A. Sen, the development of human potential suggests the development of human abilities, expandability of their appliance in life and, therefore, opportunities for self-realization (Sen 1989).

The development of human potential is viewed as a target and criterion for the social and economical development of the society. Notions close to human potential are "human development" and "accumulation of human capital", as well as "labour potential". The category "development of human potential", unlike the category "human capital", serves not as an operational category, but more as an integral indicator of effectiveness of the implemented socio-economic policy.

An elementary unit of human potential of the community, country is a potential of one single person. Interacting with one another and joining in different social groups people create the potential of the group, community, which by its force overcomes the potentials of particular individuals. Particular individuals may join to the groups and leave them, but the created potential of the group remains. Groups which interact with one another create human potential of a higher level, potential of a country, state.

The authors of the article determine human potential as a system of needs, abilities and readiness to perform activities which are necessary for the society, basic social roles and functions. Human potential of the society is determined as a stock of knowledge, abilities, skills and competences, culture and morality, health, abilities to capitalize under certain conditions.

The core of human potential is human abilities. In order to study, form, develop and use human potential, competences, skills to apply technologies to solve traditional and untraditional problems are considered to be the main component of abilities. The authors of the article believe that one of the most important qualitative characteristic features of the potential is the level of coherence, inter-supplementation, and consistency among its internal components (needs, abilities and readiness). The higher is the coherence among internal components of potential, the more harmonic are the relations among them, and the better is the quality of potential. And vice versa: weak coherence among needs, abilities and readiness, contradictious relations among them indicates the poor quality of human potential.

Qualitative characteristics of potential are also its stability, ability to maintain its main qualities for a long period of time, and changeability, ability to resist inertia, ability to respond to changing socio-economic conditions. Potential can be successfully revealed only when its carriers maintain their best qualities and, simultaneously, are able to change them, thus acquiring new qualities. If the carriers of the potential are not able to change it in accordance with the changing socio-economic conditions, their potential will remain unclaimed. It means that the qualitative characteristic features of human potential should include both traditions and innovations.

In a market economy it is more expedient to use the concept of capital and its components. It is necessary to differentiate among the notions of "resource", "assets" and "capital". In particular, a resource, this in fact is synonymous potential. It is an "emergency" tool. Assets are a demanded resource; during the exchange process, they will have a positive influence on the owner's situation. Capital is able not only to accumulate, convert into money and reproduce itself, but also to create a new added value. Capital allows the agents to get power over those who have less capital or have no capital at all. It is evident that the behaviour of the individuals who possess a large volume of capital differs greatly from the one of those who have less of it (Menshikov et al. 2013a, 2013b, 2013c).

Human capital is the sum of an individual's abilities and skills, which increases the individual's economic and social potential. Human capital, which comprises professional knowledge, social skills, health, motivation, values, attitudes, talents, experience and other qualities, is one of the factors that affect an individual's economic productivity (Zobena 2007).

In Latvia are used different approaches to research the human capital, resources and potential. In 2006–2007, sociologists from Latvian universities implemented a considerable project "Latvia. Review of National Development. Human Capital: My Gold is My Nation?". In the sociological research conducted within the framework of the project, various aspects of human capital were analysed, such as the quality of a person's life, value orientation, public and economic activity, person's legal capacity and participation in social life, person's attitude towards his / her health and habits

enhancing a healthy way of life, tendencies of internal and external migration, etc. As a result of the review, the following conclusion has been made: human capital in Latvia is used inefficiently. Inhabitants of Latvia rarely use their creative potential in activities related to innovations and business administration.

In order to emphasize the diversity of different types of human potential, professor V. Menshikov in his researches widely uses the concept of aggregate resource (Menshikov et al. 2013a, 2013b, 2013c; 2014; Mensikovs 2013), which represents different kinds of resources (economic, cultural, human, social, administrative, political, symbolic, physical, geographical). It was for the first time identified the proportion (percentage) of the form of capitalization of each tipe of resource and aggregate resource as a whole. In fact, the entrepreneurial potential of the individual includes all these types of resources in different percentages.

Entrepreneurial potential has a systemic structural organization and includes the following interrelated substructures: naturally conditioned (the power of personality, activity, extroversion, flexibility, stability); psychic qualities (complex personal abilities, high level of psychical functions, will potential, creativity); personality – character (determination, confidence, risk inclination, etc.); experience (common intellectual potential, professional competence, self-control, skills and abilities); proneness (achievement motivation, strive for freedom, inclination to competition, etc.). Among the characteristics of entrepreneurial potential a special role belongs to special entrepreneurial abilities, inclination to entrepreneurial activity and particular personal – professional qualities and competitive personality. Most of the constituent parts of entrepreneurial potential have a significant resource replacement quality that creates conditions to reveal and develop it productively.

Psychological and economic aspects of entrepreneurship. The phenomenon of entrepreneurship is revealed in the synthesis of economic and psychological aspects. The result of the interaction between economics and psychology is clearly traced taking into account economic principles and rules combined with the fundamental achievements in the field of the science of psychology. Many researchers on entrepreneurship mark the readiness to be constantly active in order to earn money and strive for the new. American economist A. Schumpeter considered an entrepreneur as the core figure for the development of economics whose basic task is to break the balance and to transfer economics into a new stage of the development, to solve its various contradictions (between statics and dynamics, traditions and innovations, demand and supply, etc.) (Schumpeter 1964). An outstanding economist M. Casson (Casson 1995), unlike A. Schumpeter, sees an entrepreneur, first of all, as a manager whose basic task is in "intuitive well-considered decision making concerning the distribution of the limited resources of an enterprise". P. Drucker in the conception of "entrepreneurial society" determined entrepreneurship as an innovative activity which is connected with taking the existing opportunities with maximum profitability (Drucker 2004).

Entrepreneurship is linked with two basic forms of activity: to make profit and to create innovations. Moreover, one is impossible without the other.

The concept of entrepreneurship has not only economic, but also psychological content. To undertake something means to show some activity before future conditions

and opportunities are determined. Ability to perform such activity regularly and successfully, which includes ability to make and implement decisions under the conditions of uncertainty, is determined as enterprise. Thus, entrepreneurship can be called a special form of economic activity and a person who performs this activity should possess specific psychological qualities.

As R. Hisrich and M. Peters believe, while determining entrepreneurship different researches put a different meaning into it, however, the readiness of an entrepreneur to risk, innovative orientation, strive for success, freedom and independence were always emphasized. R. Hisrich and M. Peters offered such determination of entrepreneurial activity where entrepreneurship is a process of creation of something new and valuable, including taking financial, moral and social responsibility and bringing profit and personal satisfaction with the result. By using intuition, creativity and analytical skills, an entrepreneur identifies new opportunities. An entrepreneur is not always an inventor. This means, that the opinion that a successful entrepreneur should possess certain qualities and characteristic features is outdated. An entrepreneur uses certain market opportunities and develops own business model. Despite the possible difficulties he may face, he is determined to defend his idea, thus taking certain risk (Hisrich et al. 1998).

The essence of entrepreneurial behaviour is determined by innovative component which allows implement decisions and actions which ensure economic benefit. Therefore, entrepreneurship is manifested as a specific type of economic behaviour which is oriented towards the probability to achieve a certain limit of profit from the uncertain situation in the market.

The psychological side of economics is revealed through economic relationships formed under the influence of character, mood, motives of behaviour, and interests of people and social groups as participants of these relationships. B. Raizberg specifies the psychology of economics in the sense that it includes as a main subject of economic activity people with psychological peculiarities, motivation of behaviour, interests (Raizberg 2005).

An entrepreneur is driven first of all by the motive of self-realization of a profitable organizational project, and not only by willingness to gain income and not by carrier, although en entrepreneur does not exclude all this from his activity. At the basis of the model offered by A. Shapero, there are four elements which explain the establishment of a new enterprise. The first one – unsettlement of the founder. With unsettlement the author understands the fact that the future entrepreneur "is eliminated form comfortable or just acceptable living conditions and is still not settled in an appropriate way". It facilitates the acceleration of the process of starting own business.

Predisposition of an individual to entrepreneurship is the second component of the model by A. Shapero. On the basis of the works of psychologists on the given topic, the author states that the potential owner of an enterprise feels inclined to independence and strives to control his surroundings. In addition, one must trust in his ability to start own business. The potential entrepreneur should be able to imagine himself in a role of a future manager. According to A. Shapero, this trust is the most important of the four elements. And the last element is the availability of resources (financial, human, technical, etc.), necessary to start entrepreneurial activity (Shapero 1983).

An entrepreneur has changed the model of his activity, adopting personal values and visions, creating new opportunities and things, as well as extraordinary approaches. N. Franke believes that a prototype of a successful entrepreneur does not exist (Franke 2011).

He also believes that the establishment of an enterprise is a complex process where different qualities are combined. The main qualities of an entrepreneur are creativity, ability to persuade people, analytical skills, joy and passionate interest in business.

L. Jacobsen, E. Schmitt-Rodermund and E. Schröder have formed coherence between entrepreneurial success and personality of an entrepreneur: successful entrepreneurship always needs a person who has willingness to create something, do business, be an expert in economics and share specific knowledge (Jacobsen 2003). A successful entrepreneur has a talent to work with numbers; he has also personal qualities which are very important for entrepreneurship (Schmitt-Rodermund, Schroder 2004). As personal qualities form abilities, the most important personal qualities should be determined.

Several researchers pay attention to the following personal qualities:

- Driving forces of power: strive for efficiency (to create better, faster and more effective products & services) (Muller 2000).
- Locus of inner control: ability to start and implement (entrepreneur as initiator) (Schroder 2005).
- Risk, risk-taking: ability to evaluate risk and take responsibility (Schmitt-Rodermund, Schroder 2004).
- Readiness to fulfil tasks, social dominance: ability to realize one's goal consistently and bravely without socially undesirable consequences (Ropke 2002).
- Emotional stability, optimism: ability to overcome negative experience quickly (Wunderer, Bruch 2000).

V. Niemeier adds 2 essential qualities:

- Problem solving tendency: attitude when problems are positioned as challenges (Niemeier, Weitz 2005);
- Tolerance towards uncertainty: ability to manage risk and unclear situations (Rauch, Frese 1998).

V. Niemeier in his research on competence profiles of a successful entrepreneur studied what is entrepreneurial thinking. Individual strong and weak points of entrepreneurs are divided into two parts – key competences and change management competences. Competences of both types interact in analogy with entrepreneurial thinking approach (Niemeier 2007).

In accordance with the theory of planned behaviour, an individual start to do something only if he will be sure that:

- behaviour will bring positive result;
- nearest people friends, family will support it;
- will be able to overcome difficulties related to the task (Ajzen 1991).

It is a theory in psychology that indicates a link between attitudes and actions, shows to what extent an individual perceives the desirable behaviour as viable. According to this theory, in the questionnaire developed by the authors questions on respondents' attitude towards entrepreneurship were included.

3. Methodics of empirical survey

Latgale is one of the five planning regions in Latvia which stands out with its rich cultural and historical heritage and landscape values that is also the potential for the development of entrepreneurship in the region. Latgale is characterized by the following statistical indicators:

- *Area*: 14.5 thousands km²;
- The largest cities: Daugavpils, Rēzekne, Balvi, Krāslava, Līvāni, Ludza, Preiļi;
- *Population*: 340 thousands (15.9% of the total population in Latvia);
- Density of population per km²: 23.4 people per km² (Daugavietis 2012).

Entrepreneurial environment of Latgale planning region differs slightly from the other regions of Latvia, but such peculiarities of the region as lower added value of the produced goods, lower purchasing capacity and higher level of self-employed persons should be mentioned.

With a decreasing employment and, respectively, growing unemployment, the changes in the number of individual merchants and commercial companies have become a significant economic indicator in the country as a whole and in every region as it shows the restructuring of the activity of economically active population. In Latgale region there are 15.4 individual merchants and commercial companies per 1000 people – half of the average number in Latvia (31.5). In the rest of the regions the indicator varies from 18 to 22 individual merchants and commercial companies.

Entrepreneurial environment in Latgale region is disadvantageous. The inhabitants of Latgale have low demand for goods and services, lack of work places, insufficient resources for the development of production and rendering of services, start capital practically does not exist, therefore, entrepreneurship is poorly developed. The development of entrepreneurship is hindered by the fact that Latgale region is located in the outskirts, many people leave to work in the large cities or abroad.

In February – April, 2014 a survey was carried out with the aim to study young people's attitude towards entrepreneurship and their readiness to start a business in Latgale region. The questionnaire elaborated by the authors was used for the survey. Differentiated variants of answers were included into the survey, receiving additional information in the form of commentaries on particular questions.

SPSS software was used for data processing. The target group of the survey or general population sample is all young people in Latgale region. According to the data of the Bureau for Statistics in Latgale region there are 42226 inhabitants at the age of 15–25 years and 33387 inhabitants at the age of 26–35 years, thus 75613 inhabitants, in total. Representative sample of respondents was formed for the survey that complies with the characteristics of the target population. This sample is one of the most important preconditions in order for the obtained survey results to be valid and they could be applied to the general target population.

Sample size was calculated according to the formula (1) (Matthew, Sutton 1981):

$$n = \frac{P \times Q \times t_{\alpha}^{2}}{\Delta_{p}^{2} + \frac{P \times Q \times t_{\alpha}^{2}}{N}}$$
(1)

where:

Q = 1 - P.

N – size of general population;

 t_a – validity warranty of the obtained results in a sample;

 Δ – maximally acceptable sample error;

P – values of studied features.

The parameters of the survey sample are the following:

 $t_a = 1.96$, as validity of results will be 95%;

 $\Delta p = 0.05$, as the maximal sample error will be 5%;

P = 0.5, as there will be many studied features in a sample.

$$n = \frac{0.9604}{0.05^2 + \frac{0.9604}{75613}} = 382 youngpeople$$

Planned sample size – 382 respondents, achieved – 338 respondents. Respondents were selected randomly.

Young people were divided into 3 groups – pupils, students and young people at the labour market. All young people were asked the same questions, except the information about the respondent. For the evaluation of survey data validity, the probability of statistical error was used. Statistical error is calculated mathematically on the basis of the theory of probability. The error depends on the sample size and the distribution of the answers. It should be taken into account for the analysis of the obtained results. Differences within the limits of statistical error are considered to be insignificant. The statistical error is calculated according to the formula (2):

$$SK = q \times \sqrt{\pi \times \frac{100 - \pi}{\eta}} \tag{2}$$

where:

SK – statistical error;

q – coefficient which at 95% probability is equal to 1.96;

 π – distribution of obtained respondents' answers in percentage;

 η – number of respondents.

In order to determine the statistical measurement error it is necessary to know the unweighted number of respondents in the corresponding group and the result in percentage. Using these values, the limits of the statistical measurement error \pm in percentage with 95% probability can be determined.

Out of the total number of respondents 45% are pupils, 33% – students, and 22% – young people at the labour market. The largest part of respondents – 58% lives in Daugavpils or Rēzekne. 25% live in the centre of the district (i.e., in the town or parish which is the centre of the district), but 17% of respondents live outside the centre of the district (i.e., in the town or parish which is not the centre of the district).

All respondents were asked to answer several questions concerning the attitude towards entrepreneurship in general, as well as qualities and knowledge that are necessary for entrepreneurs.

Table 1 Respondents' answers to the question "Do you plan to start your own business in future?", %, n=338 respondents

Yes	25
No	20
Hard to answer	55

Source: elaborated by the authors on the basis of the own survey's data

Respondents' answers to the question are known; therefore the statistical error can be calculated:

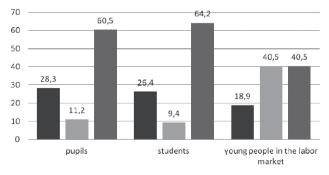
$$SK = 1.96 \times \sqrt{\frac{25 \times (100 - 25)}{338}} = 4.6$$

4. Survey results of young people of Latgale region

As the result of the research a target group of 25% of respondents who are planning to start own business in future is formed out of all the surveyed young people in Latgale region (number of respondents n=338), it can be said with 95% probability that statistical error here is within the limits of $\pm 4.6\%$. Consequently, the target group which plans to start own business in future is from 20.4% to 29.4%.

In general, the most of respondents have positive attitude towards entrepreneurs – such opinion have expressed 52% of pupils, 65.1% of students and 67.6% of young people at the labour market.

Figure 1
The distribution of respondents' answers to the question "Do you plan to start your own business in future?", %, n=338 respondents



■yes ■no ■don't know

Source: elaborated by the authors on the basis of the own survey's data

28.3% of pupils plan to start a business in future, 26.4% of students. Young people who are already working plan the least to start their own business. Among them 40.5% of respondents already know that they do not plan to start a business.

The survey data revealed that for the largest part of respondents it was hard to answer this question, especially among pupils and students – more than 60% do not know, what they want to do in future. In their commentaries young people of Latgale write that they have a plan to establish their own enterprise because it is interesting to work on your own or even to follow the example of their parents. Others want to establish own enterprise because they believe that it is a profitable occupation, an opportunity to become independent. Entrepreneurship is an opportunity for self-realization; to make a contribution not only to themselves, but also to the society. According to the survey data, young people mention the following reasons which deter them from starting a business:

- fear of failure in business;
- fear to loose own savings;
- lack of knowledge about starting a business;
- insufficient entrepreneurial abilities;
- current entrepreneurial environment in the country;
- satisfaction with the current situation;
- lack of interest about entrepreneurship;
- high taxes considered to be one of the main problems;
- already have well paid job.

Difficulties with start-up capital and dissatisfactory economic situation are mentioned among the most essential obstacles for starting a business. As the hindrances to start own business are mentioned also the lack of knowledge, courage and motivation; some simply admit that they are not entrepreneurial type. It is positive that the lack of information and consultations is not mentioned among the most significant obstacles for starting own business, thus, it may be concluded that there are enough institutions in the region which can provide help for the future entrepreneurs.

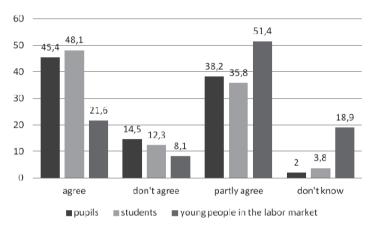
However, part of the respondents, who wish to start their own business, does not have a concrete business idea.

There is (see Figure 2) a quite large proportion of pupils – 45.4% and students – 48%, who agreed with this statement. It means that these respondents either evaluate their abilities to start a business very high, or they do not know very well about the necessary abilities for the entrepreneurs. It could be only high self-appraisal and not actual knowledge.

However, part of young people is not confident about their abilities and assesses them at an average or low level.

In order to establish own enterprise in future, to become self-employed person, one must have developed entrepreneurial abilities. Therefore, respondents were asked a question "What do you think entrepreneurial abilities are?", because not everyone knows, what qualities and abilities should a person possess to be able to start own business. Courage, self-confidence and intuition were the most often mentioned qualities which, according to the opinion of young people in Latgale, must possess a person who wants to start own business.

Figure 2
The distribution of respondents' answers to the question
"Do you agree with the statement – I have already the necessary knowledge and skills to do business?", %, n=338 respondents



Source: elaborated by the authors on the basis of the own survey's data

According to young people's opinion, entrepreneurial abilities are abilities to analyze and evaluate local and international economic, political and cultural environment. Ability to communicate with people, defend opinion, not to be afraid of difficulties, listen to other opinions, and take risk. An entrepreneur should be able to manage his entrepreneurship, to control his employees. Many believe that it is ability to invent good business ideas, earn money implementing own ideas and inspire people he works with.

Young people in Latgale region were asked to assess what personal qualities and abilities they think are important for an entrepreneur to be successful as an entrepreneur – respondents were offered a list with different qualities and asked to evaluate each of them using a scale from 0 to 5, where 0 means that this quality is absolutely unnecessary, while 5 – it is very necessary.

As the most necessary qualities for an entrepreneur young people in Latgale mentioned:

- ability to make decisions (86% of respondents evaluated this quality with 5);
- ability to get on well with people (65%);
- planning skills (65%);
- ability to persuade and make business contacts (63%);
- determination and persistence (57%).

A bit more seldom respondents indicated the following as important qualities necessary for an entrepreneur:

- cooperation skills (55%);
- enthusiasm and energy (50%);
- knowledge about the market (53%);

- target-oriented management (49%);
- analytical skills (48%).

The most rarely as important qualities necessary for an entrepreneur young people mentioned:

- mercilessness, even cruelty (6%);
- openness to changes (26%);
- ability to evade the law (26%).

Apart from the above mentioned abilities and qualities, respondents mentioned the others, as well, which they think are important for entrepreneurs. These are – originality, willpower, cunning, earnestness, persistence, wisdom of life, good logic, luck, reflection, and fidelity. In the same way, respondents believe that an entrepreneur should have ability to risk, manipulate with people, fight and hold one's ground. An entrepreneur should have a good knowledge about his activity and operate with monetary instruments. It is good if an entrepreneur speaks several languages. He must be an example for the rest of the society.

Next, young people in Latgale were asked to indicate to what extent they possess each of the abovementioned qualities, evaluating from 0 to 5, where 0 means that they do not possess this quality at all, while 5 – they possess it to a great extent.

Most frequently young people mentioned that they possess such qualities as:

- independence (38% of respondents evaluated this quality with 5);
- optimism (33%);
- enthusiasm and energy (30%);

A little bit fewer respondents believe that they possess:

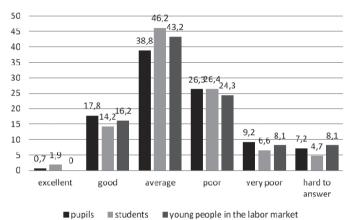
- honesty (28%):
- cooperation skills (27%);
- ability to get on well with people (27%);
- willingness to experiment (25%);
- planning skills (25%).

Respondents were offered to evaluate their knowledge about how to start and manage own business. The results are reflected in Figure 3.

In general, a bit less than 1/5 or 17% of young people in Latgale region evaluated their knowledge about how to start and manage own business positively (excellent – 1%, good – 16%), 44% of respondents evaluate their knowledge in this field as average, but 36% of respondents evaluated their knowledge negatively (poor – 27%, very poor – 9%). It was hard to answer this question for 7% of respondents.

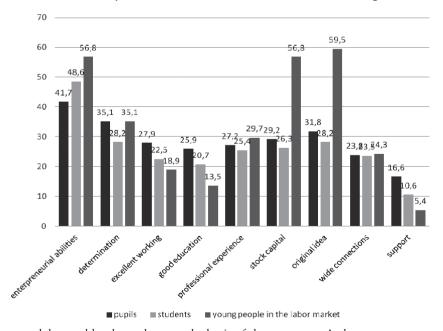
It can be concluded that according to young people's self-evaluation only a small proportion of respondents could be able to start their business. They have to learn, acquire additional knowledge about entrepreneurship.

Figure 3
The distribution of respondents' answers to the question
"How would you evaluate your knowledge about starting and managing your own business?", %, n=338 respondents



Source: elaborated by the authors on the basis of the own survey's data

Figure 4
The distribution of respondents' answers to the question "What do you think is necessary to succeed in business?", %, n=338 respondents



Source: elaborated by the authors on the basis of the own survey's data

According to young people's opinion, entrepreneurs should have the following criteria:

- original idea a good business idea which can be developed and become a profitable business (59.5% of young people who are working, 31.8% of pupils and 28.2% of students believe that this criteria is important);
- entrepreneurial abilities, leader qualities a set of abilities and qualities which are necessary to start a business (young people at the labour market 56.8%, students 48.6%, pupils 41.7%);
- stock capital capital which is necessary to start a business and to achieve the goals stated in the regulations of an enterprise (young people at the labour market 56.8%, students 26.3%, pupils 29.2%)
- determination the most important personal quality that is reflected through the ability to set a target (young people at the labour market 35.1%, students 28.2%, pupils 35.1%).

The least number of respondents think that support from the state and municipality is necessary to gain success in business (young people at the labour market -5.4%, students -10.6%, pupils -16.6%).

The authors calculated the correlation coefficient using SPSS software. Non parametric Spearman correlation was used. Spearman's rank correlation coefficient is used to characterize a rational dependence between two variables. There are no limits to use the method – it can be used irrespective of the way of distribution. Dependence indicator is always within the limits from -1 to +1 without validity interval (95%).

Here was a correlation found between the place of residence and evaluated knowledge about business. According to the correlation coefficient it can be concluded that there are correlation between these indicators, however weak, their value is 0.205.

Plans about the future of entrepreneurship depend on respondents' knowledge about business. The better the knowledge, the more there is an opportunity to start own business. The value of correlation coefficient is 0.312, it means that correlation is weak, but it exists. With the help of the survey the authors found out young people's attitude towards entrepreneurship and readiness to start it.

In general, it can be concluded that young people's attitude towards entrepreneurship is positive. The largest part of respondents evaluates their knowledge and opportunities as good, but not everyone plans to start own business.

5. Discussion

Entrepreneurship is recognized to be the driving force of economics, but the level of its development depends on the formation and implementation of entrepreneurial potential. In order to develop entrepreneurial potential, it is necessary for it to be revealed and improved. Entrepreneurial potential is revealed through action, through implemented abilities (competences). After potential is revealed, it stops to be potential, but becomes reality. Becoming reality, in turn, increases revealed potential, opportunities. In order to reveal entrepreneurial potential, individual's motivation and decision is necessary. The core moments of potential development are: self-consciousness and

volitional action. The development of entrepreneurial potential is one of the modern crucial problems when separate individuals, as well as the whole countries must find solutions in times of changes and uncertainty. Therefore, there arises necessity to develop enterprising young people who are open to changes, ready to solve them creatively and with competence on the basis of knowledge and skills they have acquired during the learning process. Respondents, in general, evaluate personal qualities and abilities to solve different situations necessary for entrepreneurship, which were indicated in the questionnaire, positively, however, at the same time they indicate insufficient knowledge.

A large part of respondents is not confident about their knowledge and abilities, therefore they are afraid to take risk and responsibility related to entrepreneurship. Thus, it is possible that respondents have insufficient knowledge in the chosen field or knowledge about corresponding legislation, accountancy and alike, related to the organization of entrepreneurship. The evaluation of their knowledge appeared to be controversial.

Entrepreneurship seems to be a process which is quite complex and difficult to understand. According to the survey results, these are those conditions that deter respondents from the involvement into entrepreneurship. In turn, the conditions which would facilitate the involvement into entrepreneurship and which respondents have indicated are: support from the family, positive example. A large part of respondents are quite closely acquainted with some successful entrepreneurs. Therefore, proposals about how to increase young people's entrepreneurial potential are mainly divided into the following categories:

- consulting, including expansion of on-line opportunities;
- facilitation of cooperation networks (municipality education science);
- direct support (development of the network of small-sized business centres combining training on starting small-sized businesses, preparation of constitutive documents, registration of the subjects of small-sized business, preparation of business plans, marketing studies, finding partners, accountancy services, etc.);
- correction of the infrastructure for the support of small and medium-sized business in order to provide equal opportunities for business development in various districts of the region, including rural.

6. Conclusions

In general, the most of respondents have positive attitude towards entrepreneurs – such opinion have expressed 52% of pupils, 65.1% of students and 67.6% of young people at the labour market.

28.3% of pupils plan to start a business in future, 26.4% of students. Young people who are already working plan the least to start their own business. Among them 40.5% of respondents already know that they do not plan to start a business.

A bit less than 1/5 or 17% of young people in Latgale region evaluated their knowledge about how to start and manage own business positively (excellent – 1%, good – 16%), 44% of respondents evaluate their knowledge in this field as average,

but 36% of respondents evaluated their knowledge negatively (poor -27%, very poor -9%). It was hard to answer this question for 7% of respondents.

It can be concluded that according to young people's self-evaluation only a small proportion of respondents could be able to start their business. According their own opinion, they have to learn and acquire additional knowledge about entrepreneurship.

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SOCIOLOĢIJA

Vladimir Menshikov

SOCIAL CLASSES AND CLUSTERS: BASED ON EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

The aim of the paper is to consider the situation with the social class stratification in Latvia. The focus is on the middle social class, due to the significance of this class both for the economic growth and the achievement of the sustainable, long-term development of the country. The subject of sociological research - formation of class stratification in the region (estimated on the basis of cluster analysis), the main characteristics of the selected clusters based on the analysis of the volumes and structure of total resources and aggregate capital. The clustering of the population of Latgale applying the 3 variables shows only two clusters. The first of them (Cluster 1) makes up only 6%: average income per a family member per month made 503 LVL, level of education – incomplete higher, self-identified class – middle stratum. The majority of our respondents made up the second cluster (Cluster 2): average income of 151 LVL, level of education – secondary professional, self-identified class – lower middle class/upper working class. The analysis of the data (Tables 3 and 4) shows that the structure of the aggregate resource of the representatives of the first cluster (Cluster 1) and the one of aggregate capital are dominated by the same "powers of social improvement": cultural, economic, vocational and educational. Relative scarcity of vocational and educational resources and, in particular, cultural ones among the representatives of the second cluster is due in large part to their "dissent" to the hierarchy of social stratification; it does not allow a very large proportion of the population of our region really claim a place in the middle class. In the conclusion of the article, the controversial issues of classes in modern societies are analyzed.

Key words: class, middle class, aggregate capital, cluster.

Sociālās šķiras un klasteri: empīriskā pētījuma pieredze

Raksta mērķis – izpētīt Latvijas sabiedrības šķiru stratifikācijas stāvokļa problēmu. Turklāt paaugstināta uzmanība tiek pievērsta sabiedrības vidusslānim, kas saistītstieši ar šīs sabiedrības daļas nozīmi valsts ekonomiskajā izaugsmē, stabilas un ilgtermiņa attīstības sasniegšanā. Socioloģiskā pētījuma priekšmets – šķiru stratifikācijas veidošanās reģionā (uz klasteranalīzi balstīts vērtējums), noteikto klasteru pamata raksturojumi,balstoties uz kopējo resursu unkapitāla apjoma un struktūras analīzi. Latgales iedzīvotāju kasterizācija, izmantojot 3 manīgos,atklāj tikai divus klasterus. Pirmais sastāda tikai 6%, turklāt vidējie ienākumi uz vienu ģimenes locekli mēnesī veidoja 503 latus, izglītības līmenis – nepabeigta augstākā, šķiras pašidentifikācija – vidējā šķira. Mūsu respondentu pamatdaļu veidoja otrais klasteris ar vidējo ienākumu 151 lats, izglītības līmeni – vidējā speciālā, šķiras pašidentifikāciju – zemākā vidējā šķira/augstākā strādnieku šķira. Rezultātu analīze parāda, ka 1. klastera pārstāvjiem gan kopresursu struktūrā, gan kopkapitāla struktūrā pēc sava raksturadominē vieni un tie paši "sociālā paaugstinājuma spēki": kulturālie, ekonomiskie un profesionāli – izglītojošie. Nosacīts profesionāli – izglītojošo, sevišķi, kulturālo resursu trūkums 2. klastera pārstāvjiem lielā mērā skaidro viņu "noslīdi" sociālās stratifikācijas hierarhijā, neļaujot šai mūsu reģiona diezgan nozīmīgajai iedzī-

votāju daļai reāli pretendēt uz vietu vidējā šķirā. Raksta nobeigumā tiek analizēti mūsdienu sabiedrības šķiru diskutablie jautājumi.

Atslēgas vārdi: šķira, vidējā šķira, kopkapitāls, klasteris.

Социальные классы и кластеры: опыт эмпирического исследования

Цель статьи — рассмотреть проблему состояния классовой стратификации общества в Латвии. При этом повышенное внимание уделяется среднему классу общества, что связано с огромной ролью именно этой общности в экономическом росте, в достижении устойчивого и долговременного развития страны. Предмет социологического исследования - становление классовой стратификации в регионе (оценка на основе кластерного анализа), основные характеристики выделенных кластеров на основе анализа объемов и структуры совокупных ресурсов и совокупного капитала. Кластеризация населения Латгалии при использовании 3 -х переменных обнаруживает всего два кластера. Первый из них составляет лишь 6%, при этом средние доходы на 1-го члена семьи в месяц составляли 503 лата, уровень образования — незаконченное высшее, классовая самоидентификация — средний класс. Основная же масса наших респондентов составила второй кластер при средних доходах в 151 лат, уровне образования — среднее специальное, классовой самоидентификации – низший средний класс/высший рабочий класс. Анализ данных показывает, что как в структуре совокупного ресурса представителей 1 кластера, так и в структуре совокупного капитала доминируют одни и те же по своему характеру «силы социального повышения»: культурные, экономические и профессионально-образовательные. Относительный дефицит профессионально-образовательных и, особенно, культурных ресурсов у представителей 2-го кластера во многом объясняет их «соскальзывание» в иерархии социальной стратификации, не позволяет этой очень значительной доли населения нашего региона реально претендовать на место в среднем классе. В заключении статьи анализируются дискуссионные вопросы классовости современных обществ.

Ключевые слова: класс, средний класс, совокупный капитал, кластер.

Introduction

The etacratic stratification of the Soviet society collapsed and broke up almost 25 years ago, but such a social stratification, which would be in compliance with all the principles and demands of the market economy, political democracy, social and spiritual progress, has not been formed yet. At present, we have a set of social groups that are difficult to differentiate: classification criteria for these groups are varied and unstable, and the mobility of some individuals is similar to Brownian motion featured by a tendency to maintain the existing status, which is perceived by the participants of "the race" as a running on the spot.

The issues of social stratification are not mainstreamed by the Latvian sociologists. At the same time, without a thorough and reliable analysis of the state and dynamics of the social class structure the expert community cannot provide the authorities and the civil society with effective instruments and tools, which would meet the actual demands and possibilities of Latvia, so that the country could emerge from the systemic crisis. Moreover, a special attention should be paid to the middle class; it is primarily due to the significance of this particular class both for the economic growth and the achievement of the sustainable, long-term development of the country.

T. Parsons declared the importance of the hierarchical and particularly economic understanding of social inequality: "Some such broad classification as "upper" – carefully defined – "middle" and "lower" makes sense" (Parsons 2010). In other words, a sociologist interested in the hierarchy, at the same time, is interested in the forces that determine the dynamics of mobility, movement within the framework of the existing and rather stable system of social inequality, where the economic criterion, though being the main one, does not completely determine the class status of a person (a family). "... class status is... not a rigid entity – T. Parsons warned – but a fairly loosely correlated complex of elements ... The family-occupation-income complex is by and large the core of the wider complex" (Parsons 2010).

Classes – an economic category that at different times and in different circumstances can be supplemented by various non-economic elements. Although the concept of "social class" is often ideologized, it remains one of the basic concepts of sociology (Matulionis 2014). The task of a sociologist is to identify the strongest (here and now) elements of the phenomenon of "social class", which together with economic elements form a specific complex or, to make it more precise, a class cluster.

Modern theoretical level of class stratification

There is a variety of approaches – from the claims that class differences have been overcome to the absolutization of economic criterion. In our opinion, the research carried out in the UK for BBC is the most interesting and innovative one (BBC 2013).

The most important aspects of the carried out research are:

- classes are defined by three parameters economic (income, savings, property), social (communication and social networks) and cultural (interests and modes of pastime);
- 2) the previous division of society into three classes working class, middle class and upper class (by occupation, wealth and education of a person) in the opinion of researchers no longer reflects the real picture. At present, the British society has been divided into seven classes:
 - a) elite the most privileged group in the UK, distinct from the rest through its wealth; it has the highest indicators in all three parameters;
 - b) established middle class the most numerous group; it is the second wealthiest, scoring second highest for cultural capita;
 - c) technical middle class a small, rather new group of people with high income, though it scores low for social and cultural capital. It is distinct from the rest with its social isolation and indifference towards culture;
 - d) new affluent workers a young group of socially and culturally active people with medium income;
 - e) traditional working class scores low for all forms of capital, though it is not completely socially deprived. Its members have reasonably high dwelling values, explained by this group having the oldest average age at 66;
 - f) emergent service workers a new, young, primarily urban group which is relatively poor, though it is socially and culturally active;

- g) precariat, or precarious proletariat the poorest and most deprived class among the abovementioned; it scores low for social and cultural capital. The researchers claim that this class makes up about 15% of the UK population.
- 3) the shrinking of the traditional (established) middle class (up to 25%), the formation of a blurred stratum between the traditional working and middle classes.

In our opinion, the new division of society into 7 classes reflects the inability of the state to continue the implementation of the policy of preservation and growth of the traditional middle class under the following conditions: the global economic crisis, a rather long period of accessibility of education (including higher education), a decline in the share of traditional industry, a widespread use (especially by the youth) of new technologies that provide mobility. Moreover, it reflects the inability of the state to ensure the growth of social and cultural capital. At the same time, a subjective issue should be taken into account - how to relate those, who have a fairly high level of education and work mostly in the important sectors of the national economy, being socially and culturally active, to a "lower" class? Probably, the British sociologists found themselves facing the circumstance, when a pass into the middle class increasingly depends not on the ownership of the means of production and the formal level of education, but on a set of the resources, where the cultural element increasingly dominates. Once again it is important to agree with T. Parsons: "But care should be taken not to imply that the finer differentiations are even nearly uniform "across the board" or that the lines between adjacent classes are very clear-cut" (Parsons 2010).

By all means, in the societies, where there existed etacratic stratification, the situation with classes is even more complicated. For example, the article "Social Classes in Contemporary Poland" ("Klasy spoleczne wspolczesnej Polski") provides the following composition of social groups:

- germs of upper class (less than 2% including their families);
- class of managers 4–8%;
- representatives of the liberal professions and middle class 8–16% of the society:
- precariat 74–87% (the selection criterion is the specificity of the work to be done or the amount of the received social transfers) (Krakauer 2013).

Thus, in Poland, if compared with the British society, this segment of the society is about 5 times more numerous and its percentage makes up such a value, which has been recently used in respect to the middle class of economically advanced countries. For example, L. A. Belyaeva claims that in Norway the middle class approaches 90% of the population (Belyaeva 2011).

As we can see, the middle class, which is usually associated with the success of the development of the industrial and post-industrial society, is of particular interest to researchers. In the opinion of the majority of Western sociologists, the middle class acts as a major stabilizing force in the overall balance of the classes, the subject of modernization and creation of a new society of knowledge, the main consumers of high-quality products of the modern economy, the main carrier of a life strategy for success.

Is it possible to claim the same in relation to the social groups of "middle strata" in the countries, which in the past were called socialist and at present (with varying degrees of success) are trying to achieve high standards of economic management based on the market principles?

In search of the middle class in post-communist countries

The calculation of the share of the middle class in post-communist countries varies considerably depending on the criteria used and on their diversity.

Thus, according to the World Bank, 80% of Belarusian population belong to the middle class (The World Bank 2015). According to this index, the Republic of Belarus is ahead of all other middle-income countries. These data were received by World Bank experts on the basis of financial-economic criterion – they considered those households, which consumed \$10 and more per capita per day, the middle class (using purchasing power parity rates at constant 2005 prices). In Europe and Central Asia, Belarus is followed by Lithuania and Hungary, where the middle class accounts about 60% of the population. According to this index, in Latvia and Russia the share of the middle class is about 55%, in Poland – 50%, in Ukraine – a little less than 50%. Tajikistan and Armenia are at the lowest position in this rating: the middle class accounts for only 2–3% of the population.

Pēteris Laķis is the first Latvian sociologist, who thoroughly studied the issues of social stratification in Latvia. For example, in his article "Social Stratification of Latvian Society in the Early 90s", P. Laķis mainly used the ideas of the American sociologist B. Barber. B. Barber, considering the dynamics of the social structure of Western society, singled out 6 dimensions of stratification: occupational prestige, power and authority, income and wealth, education or knowledge, religious or ritual purity, family and ethnic groups, ranked by kinship and ethnic groups (Barber 1972).

P. Laķis identified 3 most significant measurements of stratification in Latvia during its transition period to a market economy: material inequality, attitudes toward the political power and occupational prestige (Lakis 1994). P. Laķis wrote: "The differentiation of the population by money income is being realized in the modern structure of the society: stratum of the rich, middle class and the poor" (Lakis 1994). Having studied the Latvian society in the early 90s, P. Laķis concluded that 3% of the population could be attributed to the rich, 12–13% – to the middle class, and the rest – to the poor stratum of the population. P. Laķis emphasized that, in 1990–1993, the differentiation of the population increased, in this regard, and the strata bounds became clearer. The empirical data of the sociological research studies by P. Laķis testified that in the Latvian society there was forming a widespread tendency of self-identification with the poor strata of the population, in opposition to the majority of the US residents, who, as a rule, tend to associate themselves with a particular layer of material well-being, i.e. – the middle class (Lakis 1994). However, the further researches by Latvian sociologists have not noted this tendency.

Thus, in accordance with the very optimistic estimates given by the project experts "Latvia. Human Development Report. 1999." in 1999 the middle class constituted

30–35% of the inhabitants of our country (Tisenkopfs 1999). According to the data of the sociological surveys carried out by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology (IPS) (Riga) in the framework of International Social Survey Program (ISSP), in Latvia the self-identification with the "middle class" in 1999 made up 55.7%, whereas in 2009 it was 62.8% (Menshikov 2012).

However, there appears a question whether a large part of our society really belongs to the middle class as claimed by the respondents of the sociological surveys? The data from Table 1 show that during these years the money incomes of the Latvian residents changed significantly as they increased across all quintile levels. For example, the upper bound of the low-income first quintile moved from 28 LVL to 85 LVL, and the lower bound of the high-income fifth quintile moved from 84 LVL to 221 LVL. At the same time, a significant transfer of the income per family member to the equalization of the income distribution aimed at low-income families did not happen. However, the representatives of the most profitable fifth quintile became poorer – the aggregate income decreased from 47.4% to 39.7%. The question remains though: can all the representatives of the fifth quintile be attributed to the middle class, not to mention the upper class?

Table 1
Income per Family Member, 2000 and 2011

Quintiles	Borders of c	quintiles, LVL	Aggregate the respondents	
_	2000	2011	2000	2011
1	0-28	0-85	5.4	7.1
2	29–44	86–126	10.8	12.5
3	45-60	127–160	18.6	18.1
4	61-83	161-220	17.8	22.6
5	84-2500	221-900	47.4	39.7

Source: Author's calculations based on the data of SKDS sociological surveys in the framework of the projects by Latvian University "Latvia. Human Development Report".

Therefore we will continue our search for a more realistic share of the middle class and its most important characteristics using cluster analysis of stratification variables and the theory of aggregate capital.

The main guidelines and methodology of the research

Implementing the project "Aggregate Capital, Its Structure and Relation to Labour Migration" we tried to consider the issues of the formation of the middle class in our country in details. The theoretical basis of the project was a resource-based approach relied heavily on the understanding of the category of "capital" offered by P. Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1986). The use of the resource-based approach (the theory of aggregate capital) – guidelines and methodology of sociological analysis – was first presented

by us at an international conference in Poland (Menshikov 2008), while the test of the application of the mentioned approach to empirical sociological research was first described in an article published in the journal of Lithuanian Academy of Sciences "Philosophy. Sociology" (Menshikov 2011). The theoretical substantiation of the research project, the analysed structure of aggregate family capital, the operational notions, the main results of our analysis with respect to the issue of labour migration were published in 2013 (Menšikovs 2013, Menshikov et al. 2013).

The aim of our additional explorations in the framework of the implemented project was to identify the main parameters of the forming class stratification that meets the needs of the society to overcome the systemic crisis and to formulate the most important problems of the society arising from the incompleteness of the process. It was significant to pay a specific attention to the most important characteristics of the candidates for the middle class on the basis of the theory of aggregate capital.

The subject of research – the formation of class stratification in the region (estimated on the basis of cluster analysis), the main characteristics of the selected clusters on the basis of the analysis of the volume and structure of aggregate resources and aggregate capital.

The hypothesis of the research – our own previous research studies and the government statistics indicate the incompleteness of the formation of class stratification that meets the needs of the society to overcome the systemic crisis, that negatively affects both the economic and social development indicators and the possibilities of the residents of the region to effectively capitalize their resources in Latvia, thus responding to their needs for the quality of life without recourse to labour migration. We agree with Y. N. Tolstova that "the issue of measurement is central for a specialist in the field of social sciences and humanities" (Tolstova 2015). Why is it so? Our main goal – adequate understanding of reality, its modelling, which involves identification and study of the common features in different objects, formalization, measurement, and use of a diverse arsenal of mathematics. Sociologists are increasingly using multivariate statistical methods (such as cluster analysis) to create models of social reality, revealing the structure and measurement of the identified objects.

Remarkably, cluster analysis was first used in sociology. In 1939, the subject of cluster analysis was determined and described by the researcher Tryon (Tryon 1939). The main use of cluster analysis – to partition of a set of research objects and their characteristics into homogeneous groups or clusters. Cluster has the following mathematical properties: centre, radius, standard deviation, cluster size.

As a result of the cluster analysis, groups of cases are identified through the application of preliminarily defined variables. In our analysis, cases refer to individuals (social agents) that have similar manifest variables. In our opinion, using cluster analysis aimed at finding the main social groups, which are a result of the integration (not necessarily strong and positively oriented) of social agents, it is necessary to apply those criteria that reflect "an ordered system of ranking" (Parsons 2010). At least 3 groups of factors, accumulated by the agents in various types of social space and active in the definition of their social positions, should be viewed as the search criteria for classes. These are empirically observable material circumstances of the life of the

agents (dominant – average income per family member); the most important immaterial factors (dominant – the level of education) for the time being and subjective factors (dominant – self-identification with a certain class). By all means, these criteria are not complete; there are cases, when an individual family member does not correspond "class standard" (e.g., level of education), but in fact "that component of status shared by the members of the most effective kinship unit" (Parsons 2010).

Analysis of empirical research carried out in Latgale

The object of the research – three age groups of the population of Latgale: 15–29-year-olds, 30–49-year-olds, 50–75-year-olds. The number of respondents – 800 people, of whom 519 people (64.9%) living in Daugavpils. The sample is stratified by sex, age and education. Three variables are used to identify clusters:

- 1. household income per member per month, LVL;
- 2. level of education on 1–7 scale: 1 basic, 2 lower secondary, 3 vocational, 4 secondary, 5 secondary professional, 6 incomplete higher education, 7 higher;
- 3. self-identification with a social layer on 1–6 scale: 1 the lowest group, 2 working class, 3 lower middle class/upper working class, 4 middle class 5 upper middle class, 6 upper class.

Table 2
Average value of the preliminarily defined variables of cluster analysis, Latgale, 2012

	Cluster 1	Cluster 2
Household income per member per month, LVL	503	151
Level of education (1–7 scale)	6	5
Self-identification with a social stratum (1–6 scale)	4	3
Number of people in a cluster	36	572
Share of cluster in %	6	94

Calculation of the probability of error based on the F-test (p values) for all 3 variables showed that their differences between the clusters are statistically significant in all three cases, p = 0.000.

Source: the table compiled by the author on the basis of the data from a sociological survey "Aggregate Capital, Its Structure and Relation to Labour Market", n=800 people

The clustering of the population of Latgale applying the 3 variables shows only two clusters (Table 2). The first of them (Cluster 1) makes up only 6%: average income per a family member per month made 503 LVL, level of education – incomplete higher, self-identified class – middle stratum. The majority of our respondents made up the second cluster (Cluster 2): average income of 151 LVL, level of education – secondary professional, self-identified class – lower middle class/upper working class. Therefore it is clear why applying cluster analysis to the identified characteristics of our respondents we cannot find clusters of the upper middle class and the upper class,

as it happens due to their minuscule proportion in the region and inaccessibility for sociological surveys. In turn, the absence of the lowest groups and working class, in our opinion, can be explained by a weak ability of income to differentiation. According to the formula of the Euclidean action, the variable with maximum values, dominates over the variables with minimum values (in our case, these are the levels of education and class self-identification). It can be stated that the representatives of the second cluster, first of all, group into one cluster in accordance to their family income, but their incomes, if compared with the ones of the first cluster, are relatively low and even in their entirety cannot affect the formation of groups.

Considering class stratification the way it was understood by T. Parsons, almost all members of the second cluster can be attributed to the "lower class", taking into account the complexity and inconsistency of the status positions of many of them. For example, when the income of a significant part of employees with higher education is at the subsistence level (or even below it) or when the respondent with such income identifies himself with the upper class.

The group of our respondents, who made up the first cluster marked by the dominance of self-identification with the "middle class", should be considered very carefully. First of all: has there formed a critical mass of the bearers of the selected characteristics, so that we can consider this social group a class? Secondly, how strong and stable are these characteristics even for those, who possessed them at the time of the sociological research (especially monetary income)? According to our survey, not everyone identified with the "middle class" had property and savings.

The analysis of the data (Tables 3 and 4) shows that the structure of the aggregate resource of the representatives of the first cluster (Cluster 1) and the one of aggregate capital are dominated by the same "powers of social improvement": cultural, economic, vocational and educational. Moreover, it is important not only to possess these identified resources, but also to be able to use them effectively, to capitalize. It is notable that the representatives of the first cluster treat social resources in a rather pragmatic way, taking into account that, in the ranking scale, social capital moves the physical one from the 5^{th} - 6^{th} position onto the 4^{th} one. The inhabitants of Latgale, that form the second cluster (Cluster 2), significantly differ from the first cluster in the structure of aggregate resources and in their ability/possibility to effectively use the ones marked as available resources. Physical, economic and geographic resources dominate among the aggregate ones, whereas economic, social and geographical types of aggregate capital dominate among the aggregate capital. It is most likely to observe inability (or lack of ability at the place of residence) to capitalize one's physical resources – it is moved back from the first position among the types of aggregate resources to the 6th-7th position among the types of aggregate capital. However, social resources turn out to be more significant for the representatives of the second cluster: they move from the 6th position among the resources to the 2nd position among the some separate types of aggregate capital. Interestingly, but geographical resources are essential for the representatives of the second cluster.

81.8

86.7

Resource capitalization, %

Aggregate resource, points

Cluster 1

Cluster 2

Aggregate resource, points

Aggregate capital, points

19.08

15.15

Table 3
Aggregate resources and capital in formed class clusters, Latgale, 2012

Calculation of the probability of error based on the F-test showed that the differences between the clusters are statistically significant in both aggregate resources (p = 0.000) and aggregate capital (p=0.000).

Source: the table compiled by the author on the basis of the data from a sociological survey "Aggregate Capital, Its Structure and relation to Labour Market", n=800 people

Table 4
Types of aggregate resources and capital in formed class clusters,
Latgale, 2012, % and rank

Tymes of massyrass		Res	ources		Capital				
Types of resources and capital	Cluster 1		Cluster 2		Cluster 1		Cluster 2		
and capital	%	rank	%	rank	%	rank	%	rank	
Cultural	12.69	1	12.44	4	13.88	1	12.49	4	
Economic	12.66	2	13.06	2	13.51	2	13.46	1	
Human (vocational and educational)	12.62	3	12.30	5	12.54	3	11.99	5	
Physical	12.48	4	13.63	1	10.96	5-6	9.81	6-7	
Social	11.64	5	11.65	6	11.83	4	13.35	2	
Symbolic	11.43	6	10.19	7	10.96	5-6	9.81	6–7	
Geographical	10.77	7	12.64	3	10.60	7	13.01	3	
Administrative	9.47	8	7.66	8	9.19	8	6.89	8	
Political	6.24	9	6.32	9	4.12	9	4.48	9	

The differences in most of the types of resources and capital are statistically significant, with the exception of geographical (p = 0.508), physical (p = 0.135) and symbolic (p = 0.106) resources and geographical (p = 0.681) and physical (p = 0.061) types of aggregate capital.

Source: author's calculations based on the data of a sociological research "Aggregate Capital, Its Structure and relation to Labour Market", n=800 respondents.

Relative scarcity of vocational and educational resources and, in particular, cultural ones among the representatives of the second cluster is due in large part to their "dissent" to the hierarchy of social stratification; it does not allow a very large proportion of the population of our region really claim a place in the middle class. According to the self-identifications of our respondents, who entered the second cluster, economic capital dominates in the structure of aggregated capital. However, capitalization of the aggregate resources with an average in the second cluster, in monitory terms, provides the income amount, on the average, of 151 LVL per family member

per month. According to the Central Statistical Office (CSO), in 2012, the income of 79% of Latvian households was below the minimum amount needed to cover basic expenses. At that time, the required monthly income was 279 LVL and the net monthly income was 213 LVL (Delfi.lv 2013). So, the general situation with monetary income in Latvia differs favourably from the one in Latgale, though it qualitatively presents the economic stratification of the society, where the "middle class" is still at an early stage of its formation.

The data of our sociological survey show that there is a great similarity between the representatives of the two selected clusters in the volume and significance of their following power characteristics: self-estimations of administrative and political resources and capitals. In both groups, they have the smallest share being on the 8th place in the structure of aggregate resources and on the 9th – in structure of aggregate capital. At the same time the administrative resources and capital are more significant for the representatives of the first cluster, whereas political resources and capital – for the second cluster.

Conclusions and discussion

Our analysis, based on the theory of aggregate capital and clustering of variables that reflect the most important economic and social characteristics of the population of Latgale, confirms the class character of our society. In a class structure, the place of a family is based on the aggregate resources (first of all economic ones) the family possesses, on the possibility and ability to capitalize them. Classes – the objective social reality, but our lifestyles that change rapidly under the influence of various factors (from technological innovations to global and radical transformation of the civilizational foundations) bring new features and characteristics into the very notion of classes. It is not only in everyday consciousness but also in a scientific one that social class system can be considered an irrelevant phenomenon, which is inferior to some other social differentiations (ethnic, religious, gender, regional, linkages to certain technological trends, etc.). In our opinion, the following issues of class require increased attention and thorough scientific analysis:

- 1. While the economic criterion remains as the base, the role of other class-criteria that are reflected in different ways in countries with different levels of economic development and civilizational peculiarities is becoming more noticeable. In conditions of establishing the knowledge economy, cultural capital is increasingly important in the structure of the aggregate capital of an employee. For the time being, even higher education does not guarantee a high level of culture, new literacy that has long been viewed as a considerable set of skills, which go far beyond the field of language literacy (computer literacy, media literacy, financial literacy, etc.).
- 2. It is difficult to empirically set the bounds of class, to determine their share in the population of various countries. It is particularly difficult to differentiate the "lower class", a significant part of which is referred by some sociologists to a new class of precariat. How is possible to "catch" an ever growing community by means of

- cluster analysis, if it does not possess any of the commonly used class-signs? (Standing 2011).
- 3. The role of the subjective criterion of self-identification of an individual with a particular class is strengthening. As a rule, in the countries like Latvia, individuals overestimate their place in the class structure of a society, and, at the same time, in the absence of the minimum resources needed to demonstrate the image and lifestyle of the class, with which an actor identifies himself, the estimated modality of status can be incorrectly implemented. In this case, unjustified credit risks, unrealistic plans, excessive conflictness of social relations on the basis of inadequate estimations and self-estimations of interacting parties are referred. Of course, such an overestimation has its positive side, particularly if there is a desire to maintain and improve one's position in the social class structure learning new cultural layers, developing creative thinking and behaviour.
- 4. Actual global stratification of the humanity, strengthening of the role of "superclass", when the wealth and power of its representatives exceeds the national income of some countries, is increasingly visible. On the eve of the Economic Forum in Davos (2016) Oxfam, British charity organization, reported a shocking fact: the well-being of 1% of the richest people in the world (around 73 million people) is equal to the well-being of the rest of humanity (BBC 2016). According to Oxfam, 62 people hold the same amount of assets as the poorest half of human-kind. On the one hand, with the development of the world economy and measures of social protection, the wealth and the living standards of the poor are going up; on the other the gap between the richest and the poorest is growing. There is a feeling that this tendency is irresistible. Is it so?
- 5. The decrease in the number of the middle class and the reduction of its progressive role take place almost everywhere either due to the growth of the crisis of a social state, or because of the lack of economic and political resources to create such a state. Fragile attempts of parliaments and national governments of some countries to introduce progressive taxation, solidarity tax, tax on currency speculation and other measures to redistribute aggregate income in favour of those, who need social benefits, who are seeking to raise their status to the level of middle class, are categorically rejected by the representatives of large corporations and high officials.
- 6. In public life, we are observing a significant presence of the elements of quasifeudalism (neo-feudalism, electronic feudalism), that in the aspect of social stratification manifests a class differentiations in society.

Nowadays, economic mechanisms of the formation of such a society are related to the specifics of the dynamics of various economic processes. This situation is described in the economic bestseller "Capital in the Twenty-First Century" by French economist Thomas Piketty, devoted to economic inequality in Europe and the United States starting with the 18^{th} century (Piketty 2014). The central thesis of the book is that the concentration of wealth will increase if the rate of the return of capital (r) is higher than the economic growth rate (g). Piketty argues that, in the long term, this will lead to the concentration of wealth and economic instability. The book states

that the world is returning to the "patrimonial capitalism", where much of the economy is controlled by inherited capital, and it is becoming more significant leading to the oligarchy. Piketty proposes to create a global system of progressive taxes on wealth, in order to provide the conditions for equality and avoid a possibility of a situation when the lion's share of resources would be controlled by the absolute minority.

The book claims that inequality is not accidental; it is a vital feature of capitalism and the inequality can only be prevented by government intervention. The book states that capitalism, if it is not reformed, can endanger democracy itself.

Piketty predicts the world with low economic growth, rejecting the idea that technological leaps will bring the growth back to the levels characteristic of the 20th century; in his opinion, we should not built on the "vagaries of technology". *The further enrichment of the very rich will happen at the expense of the impoverishment of the middle class*.

The conclusions by Piketty referred to the increasing inequality, while the rate of the economic growth is decreasing, are considered a serious challenge to the supporters of ecological economy, who call for an abrupt stop of economic growth due to the biospheric limitations. British economist Tim Jackson and Canadian economist Peter Victor developed an accessible on-line interactive of macroeconomic model SIGMA, which allows to explore the evolution of the inequality in the context of the decrease of the rate of economic growth (Jackson, Victor 2015). The model demonstrates that, under certain conditions, an increase in inequality is not an inevitable stop of the growth; there are some variants of economic policy that can bring to the decrease of inequality in parallel with a decrease in the rates of growth.

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КОНСОЛИДАЦИЯ ПОЛИЭТНИЧЕСКОГО ПРОСТРАНСТВА В РЕГИОНАХ РОССИИ: ВОЗМОЖНОСТИ И ОГРАНИЧЕНИЯ

В России проводились переписи населения в 2002 и 2010 годах, которые дали не только обстоятельную демографическую фотографию страны и возможность анализа различных аспектов демографической динамики (рождаемости населения, смертности, миграции), но также возможность анализа этнической динамики (национальный состав и его структура), социальной динамики (занятость, вид деятельности) и другое. Для сравнения отдельных аспектов приводятся данные общероссийской переписи 1897 года, чтобы представить картину укоренённости за более чем вековой период тех или иных этнических групп на обследуемых территориях государства. Для исследования статики и динамики национально-этнического состава населения трёх обследуемых регионов, изучаемых в рамках проекта Российского научного фонда, - Тюменского, Нижегородского и Краснодарского – за последние пять лет (2010–2014 гг.), привлечены данные территориальных органов государственной статистики, а также вторичные данные социологических исследований, которые проводились в этих регионах. Основная цель работы — определить возможности и ограничения в упрочении российской идентичности живущих в России разных народов на основе демографических, этнических и социальных факторов, отражающих текущие социально-экономические процессы в государстве и вне его. Основным результатом работы является утверждение, что принятие стратегических социально-экономических, политико-правовых проектов и программ развития страны должно учитывать их демографический и этнический аспекты. Исследование проведено при поддержке Российского научного фонда, проект № 15-18-00093.

Ключевые слова: демография, миграция, этносы, регионы, консолидация полиэтнического пространства.

Polietniskās telpas konsolidācija Krievijas reģionos: iespējas un ierobežojumi

Krievijā 2002. un 2010. gadā tika veikta tautas skaitīšana, kas atspoguļoja ne tikai valsts demogrāfisko ainu un iespēju analizēt dažādus demogrāfiskās dinamikas aspektus (iedzīvotāju dzimstība, mirstība, migrācija), bet arī sniedza etniskās dinamikas (nacionālais sastāvs un tā struktūra), sociālās dinamikas (nodarbinātība, darbības veids) un citu rādītāju analīzes iespējas. Atsevišķu aspektu salīdzināšanai tiek sniegti 1897. gada Krievijas tautas skaitīšanas dati, lai atspoguļotu to vai citu etnisko grupu paātrinātās attīstības ainu pētāmajās valsts teritorijās. Lai izanalizētu iedzīvotāju nacionāli etniskā sastāva statistiku un dinamiku trīs pētāmajos reģionos – Tjumeņas, Ņižņegorodas un Krasnodara, kas tika pētīti Krievijas zinātniskā fonda projekta ietvaros, pēdējos piecos gados (2010.–2014. g.), – tika piesaistīti valsts teritoriālo struktūrvienību statistikas dati, kā arī socioloģisko pētījumu, kuri tika veikti šajos reģionos, sekundārie dati. Galvenais pētījuma mērķis - noteikt dažādu Krievijā dzīvojošo tautu krievu identitātes stabilizācijas iespējas un ierobežojumus, balstoties uz demogrāfiskajiem, etniskajiem un sociālajiem faktoriem, kas atspoguļo pastāvošos sociāli ekonomiskos procesus valstī un ārpus tās. Galvenais pētījuma rezultāts ļauj secināt, ka, pieņemot stratēģiskos sociāli ekonomiskos un politiski tiesiskos valsts attīstības projektus un programmas, jāņem vērā to demogrāfiskie un etniskie aspekti. Pētījums tika veikts ar Krievijas zinātniskā fonda atbalstu, projekts Nr. 15-18-00093.

Atslēgas vārdi: demogrāfija, migrācija, etnosi, reģioni, polietniskās telpas konsolidācija.

Consolidation of poly-ethnic space in the regions of Russia: opportunities and limitations

The census of population conducted in 2002 and 2010 in Russia, not only gave a detailed demographic picture of the country and the possibility of analysis of various aspects of population dynamics (birth rate, mortality, migration), but also the possibility of analysis the dynamics of ethnicity (ethnic composition and its structure), social dynamics (employment activity), and more. Comparing with the data of the Russian census of 1897 was realized in order to provide a picture of embeddedness for more than a century of various ethnic groups in the surveyed areas of the state. For comparison, the specific data of the Russian census of 1897 was used to provide a picture of embeddedness within more than a century of the various ethnic groups in the surveyed areas of the state. To study the statics and dynamics of national-ethnic composition of the population in the three surveyed regions studied in the framework of the project RSF " Tyumen, Nizhny Novgorod and Krasnodar in the last five years (2010-2014), data from the territorial statistical bodies is used, as well as secondary data of sociological studies conducted in these regions. The main objective of the study is to identify the opportunities and constraints in strengthening Russian identity living in different Nations on the basis of demographic, ethnic and social factors, reflecting the current socio-economic processes in the state and outside it. The main result of the paper is the claim that when making strategic socio-economic, legal, political projects and country's development programs their demographic and ethnic aspects need to be considered. The study was conducted with support from the Russian Science Foundation, project No. 15-18-00093.

Key words: demography, migration, ethnic groups, regions, consolidation of poly-ethnic space.

Введение

Для реализации государственной задачи — консолидации полиэтнического пространства России в региональном аспекте — необходимо понять объективные и субъективные причины межэтнического согласия или локальной социальной напряжённости, межнациональных конфликтных ситуаций в тех или иных регионах страны, чтобы сформировать адекватные демографические, этнические, социально-экономические и политико-правовые условия равных возможностей, равных прав и обязанностей всех народов, проживающих на данной территории.

Здесь встаёт научная проблема, связанная с судьбой и ролью русского народа в деле сохранения целостности территории страны и равного доступа к располагаемым на ней ресурсам. Хотя это государствообразующий народ, без которого, по нашему мнению, распад России на отдельные этнические или национальные территории под внешним управлением неизбежен, он не претендует в силу ментальности и характера на какие-то особые права и возможности. Более того, терпимость, доброжелательность, равноправие с другими — имманентные качества русского народа. Однако в условиях рынка присущие ему ценности традиционного трудового общества (коллективизм, семья, терпимость, социальная справедливость, равенство в отношениях между людьми и другое) подавляются и искажаются, а ценности рыночного потребительского общества (индивидуализм, прагматизм, стяжательство, неравенство и другое), чуждые ему, получают широкое распространение (Voronov 2015). При этом к ценностям рынка, его сфере

обмена, достаточно легко адаптируются, например, многие народы Средней Азии, Кавказа и другие, исповедующие не православие, где в силу исторических условий сложилось отношение к торговле как к одному из наиболее уважаемых дел. Однако апология существующей ситуации повышает уровень социальной напряжённости и межнациональных конфликтных ситуаций в обществе, ибо причины таких ситуаций коренятся не в самих этнических группах, а в той социальной практике, в которой они взаимодействуют. Сфера обмена в России обходится ограниченным количеством занятых, а сфера производства, несмотря на отдельные позитивные примеры и ситуации, подорванная за десятилетия реформ, не может предложить квалифицированные рабочие места всем нуждающимся, не может стать местом реализации способностей значительной части экономически активного населения. Поскольку две трети и более населения страны – русские, постольку они и были массово представлены в производстве: аграрном и индустриальном секторах, где череда трансформаций и смены собственности, именно у этой этнической группы породила определённый уровень социальной апатии и отчуждения от государства, замыкание своей активности на текущих проблемах семьи, здоровья, выживания. Однако даже по этим последним скрепам постоянно и методично наносят удары для их разрушения. Это – навязывание обществу закона «о профилактике семейного насилия», предусматривающего контроль над человеком по признаку его социальной принадлежности к семейно-бытовой общности, где искусственно противопоставляются семейная и общественная сферы человеческих отношений (забывая, что беды семьи идут от бед общества, а не наоборот). В итоге оно может получить разрушение брачно-семейных отношений, ослабление межпоколенческих связей, уменьшение числа вступающих в брак и снижение, и без того низкой, рождаемости (Vereshchagin 2015). Положение со здоровьем в обществе в определенной мере отражает факт роста неуверенности в завтрашнем дне, разрушение обычаев, традиций и устоев, что приводит к стрессам и не способствуют сохранению и укреплению здоровья. То же касается условий выживания: за последние 25 лет доля населения, живущая ниже границы бедности, установленной государством, выросла с 14.5 процентов в 1988 году до 17.5 процентов в 2014 году. 94.6 процентов всего взрослого малоимущего населения приходится на простых трудящихся — наёмных работников физического и умственного труда (Trushkov 2015). Вместе с тем, геополитические интересы, сохранение целостности страны и ресурсов нуждаются в консолидирующей активности самой большой этнической группы — русского народа.

По мнению П. А. Сорокина, реформы, как проявление социальной динамики, не могут попирать человеческую природу данного социума и противоречить её базовым инстинктам (Sorokin 1967). Изменения в жизнеустройстве страны сместили систему основных ценностей советских народов и их ядра — русского народа — из духовной сферы в материальную, потребительскую сферу, попирали эту «природу» и противоречили кодам российской цивилизации, солидарнотрудовой жизненной матрице, «базовым инстинктам» (ценностям) большинства советских народов (1). Такие изменения явились основным фактором их социальной деградации, резкого снижения жизнеспособности в течение всех послед-

них двадцати пяти лет. Лишь обращение публичной власти к стратегическим задачам развития государства может переломить текущую ситуацию. К таким задачам следует отнести: укрепление его экономической роли, реализация инновационно-промышленной политики при ограничении вывоза капитала за рубеж, развитие внутреннего рынка страны, значительный рост производительности труда в промышленности через интеграцию производства на базе территориальнопроизводственных комплексов и наукоёмких технологий, подчинение банковскофинансовой сферы интересам государства, предприятиям реального сектора, смена научно-образовательной политики в интересах общества труда. Последняя предполагает возрождение связки: фундаментальная наука (академическая наука, университеты) - прикладная наука (специализированные, научно-исследовательские институты, центры, лаборатории) – производство (профессионально-технические училища, техникумы). Эти и другие меры, особенно по укреплению и развитию института семьи, способны обеспечить достойное качество жизни для большинства населения, его расширенное воспроизводство, рост рождаемости, снижение смертности, обеспечить признание человеческой жизни как главной ценности трудового общества, его сплочение на основе исторически выработанных ценностей, поддержание значимой роли России в мире. Реализация таких задач без ведущей роли русского народа как конструктивного лидера среди других народов государства вряд ли возможна, и это вернёт его действительное значение в деле консолидации народов страны для её суверенного и устойчивого развития.

Обзор отечественных и зарубежных подходов к изучению демографических, этнических, социальных проблем современного общества

В последнее десятилетие многие отечественные и зарубежные исследователи обращаются к демографическим, этническим, социальным проблемам современности в самых различных аспектах. В авторитетной работе на основе результатов многолетних социологических исследований в республиках Российской Федерации и общероссийских опросов показано место этничности в социальных и политических отношениях, представлена политика современной России в сфере этничности и межэтнических отношений, формирование новой российской идентичности и то, насколько она является ресурсом для межэтнического согласия (Drobizheva 2013).

Заслуживает внимания критический анализ недостаточно проработанной стратегии и тактики государственной демографической и миграционной политики России, не в полной мере соответствующей национальным интересам страны (Rybakovskii 2015). Коллективное исследование миграционных процессов в России, наряду с уточнением понятийного аппарата проблематики, большое внимание уделяет характеру и особенностям внутренних безвозвратных миграций, разного рода временных миграций, особенно трудовых. Актуальность миграционных проблем обусловлена, по мнению авторов, базовыми геополитическими

интересами страны, обеспечением безопасности государства и необходимостью повышения уровня заселенности страны (Iontsev 2014). С этих же позиций рассматриваются исследователями и этнические проблемы современной России в общефедеральном и региональном аспектах. Отмечается, что на смену локальным этническим конфликтам пришли «блоковые» конфликты, носителями которых выступают акторы, выполняющие внешний заказ и имеющие широкую геополитическую или международную субъектность. Это меняет специфику понимания текущих и будущих региональных этнических конфликтных процессов, что требует дополнительного их научного изучения и прогнозирования (Avksent'ev 2008). Отдельные ученые из стран ближнего Зарубежья исследуют особенности этносоциальной адаптации выходцев из других стран (диаспор) на основе социально-экономического, этнического, языкового, правового, ментального факторов, а также характера расселения на территории страны. В результате формулируется вывод о значимости всех указанных факторов для процесса «приживаемости» диаспор. У принимающего общества отсутствует ксенофобия в отношении этих выходцев, а уровень их адаптации представители принимающего общества оценивают выше среднего. При этом наиболее заметна их адаптация в экономической сфере – сфере рыночного обмена, торговли (Sakuma 2014). В содержательном сравнительном исследовании современных этнических общин диаспор и землячеств — отмечается, что растущая мобильность населения в условиях глобализации и связанные с нею геополитические факторы активно преобразовывают раздельно-компактные формы жизни этносоциальных общностей в дисперсную (диаспорно-земляческую) организацию таких общностей (Poloskova 1999). Другие учёные, на основе анализа большого массива западных этносоциальных исследований за последние 20-30 лет, рассматривают проблемы идентичностей этнических меньшинств и классифицируют их в рамках двух научных традиций. Согласно первой – идентичности подчиненных, малых этнокультурных групп рассматриваются, исходя из того, способствуют ли они утверждению гражданской солидарности в рамках национального государства, невзирая на их социально-классовые, этнокультурные, религиозные отличия от доминирующих этнокультурных групп. Именно эта традиция стимулирует многих западных ученых исследовать идентичности этнических меньшинств лишь как объект политики национальной интеграции. Согласно второй традиции провозглашается равенство прав людей на социальный выбор и способы осуществления этого выбора. Следовательно, не может быть речи о субординации ценностей, которая императивно навязывается большинством меньшинству. Эти идентичности включают в себя и те ценности, без которых представители этнических меньшинств не мыслят пелостность своей идентичности и своего «неповторимого образа жизни». Это означает не только признание обществом индивидуального права выбора меньшинствами своей идентичности. Признаётся и легитимность коллективных продуктов этого выбора, если он совершается в соответствии с принципами либеральной демократии (Volkov 2015). Однако либеральные мультикультурализм и толерантность, как основа для демократической версии взаимоотношений этнических меньшинств (их идентичностей) и этнонационального большинства, а также снижения межнациональных конфликтных ситуаций, не выдержали проверку временем в странах Западной Европы (ситуация локальных межнациональных конфликтов осенью 2015 года в связи с массовым потоком в Евросоюз вынужденных мигрантов из стран Ближнего Востока и Северной Африки). Для России такой опыт имел бы, возможно, более печальные последствия: угрозу гражданской войны и распада государства, поэтому либеральные мультикультурализм и толерантность вряд ли могут выступать адекватными инструментами консолидации полиэтнической территории страны.

Отдельные исследователи связывают доминирование примордиалистского, а не конструктивистского, подхода к этничности в России с исторически существующим в ней традиционным, малоподвижным обществом, где этнос рассматривается как объективное социальное образование групп людей на основе родства, общих интересов и целей. Происходящие трансформации этнического состава населения (скорость преобразовательных процессов, усложнение структуры этнической идентичности, активность внешней и внутренней трудовой миграции разных этнических групп, концентрация представителей диаспор в региональных центрах и столицах и другое) оказывают значительное влияние на внутреннюю и внешнюю политику страны и являются серьёзным вызовом для её будущего (Safronov 2015). При анализе территориальных сдвигов в составе этнического пространства России отдельные авторы выделяют такие основные компоненты: а) «русское мегаядро», где более 80 процентов в этническом составе населения русские, и в целом соответствующее территориальным границам «русских» областей и краев, которые в большинстве своём относятся к Нечерноземной зоне, мало привлекательной в социально-экономическом плане (с позиций доходы/ занятость); б) «национальные регионы», сильно дифференцированные по удельному весу титульных этносов (от 95.1 процентов чеченцев в Чечне, до 0.9 процента евреев в Еврейской автономной республике); в) переходные «этноконтактные зоны», структура которых после 1991 года значительно усложнилась (Safronov 2015). Другие авторы отмечают, что в современном обществе углубляются противоречия между политической, культурной и экономической идентичностью индивидов и социальных групп. Ранее периферийные формы идентичности (этнические, субкультурные) смещаются в центральное пространство отношений, что можно оценить, как шаг назад в интеллектуальном и практическом конструировании гражданской российской нации. При этом сокращается «линейка» исторически общепризнанных идентификационных (празднично-обрядовых) символов государства, что свидетельствует о продолжающемся этнокультурном идентификационном кризисе, как процессе поиска и становления новой российской идентичности (Kogat'ko, Tkhakakhov 2011). Все вышеобозначенные (и не только) мнения подтверждают сложность и многообразие этнического феномена в современной России, трудности его исследования, поэтому предмет нашего анализа ограничивается поставленной в начале статьи целью и задачами.

Методы и основные результаты исследования исследования

Исследование опирается на данные общероссийской и территориальной статистики разных лет, данные вторичных социологических исследований, сравнительный анализ, многофакторность как методологический принцип анализа социальных процессов, а также на понимание того факта, что подходить к событиям и явлениям следует материалистически и оценивать их во взаимодействии, учитывая то, что они все связаны между собой и взаимно влияют друг на друга.

Для сравнения отдельных аспектов приводятся данные общероссийской переписи 1897 года, чтобы представить картину укоренённости за более чем вековой период тех или иных этнических групп на обследуемых территориях государства. Для исследования статики и динамики национально-этнического состава населения трёх обследуемых регионов, изучаемых в рамках проекта Российского научного фонда, — Тюменского, Нижегородского и Краснодарского — за последние пять лет (2010—2014 гг.), привлечены данные территориальных органов государственной статистики, а также вторичные данные социологических исследований, которые проводились в этих регионах.

Рассмотрим текущее состояние обследуемых регионов в демографическом и миграционном аспектах. По данным статистики, в двух из трёх анализируемых регионов — Тюменском и Краснодарском — наблюдается устойчивый рост населения (0.5-1.2% в год), а в третьем — Нижегородской области — наоборот, устойчивое снижение населения (0.2-0.5% в год) (см. Таблицу 1).

Таблица 1 Численность населения в обследуемых регионах на начало года, тысяч человек

Регионы	Годы					
1 CI NORDI	2002	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Тюменский регион,	3265	3379	3405	3459	3511	3546
в т.ч.: — Тюменская область (без автономных округов)	1325	1339	1343	1362	1385	1409
Ханты-Мансийский автономный округ (ХМАО)	1433	1521	1537	1561	1584	1597
– Ямало-Ненецкий автономный округ (ЯНАО)	507	525	537	542	540	540
Краснодарский край,	5125	5230	5284	5330	5404	5429
в т.ч.: Республика Адыгея	447	440	443	445	446	448
Нижегородская область	3524	3308	3297	3290	3281	3276

Источник: Federal'naia sluzhba gosudarstvennoi statistiki 2004, 2010, 2015.

В качестве сравнения представим численность населения на этих территориях России 117 лет назад (по переписи 1897 года), отдавая себе отчет в том, что гра-

ницы территорий, следовательно, число их жителей не совпадают полностью с текущими значениями (см. Таблицу 2).

Таблица 2 Численность населения отдельных территорий России по переписи 1897 года, тысяч человек

Территории России	Число жителей
Тобольская губерния	1433
Кубанская область	1919
Нижегородская губерния	1585

Источник: Mendeleev 1906.

По национальному составу эти территории распределялись следующим образом (см. Таблицу 3).

Таблица 3 Национальный состав населения отдельных территорий России по переписи 1897 года, тысяч человек

Территории России	Распределение жителейпо природному их язык	y	в %
1	2	3	4
Тобольская губерния,	Bcero:	1432.9	100
в том числе:	великороссы	1270	89
	малороссы	37.8	3
	белорусы	4.4	0.03
	татаро-турецкие и монгольские народы	70.2	5
	финские народы и племена	35.6	2
	поляки и другие западные и южные славяне	5.7	0.07
	литовцы, латыши, жмудины	3.6	
	евреи, арабы и другие семиты	2.4	
	армяне, греки, цыгане и др. индоевропейские народы	1.7	
	немцы, англичане, голландцы и другие германские народы	1.2	
	грузины и другие кавказские народы и племена	0.2	
	французы, итальянцы, молдаване и другие романские народы	0.1	
Кубанская область,	Всего:	1916.003	100
в том числе:	великороссы	816	43
	малороссы	908.5	47
	белорусы	12.5	0.6

	Продолжение таблицы 3					
1	2	3	4			
	грузины и другие кавказские народы и племена	67.3	4			
	татаро-турецкие и монгольские народы	39.9	2			
	армяне, греки, цыгане и др. индоевропейские народы	38.0	2			
	немцы, англичане, голландцы и другие германские народы	21.0	1			
	французы, итальянцы, молдаване и другие романские народы	5.5	0.4			
-	поляки и другие западные и южные славяне	4.3				
-	евреи, арабы и другие семиты	2.0				
-	литовцы, латыши, жмудины	1.0				
	финские народы и племена	0.003				
Нижегородская губерния,	Bcero:	1585.4	100			
в том числе:	великороссы	1478	93			
-	малороссы	0.3	0.002			
-	белорусы	1.0	0.006			
	финские народы и племена	59.0	4			
	татаро-турецкие и монгольские народы	41.5	3			
	евреи, арабы и другие семиты	2.5	0.03			
	поляки и другие западные и южные славяне	1.3				
	немцы, англичане, голландцы и другие германские народы	1.0				
-	армяне, греки, цыгане и др. индоевропейские народы	0.5				
•	литовцы, латыши, жмудины	0.2				
-	французы, итальянцы, молдаване и другие романские народы	0.1				
	грузины и другие кавказские народы и племена	_				

Источник: Mendeleev 1906.

Из Таблицы 3 видно, что удельный вес русских (великороссов) в Тобольской и Нижегородской губерниях прежде был выше нынешних значений, а вот в Кубанской области малороссы (украинцы) и великороссы (русские) почти поровну составляли в удельном весе 90 процентов, при перевесе численности первых над вторыми на 93 тысячи человек.

В настоящее время классификация национальностей более сложно структурирована из-за роста национального самосознания народов России в течение всего двадцатого века, а также обретением многих из них своей государственности, административно-территориальной автономии и других нормативных статутов. Представим распределение национальностей в обследуемых регионах по данным переписей 2002 и 2010 годов (см. Таблицы 4, 5, 6).

Таблица 4 Распределение населения по национальностям в Тюменском регионе, по данным переписей населения 2002 и 2010 года

	200	2	201	0
_	человек	в %	человек	в %
1	2	3	4	5
XMAO				
Все население:	1432817	_	1532243	_
В том числе, указавшее национальность:	1419607	100.0	1430105	100.0
русские	946590	66.7	973978	68.1
татары	107637	7.6	108899	7.6
украинцы	123238	8.7	91323	6.4
башкиры	35807	2.5	35428	2.5
азербайджанцы	25088	1.8	26037	1.8
белорусы	20518	1.4	14703	1.0
ханты	17128	1.2	19068	1.3
чуваши	15261	1.1	13596	1.0
молдаване	10861	0.8	9476	0.7
манси	9894	0.7	10977	0.8
аварцы, даргинцы, кумыки, лезгины (народы Дагестана)	22000	1.5	32496	2.2
чеченцы	6943	0.5	6889	0.5
лица других национальностей	78078	5.5	87236	6.1
ЯНАО				
Все население:	507006	_	522904	_
В том числе, указавшее национальность:	499675	100.0	505387	100.0
русские	298359	59.7	312019	61.7
украинцы	66080	13.2	48985	9.7
татары	27734	5.6	28509	5.6
ненцы	26435	5.3	29772	5.9
ханты	8760	1.8	9489	1.9
азербайджанцы	8353	1.7	9291	1.8
башкиры	7932	1.6	8297	1.6
белорусы	8989	1.8	6480	1.3
КОМИ	6177	1.2	5141	1.0
молдаване	5400	1.1	4712	0.9
аварцы, даргинцы, кумыки, лезгины (народы Дагестана)	4953	1.0	8020	1.7
чеченцы	2222	0.4	2434	0.5
лица других национальностей	18988	3.8	32345	6.4

		Про	должение та	блицы 4
1	2	3	4	5
Тюменская область (включая ХМАО и ЯНАО)				
Все население:	3264841	_	3395755	_
В том числе, указавшее национальность:	3264841	100	3207952	100
русские	2336520	71.5	2352063	73.3
татары	242325	7.4	239995	7.5
украинцы	211372	6.5	157926	4.9
башкиры	46575	1.4	46405	1.4
азербайджанцы	42359	1.4	43610	1.4
ненцы	27965	0.9	31621	1.0
ханты	26694	0.8	29277	0.9
белорусы	35996	1.1	25648	0.8
немцы	27196	0.8	20723	0.6
чуваши	30205	0.9	25690	0.8
казахи	18639	0.6	19146	0.6
молдаване	17938	0.6	15806	0.5
армяне	14802	0.4	15542	0.5
манси	10561	0.3	11614	0.4
лица других национальностей	175324	5.4	173374	5.4

Источник: Federal'naia sluzhba gosudarstvennoi statistiki 2004, 2010.

Таблица 5 Распределение населения по национальностям в Нижегородской области, по данным переписей населения 2002 и 2010 года

	200	2	2010		
Нижегородская область	человек	в %	человек	в %	
Все население:	3524028	_	3310597	_	
В том числе, указавшее национальность:	3522561	100.0	3268248	100.0	
русские	3346398	95.0	3109661	95.1	
татары	50609	1.4	44103	1.4	
мордва	25022	0.7	19138	0.6	
украинцы	24241	0.7	17657	0.5	
армяне	11364	0.3	13294	0.4	
чуваши	10786	0.3	9765	0.3	
азербайджанцы	8309	0.2	8494	0.3	
марийцы	7757	0.2	6415	0.2	
лица других национальностей	8831	1.2	39721	1.2	

Источник: Federal'naia sluzhba gosudarstvennoi statistiki 2004, 2010.

Таблица 6 Распределение населения по национальностям в Краснодарском крае, в т.ч. Республике Адыгея, по данным переписей населения 2002 и 2010 года

	200)2	201	0
	человек	в %	человек	в %
Краснодарский край				
Все население:	5125221	_	5226647	_
В том числе, указавшее национальность:	5112031	100.0	5124990	100.0
русские	4436272	86.8	4522962	88.3
армяне	274566	5.4	281680	5.5
украинцы	131774	2.4	83746	1.6
греки	26540	0.5	22595	0.4
татары	25589	0.5	24840	0.5
белорусы	26260	0.5	16890	0.3
грузины	20500	0.5	17826	0.3
адыгейцы	15821	0.3	13834	0.3
азербайджанцы	11944	0.2	10165	0.2
немцы	18469	0.4	12171	0.2
цыгане	10873	0.2	12920	0.3
турки	13496	0.2	8527	0.2
курды	4446	0.1	5899	0.1
молдаване	6537	0.1	5170	0.1
шапсуги	3213	0.1	3839	0.1
лица других национальностей	82803	1.6	81768	1.6
Республика Адыгея				
Все население:	447109	_	439996	_
В том числе, указавшее национальность:	445306	100.0	425386	100.0
русские	288280	64.7	270714	63.6
адыгейцы	108115	24.3	107048	25.2
армяне	15268	3.4	15561	3.7
украинцы	9091	2.0	5856	1.4
курды	3631	0.8	4528	1.1
черкесы	642	0.0	2651	0.6
татары	2904	0.6	2571	0.6
цыгане	1844	0.4	2364	0.5
лица других национальностей	16960	3.8	14610	3.3

Источник: Federal'naia sluzhba gosudarstvennoi statistiki 2004, 2010.

Численность населения, её рост был и остаётся для России одним из важных факторов развития страны, наряду с «приживаемостью» её полиэтнического населения. России не хватало раньше и не хватает сейчас населения для освоения своей обширной территории (по геоэкономическим и геополитическим условиям развития страна нуждается в 300—400 млн. и более населения): по переписи

1897 года численность населения всей Российской империи составляла 128.2 млн. чел., в том числе в границах современной России — 77.5 млн. чел., а в настоящее время — 143.3 млн. чел. (Mendeleev 1906; Iontsev 2014). Можно согласиться с мнением, что выход из трудного демографического положения в России и её дальнейшее развитие в этом аспекте возможны лишь при комплексном подходе: стимулировании роста рождаемости, уменьшении смертности, привлечении мигрантов, рассмотрении человеческой жизни как главной ценности государства, и в соответствии с этим разрабатывать меры демографической политики в целом и, в частности, миграционной политики (Iontsev 2014).

В результатах переписей 2002 и 2010 годов проявилась тенденция множественной или не вполне определённой этнической идентичности, что можно объяснить нарастающей миграционной динамикой, при которой развитие новых диаспор и землячеств характеризуется следующими признаками. Во-первых, многие этносоциальные движения преследуют не интеграционные, а разделительные цели: распад в 1991 году единой страны привёл к распаду ранее единых диаспоральных и земляческих объединений. Например, некогда единая греческая диаспора разделяется на отдельные диаспоры в республиках бывшего Советского Союза (Poloskova 1999). Появились различные общины: татар («татар», «сибирских татар», «казанских татар», «кряшенов»), коми («коми», «коми-ижерцев», «комипермяков») и другие. Во-вторых, множественность этнической идентификации выступает формой гибкой адаптации этнокультурных групп (диаспор, землячеств) к современным условиям проживания на определённой территории. В-третьих, неопределенность этнической идентичности (например, «казаки») также выступает формой гибкой адаптации общин к условиям социокультурной, социальноэкономической неопределённости. Кроме того, этой тенденции присуща быстрая смена этнической идентичности в условиях геополитической нестабильности и, наоборот, мобилизация в случае возникновения конфликтных ситуаций. Интерпретация таких тенденций нуждается в новых теоретических концепциях, объясняющих функции этничности, современные способы её мобилизации и культивирования (Safronov 2015). Однако можно констатировать, что минимум неопределившихся со своей этнической идентификацией есть в тех регионах страны, где сильны позиции традиционной культуры, где этническая идентичность политическое средство мобилизации населения в отстаивании своих социальноэкономических интересов и сохранения культурной самобытности. Для этого используется целенаправленная политика внутренней и внешней миграции, как средство привлечения титульных народов в свои регионы, в том числе из-за пределов России. В этом аспекте можно выделить три группы национальных субъектов в составе России по особенностям преобразования этнической структуры населения за последние десятилетия (Safronov 2015). Первая группа — республики Северного Кавказа, Калмыкия, Тува, где идёт быстрое уменьшение доли русскоязычного населения, его «выдавливание», что усиливает сохранение традиционных для титульного этноса практик и институтов жизнедеятельности. Вторая группа — республики и автономные округа севера европейской части, Урала, Поволжья, где естественная убыль коренного (титульного) населения сочетается с ассимиляционными процессами, способствующими незначительному росту доли

в населении (до того уже значительной) славянских этносов: русских, украинцев, белорусов. Особняком в этой группе представлена динамика двух республик — Татарстана и Башкортостана, где проживают сопоставимые по доле три этноса: татары (24.8%), башкиры (28.8%), русские (35.2%). Последние тенденции изменений в этнической структуре населения этих республик исследователи связывают с влиянием административного фактора при проведении последних переписей. Третья группа — республики и регионы азиатской части страны (Алтай, Бурятия и другие), где происходит заметный и устойчивый отток русскоязычного населения из-за экономических причин: снижения доходов и занятости. Для этих регионов характерно сочетание разных типов этнической идентичности, в том числе множественной (Streletskii 2011).

Текущая динамика миграционных процессов в стране также обусловлена в основном экономическими причинами, хотя нельзя сбрасывать со счетов и другие причины (военные, политические, этнические). Трудовая миграция, относящаяся к типу экономической миграции, стала важным амортизатором социального недовольства экономически активного населения страны и её регионов. При этом, чем выше различия в уровнях экономического развития регионов, тем более однонаправленным является характер миграционного обмена между ними, принимающий вид отношений: «регионы - миграционные доноры» и «регионы миграционные реципиенты» (Romashkina, Davydenko 2014). Например, Тюменский регион по темпам роста промышленного производства входит в число наиболее успешных в стране: в 2014 году индекс физического объема промышленного производства в целом по России составил 101.7 процента, а в Тюменском регионе — 112.9 процента (Davydenko 2015). При этом рост демонстрируют не только сектор добычи углеводородов, но и инфраструктурные производства: строительство, производство стройматериалов, машиностроение, металлургия, пищевая промышленность. Это способствует перемещению рабочей силы из одних отраслей региона в другие и её притоку из других регионов. В немалой степени этому способствует модель развития, в которой государство является основным источником роста, определяя приоритеты развития и концентрируя на них ресурсы. Аналогичная картина наблюдается и в Краснодарском крае, включая Адыгею (Belokopytov 2013). Поэтому два автономных округа Тюменского региона — ХМАО и ЯНАО – являются специфическими трудодефицитными территориямиреципиентами межрегиональной миграции федерального уровня, привлекающими население других регионов России, включая северокавказские республики, а также стран бывшего Советского Союза, особенно Средней Азии. Вместе с тем, не только привлекающими, но и в равных объемах теряющими «уже отработавшее и заработавшее на жизнь население», уезжающее в более благоприятные западные и южные регионы страны. Краснодарский край с находящейся внутри его территории Республикой Адыгея также является федеральным межрегиональным миграционным реципиентом. Тюменская же область без указанных автономных округов (Юг области) и Нижегородская область являются локальными межрегиональными миграционными реципиентами, привлекающими и теряющими население прилегающих к ней территорий своими достаточно высокими показателями

соотношения доходов с прожиточным минимумом и низкого уровня безработицы. Другие регионы страны, особенно северо-западные (кроме Ленинградской области и Санкт-Петербурга), Сибири и Дальнего Востока, а также депрессивные территории европейской части страны, Предуралья, Северного Кавказа (для населения которых характерны низкие доходы и высокий уровень безработицы), являются в отношении этих регионов миграционными донорами (Rybakovskii 2014).

Кроме внутрирегиональных и межрегиональных миграционных потоков, Тюменский регион имеет и активные внешние миграционные потоки. Например, в Тюменский регион в 2010—2014 годах внешние трудовые мигранты приезжали, в основном, из Средней Азии (Казахстана, Киргизии, Таджикистана и Узбекистана) — от более 2 тысяч человек (2010 год) до более 6 тысяч человек (2014 год) ежегодно. С Украины поток добровольных мигрантов в 2010—2013 годах был небольшой (300—400 человек в год), но в 2014 году он резко возрос в три раза (1282 человека), что можно объяснить вынужденной миграцией людей из-за начавшейся гражданской войны на Украине (Federal'naia sluzhba gosudarstvennoi statistiki 2015). Что касается других стран, то заметное количество внешних легальных трудовых мигрантов в Тюменский регион прибыло в 2014 году из Китая (285 человек) и из Сербии (350 человек), но обратно в Сербию выехало в том же году 441 человек, что можно объяснить сезонной внешней трудовой миграцией.

Несмотря на то, что руководством XMAO и ЯНAO предприни-мается всё возможное для повышения приживаемости трудовых мигрантов: улучшается инфраструктура, растёт уровень жизни, проводится действенная политика в области роста рождаемости и снижения смертности (ожидаемая продолжительность жизни в двух округах выше на 2-3 года средней по стране), — отток прора-ботавших и не прижившихся не снижается, как это следует из данных Таблиц 7 и 8.

В качестве одного из регионов-реципиентов для Тюменской области выделяется Краснодарский край, в который за 5 последних лет из северных округов выехало более 17 тысяч человек из Ханты-Мансийского автономного округа и более 7 тысяч человек из Ямало-Ненецкого автономного округа (см. Таблицу 7).

Таблица 7 Структура миграционных потоков из Тюменского региона по регионам исхода в РФ за 2010—2014 годы, количество человек

_	Ханты-Мансийский автономный округ (ХМАО)		Ямало-Ненецкий автономный округ (ЯНАО)		Тюменская область (без автономных округов)	
	Прибыло	Убыло	Прибыло	Убыло	Прибыло	Убыло
Краснодарский край	7480	17266	5206	7127	1815	3640
Республика Адыгея	532	912	459	584	86	111
Нижегородская область	дская область 1351 2226		813	1407	621	575

Источник: Territorial'nyi organ Federal'noi sluzhby gosudarstvennoi statistiki po Tiumenskoi oblasti 2015.

Краснодарский край фактически стал не только значимой российской территорией, благоприят-ной для проживания населения, но и в социально-экономическом плане территорией активного развития сельского хозяйства и обрабатывающей промышленности. Работники Тюменского региона везут свои доходы и пенсии в Краснодарский край, обеспечивая там платежеспособный спрос, способствуя в определенной мере развитию его региональной экономики. Надо отметить, что пространственное мозаичное развитие капитализма в России демонстрирует значительные темпы в крупнейших городах страны, где концентрируются рабочая сила («производители») и население («потребители»). Такие условия способствуют привлечению дополнительной трудовой миграции в мегаполисы, но формируют демографическую деградацию периферийных, по отношению к мегаполисам, территорий страны.

В качестве принимающего региона лидирует ХМАО, в который за последние 5 лет прибыло 368.5 тыс. человек, что составило 23 процента населения 2014 года, а уехали из региона 22.5 процента населения. В ЯНАО приехали из других регионов и стран зарубежья с 2010 по 2014 год 180 тыс. человек, что составило 33 процента населения 2014 года, а уехали в другие регионы 36 процентов населения. На юг Тюменской области (без автономных округов) за последние 5 лет прибыло 276 тыс. человек, что составило 19.6 процентов населения 2014 года, а уехали из региона 15 процентов населения. Наиболее полная и более рельефная картина динамики миграционных потоков Тюменской области по регионам исхода в РФ за 2010—2014 годы представлена в Таблице 8.

Таблица 8 Динамика миграционных потоков в Тюменской области по регионам исхода в РФ, 2010—2014 годы, количество человек

			Годы		
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
2	3	4	5	6	7
XMAO. Население	1521222	1537134	1561238	1584000	1597000
Прибыло	45333	75506	87799	80824	79100
Выбыло	41588	66727	82800	85302	82447
Краснодарского края	734	1215	1849	1678	2004
Республики Адыгея	64	95	148	111	117
Нижегородской области	128	249	297	310	367
Краснодарский край	1853	3678	3735	4019	3981
Республику Адыгею	115	172	232	192	200
Нижегородскуюобласть	259	454	547	489	477
ЯНАО. Население	524141	524925	536558	542000	540000
Прибыло	12921	35839	44217	44191	43252
Выбыло	17874	29590	45344	52315	49320
Краснодарского края	446	954	1272	1259	1275
Республики Адыгеи	58	85	107	105	104
	ХМАО. Население Прибыло Выбыло Краснодарского края Республики Адыгея Нижегородской области Краснодарский край Республику Адыгею Нижегородскуюобласть ЯНАО. Население Прибыло Выбыло Краснодарского края	23ХМАО. Население1521222Прибыло45333Выбыло41588Краснодарского края734Республики Адыгея64Нижегородской области128Краснодарский край1853Республику Адыгею115Нижегородскуюобласть259ЯНАО. Население524141Прибыло12921Выбыло17874Краснодарского края446	234ХМАО. Население15212221537134Прибыло4533375506Выбыло4158866727Краснодарского края7341215Республики Адыгея6495Нижегородской области128249Краснодарский край18533678Республику Адыгею115172Нижегородскуюобласть259454ЯНАО. Население524141524925Прибыло1292135839Выбыло1787429590Краснодарского края446954	2010201120122345ХМАО. Население152122215371341561238Прибыло453337550687799Выбыло415886672782800Краснодарского края73412151849Республики Адыгея6495148Нижегородской области128249297Краснодарский край185336783735Республику Адыгею115172232Нижегородскуюобласть259454547ЯНАО. Население524141524925536558Прибыло129213583944217Выбыло178742959045344Краснодарского края4469541272	201020112012201323456ХМАО. Население1521222153713415612381584000Прибыло45333755068779980824Выбыло41588667278280085302Краснодарского края734121518491678Республики Адыгея6495148111Нижегородской области128249297310Краснодарский край1853367837354019Республику Адыгею115172232192Нижегородскуюобласть259454547489ЯНАО. Население524141524925536558542000Прибыло12921358394421744191Выбыло17874295904534452315Краснодарского края44695412721259

		Продолжение таблицы 8				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Нижегородской области	54	143	195	224	197
Убыло в	Краснодарский край	1019	1880	2103	2387	2125
	Республику Адыгею	55	126	118	148	137
	Нижегородскую область	137	280	340	330	320
Динамика	Тюменская область (без автономных округов). Население	1333432	1343206	1361642	1385000	1409000
миграции	Прибыло	27148	49014	64962	71610	63580
	Выбыло	19409	35778	48170	54336	51463
Прибыло из	Краснодарского края	149	254	458	415	539
	Республики Адыгеи	13	26	16	12	19
	Нижегородской области	40	77	157	214	133
Убыло в	Краснодарский край	275	945	747	886	787
	Республику Адыгею	16	26	24	23	22
	Нижегородскую область	72	171	116	115	101

Источник: Federal'naia sluzhba gosudarstvennoi statistiki 2015.

Ханты-Мансийский автономный округ (ХМАО) и Ямало-Ненецкий автономный округ (ЯНАО) — это два субрегиона Тюменского региона, доминирующие в числе основных миграционных реципиентов страны, которые притягивают народонаселение заработком «длинных денег» и карьерными возможностями для молодых специалистов, выступая адекватным индикатором социально-экономического благополучия для других регионов России (в аспектах уровня заработной платы и социально-экономических условий жизни).

Выволы

Результативность демографической политики в истории России достаточно позитивно может восприниматься лишь относительно советского периода, когда страна имела один из самых низких в мире показателей общей смертности населения, показатель общей рождаемости был на уровне расширенного воспроизводства населения, средняя продолжительность жизни достигла 69 лет для обоих полов. В настоящее время эти показатели снизились, кроме последнего. Поэтому при принятии стратегических социально-экономических, политико-правовых проектов и программ развития страны необходимо учитывать их демографический аспект.

Трудовую межрегиональную миграционную ситуацию в стране за последние 10—14 лет можно охарактеризовать как нестабильную внешнюю и слабо управляемую государством внутреннюю. Последнее связано с тем, что основные миграционные реципиенты расположены в европейской части России, а в азиатской части — лишь Тюменский регион. В результате складываются две негативные тенденции: отток населения с окраин и периферии огромных территорий страны и,

наоборот, концентрация населения в главных мегаполисах и прилегающих территориях. При реализации мобилизационной экономики в условиях растущего внешнего давления на страну эти тенденции могут обернуться большой государственной проблемой в оптимизации размещения производства и производительных сил на всей территории страны.

Усиление рыночных отношений в России ведёт к росту социальной напряжённости, к разобщенности территорий и населения, к подрыву консолидирующей роли в стране русского народа, к ослаблению его социальной активности. Основные причины этого — в негативных тенденциях в рождаемости, семейнобрачных отношениях, доходах, динамике квалифицированных рабочих мест, которые порождаются, в немалой степени, существующей демографической, миграционной, семейной, экономической политикой государства.

Примечание

(1) Коды российской цивилизации включают в себя: особую роль государства и православия в консолидации ресурсов, территории, социокультурный и религиозный плюрализм как проявление уживчивости и терпимости народа, коллективизм в хозяйственной сфере в разных формах его организации, острое чувство социальной справедливости и равенства в отношениях между людьми.

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TIESĪBZINĀTNE

Vladas Tumalavičius

SECURITY OF SOCIETY IN LITHUANIA: CONCEPT AND SCIENTIFIC FUNDAMENTALS IN ITS ENSURING

The article presents the current issues and latest trends of public security concept and general outlines of ensuring thereof in Lithuania. Public security is analysed as a general scientific and legal category. Analysis is commenced from the discussion of the general security concept, highlighting the nature of security as a phenomenon and types thereof. Thereafter the interaction of international and national security is analysed, underlining that national security is an integral part of international security. Further analysis is given of the categories of security of state and society; their possible decoupling is presented and interaction revealed. Hereafter, an analysis of the public security sector as a part of national security is provided by highlighting how the categories of public and national security are interacting. Also covers the role of administrative law in ensuring public security, revealing the legal and institutional mechanisms used for ensuring public security in Lithuania, and discussing the main tendencies of legal regulation and the institutional setting of public governance. The author applied general scientific methods of studying objective reality, peculiar to legal sciences: systematic document analysis, meta-analysis, structural-functional analysis, teleological, comparative, critical approach, generalisation and prediction. As a result author noted, that inefficient ensuring of internal security determines the enhancement of threats to national security, and transnational threats jeopardise national security safeguarding. Moreover, the integrity of international and national security categories is also predetermined by the development of globalisation processes and information technologies.

Key words: security of society, Lithuania, globalisation, administrative-legal regulation, ensuring.

Sabiedrības drošība Lietuvā: koncepcija un zinātniskie pamati tās nodrošināšanā

Dotajā rakstā ir apskatīti sabiedriskās drošības aktuālie jautājumi un jaunākas tendences, kā arī tas nodrošināšanas kopējie pamati Lietuvā. Sabiedriskā drošība tiek analizēta kā vispārzinātniskā un tiesiskā kategorija. No sākuma tika veikta kopējas drošības koncepcijas, tas īpašību un veidu analīze. Tālāk tiek analizētā starptautiskās un nacionālās drošības mijiedarbība, apskatot nacionālu drošību kā starptautiskās drošības neatņemamu daļu. Tiek veikta valsts un sabiedrības drošības kategoriju analīze, to sadale un mijiedarbība. Sabiedriskās drošības sektors tiek interpretēts kā nacionālās drošības daļa caur sabiedriskās un nacionālās drošības mijiedarbības prizmu. Novērtēta administratīvu tiesību loma sabiedriskās drošības nodrošināšanā, kā arī izmantojamu tiesību un organizējošo mehānismu sabiedriskās drošības nodrošināšanai Lietuvā, tiek diskutētas tiesību regulēšanas un institucionālās sistēmas tendences sabiedriskajā pārvaldībā. Autors izmantoja objektīvas realitātes izpētes vispārzinātniskās metodes, kuras aktuālās juridiskajam zinātnēm: zinātniskās literatūras un normatīvo dokumentu sistemātiskā analīze, metaanalīze, strukturāli – funkcionālā analīze, teleoloģiskā, salīdzinošā, kritiskā metodes, vispārināšana un prognozēšana. Rezultātā autors secināja, ka neefektīva iekšējas drošības

nodrošināšana sekmē draudu rašanas nacionālai drošībai, bet starptautiskie draudi pakļauj riskiem nacionālu drošību. Pie tam starptautiskās un nacionālās drošības kategoriju integritāti ietekmē globalizācijas procesu un informācijas tehnoloģiju attīstība.

Atslēgas vārdi: sabiedrības drošība, Lietuva, globalizācija, administratīvi-tiesiskā regulēšana, nodrošināšana.

Безопасность общества в Литве: концепция и научные основы его обеспечения

В данной статье представлены актуальные вопросы и последние тенденции в концепции безопасности общества, а также основы ее обеспечения в Литве. Безопасность общества анализируется как общенаучная и правовая категория. Анализ начинается с обшей концепции безопасности, ее свойств и типов. Далее анализируется взаимодействие международной и национальной безопасности, рассматривая национальную безопасность как неотъемлемую часть международной. Проводится анализ категорий безопасности государства и общества, их сепарации и взаимодействия. Сектор безопасности общества интерпретируется как часть национальной безопасности через призму их взаимодействия. Оценивается роль административного права в обеспечении безопасности общества и используемых правовых и организационных механизмов – в обеспечении безопасности общества в Литве, обсуждаются основные тенденции правового регулирования и институциональной среды в общественном управлении. Автор использовал общенаучные методы изучения объективной реальности, а также методы, характерные для юридических наук: системный анализ научной литературы и нормативных документов, метаанализ, структурно-функциональный анализ, телеологический, сравнительный, критический методы, обобщение и прогнозирование. В результате автор отметил, что неэффективное обеспечение внутренней безопасности способствует возникновению угроз национальной безопасности, и международные угрозы подвергают риску национальную безопасность. Кроме того, целостность категорий международной и национальной безопасности также предопределена развитием процессов глобализации и информационных технологий.

Ключевые слова: безопасность общества, Литва, глобализация, административно-правовое регулирование, обеспечение.

Introduction

A safe environment is the only suitable medium where implementation and development of human rights and freedoms is possible. The sense of security determines the behaviour of the individuals and their quality of life, the social and political stability of the country, and the confidence of residents in the legal and institutional mechanisms functioning here. Security is not only a multiple but also a conditional category. *Firstly*, being safe or unsafe may be applicable to the individual, the state and the region. *Secondly*, the concept of security as such is vague; it may be differentiated not only according to the object, but also by separate fields – from political security to road safety. The state governance becoming still more complicated and the social structure of the state undergoing changes, the concept of security is also subject to change. In the ancient states the concept of security has been already differentiated into two main trends – internal and external (or public and military security), perc.

For instance, one of the first permanent police organisations, already formed in ancient Egypt under Pharaoh Ramses III (12th c. B.C.), carried out functions related to the protection of authorities and maintenance of order, guarding of public buildings,

patrolling, detection of law offenders, etc. (Usaciovas 2010). The comparatively developed system for ensuring country's governance, population control and public order was established in ancient India – a special police organisation was formed for that purpose and it was composed of police officers and employees-soldiers under the subordination of *mantrin* (the head of the government), who was at the head of the state administration apparatus (Usaciovas 2010). The police force in ancient Greece, consisting of slaves, patrolled in the streets, was tasked to ensure the abidance by laws and morals, and was responsible for maintaining public order in the cities (Usaciovas 2010). One of the most organised and centralised police duties are known to exist in the Roman Empire, where police functions were undertaken by the squads of legionnaires. After the reformation of the administrative apparatus by Emperor Augustus Octavian in the 1st c. B.C., a city police organisation was established in Rome. The positions of a city prefect, Praetorian prefect and a commander of the urban guard were also instituted in Rome. They were tasked with maintaining of public order and the safety of urbanites. Special police duties were vested with the corps of Praetorians and city guards and night guard squads, formed of the residents (Usaciovas 2010). Thus, in the ancient states, maintenance of public security has already been decoupled from the military security of the country.

This evidences that security inside the state is one of the most fundamental needs of the population, and ensuring of such security is a primary function of the state, this being perceived and distinguished already in the ancient times. The delimitation of military security and public security witnesses the progress of the state as an organisation as well as the fact that contrary to the ancient European states the feudal states of the Medieval epoch did not possess the special police bodies, ensuring the safety of inhabitants – these functions most often were performed by the army squads, as well as functionaries and vicegerents of the monarchy and feudal courts (Usaciovas 2010). Thus, the spheres of military and public security have not been separated. However, this does not deny but just does confirm that the need for public security existed and its ensuring was also one of the feudal state functions. Meanwhile, special state institutions, the main task of which was safeguarding of internal security of the state and ensuring the society's protection, separated from ensuring political and military security, started to be formed in Europe only approximately from the 16th century (Usaciovas 2010).

Hence, a conclusion may be drawn from the above said that higher attention for ensuring internal security also demonstrates that legal and institutional mechanisms, functioning in the state, are becoming more complicated and improved – the state while creating and expanding these mechanisms enforces its own statehood and stabilises the processes taking place in the society.

According to A. Runcis (1999), security safeguarding in the small states has been a complex problem from the oldest times. External and internal security safeguarding of the state within the present-day territory of the state of Lithuania is to be linked with the beginning of statehood, e.g., even though in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (further the GDL) customs entailing customary law prevailed until the end of the 14th c., the head of the state had to organise institutions, intended, primarily, for the state protection against intrusion from outside, and, secondly, for ensuring the rule of

the duke inside the emerging state (Andriulis et al. 2002). Security of the state in those times was identified mainly with military security, to ensure which was the duty of the nobles landlords as being associated with the Roman law traditions (Vaicaitis 2013).

The obligation of the lesser nobles (boyars) to perform military service was treated in the First Statute of Lithuania as the sign of nobility (Machovenko 2001). The essence of this obligation was that land was granted to a noble for helping to ensure the security of the state. Later, upon recognition of the feudal lords as the estate owners, the personal military duty of the feudal lord gradually fell into decay as its performance was conveyed to the paid soldiers (Vaisvila 1998). Thus, safeguarding of public security in the GDL did not differ in fact from that in other European states where this function mainly was not dissociated from military security. From the 15th c. as the local feudal lords – masters and lesser nobles (boyars) – acquired the still stronger influence, they performed the administrative functions in separate territories, also including ensuring the security of lands belonging to them. For separate larger areas the duke appointed a vicegerent (voivode governor) and in separate small rural districts (*valsčius*) – elders and chamberlains who with their assistants (castellans, stewards, centurions, forest stewards) – effected the supervision of the domains assigned to them (Usaciovas 2010).

Thus, already in this period, with the social, political and economic relations getting still more complicated inside and outside the state, ensuring public security was perceived as the state function which was mainly carried out in a decentralised way – through the officials authorised by the central authority, operating in part independently in separate administered territories. Even though three Statutes of Lithuania were adopted in the 16th c. where *inter alia* codified items, pertaining to ensuring security inside the state, were contained, it should be noted that the public security problem of the period was not very effective since due to a great influence of the nobles and the weak central authority the state administrative and police apparatus was weak.

Presumably, destabilisation inside the state was one of the main factors, determining the fall of the state, which, when coupled with the external factors, resulted in the Third Partition of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations, after which the GDL territory was found within the composition of the Russian Empire. At that time, by the example of Tsarist Russia, the urban police were established in the GDL cities.

This was the main difference in ensuring public security in the territory of Lithuania and Poland, which preserved its local police, appointed by the local Polish authorities. It also differed from Latvia and Estonia where the local police even up to the 19th century were under the subordination of the German nobles and operated in accordance with the Magdeburg rights (Usaciovas 2010).

After the re-establishment of the independence of Lithuania in 1918, a new policy on ensuring public security was started to be pursued, and the Ministry of the Interior was established and was made responsible for its implementation. It is notable that the development of ensuring security in Lithuania reflects mainly the development of the state (statehood).

In the contemporary state of Lithuania, security of the individual and society is deemed to be "the necessary condition for implementing the principal goal of the state policy – to guarantee human rights and freedoms" (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania. 2015). Meanwhile, the institute of human rights and freedoms in line with the ideas of an open society and of the state under rule of law are concurrent with the good governance, which according to some authors is the main aspiration of the modern Lithuanian society and the state in the 21st century (Kalasnykas, Deviatnikovaite 2007).

It is notable that one of the criteria, outlining the situation of public security, is the subjective perception of the sense of security by the population, and the latter has been improving in Lithuania in the past years: according to the data of the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania (further MI), in 2013, 72 perc. of the population felt safe in their residential localities, whereas in 2005 this indicator accounted for only 47 perc. However, it should be noted that this indicator is still lower than the average in the European Union (EU), which in 2011, according to the Eurobarometer survey data, made 89% of the residents feeling safe (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 2015). These statistical data just show that the problem of security (its ensuring), *firstly*, remains an ongoing problem; *secondly*, it means that the structure responsible for security inside the state is *subject to improvement*.

It is also notable that statistics on Lithuanian criminality, traumatism, deaths due to external causes and fires demonstrate that "our national community faces a sufficiently acute problem of the population safety" (Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybė 2011). According to 2011 research data, the Lithuanian residents mainly indicated criminality as the most important public security problem – violent crimes taking the first place as to importance, being followed by corruption, juvenile delinquency, and property crimes. Traffic safety was referred to as third by importance (Vileikiene 2012).

In summary, it may be said that the greater the importance of the institute of human rights and freedoms in the society and the state and of the related ideas thereof, the higher the requirements set for security in the society, and, in parallel, the enhanced requirements for the legal and institutional mechanisms for ensuring security, functioning in the state. Whereas, as already mentioned, these mechanisms are subject to improvement, a question arises of how to identify the priority trends of such modernisation and to find the proper methods thereof. An answer to this question is hardly possible without the exhaustive theoretical analysis and discussion of the urgent general theoretical issues and analysis of the conceptual framework elements of security as a general scientific and legal category.

Therefore, below are given the answers to the following questions: *firstly*, what the concept of security and the content elements are, how national and transnational security, individual and state security are interacting; *secondly*, if the public security sector is part of national security, how this part interacts with the totality; *thirdly*, what role the administrative law plays in ensuring public security; *fourthly*, the main point of the administrative-legal mechanism in Lithuania, designed to ensure public security.

Public security as the general scientific and legal totality

As already mentioned, ensuring public security is the state function. This definition determines public security as a category, which in essence is characteristic of social sciences. It is necessary to underline that the interdisciplinarity of the definition of public security – in so far the state governance and the state functions are the subject not only of law but also of other social sciences, in particular of political science and public governance, public security and ensuring it as one of the fundamental state functions is interdisciplinary.

Ensuring public security and its effectiveness presuppose quite a few issues, attributed to the area of law and public governance sciences, and the proper answer thereof determines the functionality of the state as a structure. This is also approved by other authors stating that "ensuring of society's security under the conditions of market economy and competition is becoming one of the most important tasks of the state" (Kalesnykas, Meckauskas 2002) the solution of which is assigned to both the central public administration institutions, responsible for the formation of the strategy for implementing the state security policy and organisation of its implementation, and the municipal institutions and non-governmental entities which also take part in ensuring security of society.

Hence, in the legal terms, ensuring public security is composed of the stages of lawmaking and application (implementation) of law. At the lawmaking stage, the fundamentals of ensuring public security are enacted – in the absence of the pertinent legal basis that may be called as if the "backbone" of ensuring public security its proper ensuring at a practical level is impossible. It is notable here that, moreover, the lawmaking process is "a complex and multistage process, from the formulation of the legal concept, legal idea to the adoption and promulgation of the legal act" (Baublys 2010). A. Vaisvila (2004) in general defines lawmaking as the "production of the legal regulation tools" when "striving of social interest to become social order starts from the reformulation of that interest into legal ideas – a certain project of the preferred behaviour", which makes a real impact when it is transformed into legal norms.

The lawmaking procedure covers the stages of preparation, consideration and adoption of draft legal acts, their quality being one of the factors determining the effectiveness of ensuring public security. Lawmaking quality is determined by both the application of lawmaking principles – legality, publicity and other principles of law recognised in a democratic state – and the lawmaking judicial technique, i.e. the form of legal acts created and content of values. The inappropriate content of values and imperfect expression of the legal norm may become an obstacle at a level of laws to enforce the effective provisions of policy of ensuring public security.

Another problem arising already at a level of lawmaking is the compatibility of the effectiveness of ensuring public security and of the institute of human rights and freedoms.

On the one hand, the effectiveness of ensuring public security is the fundamental condition for the enforcement of the institute of human rights and freedoms in the

state. Only in the secure society such human rights, like the right to life, health, as well as many rights of later generation, may be properly ensured and protected.

On the other hand, the presumptions may also appear for illegal restriction and infringement of human rights and freedoms in the process of ensuring public security. Therefore, in the lawmaking process it is also important to enforce the principle of proportionality of measures for ensuring public security, to develop the necessary mechanisms for protection of human rights and freedoms.

The later effectiveness of ensuring public security is determined by the proper application of law – how the public administration entities implement their duties and powers delegated to them by the contemporary state. In this process, of special relevance is the balance between public and private interests.

It is notable that this is a task of administrative law which "regulates not only public administration organisation, but also the implementation of administrative powers and control of their use" (Europos taryba 2004). Thus, the quality of implementation (application) of law is partly predetermined by the lawmaking quality.

On the other side, aiming to properly implement law, to enhance the quality of public administration, various organizational factors as well as personal skills and competencies of officers involved in the application of law play an important role. Thus, public security as a category of law is ensured more or less effectively through the lawmaking and law application processes. Ensuring public security in the law application process is determined not only by legal but also by complementary factors which are the subject of other social sciences, and especially of public administration science.

From this standpoint, attention should be drawn to the dichotomy of law as a static and dynamic phenomenon (Barak 2002) – both these aspects of law are important for ensuring public security – enforcement of the proper elements of a public security policy at the lawmaking stage and successful transformation of static law into dynamic law.

Of importance is to emphasise that "ensuring security of society is a comprehensive sphere of social life, the effectiveness of governance thereof is determined by the capacity of the state to apply the state-of-the-art societal impact instruments" (Kalesnykas, Meckauskas 2002). As elaborated by R. Kalasnykas and I. Deviatnikovaite (2007), "public security is social, legal, organisational, economic and technological factors in seeking to protect citizens and the state and to ensure private and property security".

Presumably, such definition is not absolutely precise since the above-mentioned factors are not used for ensuring public security, but just have an effect on its condition. On the other hand, a policy of ensuring public security consists of legal, social, organisational, economic and technological *measures* or *instruments*. As already mentioned, the proper capacity of the state to apply them determines the effectiveness of a public security policy.

This presupposes that it is hardly expedient or even possible to present a final list of sciences, the subject of which is public security, with account taken of the comprehensiveness of the factors predetermining public security. However, the most important role in the formation and implementation of a public security policy belongs to the

sciences of law, public administration, political science, sociology, and criminology (also of victimology, as a relatively separate discipline).

In terms of the science of *law*, the lawmaking process, enforcing the basics of a public security policy, and the law application process are relevant for ensuring public security.

Public administration science is important for ensuring public security in organisational aspects and determines the proper organisation and coordination of public administration institutions.

Political science is relevant for ensuring public security, since public security is part of national security. For that reason the political science is significant for ensuring public security as a science outlining the strategic trends of national security policy, identifying external and internal threats to the state security and foreseeing the opportunities for their elimination.

The science of sociology is important for ensuring security as social factors have an effect on the condition of public security. Sociology, integrating the methods for solving social problems, is urgent for ensuring public security as being of help in tackling social problems that exist as a hindrance to such ensuring.

Criminology and victimology per se are interdisciplinary sciences; therefore, their importance in ensuring public security is also miscellaneous. Crime control and prevention is one of the priority and simultaneously one of the most problematic trends in the policy of ensuring public security. Criminology science is designed to disclose the complex causes of criminality; therefore, this science helps to tackle crime prevention and control problems and thus to make ensuring public security more effective.

Victimology science studies crime victims; therefore, it is possible on the basis of this science to solve the victimisation problems and to determine how this negative phenomenon can be effectively reduced, thus ensuring public security as well.

In order to properly control a phenomenon or process, it is necessary to know it, to reveal in a proper way its conceptual framework. It is evident that one of the main hindrances in creating the effective and purposeful ensuring public security in Lithuania is indefiniteness of the concept of public security itself. In the scholarly literature no uniform opinion exists as regards the concept of public security and the definition of its main trends. Therefore, it is necessary to correctly comprehend and decouple the categories of *international–national* security and security of *the individual–the state*.

The concept of security

Problem of security definition. In the broadest sense, security is understood as one of the fundamental human needs (Pitrenaite et al. 2011). Security definitions are numerous and varied. According to A. Wolfers, security in the objective terms means the absence of threats against values to be protected, and in the subjective meaning, the absence of fear for emergence of such threats (Runcis 1999). V. Slapkauskas (2005) states that security means "the condition of protection and self-protection against dangers and confidence in one's knowledge". According to the author, such

concept covers both objective security and subjective security as well as confidence in security (Slapkauskas 2005):

- Objective security means the real situation of security;
- Subjective security means a sense of security of the residents.

The subjective sense of security of the residents is one of the key indicators of the status of security, even though not always precisely reflecting the real situation of security. A sense of security of the residents outlines how the residents perceive a risk to suffer from the violations of law or other threats. It is also important that a sense of security affects not only the quality of life of the individuals but also encourages the sustainable development of the local communities and regions, economic growth and effectiveness of services and decreases social exclusion (Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybė 2011). However, when evaluating the real condition of security, it is impossible to rely solely on the subjective sense of security of the residents. It is necessary to refer to the objective data, demonstrating the real situation of security.

Meanwhile, presumably, an aspect of confidence in security (absence of doubts), singled out by V. Slapkauskas, is not reasoned and should be treated as part of subjective security as it expresses nothing else but the security perceived and assessed subjectively by the residents. In the doctrines of various sciences quite a lot of other definitions of security do exist though frequently not very precise or incomplete. For example, J. Balazs states that international security is determined by internal and external security of different social systems. Security of society may be specified as internal security, the key function thereof is to ensure the political and economic power of those in power, survival of social systems and the required level of public security (Runcis 1999). P. Hartland-Thunberg outlines national security as the ability of the state to properly defend its own interests at a global level (Runcis 1999).

The Canadian National Defence Council documents describe national security as protection of the quality of life, complying with the needs of the residents and legal expectations. This concept includes such guarantees as protection against military assault or coercion and erosion of the universally acceptable economic, political and social values (Runcis 1999).

However, as seen, the above definitions do not respond to a question what security *in general* is since it covers only its separate aspects. Thus, the main problem of security definition – security definitions found in the scholarly literature are either too broad or too narrow, covering only the concept of one of any types of security.

In summary, it may be said that security in the objective sense may be characterised as the condition when no threats exist for protected values or they are controlled effectively. Security in the subjective sense is the feeling of security, meaning the belief of the individuals that no threats will be posed to the protected values or that they will be controlled in the effective way.

(In)security factors. The problem of security existing in each society is due to the fact that the contemporary society is living in the "environment of constantly changing risk" (Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybė 2011). This fact shows that society may be only conditionally secure or insecure since it is impossible to completely eliminate threats against security. However, the situation of security in the state describes how

effectively the state controls and eliminates insecurity factors. According to R. Ullman, insecurity factors are the factors posing a threat to the life quality of the residents of the state (Runcis 1999).

The complexity of the security problem is reflected by the fact that insecurity factors are very diverse in their nature – from criminality to the impact of natural elements, from the geopolitical condition of the state to the development of road infrastructure. Identification of insecurity factors helps identify the key problems and trends of security.

It is problematic that to present a final list of insecurity factors is not possible as it does not exist. All the factors determining the situation of security are united due to their direct impact on the life quality of the individual and society and are measured in different dimensions of the life quality perspective, e.g., social status, moral/cultural status, educational status, and in many others (Pitrenaite 2011). In addition, those factors are interacting, e.g., not ensuring of social security makes an effect on the enhancement of criminality.

It is even possible to state that the more intensive such interaction, the more intensively those negative processes "create" each other and make an effect on the worsening of the situation of security. A comparatively explicit conception of insecurity factors is presented in the Safe Municipality Concept (Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybė 2011) where they are characterised as "phenomena of social, technological or natural type posing a danger to the residents or their property, reducing the sense of security of the residents and aggravating their life quality". However, from the later provided examples of insecurity factors (criminal act and other violations of law, traffic accidents, fires and other extreme events of natural, technological and ecological type) it is seen that here threats to *public* security are referred to. Therefore, the system of insecurity factors (having in mind the general conception of security) in addition to the factors of social, technological and natural type should also include political and economic factors, presenting the following possible concept of insecurity factors: insecurity factors are the causes of political, economic, social, natural and technological nature, threatening the society, its separate combinations or individuals and affecting negatively their quality of life.

In the scholarly literature some other differentiations of insecurity factors, though not always substantiated, exist. For instance, E. Matulionyte (2008) differentiates threats into external and internal. The author treats threats as being external that are not attributable to the human will (e.g., natural calamities) or the will of the specific country or community (e.g., military conflict in the other country of the same region).

Meanwhile, internal threats derive from the economic and social situation in the country (Matulionyte 2008). Thus, such division is based in the main on the fact whether a threat is under the impact of national security policy (whether it is possible to overcome or at least to reduce that threat by national security policy measures). However, it is subject to discussion to what extent such differentiation is justified. E.g., even though the external threats, distinguished by the author, undoubtedly occur despite of the will of the individual or society and national security policy measures cannot prevent their emergence as phenomena, however, it is possible by these measures to considerably reduce the negative effects of these phenomena on security.

The most elementary example of the above-said are annual floods on the seacoast of West Lithuania – even though it is not possible by any measures of security policy to prevent that natural phenomenon, however, their proper or improper application predetermines the extent of the negative impact of that natural phenomenon on human security.

V. Slapkauskas (2006) presents the typology of social threats to security – according to the author, the main types of social threats are physical threats (pain, injury, death), economic threats (appropriation of property, destruction, etc.), threats to rights (imprisonment, violation of human rights), and threats to the status (public humiliation).

Presumably, such classification is also inappropriate just because physical and economic threats are not necessarily identified with social threats. The logic background of such classification is absolutely unclear.

Presumably, when using the concept that insecurity factors are the causes of political, economic, social, natural and technological nature, posing a threat to the society, its separate combinations or individuals, and that they have a negative impact on their quality of life, herewith the proper classification of threats should be presented.

Security differentiation by level. Security may be differentiated by level of its functioning.

Presumably, on this basis international, regional, and state security, security of separate territories (e.g., county, city, residential district) and of other spaces (e.g., safety at workplace, safety at home) may be distinguished. The epicentre of this differentiation, undoubtedly, is national security.

The concept of state security is also to be identified with the concept of national security. In the Law on the Basics of National Security of the Republic of Lithuania it is stated illustratively that "the strengthening of national security shall be the ultimate objective of the domestic and foreign policy of Lithuania". E. Matulionyte (2008), who has studied the identification of threats to national security and their prevention possibilities, also specifies ensuring national security as the ultimate objective of the domestic and foreign policy of any state. Thus, the author indicates two key trends in the national security policy – domestic and foreign policy.

Extending these trends, it is seen that foreign policy of national security is interacting with the supranational (international or regional) security category as part with totality – this is the security policy targeted to interstate security, whereas the internal security policy is differentiated to smaller categories – this is the policy, directed to the security inside the state. Traditionally, such differentiation is grounded on the territorial basis. However, the distribution of security according to the spatial levels of other type, e.g., safety at workplace, safety at home, etc., may be no less functional.

Security differentiation by object. According to this criterion, the security of society, community, separate social groups and of the individual may be distinguished. In this sense, security is perceived as the freedom of people (as individuals and groups) from physical and social threats (Daniel 2015). The concept of security, oriented to the individual, perceives the human security as the main objective of the national and international security policy. This concept is in contrast with the security concept oriented to the state and means "human security rather than territorial security" (Fukuda-Parr 2011).

Here it is to be said that, on the one hand, the security differentiation by object depends on the concept of law, on the other hand, security concepts, oriented to the society, its separate groups or the individual, may survive at the same time and do not contradict each other in the essence as they have different goals.

Security differentiation by type. The scholars in their works do not reach consensus on security differentiation by type. Some authors distinguish military, political, economic, social and ecological security; communication (information) security is also conditionally distinguished (Matulionyte 2008). Other authors additionally distinguish such security dimensions like health and even food security (Fukuda-Parr 2011).

In the Law on the Basics of National Security of the Republic of Lithuania it is stated that Lithuanian national security policy shall consist of the provisions of the state foreign, defence, economic, public security, social, culture, health, environmental, educational and scientific as well as other state policy provisions aimed at ensuring national security.

On the basis of the above-mentioned areas of policy, it is possible to identify that security by type in the law is differentiated into political, military, economic, public, social, cultural, health, and ecological security. It is likely that all these types in spite of their abundance are distinguished reasonably; the more so that their list is hardly final. The main problem of differentiation of security dimensions by type is that those types partly overlap each other and therefore it becomes complicated to delimit them and to rationally distribute institutional competences.

In summary, it may be said that *security in the objective sense* may be defined as the condition when no threats exist against the protected values, or they are controlled effectively. *Security in the subjective sense* is the sense of security, meaning the conviction of the individuals that no threats will be posed against the protected values or they will be controlled effectively. Insecurity factors should be defined as the causes of political, economic, social, natural and technological type threatening the society, its separate combinations or individuals and exerting a negative impact on their quality of life, at the same time also providing the exhaustive classification of these threats. Security dimensions may be classified by level (territorial or other spatial level), by object and by type.

Further in this subtopic an analysis will be given of security dimensions differentiated on the territorial basis (international and national) and their interaction, security dimensions differentiated by object (security of the state, society and of the individual) and their interaction, since these dimensions are most frequently emphasised in the scientific literature, and their proper restriction is of highest practical importance.

Interaction of international and national security

The first aspect of this interaction is that national security, including all its sectors, is strongly impacted by regional security. In 2012, research was conducted with analysis made of the sense of security of the population in the context of external threats. The exploratory results showed that 60.1 perc. of the residents held an opinion that security in Lithuania was not threatened in any way, and only 18 perc. of the respondents

were of the opinion that Lithuania's national security is under real threat. Meanwhile, upon conducting the analogous research in 2014, already 54.5 perc. of the residents stated that Lithuania's national security is under real threat (Geciene 2015).

Presumably, such changes of the population in security perception were determined by the changing geopolitical situation in the region, especially having in mind a military conflict in the Ukraine. Thus the sense of security of the inhabitants of the state is strongly affected by political, military or other events of importance to regional security, impacting the geopolitical stability of the region. As mentioned in the previous subtopic, international and national security is the security dimensions delimited on the territorial basis.

Today, however, national security is still more strongly impacted by the international security tendencies: even though the security dimensions in question have always interacted with each other, due to the globalisation today we can speak if not about the total convergence of international and national security but already at least about the rapid intensification of interaction between these dimensions.

First of all, international (and especially regional) security makes a very strong impact on the subjective security (a sense of security) in the country.

It is also notable that external threats always induced the Baltic countries to search for solution of pressing security problems (Istrate 2012). However, the external character of threats does not mean that these threats do not force to search for new and effective *internal* security measures of the state.

On the contrary, presumably, external threats are predetermined by international (in) security and affect from the outside the security inside the state. Thus, the more secure international space, the lesser amount of threats also affecting the internal security emerges.

The key problem is that in this case the internal security of the state is also affected by the foreign policy of the neighbouring states, on which the state concerned with its own security cannot make an impact. E.g., mention is made in the materials of the State Security Department of the Republic of Lithuania that the willingness of some neighbouring states to impact and control decisions, adopted by Lithuania, and policy "determines the expedient and purposeful actions of the states that pose threat to Lithuania's energy, economic, social and information security" (State Security Department 2014). Hence, the internal security of the state and its individual sectors are strongly affected by the regional security. The geopolitical instability of the region determines the worsening situation in all national security sectors. Hence, such foreign policy measures, like strengthening of the integration into the European and Transatlantic institutions, maintenance of good neighbourly relations, based on the universally recognised norms and principles of international law, not only prevent external threats but also stabilise the situation of security inside the state.

International and national security convergence under the effect of globalisation. The second aspect of the international and national security interaction means that the international and national security interaction becomes still more intensive under the conditions of globalisation, this meaning that those dimensions if not merge fully they become dependent on each other.

It is notable that globalisation is neither an exclusively positive nor negative phenomenon – negative outcomes of globalisation most often become revealed in particular in those states where effective governance experience is lacking and where administrative reforms are progressing slowly (Domarkas, Masionyte 2005). Nevertheless, the globalisation poses certain new challenges and threats, e.g., the growing criminality of international type, having a negative effect on the international and national security of separate countries. E.g., the national security concept of the Republic of Estonia as one of biggest national security threats points out transnational terrorism and transnational organised crime threats.

In parallel, in the new National Public Security Development Programme for 2015–2025 of the Republic of Lithuania (further the Programme) the globalisation processes together with the improvement and development of information and communication technologies are specified as the main external factors that have and will have an influence in the future on the public security development. It is also noted in the programme that the implementation of separate measures for public security development may be "disturbed by political, social or economic instability in Lithuania, other EU or neighbouring third countries, as well as radical changes in the activities of international organisations (the United Nations, the European Council, the European security and cooperation organisations, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), etc.), which guarantee peaceful coexistence of the states and a member of which is Lithuania" (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 2015).

Special attention in the Programme is devoted to organised crime which is of transnational character and for overcoming of which solely the measures applied inside the state are enough. The Programme provides the Europol data that about 3600 organised criminal groups operated in the EU space in 2013. Organised crime in the essence is impacted by the globalisation processes as the number of organised groups which "are not linked with a specific citizenship or nationality, and the criminal acts cannot be easily related just with a certain region" is increasing (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 2015).

As regards the present-day terrorism, it covers not only a local, state but also transnational level (Slapkauskas 2005), thus affecting the international security and the national security of each country separately. The growing transnational terrorism threat also "makes one reconsider anew the grounds for intercommunication of the nations and separate social groups under the conditions of the expanding globalisation: what the basis of these relations will be so that the danger of the integrating world to the individual and democracy would not increase" (Vaisvila 2005). Hence, globalisation stimulates the convergence of international and national security dimensions and presupposes the enhanced need for cooperation of the states in the sphere of security.

The need for cooperation and synergy. E. Matulionyte (2008) indicates the approach to pursuing the total independence from the neighbouring states as erroneous. The author notices this as being impossible in the modern world, since independent attempts of the states to be concerned exclusively with their own security not only do not bring the required result but also may have an impact on the insecurity of other states. No less dangerous are the cases when the state allocates insufficient attention

to the problems of internal security – this may even cause regional crises (Bilius 2005) (e.g., a lack of attention to the problem of terrorism may determine the establishment of a terrorist group in one state, wherefrom it commits terrorist acts in other states of the region as well). This predetermines the concern of the state with not only its own internal security but also with the security of other states. This is reflected by an illustrative statement of M. Bilius that "the overall interdependence of the countries is the attribute of the modern world". Hence, the convergence of international and national security dimensions also predetermines the need for cooperation and synergy. As stated in the National Public Security Development Programme for 2015–2025 of the Republic of Lithuania, "under the conditions of globalisation when threats for national security are still more increasing and they overstep the borders of the states, none of the states may defend themselves effectively against them".

Therefore, in the future, the national and regional and EU security will depend still more on the institutional capacity of the state to implement international obligations and to cooperate at a practical level" (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 2015). One of the examples of such effective cooperation could be the European External Border Surveillance System (EUROSUR) which started operating at the end of 2013 and was intended for exchange of information cooperation between FRONTEX (European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the EU External Borders) and EU Member States in identifying the illegal migration and international criminality cases and preventing them.

The Programme also indicates the need to strengthen cooperation with the border guard services of the Baltic Sea Region states, ensuring the external border surveillance in the sea, to actively participate in the international forums and projects of the EU and the Baltic Sea Region states.

International cooperation with third countries is also of no less importance. E.g., the Programme also states that illegal flows of migration from Belarus are also disturbing; therefore, of special importance is a readmission agreement to be concluded with this country (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 2015). The need for stronger synergy and closer cooperation at all levels is also underlined in the European security agenda (Europos komisija 2015).

It is here emphasised that a good many of contemporary security problems are due to the geopolitical instability in the closest EU neighbourhood, therefore, an effective and concerted response is necessary to those threats at the European level. The need for a renewed internal security strategy for the next five years is underlined, since the states acting individually are not able to properly ensure security. Therefore, it is to be striven to create the EU internal security space, where the individuals would be protected comprehensively and their fundamental rights ensured. The five key principles of synergy and cooperation have been also advanced: to ensure that the fundamental rights would be fully taken into account when security ensuring measures are undertaken; to enhance transparency, accountability and democratic control; to ensure the more effective application and implementation of the EU valid legal acts; to maintain a better linkage of interdepartmental and intersectoral approach; to link all internal and external security aspects (Europos komisija 2015).

Thus, the sporadic efforts of the states in the modern world in ensuring national security are not effective. The need for stronger synergy and closer cooperation at all levels could be satisfied upon renewal of the EU security strategy.

In summary, it may be said that currently national security is still much more under the impact of international security tendencies – even though these security dimensions have always interacted; due to globalisation, however, we can speak today if not about the full convergence of international and national security, but at least about the rapid intensification of interaction of these dimensions. These processes underpin the augmenting need for synergy and closer cooperation at all levels. This need could be satisfied upon the renewal of the EU security strategy with an emphasis on the safeguarding of the fundamental human rights, transparency, accountability and democratic control enhancement, ensuring more effective application of the EU law, following more coherent interdepartmental and intersectoral approach, and linkage of all internal and external security aspects.

Unity of state and society security

The dimensions of security of the State and the individual are differentiated by object. Here two main approaches towards the interaction of these dimensions are possible – when the interaction between the state and the individual is perceived either as contraposition or as synergy.

Contraposition between the security of state and individual. According to the traditional security concept, the object of security is the state. This concept is based on the idea that the interests of society or separate individuals are under the subordination of the interests of the state as an organisation.

Basing on this concept, of special importance is to protect the state territory, institutions, values and the inhabitants of the state as a unit. According to this concept, creation of security strategies is commonly concentrated in the state governance institutions, whereas society is seldom involved in this process. However, "a safe state not necessarily means its citizens being safe" (Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybė 2011) Ensuring state security does not ensure necessarily human security, since the inhabitants may feel unsafe in various social environments, e.g., at home or work. An approach what the object of security would be is related to the concept of law existing in the state. If the legal system acknowledges the primacy of the individual, the individual is perceived as the object of security.

This concept has been strongly expanded after World War II when in the United Nations Charter 1945 the pursue was enforced for nations to act collectively to protect rights, freedoms and dignity of individuals, recognising the tension between the individual and the interests of the state (Fakuda-Parr 2012). According to B. Buzan, "the individual represents a final indivisible unit in respect of which a concept of security may be applied" (Geciene 2015). Therefore, the individual is the primary level of vertical security concept dynamics (international–national–individual). In addition, aiming to ensure the security of the state, the state itself may take such actions that would pose a threat directly or indirectly to the security of the individual, e.g., the

state is undertaking actions against the individual or their group. Thus, ensuring state security not necessarily determines ensuring the security of the state residents. Moreover, the interests of security of the state may come into conflict with the interests of the security of the individual and pose threat to them.

Security synergy of state and individual. From another viewpoint, security dimensions of the state and the individual complement one another. E.g., one of the interests of the state is to create a secure society with the use of the most variegated means. Thus in ensuring societal security the security interests of the separate individuals are also satisfied (Kalesnykas, Meckauskas 2002). According to this standpoint, state (national) security, however, is the basis for security of the individual. The state must be concerned with the security not only of the society in general but also of its separate groups and individuals, e.g., upon decentralisation of ensuring security of certain sectors or upon application of special measures or programmes for ensuring security of separate groups of the population (e.g., youth, children). If the security synergy of the state and of the individual is recognised, this means the expansion of the duty of the state to ensure security – the state has the duty to take measures for ensuring security not only at the level of the state (society) but also of the individual.

In summary, it may be said that two approaches are possible in respect of the interaction between security dimensions of the state and of the individual – this interaction may be perceived both as contraposition of these dimensions and as synergy. The second concept is closer to a modern democratic state, extending the duty of the state to ensure security not only at the level of the state (society) but also of the individual.

Public security is the foundation of national security

In Ancient Rome already the principle *justitia est fundamentum regnorum* (*Lat.* Justice is the foundation of states) was enacted in law meaning the duty of the state to "create such laws that would allow ensuring the rights of man and citizen in any situation" (Pitrenaite 2006).

The legal foundation of national security policy of the Republic of Lithuania is the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania (further the Constitution). Article 1 of the Constitution proclaims that the State of Lithuania shall be an independent and democratic republic. Article 3 of the Constitution enforces no one may limit or restrict the sovereignty of the People. Article 8 of the Constitution determines that the forced seizure of State power or any of its institutions shall be considered an anti-constitutional action. Article 94 of the Constitution envisages the duty of the Government to protect the inviolability of the territory of the State and ensure state security and public order. Article 135 of the Constitution obligates in conducting foreign policy to pursue the principles and norms of international law, to strive to safeguard national security, independence, welfare and the basic rights, to take part in the creation of sound international order based on law and justice.

These are far from all the provisions of the Constitution underpinning a national security policy. In addition, a national security policy shall be also obligatorily based

on the United Nations Charter, instruments of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, North Atlantic Treaty, other multipartite and bipartite international agreements, as well as universally recognised principles and norms of international law.

As mentioned, national security is a complex concept, consisting of different security policy trends. As was noted by J. Teivans-Treinovskis and N. Jefimovs (2012), national security may be a dangerously ambiguous category if used without specifying it.

The concept of national security in the legal system of Latvia is defined in the Law on National Security, where national security is understood as the purposeful actions of the state and society, targeted to the pursuit of protecting independence of the state, its constitutional order and territorial integrity, opening an opportunity to develop freely welfare and stability in the country.

Thus, *firstly*, ensuring national security means purposeful and targeted actions. *Secondly*, these actions are performed by the state or society. Thirdly, these actions are targeted at achieving specific result – to ensure sovereignty of the state and constitutional order of the state, to create the welfare state for society and individual (Teivans-Treinovskis, Jefimovs 2012).

It is evident that such actions cover especially broad areas of human life; therefore, to ensure their effectiveness and purposefulness it is necessary to differentiate those actions accordingly – to distinguish their main trends. For example, E. Matulionyte (2008) singles out five sectors, into which a national security sector may be subdivided – military, political, economic, social, and ecological sectors, which are interrelated.

Similar sectors are distinguished in the Law on the Basics of National Security of the Republic of Lithuania (further the Law on the Basics of National Security). Under Article 1 of this Law, ensuring the national security of Lithuania means the provision of conditions for a free and democratic development of the nation and the state, protection and defence of the independence of the state, territorial integrity and constitutional order.

This concept is similar to the concept, enforced in the Law on National Security of the Republic of Latvia.

It is supplemented in the Law on the Basics of National Security of the Republic of Lithuania that the objective of the national security policy shall be, through the concerted efforts of the state and its citizens, to ensure democracy, safe existence and internal and exterior security of the state, to defend the independence, territorial integrity and constitutional order. Further in the Law it is specified that the Lithuanian national security policy shall consist of the provisions of the state foreign, defence, economic, public security, social, cultural, health, environmental protection, educational and scientific as well as other state policy provisions aimed at ensuring national security. The national security policy in the Law on the Basics of National Security in the essence is divided into foreign and domestic policy, regulated in Section IV.

It is proposed in the Law that domestic policy shall be focused on the strengthening of domestic economic and social stability and must guarantee secure environment and public order, create favourable conditions for the education of citizens, promotion of their social and cultural activities, comprehensive progress of society as well as protection of the natural environment of the state.

Domestic policy in the law is divided into economic policy, public security policy, social policy, cultural, educational and scientific policy, environmental protection policy and health policy.

It is likely that these trends are not fully dissociated from each other. On the contrary, how the security policy is implemented in one field directly impacts the condition of security in other fields. Public security policy as part of domestic security of national security is perceived also in the National Security Strategy (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 2012). Here it is stated that to ensure the security of society it is necessary to maintain public security, economic and social stability, to ensure environmental protection, to strengthen capabilities in responding to external and internal risk factors, dangers and threats.

In the strategy it is said that an effective public security system is the essential precondition for domestic security and welfare. For the purpose of maintaining and strengthening public security, the Republic of Lithuania must implement complex anti-corruption and corruption prevention measures, combat organised crime, aiming to prevent extreme situations or mitigate their effects, and devote considerable attention to educating the population, laying foundations for a safe society, enhancing capacities and capabilities of entities of the civil protection system. Moreover, an aim is foreseen to improve the efficiency of activities of law enforcement and other institutions of public security, to develop partnership between public security institutions, educational establishments and the private sector, more widely to apply research results in the activities of these institutions (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 2012).

Meanwhile, in the Law on the Basics of National Security it is indicated that the fight against crime and ensuring of public order and personal security within the state shall be one of the main priorities, aimed at ensuring national security.

The state must strengthen the fight against crime, especially focusing on organised crime, shadow business, corruption and drug addiction, strengthening the activities of law enforcement institutions and creating new models of the system for control and prevention of criminal acts, the cooperation and coordination of activities thereof should be ensured by the Government.

Another priority shall be a reliable control and guarding of the state border meeting the requirements set by the EU – the regulations of the state border and the frontier shall be laid down and the effective organisation of the state border guarding shall be regulated by law. The last priority of public security policy foreseen in the law is road safety, guaranteeing that state institutions take complex measures at reducing the number of accidents, and ensure their proper organisation and coordination.

It is notable that neither in the Law on the Basics of National Security nor in the National Security Strategy, the main goals, trends and priorities were laid out finally and consistently. In the Law on the Basics of National Security the following priority trends in the public security policy were distinguished: fight against crime and its prevention, proper state border control and protection and road safety. Meanwhile, the National Security Strategy envisages the following: effective corruption control and prevention fight against organised crime, and management of extreme situations.

The strategy also foresees somewhat specific measures of how public security is to be ensured; it is stated that special attention should be devoted to the education of

the population, enhancement of the efficiency of the activity of institutions, partnership of public and private sectors, etc. Neither law nor strategy, however, envisages the specific and final system, what elements constitute the public security sector, what the priority goals of public security policy are and how they should be implemented.

This problem has been partially solved after the approval in 2015 of the Public Security Development Programme for 2015–2025 where public security is defined as "as part of national security, encompassing the protection of legitimate interests of people, society and state against criminal acts and other violations of law, natural and man-made disasters" (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 2015).

In the Programme the main relevant risk factors and threats to public security are distinguished: criminality, especially related to violence, enhancement of its level; spreading of crimes committed by criminal groups or (and) transnational crimes; illegal migration; increasing radicalisation of society; fires and other man-made or natural disasters; insufficient effectiveness of the activity of law enforcement institutions and other state establishments that are assigned with the tasks directly pertaining to the strengthening of public security.

Nevertheless, the programme also does not cover all public security policy elements, e.g., road safety or fight against corruption, which are regulated in more detail in other legal acts. The programme is to be estimated rather as an instrument of general type, specifying the key problems of the public security sector, priority trends, placing emphasis on the recent and most urgent problems of the public security sector, providing proposals of general type of how they are to be tackled.

In summary, it should be said that national security policy in the Lithuanian legal system is divided into foreign and domestic policy, which in its turn is subdivided into economic policy, public security policy, social policy, cultural, educational and scientific policy, environmental protection policy and health policy. The main legal acts, regulating public security, are the Law on the Basics of National Security, the National Security Strategy and the Public Security Development Programme for 2015–2025, even though none of these documents contains a specific list of the trends and priority areas of public security policy, the provisions of these legal acts are not coordinated, more attention is devoted to the statement of the problems rather than to the search of ways of their solution. In this research, however, the following key areas of public security policy are discerned: maintenance of public order (including also management of extreme situations), crime control and prevention, state border control and protection and ensuring of road safety.

Scientific evaluation of the administrative-legal regulation mechanism in ensuring public security in Lithuania

As universally known, administrative law is the branch of public law, regulating the legal status of public administration entities and their relations with other entities of public and private law. Administrative law and ensuring public security are closely interrelated notions. It is notable that sources of contemporary administrative law are pertinent to the teaching of cameralistics dating back to the 16th century. The

science of police law when decoupled from the science of cameralistics is the foundation of contemporary administrative law. Administrative law became dissociated from police law in the 19th century, when public order protection remained the main task of police law, and the key task of administrative law became vested in the "regulation of relations between the person and the state in the field of public governance and protection of human rights against the self-will of the state" (Pauzaite-Kulvinskiene 2005). According to A. Urmonas (2007), administrative law performs the regulatory, communication and socialisation functions.

Administrative law regulates social relations in the field of state and internal administration; therefore, norms of administrative law may be grouped by the sphere of administration, distinguishing the norms, regulating, e.g., the specific features of administration in the economic, social-cultural as well as state security fields. Thus, ensuring public security mainly is regulated by the norms of administrative law, and the quality thereof predetermines the effectiveness of ensuring public security.

The quality of administrative law has a direct impact on the quality of ensuring public security, starting with lawmaking and finishing with a law application stage. This means that after creating a qualitative norm in administrative law at the lawmaking stage, this becomes the first prerequisite for effective ensuring public security. As already discussed in the above chapters, after a survey of the main general legal acts regulating public security has been made, it is seen that their provisions are not coordinated, final and qualitative. That is why it is the *first* reason why ensuring public security in Lithuania is not sufficiently effective.

The administrative-legal regulation mechanism is understood as the totality of administrative-legal measures, intended for regulation of public administration relations. Those measures shall ensure the rights and freedoms of the individual and create conditions for the normal functioning of public and private law entities and implementation of personal subjective rights.

The purpose of the administrative-legal regulation mechanism for ensuring public security is to create the proper conditions for the smooth functioning of all structural elements for ensuring public security by the formation of the permanent legal order. The administrative-legal regulation mechanism ensures the implementation of public security by coordinated and consistent actions.

The administrative-legal regulation in the field of ensuring public security shall be implemented through various forms and methods, e.g., identifying the administrative-functional regimes. With no broader consideration of the theoretical features of the administrative-legal regulation mechanism, it should be said that an issue has been put forward in this research whether the present administrative-legal regulation mechanism for ensuring public security in Lithuania is proper, if not, why and how to ensure its suitability.

In response to this question, the relevant insight of D. Zilinskas (2001), should be followed that a situation has been formed in the Lithuanian administrative law with the tendency of overlapping in the field of law application, as the specific form of implementation of legal norms, when the institutional set-up is not appropriate, and responsibilities assigned to the institutions are not rationally distributed. This position is also maintained by L. Andrijauskaite (2015), proposing that differentiation of the

spheres of public governance existing in Lithuania "presupposes the overlapping of the activities carried out, this leading to the creation of the ineffective and high-priced public governance apparatus which not so much complies with the aspirations of the society but rather "shares" the areas of activity".

It is likely that this may be treated as the *second* reason for the insufficiently effective ensuring of public security.

The need for modernisation. The concept of modernisation is used when speaking about systematic and complex changes of a particular content as well as about a rhetoric measure, applied when speaking about changes of any content and scope "anticipating the positive adaptation of changes" (Andrijauskaite 2015).

The process of modernisation may be divided into two principal parts: content of modernisation and management of modernisation process. To modernise a particular content, first of all the need for such changes should be substantiated and then the performance of such changes will be commenced (Andrijauskaite 2015). In essence, modernisation is underpinned by three pillars: the pursuit of economic rationality, the pursuit of integration (expanding relations between the individuals and communities, aiming for the integrated society) and specialisation, with due attention on "the progress of science, experimental knowledge and the use and development of technologies within the economic, political and cultural framework" (Andrijauskaite 2015). Thus, to create a model for modernisation of ensuring public security it is necessary to start from the general need for substantiation of such modernisation. According to A. Urmonas (2006), administrative law as any branch of science "attempts periodically to identify the impact of social changes on it".

Administrative law will perform its functions efficiently only when at the lawmaking and at the law application stage a reaction to the changing social reality will be adequate. Here mention should be made first of all of the priority principle of the rights of the individual, characteristic of a modern democratic society, which is also relevant in ensuring public security. The provision is embedded in the National Public Security Development Programme for 2015–2025 that the development of public security shall be based on the principle of respect for constitutional human rights and freedoms (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 2015).

Hence, the administrative-legal regulation mechanism is to be modernised having in mind this end. It is notable that in the traditional administrative law system the administration entities are perceived as a state instrument whereby it is required from the individual to perform or not perform certain actions, in the opposite case the measures of coercion are to be used. Meanwhile, in a modern democratic society "the administrative law system is assessed as operating effectively when such goals like the protection of citizens' welfare, cultural development and economic progress are implemented" (Kargaudiene 2005).

This provision shows that in the National Public Security Development Programme for 2015–2025 orientation is made towards the modern system of administrative law, making it possible to draw a conclusion that on this basis the present-day administrative-legal regulation mechanism for ensuring public security is subject to modernisation. It is important to note that administrative law should "change together with

the society, reflect effectively the alteration of social reality, invoke all social research methods, process the data obtained, explain how to ensure the functioning of the principle of the primacy of law (legal certainty, legitimate expectations, and legal security) at a specific stage of society's development" (Urmonas 2006).

The modern administrative-legal regulation mechanism should be able to coordinate comprehensively the legal measures and to ensure the compliance of the legal norms and of the changing social environment. V. Domarkas and R. Masionyte (2005, p. 17) agree with it and they state that the "main end of the public administration institutions is to find the ways of how to serve professionally the society on the basis of values of ethics and management, efficiency and effectiveness, with regard to the principles of equal opportunities, adjusting all that to the constantly changing political environment".

In the new National Public Security Development Programme for 2015–2025, the following main initiatives for the improvement of the administrative-legal regulation mechanism for ensuring public security are provided: enhancement of the synergy of various state governance sectors: public security, health, social and environmental protection, educational, culture and other; development of close cooperation between the state and municipal institutions and establishments and the institutions of science and studies; promotion of partnership of public and private sectors and increase of the participation of active society (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 2015). The programme also indicates the need to improve the system for training and qualification improvement of the officials who fail to satisfy the requirements, to improve the qualification of officials and their skills, to create the attractive and motivated service of law and order and law enforcement institutions and other state establishments, delegated with the tasks directly related to the strengthening of public security; to increase the capacity of state institutions to implement the international obligations and collaborate at a practical level.

Conclusions

The greater the importance of the institute of human rights and freedoms in the society and the state and of the related ideas thereof, the higher the requirements set for security in the society, and, in parallel, the enhanced requirements for the legal and institutional mechanisms for ensuring security, functioning in the state.

Public security as a legal category is more or less efficiently ensured through the processes of lawmaking and law application. In the law application process, ensuring public security is determined not only by legal but also by complementary factors that are the subject of other social sciences and in particular of the science of public administration.

The security policy of ensuring public security consists of the legal, social, organisational, economic and technological measures, or instruments. One of the priority and simultaneously one of most problematic trends of the public security policy is crime control and prevention. With the purpose of proper control of a phenomenon or process, it is necessary to know it, to disclose properly its conceptual framework.

In the scholarly literature no uniform opinion exists as regards the concept of public security and definition of its main trends.

Security in the objective sense may be defined as the condition when no threats exist against the protected values or they are controlled effectively. Security in the subjective sense is the sense of security, meaning the conviction of the individuals that no threats will be posed against the protected values or they will be controlled effectively. Insecurity factors should be defined as the causes of political, economic, social, natural and technological type threatening the society, its separate combinations or individuals and exerting a negative impact on their quality of life, at the same time also providing the exhaustive classification of these threats. Security dimensions may be classified by level (territorial or other spatial level), by object and by type.

The geopolitical instability of the region determines the worsening situation in all national security sectors. Hence, such foreign policy measures, like strengthening of the integration into the European and Transatlantic institutions, maintenance of good neighbourly relations, based on the universally recognised norms and principles of international law, not only prevent external threats but also stabilise the situation of security inside the state.

Currently, national security is still more strongly impacted by the international security tendencies: even though the security dimensions in question have always interacted with each other, due to the globalisation today we can speak if not about the total convergence of international and national security but already at least about the rapid intensification of interaction between these dimensions. These processes underpin the augmenting need for synergy and closer cooperation at all levels. This need could be satisfied upon the renewal of the EU security strategy with an emphasis on the safeguarding of the fundamental human rights, transparency, accountability and democratic control enhancement, ensuring more effective application of the EU law, following more coherent interdepartmental and intersectoral approach, and linkage of all internal and external security aspects.

Two approaches are possible in respect of the interaction between security dimensions of the state and of the individual – this interaction may be perceived both as contraposition of these dimensions and as synergy. The second concept is closer to a modern democratic state, extending the duty of the state to ensure security not only at the level of the state (society) but also of the individual.

National security policy in the Lithuanian legal system is divided into foreign and domestic policy, which in its turn is subdivided into economic policy, public security policy, social policy, cultural, educational and scientific policy, environmental protection policy and health policy. The main legal acts, regulating public security, are the Law on the Basics of National Security, the National Security Strategy and the Public Security Development Programme for 2015–2025, even though none of these documents contains a specific list of the trends and priority areas of public security policy, the provisions of these legal acts are not coordinated, more attention is devoted to the statement of the problems rather than to the search of ways of their solution.

Ensuring public security is regulated by the norms of administrative law the quality thereof predetermines the effectiveness of ensuring public security. The quality of

administrative law has a direct impact on the quality of ensuring public security, starting with lawmaking and finishing with a law application stage.

The administrative-legal regulation mechanism is understood as the totality of administrative-legal measures, intended for regulation of public administration relations. Those measures shall ensure the rights and freedoms of the individual and create conditions for the normal functioning of public and private law entities and implementation of personal subjective rights.

The purpose of the administrative-legal regulation mechanism for ensuring public security is to create the proper conditions for the smooth functioning of all structural elements for ensuring public security by the formation of the permanent legal order, it ensures that public security should be the implementation of public security by coordinated and consistent actions.

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ZINĀTNISKĀ DZĪVE

PROJEKTI

Vera Komarova

ICELANDIC-LATVIAN COOPERATION WITHIN THE PROJECT "ROLE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC NETWORKS IN TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT (NETWORKS-BASED DEVELOPMENT)"

The main aim of this project funded by the European Economic Area's (EEA) and Norway's financial instrument (NFI) is strengthening international cooperation and research activity of the Daugavpils University (and its Latvian co-partners, which all together create scientific network) according to the "DU development strategy for 2009–2016" as well as internal cooperation between Latvian universities – in this case, Daugavpils University, Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences and Riga Stradins University.

Main beneficiaries of the Projectare scientists of the University of Akureyri (Iceland) and the Daugavpils University as well as the Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences and the Riga Stradins University (Latvia) getting the possibility to elaborate common research and scientific projects in the future, continuing current successful experience of mutual cooperation between Latvian and Icelandic HEIs within ESPON program (University of Akureyri and Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences).

Main activities of the Project: study mobility of social sciences' students of the Latvian partner institutions to the Unibersity of Akureyri (Iceland) and exchange visits of social sciences' academic staff between all involved partner institutions. Some of the project's activities are described in this informative material.



Project partners from the University of Akureyri (Iceland), the Daugavpils University and the Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences during Icelanders' visit to Latvia

First of all, Icelandic partners of the project have contributed very much in the work of 58th International Scientific Conference of the Daugavpils University during their visit to Latvia in April 2016. The special session "Networks-Based Territory Development: The Example of Iceland" was organized within this conference where the following issues had been discussed:

Dr. Sigrun Stefansdottir (University of Akureyri, Iceland), MEDIA AND GENDER IN ICELAND – This study builds on a set of Icelandic as well as international studies exploring how the media in Iceland reflects the balance between men and women in the news and how much exposure women are getting in the news compared to men. The media play an important role in influencing opinions and attitudes, in building up a democracy or tearing it down. The media shape perception and is a powerful tool to create stereotypes or tearing them down. The Icelandic State Television, RUV, has been operating for fifty years, or since 1966. From the very start this media has been man-dominated in its daily newscoverage. This study focus on the newscoverage in RUV over those fifty years from gender perspective. The very first quantitative study was done in 1986 covering the first 20 years of RUV-news. It showed that the average coverage of women in the news through those years were 8.4%, starting in 1966 with 0% coverage of women up to 13% in 1986. This study is compared with later studies, the newest from the fall of 2015 showing that there is still a great unbalance, or between 25–30% share for women. A study done last year by the

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International Economic Forum shows that Iceland was on the top in the world in gender equality. How does that fit with the lack of exposure of women in the news. Why is this unbalance still there and what can be done to change the situation.



Dr. Sigrun Stefansdottir (University of Akureyri, Iceland) presents her research findings at the 58th International Scientific Conference of the Daugavpils University

Dr. Birgir Gudmundsson (University of Akureyri, Iceland), POLITICAL MARKET MEDIA IN ICELAND: TRUST AND DISTRUST BETWEEN POLITICS < THE PUBLIC AND THE MEDIA – Political parallelism was a characteristic of the Icelandic Media System until the late nineties. The transformation that Blumler & Kavanagh characterized as "The third Age of Political Communication" and includes e.g. increased communication expertise within the political parties as well as professionalization of journalism, thus has had shorter time to develop than in many of the neighbouring countries. In this talk the results of three surveys are analysed, one among candidates from all political parties and all constituencies in the 2013 parliamentary elections, the second among candidates in the 2014 municipal elections and the third among voters in 2015. The findings suggest that politicians and voters have little faith in the professionalization, impartiality and balance to political parties of the Icelandic media and journalists, characteristics that would be expected to follow the commercialisation of the Media System and transformation from external diversity to internal diversity (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Icelandic politicians on the contrary view the Media in a political light where political parallelism and external diversity is important. It is argued that in Iceland there has developed a "Politically Commercial Media System" due to a combination of reasons. Among them are the historical proximity of a system of political parallelism, a relatively recent professionalization of journalism, an unregulated media environment and an extreme ownership concentration of the media, where ownership powers and political parties became mixed with each other.



Dr. Birgir Gudmundsson (University of Akureyri, Iceland) presents his research findings at the 58th International Scientific Conference of the Daugavpils University

Dr. Hjalti Johannesson (University of Akureyri, Iceland), ICELAND: SETTLE-MENT PATTERN AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT TRENDS – Urbanization in Iceland took off later than in most other countries in Europe. In the beginning of the twentieth century the majority of the Icelandic population was still living in rural areas. During the twentieth century, urbanization took off, first in many small and

larger towns around the country but first and foremost in the capital region after the Second World War. Around two thirds of the population now live in the capital region. Reykjavík, the capital city, can be termed a pimate city. The city along with its neighbouring towns attracts migrants from other regions and it is within this region where most of the population growth and economic activity takes place. Only around five per cent now live in rural areas. Regional development iniatives have not been able to impact this development to any considerable degree. This rapid de-



Dr. Hjalti Johannesson (University of Akureyri, Iceland) presents his research findings at the 58th International Scientific Conference of the Daugavpils University

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velopment of the settlement pattern will be discussed and the various challenges this brings about in modern society in the fields of regional development, infrastructure development, services of general interest and more.

Dr. Markus Meckl (University of Akureyri, Iceland), IMMIGRATION AND WELL-BEING OF FOREIGNERS – Between 2004 and 2014, the number of immigrants living in Akureyri increased from 369 to 778. In 2013, a study conducted on the immigrant population of Akureyri showed that 82% of immigrants were satisfied with their life in their town (Meckl & Ólafsson 2013). In Iceland despite being every year one of the top countries on the OECD life satisfaction index and other similar inventories when it comes to studying the immigrant population the focus is nearly exclusively on dissatisfaction and problems like discrimination, prejudice and difficulties the immigrants are facing. This presentation intends to take a different approach and want to determine the factors and the reasons that make such a high proportion of the foreign population happy. The debates which have dominated immigration issues have been far from addressing questions regarding well-being and happiness. Focusing on the wellbeing of the immigrants might help to shift the perception of immigrants in the public opinion from being connected to problems to a positive connotation of possibilities and enrichment.



Dr. Markus Meckl (University of Akureyri, Iceland) presents his research findings at the 58th International Scientific Conference of the Daugavpils University

Dr. Vera Komarova (Daugavpils University, Latvia; University of Rijeka, Croatia), CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INTERACTIONS OF ICELAND WITHIN GLOBAL ECONOMIC SPACE – Iceland was identified as a country with relatively high achieved competitiveness level and at the same time negative growth capacity, i.e. trend of relatively fast declining of this competitiveness. As a research hypothesis the authors suggest that Iceland's social and economic interactions – looking

at the interconnection of this country with other "worlds-economies" – are not diversified enough. The authors identified two established and rather big and two emerging "worlds-economies" in global economic space. "Ecologists with poor social infrastructure" (Brasil's/India's group) and "energy consumers with strong social infrastructure" (USA's/UK's group, where Iceland is also included) refer to the first ones, "ecologists with strong social infrastructure" (China's group) and "energy consumers with poor social infrastructure" (Russia's group) refer to the second ones. The analysis of export and import flows of Iceland shows that "energy consumers with strong social infrastructure" (USA's/UK's group), i.e. a market-capitalist "world-economy", is an absolute leader (80–90%) for Icelandic international trade as well as other kinds of social and economic interactions. The analysis of international migration flows of Iceland shows almost the same situation, and the migration essence in Iceland could be called as "economically-cultural" migration, not just economic.



Dr. Vera Komarova (Daugavpils University, Latvia; University of Rijeka, Croatia) presents her research findings at the 58th International Scientific Conference of the Daugavpils University

As it become known from knowledge sharing between Icelandic and Latvian researchers, specific feature of Icelandic regional development is "large scale activities in small scale communities":

Dr. Hjalti Johannesson (University of Akureyri, Iceland), LARGE SCALE ACTI-VITIES IN SMALL SCALE COMMUNITIES – In 2003 contracts were signed on a large hydropower project, Kárahnjúkar and the Alcoa Fjaršaál aluminium plant in East Iceland, the single largest construction project in Iceland's history. Estimated resources were 6,300 man years during the construction period and a cost of 2.5 billion USD. ... The aluminium plant was built just outside the town Reyšarfjöršur in

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East Iceland with just over 600 inhabitants when the project commenced. At the height of the project there were around 1,700 workers on site, 17% of them were Icelandic and thus greatly outnumbered by the Polish who were 70% of the workers. ... During the construction period, the region of East Iceland witnessed huge changes but impacts were observed to be primarily confined to two municipalities where the projects are located. Sample surveys indicated positive attitude towards impacts on economic conditions in the area and increased diversity of jobs. Population in the area within less than 2 hours driving distance from the projects is 9,000 inhabitants and has increased by 1,300 since 2002. ... The structure of the local economy changed during the construction period and beginning of the operation period. Iobs decreased in fisheries and fish processing, even if this can not be directly related to the advent of the aluminium plant but is more likely due to continued rationalization and automation. The relative size of the aluminium plant compared to the size of the local labour market makes it important for the social rhythm. ... The housing market and land use planning is where the most obvious mistakes were made during the construction period. Most striking was the excessive building of residential housing. This applied especially to apartment buildings but single family houses have traditionally been the most important building type in the area. ... Income of municipalities rose considerably but their economic condition did not change similarly due to costly investment in infrastructure and services. For the municipality Fjaršabyggš where the plant is located revenues continue to be high. There was much competition between the two main municipalities for new inhabitants and companies during the construction phase.

During the construction phase, Icelandic society was in an unusual state of turmoil. Much expansion took place in the economy of the country with rising housing prices and a credit bubble which burst in October 2008. Also there were cuts in fishing quotas and other negative changes in the traditional economy. Taking this into account, cause and effect concerning the megaprojects becomes more blurred. ... Concerning the regional development, it appears that the construction has strengthened the main service centre of the region Egilsstašir but the lack of a strong regional centre has been an Achilles heel of the region. The interests of the different communities of the central impact area appear to converge to a significant extent, and therefore it is possible that these communities will either continue to work closely, or even merge to form larger units.

The large US Air Force base at Keflavík is one more example of a megaproject which had a significant influence on the socio-economic development and, later, on the fall of one of Iceland's regions, and a region has had to cope with the sudden disappearance (in 2006) of it.

Daugavpils also is familiar with the similar "large scale activities in small scale communities":which were taking place here during the Societ period. The project's participants from the University of Akureyri (Iceland) together with Latvian colleagues from the Daugavpils University have been visited the heritage of Daugavpils industrial "large scale projects" – former big plant of chemical fibers – for comparison with Icelandic cases.



Project partners from the University of Akureyri (Iceland) and the Daugavpils University visiting the heritage of Daugavpils industrial "large scale projects" – former big plant of chemical fibers

During the 58th International Scientific Conference of the Daugavpils University the city has been visited also by the group of Icelandic students from the University of Akureyri which were guided by the students of the Daugavpils University during their stay in Daugavpils. It was wonderful additional outcome of the project – creating of non-formal platform for cooperation between Icelandic and Latvian students.



Students from the University of Akureyri (Iceland) and the Daugavpils University in Daugavpils fortress

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Icelandic participants of the project –
Dr. Markus Meckl, Dr. Sigrun Stefansdottir and Dr. Hjalti Johannesson together with Latvian participant of the project – Dr. Ilva Skulte – at the Riga Stradins University

At the end of Icelanders' visit to Latvia study course "International and Intercultural Communication" has been taught by Dr. Markus Meckl for Master students of the Riga Stradins University using innovative teaching methods included differences and opinions' exchange between participants coming from different cultures as a base for discussion.

The next step of Icelandic-Latvian cooperation within the project "Role of Social and Economic Networks in Territorial Development (Networks-Based Development)" was visit of Latvian partners – Dr. Visvaldis Valtenbergs, Dr. Agita Livina and Dr. Sarmite Rozentale from the Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences as well as Dr. Ilva Skulte and Dr. Normunds Kozlovs from the Riga Stradins University – to Iceland, which included meeting with colleagues at the University of Akureyri as well as taking part in the 4th Biannual Conference on Nordic Rural Research. Previous conferences were organized in Tammsvik, Sweden in 2010, Joensuu, Finland in 2012 and Trondheim, Norway in 2014. The 5th conference is scheduled in Denmark in 2018. The Nordic Rural Research Conferences have drawn an increasing number of participants from the Nordic countries and beyond. The Akureyri conference has a record number of 244 presentations in 56 sessions on a wide range of topics, drawing together perspectives on rural societies from various academic disciplines.



Icelandic and Latvian participants of the project at the University of Akureyri (Iceland)



Meeting with Icelandic colleagues at the University of Akureyri

Dr. Visvaldis Valtenbergs (Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences, Latvia), STRA-TEGIZING THE FUTURE OF RURAL REGIONS: LESSONS FROM BUILDING AND APPLYING OF THE METHODOLOGY FOR ASSESSING RURAL POTEN-TIAL – This research explores the process of strategizing the future of rural regions based on case study of rural region of Vidzeme in Latvia which took place between 2011 and 2014. Scenario building in post-crisis context was used to strategize possible development paths in conditions of uncertainties that rural regions are facing in context shrinking population dynamics and aging, reduction of public spending, environmental

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factors, technological development, transport and accessibility, renewable energy potential, transforming rural development models, social and cultural transformations, and governance. In this article we elaborate on four consecutive steps of strategizing the future of rural regions: (1) Benchmarking the Stakeholder Region in Broader Perspective (2) Assessment of the Regional Context and Stakeholder Perspective (3) Assessing the Region's Territorial Potential (4) Designing policy Options and Future Development Based on our insights as researchers in ESPON project "Potential of Rural Regions" as well as participants and consultants of the development planning process of case study region, we argue that under certain conditions, the methodologies for identifying rural potential and scenarios can be used as effective visioning tools to create and promote the agreement among various groups of the society about desirable and possible directions of development of rural territories.



Dr. Visvaldis Valtenbergs and Dr. Agita Livina (Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences, Latvia) at the 4th Biannual Conference on Nordic Rural Research (University of Akureyri, Iceland)

Dr. Agita Livina (Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences, Latvia), DARE OF LEADER PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION IN VIDZEME REGION, LATVIA – Findings and discussion is based on analysis of five-year performance of one of local development strategies "Madona Region Community Foundation" in Vidzeme region, Latvia. This local development strategy includes locals, municipalities, NGOs, entrepreneurs from five local municipalities with total area of 3353km² or 5.2% of Latvian territory, and 35 698 inhabitants or 1.76% of Latvian population in 2014. The area includes a town of regional development significance – Madona, and centres of local development significance – Lubana, Cesvaine and Varaklani. The strategy of Madona Region Community Foundation was defined quantitative and qualitative indicators according to eight actions. In this report, discussion will be focused in four parts:

- Impact of LEADER actions on territory by view of local municipalities. Local municipalities can submit project proposals as well as to support projects proposed by NGOs, entrepreneurs with co-financing. In some cases, municipalities held a view that they know better needs of locals. According to this, municipalities would like to make prioritisation of submitted projects.
- Impact of partnership-collaborative projects on territory development. There were a few projects in this field submitted by NGOs. Main problems connected with communication between partners, confidence and number of involved partners.
- Impact of projects which related with accessibility of services and public activities implemented by NGOs, local municipalities.
- Impact of entrepreneurial and self-employed persons' projects on territory development. Difficulties are pre-payment of actions, expenditure for bank services, in cases when project includes building, particularly elaboration of building documentation, project rules raise the cost.

Locals and enterprises in rural area consider that the LEADER programm is the most accessible for support of local ideas in practice.



Cultural heritage of Iceland – traditional rural houses, in which local people have been living until 1950s (in 1949 in Akureyri the last such house was broken)

Some social and cultural activities have been organized during the conference, and one of them – Conference dinner in Siglufjordur. The conference dinner was hold in the fishing town of Siglufjordur approx. 75 km north of Akureyri. Siglufjordur was the major centre for Norwegian and later Icelandic herring fisheries in the early 20th century but due to the collapse of the herring fisheries, geographical isolation and social change it has lost about two thirds of its population since 1944. Since the completion of a major road tunnel project in 2010 the town has enjoyed economic, cultural and demographic revival. The conference dinner included a trip through the tunnels and a brief visit to the Siglufjöršur Herring Era Museum.

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Icelandic geyser as a symbol of Icelandic-Latvian warm relationships during the project

All participants of the project gratefully thank the European Economic Area's (EEA) and Norway's financial instrument (NFI) for financial support as well as the Latvian State Education Development Agency and personally Mr. Reinis Tralmaks – for administrative one.



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