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SATURS

RAKSTI / ARTICLES / СТАТЬИ

Socioloģija / Sociology / Социология

- Aistė Balžekienė, Audronė Telešienė, Jurgita Jurkevičienė.** ENVIRONMENTAL COMPENSATION STRATEGIES AND PRACTICES: CASES OF URBAN PUBLIC PARKS IN LITHUANIA AND SWEDEN 7
- Vides zaudējumu kompensācijas stratēģijas un prakses: Lietuvas un Zviedrijas pilsētu sabiedrisko parku gadījumi
- Стратегии и практики компенсации потерь окружающей среды: случаи городских общественных парков в Литве и Швеции
- Lina Garsviene, Jurgita Bersenaite.** ASSESSMENT OF CRIMINALITY IN PUBLIC SPACE IN LARGEST CITIES OF LITHUANIA FOR THE PERIOD 2006–2015 28
- Noziedzības novērtējums Lietuvas lielāko pilsētu sabiedriskajā telpā 2006.–2015. gados
- Оценка преступности в общественных местах крупнейших городов Литвы в 2006–2015 г.

Ekonomika / Economics / Экономика

- Dovilė Ruplienė, Lina Garšvienė, Dalia Rudytė.** MUNICIPAL FISCAL COMPETITIVENESS AND ITS EVALUATION 45
- Fiskālā konkurētspēja un tās novērtējums municipalitātēs
- Фискальная конкурентоспособность и её оценка в муниципалитетах
- Marian Olinski, Piotr Szamrowski.** DIALOGIC FEATURES OF NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS WEBSITES – RELATIONAL APPROACH 64
- Bezpeļņas organizāciju tīmekļa vietņu dialoga īpašības – komunikatīvā pieeja
- Диалогические особенности интернет сайтов бесприбыльных организаций – коммуникативный подход
- Андрей Николаев.** БИЗНЕС-СРЕДА В СТРАНАХ БАЛТИЙСКОГО РЕГИОНА: ВЗГЛЯД С ТОЧКИ ЗРЕНИЯ ДЕМОГРАФИИ БИЗНЕСА 74
- Biznesa vide Baltijas reģionā: skats no biznesa demogrāfijas viedokļa
- Business Environment in the Baltic Region: View from the Business Demography

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Tatiana Bogolib. LIVING STANDARDS OF POPULATION AND MANIFESTATION OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN UKRAINIAN SOCIETY | 87 |
|---|-----------|

Iedzīvotāju dzīves līmenis un sociālās atstumtības izpausmes Ukrainas sabiedrībā

Уровень жизни населения и проявление социального отторжения в украинском обществе

Tiesībzinātne / Law / Юриспруденция

| | |
|---|------------|
| Zane Sedlova. PRELIMINARY REFERENCE PROCEDURE: SOME HISTORICAL LESSONS | 101 |
|---|------------|

Prejudiciālā nolēmuma procedūra: dažas vēsturiskās mācības

Процедура преюдициального решения: некоторые исторические уроки

Sociālā psiholoģija / Social psychology / Социальная психология

| | |
|--|------------|
| Irēna Žukovska, Aleksejs Ruža. PESSIMISTIC SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEFS OF OPTIMISTIC LATVIAN STUDENTS | 113 |
|--|------------|

Optimistisko Latvijas studentu pesimistiskās māņticības

Пессимистичные суеверия оптимистичных латвийских студентов

| | |
|--|------------|
| Vadims Murašovs, Aleksejs Ruža, Valērijs Dombrovskis, Vitālijs Raščevskis. EXPECTING REFUGEES IN LATVIA: REALISTIC AND SYMBOLIC THREATS | 125 |
|--|------------|

Sagaidot bēgļus Latvijā: reālistiskie un simboliskie draudi

Латвия в ожидании беженцев: реалистические и символические угрозы

ZINĀTNISKĀ DZĪVE / SCIENTIFIC LIFE / НАУЧНАЯ ЖИЗНЬ

Konferences un semināri / Conferences and workshops / Конференции и семинары

| | |
|---|------------|
| Viktorija Špilova. 11. STARPTAUTISKĀ ZINĀTNISKĀ KONFERENCE “SOCIĀLĀS ZINĀTNES REĢIONĀLAJAI ATTĪSTĪBAI 2016” – APLIECINĀJUMS CIEŠAI STARPTAUTISKAI SADARBĪBAI UN SOCIĀLO ZINĀTŅU IEGULDĪJUMAM REĢIONĀLAJĀ ATTĪSTĪBĀ | 140 |
|---|------------|

| | |
|--|------------|
| Viktorija Špilova. 11TH INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE “SOCIAL SCIENCES FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT 2016” – A CONFIRMATION OF THE CLOSE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND A CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES INTO THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT | 146 |
|--|------------|

RAKSTI

SOCIOLOGIJA

Aistė Balžekienė, Audronė Telešienė, Jurgita Jurkevičienė

ENVIRONMENTAL COMPENSATION STRATEGIES AND PRACTICES: CASES OF URBAN PUBLIC PARKS IN LITHUANIA AND SWEDEN

This paper discusses environmental compensation practices in the development of urban public parks comparing the cases from Sweden and Lithuania. The practices of environmental compensation are discussed in relation to the principles of sustainable development and regulations related to environmental impact assessment. The European Union environmental liability policies set an imperative of no-net loss of biodiversity. However, it is not pursued often in urban planning processes, especially in Baltic countries. Environmental compensation is considered as one of the prioritized strategies within a biodiversity loss mitigation hierarchy that also includes strategies of avoidance, minimisation, restoration and off-set. This paper presents the analysis of environmental compensation in two case studies of urban public parks in Sweden and Lithuania. Data was collected in 2016, using expert interviews, on-site observation and document analysis. Comparative case analysis looks at environmental compensation measures, objects / assets that were compensated, and the processes how compensatory measures were discussed. In addition, the participation of stakeholders, such as NGO's and local communities, in discussing about compensation measures is investigated. The research results indicate that environmental compensation measures are undertaken in both Swedish and Lithuanian cases, but in Swedish case, the process of environmental compensation is regulated in more detail. In both cases, most compensation measures were implemented on-site (close to impact area). Main objects of compensation in both cases were related to flora and fauna, and recreational opportunities. The difference in compared cases is in the type of compensation. Swedish project mainly uses in-kind compensation, while in Lithuania the out-of-kind compensation is used more often. The practices of urban planning and environmental impact off-set, as characteristic to the Lithuanian case, do not ensure the *no-net loss* of biodiversity. The recommendation would be to adopt compensation guidelines at municipal level in Lithuania, based on mitigation hierarchy principles and a good practice example of Gothenburg city.

Key words: environmental compensation, urban planning, mitigation hierarchy, Lithuania, Sweden.

Vides zaudējumu kompensācijas stratēģijas un prakses: Lietuvas un Zviedrijas pilsētu sabiedrisko parku gadījumi

Šajā rakstā tiek apspriesti vides zaudējumu kompensācijas principi sabiedrisko parku attīstībā, salīdzinot Zviedrijas un Lietuvas gadījumus. Vides zaudējumu kompensācijas prakses tiek apspriestas ilgtspējīgas attīstības principu un ietekmes uz vidi novērtējuma noteikumu kontekstā. Vides saglabāšanas politikas Eiropas Savienībā fokusējas uz pilnīgu bioloģiskās daudzveidības saglabāšanu. Jāatzīmē, ka pilsētu attīstības plānošanā, šāda pieeja netiek pielietota bieži, īpaši Baltijas valstīs. Vides zaudējumu kompensācija tiek uzskatīta par prioritāro stratēģiju bioloģiskās daudzveidības zaudējumu mīkstināšanas hierarhijas ietvaros, kura iekļauj arī novēršanu, mazināšanu, atjaunošanu un kompensāciju. Šajā rakstā tiek piedāvāta vides zaudējumu kompensācijas analīze, izmantojot divus tematiskus pētījumus pilsētas sabiedriskajos parkos Zviedrijā un Lietuvā. Dati analīzei tika vākti 2016. gadā, aptaujājot ekspertus, veicot novērojumus uz vietas un analizējot dokumentus. Izvēlēto gadījumu salīdzinošā analīze koncentrē uzmanību uz pasākumiem, kuri tiek izstrādāti vides zaudējumu kompensācijai, objektiem un aktīviem, kurus kompensē un kompensācijas pasākumu apspriešanu. Papildus tam, autori pēta ieinteresēto pušu, tādu kā nevalstiskās organizācijas un vietējas kopienas, dalību iespējamo kompensācijas pasākumu apspriešanā. Pētījuma rezultāti parāda, ka vides zaudējumu kompensācijas pasākumi tiek realizēti abos gadījumos, kā Zviedrijā, tā arī Lietuvā, tomēr, Zviedrijas gadījumā vides zaudējumu kompensācijas process tiek regulēts detalizētāk. Abos gadījumos lielāka kompensācijas pasākumu daļa tika realizēta “uz vietas” (t.i. tuvu ietekmes vietai). Galvenie kompensācijas objekti abos gadījumos bija saistīti ar floru un faunu, kā arī ar atpūtas iespējām. Atšķirības starp salīdzinātajiem gadījumiem attiecas uz kompensācijas veidu. Vides zaudējumu kompensācijas projektā Zviedrijā, pārsvarā, realizē pasākumus, kuri kompensē cietušos dabas resursus ar to pašu dabas resursu tipu, tajā pat kvalitātē un kvantitātē, savukārt, Lietuvā situācijas uzlabošanai, pārsvarā, realizē pasākumus, kuri kompensē reto un aizsargājamo dabas resursu zaudējumus. Pilsētas plānošanas prakse un vides zaudējumu kompensācija Lietuvas gadījumā nenodrošina pilnīgas bioloģiskās daudzveidības saglabāšanas ieviešanu. Iespējamās rekomendācijas paredz kompensācijas pasākumu vadlīniju pieņemšanu municipalitātes līmenī Lietuvā, ņemot vērā mīkstināšanas hierarhijas principus un Gēteborgas pilsētas veiksmīgo praksi.

Atslēgas vārdi: vides zaudējumu kompensācija, pilsētas plānošana, mīkstināšanas hierarhija, Lietuva, Zviedrija.

Стратегии и практики компенсации потерь окружающей среды: случаи городских общественных парков в Литве и Швеции

В данной статье обсуждается применение принципов компенсации потерь окружающей среды в развитии городских общественных парков, сравнивая случаи Швеции и Литвы. Практики компенсации потерь окружающей среды обсуждаются в контексте принципов устойчивого развития и правил оценки уровня воздействия на окружающую среду. Политики сохранения окружающей среды в Европейском Союзе делают акцент на полном сохранении биологического разнообразия. Следует отметить, что в процессе планирования развития городов данный подход применяется не так часто, особенно в странах Балтии. Компенсации потерь окружающей среды рассматриваются в качестве приоритетных стратегий в рамках иерархии смягчения потерь биологического разнообразия, которая также включает стратегии предотвращения, минимизации, восстановления и компенсации. В данной статье представлен анализ компенсации потерь окружающей среды по двум тематическим исследованиям в городских общественных парках Швеции и Литвы. Данные для анализа были собраны в 2016 году, посредством экспертных интервью, наблюдений на месте и анализа документов. Анализ сравниваемых случаев концентрируется на мерах

компенсации, компенсируемых объектах / активах и процессе обсуждения мер компенсации. Кроме того, исследуется участие заинтересованных сторон, таких как негосударственные организации и местные общины, в обсуждении возможных компенсационных мер. Результаты исследования показывают, что меры по компенсации потерь окружающей среды предпринимаются в обоих случаях, как в Швеции, так и в Литве, но в случае Швеции, процесс компенсации потерь окружающей среды регулируется более детально. В обоих случаях, большая часть компенсационных мер была реализована «на месте» (т.е. близко к месту воздействия). Основные объекты компенсации в обоих случаях были связаны с флорой и фауной, а также с возможностями для отдыха. Разница между сравненными случаями заключается в типе компенсации. В проекте по компенсации потерь окружающей среды, реализуемом в Швеции, в основном, применяются меры, которые компенсируют пострадавшие природные ресурсы тем же типом природных ресурсов, в том же качестве и количестве, в то время как в Литве, в целях улучшения ситуации, в основном, применяются меры, которые компенсируют потери редких, охраняемых природных ресурсов. Практика городского планирования и компенсации потерь окружающей среды в случае Литвы не обеспечивает соблюдение полного сохранения биологического разнообразия. Возможные рекомендации предусматривают принятия руководства по компенсации на муниципальном уровне в Литве, основываясь на принципы иерархии смягчения и примере успешной практики города Гётеборг.

Ключевые слова: компенсация потерь окружающей среды, городское планирование, иерархия смягчения, Литва, Швеция.

Introduction

Sustainability challenges are similar in Baltic-Nordic region; however, responses and practices that are implemented in the Nordic countries and in the Baltic counties have significant differences. Several similarities of policy response would include EU wide initiatives, such as Natura 2000. However, there are distinct measures for the minimisation of negative impacts of human activity that are applied only in Nordic countries, but not in Baltic countries. Those would include, e.g., elaborated guidelines for environmental compensation, that are developed by some Swedish municipalities, but not Lithuanian ones.

The rationale of this article follows comparative case analysis – the cases with similar impact area (urban parks) but with different environmental impact mitigation strategies are chosen.

The cases are selected from countries with different environmental policies, especially concerning implementation of environmental compensation measures. Sweden is one of the leading countries in application of these principles in urban development projects. The selected project is developed in Gothenburg city, which was the first city in Sweden to approve the guidelines for environmental compensation. In Lithuania, the compensation for damage to environment due to infrastructure or other project development is regulated by environmental impact assessment (EIA) procedures. However, EIA is rarely compulsory, especially when projects are of local scale. The measures for damage coping are subject to deliberation and agreement among stakeholders. In this case, the main challenge is related to finding the right balance between the interests of

investors and the public interest. Therefore, this article will focus on cases of urban public parks.

The aim of this article is to investigate the environmental compensation practices as implemented in urban public parks' development projects in Sweden and Lithuania. Article starts with theoretical conceptualisation of environmental compensation, based on the principles of mitigation hierarchy. The second objective is to analyse the compensation practices, focusing on types, techniques, objects and strategies of compensation. In addition, article investigates what is the importance of stakeholders' participation in the decisions about mitigation measures. Comparative case studies were conducted in order to identify the similarities and differences of environmental compensation practices and principles in the development of urban parks in Sweden and Lithuania. This research is rather exploratory and context specific. The research results are generalizable only to the analysed cases, but they highlight the similar urban park development cases and point to the need for new policy guidelines.

Two cases are analysed in this article. The first case is Hisingen Public Park in Gothenburg, Sweden, and the second case is Šiauliai Central Park in Lithuania. Both cases include recently implemented park development projects, and measures of environmental compensation were implemented in both of these cases. The research presented in this article uses qualitative approach. Data was collected through document analysis, semi-structured expert interviews and on-site observations.

This article could also serve for increasing awareness in Baltic countries about recent developments in environmental policy, discussing introduction of environmental compensation measures into territorial planning procedures ongoing within municipalities.

Environmental compensation for sustainable urban development

The imperative of sustainability requires policy solutions to complex issues, considering social, environmental and economic interests. The common strategy to cope with negative impact on biodiversity is environmental impact assessment procedure (EIA). However, as noted by Villarroya and Puig (2010), most projects under EIA regulation still result in onsite net depletion of natural resource base.

To make the conservation needs and the developmental priorities compatible, the *mitigation hierarchy* framework is applied during planning of urban infrastructure projects (Biodiversity Consultancy 2015). The principle of mitigation hierarchy is central to most of environmental legislation in European Union countries since 2011, when European Commission adopted Biodiversity strategy (Quétier, Regnery, Levrel 2013). Biodiversity strategy requires implementing "no net loss" principle, which means that damaged biodiversity, should be restored or compensated without any loss, and preferably with *net-positive* impact.

Mitigation hierarchy is the sequence of actions mean to anticipate and avoid, and where avoidance is not possible, minimize, and, when impacts occur, restore, and where significant residual impacts remain, offset for biodiversity-related risks and impacts on affected communities and the environment (Biodiversity Consultancy 2015).

The stages of mitigation hierarchy are presented in Table 1. They are widely promoted by Business and Biodiversity Offsets Programme that unites leading organisations from industry, financial institutions, government organisations and organisations of civil society.

Table 1

Components of mitigation hierarchy for coping with loss of biodiversity

| Measures | Definition of measures |
|------------------------------|--|
| Avoidance | Measures taken to anticipate and prevent adverse impacts on biodiversity before actions or decisions are taken that could lead to such impacts. |
| Minimisation | Measures taken to reduce the duration, intensity and / or extent of impacts (including direct, indirect and cumulative impacts, as appropriate) that cannot be completely avoided, as far as is practically feasible. |
| Rehabilitation / restoration | Measures taken to rehabilitate degraded ecosystems or restore cleared ecosystems following exposure to impacts that cannot be completely avoided and / or minimised. |
| Compensation / offset | Measures taken to compensate for any residual significant, adverse impacts that cannot be avoided, minimised and /or rehabilitated or restored, in order to achieve no net loss or a net gain of biodiversity. Offsets can take the form of positive management interventions such as restoration of degraded habitat, arrested degradation or averted risk, protecting areas where there is imminent or projected loss of biodiversity. |

Source: Business and Biodiversity Offsets Programme 2012, Enetjarn et al. 2015, p. 30.

The logic of environmental compensation is to determine equivalent compensatory measures, after the evaluation of the extent of damage or loss that a development project might cause was evaluated (Cowell 2000). Term ‘compensation’ often is used interchangeably together with the term ‘off-set’ in various policy documents and guidelines.

Environmental impact assessment includes the principles of compensation, however research shows (e.g. Villarroya, Puig 2010), that the practice of environmental compensation in EIA is much lower in reality than expected, and is not sufficient to avoid net-losses in biodiversity base.

Impacts on biodiversity by various developmental projects can be handled in various ways. When a project requires Environmental impact assessment (EIA), the measures for damage coping are compulsory for the developer. However, there are many instances, when EIA is not compulsory. In those cases, the mitigation of negative impacts is the subject of negotiation between the governmental institutions and/or municipality on the one side, and a project developer on the other side. The process is more difficult when there are no obligations for the developers to compensate for the damage complying with no net loss. Therefore, it is very useful to adopt special rules at municipal level that would guide and bind the developers.

In cases of urban parks and their development, EIA is usually not compulsory. Yet another issue is that municipalities very often act as main developers of the projects. In these cases, the measures of mitigation are mainly voluntary, and reflect the value orientations of managers in municipalities.

The most important questions to answer while planning the measures of environmental compensation: what exactly should be compensated for (objects for compensation), how to compensate, and how to involve stakeholders in the decision-making process. A practical issue addressed by both municipalities and the developers is to decide the scale, type, and location of mitigation measures.

Objects for compensation. Assessing environmental impact usually refers to thinking about a set of specific values, objects or functions that might be affected negatively. The European directive on environmental liability (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2004) speaks of several resources that might be at risk of damage: water, land or protected species or natural habitats. Persson (2013, p. 619) states that socio-cultural dimensions should also be taken into consideration and thus presents with an extended list of objects to be compensated for fauna and flora, micro-climate, landscape and scenery, recreational opportunities, hydrological functions and water quality, cultural environments.

Measure of compensation can be divided into in-kind and out-of-kind mitigation measures. The European directive on environmental liability asks for following the principle of equivalence. It says (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2004, p. 13): “When determining the scale of complementary and compensatory remedial measures, the use of resource-to-resource or service-to-service equivalence approaches shall be considered first. Under these approaches, actions that provide natural resources and/or services of the same type, quality and quantity as those damaged shall be considered first”. In other words, the directive prioritizes in-kind measures. Out-of-kind offset may be advisable where an offset arising from project impacts on a common or widespread component of biodiversity may instead be switched to benefit a more threatened or rare component (Conway et al. 2013).

Location of mitigation measures can be classified into on-site or off-site compensation. On-site compensation refers to measures implemented close to the damaged area (Persson et al. 2015). Off-site compensation measures are located outside the effected zone by the development projects (Villarroya et al. 2014). The European directive on environmental liability also clearly gives priority to on-site measures and states: “where possible and appropriate the alternative site should be geographically linked to the damaged site, taking into account the interests of the affected population” (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2004, p. 12).

Involvement of stakeholders into planning of environmental compensation measures should be inherent part of development planning process. According to the Business and Biodiversity Offsets Programme (BBOP) (2012) guidelines of compensation, possible stakeholders of any development project are non-governmental organizations (NGO)/ scientific organizations, governmental organisations, communities and individuals, and private sector. Stakeholders can take different roles in the process. The programme (BBOP 2012) advises that special attention by the developers should be paid to the local communities living within or near the project site. Enetjarn et al.

(2015) note that the effective participation of stakeholders should be ensured in decision-making about biodiversity offset, including evaluation, selection, design, implementation and monitoring stages.

Several factors influence the avoidance of impacts of projects in practice (outlined in BBOP (2012)):

- Financial considerations (i.e. how much can the developer avoid without making the project economically unviable);
- Which impacts are proscribed by regulation and whether this regulation is enforced;
- The level of stakeholder engagement and pressure, and associated risk to proponents (so called “licence to operate”);
- Trade-offs made at a political / societal level with regard to the overall benefits of the proposed development in relation to its social and environmental impact.

The last statement points to the definition of *value* in the processes of traditional and environmental compensation. In cases of environmental compensation, the nature is viewed as having an intrinsic value, but not as a commodity for human use.

The idea of environmental compensation itself requires “implicit change in social norms about what is and what is not acceptable in terms of our impact on global ecosystems” (Enetjarn et al. 2015, p. 15). Enetjarn et al. (2015) in their report on environmental compensation note that changes in social norms are very slow, but these changes start to be integral part of environmental policies of Western European countries, and also Scandinavia. These authors also observed that stakeholders from private sector started to be cautious about the environmental impacts of their activity. The voluntary compensation could be effective only if it is value-based and science-informed.

Research methodology and case description

This research uses qualitative methodology and mixed methods approach. Case study research in social sciences usually employs multi-source data as the phenomena under study are complex and there are various contexts to be encountered. Methods of data collection included document analysis, expert interviews and on-site observation.

All these methods were used to collect the data from two selected cases using the analytical categories for case analysis as presented further. On-site observation allowed also to capture visual elements (taking photos) of sites that further informed our data analysis. The research presented in this paper is interdisciplinary in its nature. It does not aim at generalising about the practices of environmental compensation in Sweden and Lithuania but rather serves as exploratory research to touch upon the concept that is quite new at least to Lithuanian environmental policy makers and implementers. The data that is presented in this article is part of a bigger research project that finally aims at preparing guidelines for environmental compensation in Lithuania.

Analytical categories used for data analysis were developed deductively, based on the theoretical analysis of environmental compensation measures (see Table 2).

Table 2

Analytical categories for comparative case study

| Analytical category | Description |
|---|--|
| Measures of mitigation that were undertaken | Based on mitigation hierarchy: avoid, minimise, restore or compensate |
| Object of compensation | Fauna and flora, micro-climate, landscape and scenery, recreational opportunities, hydrological functions and water quality, cultural environments |
| Type of compensation measures | In-kind or out-of-kind |
| Location of compensation measures | On-site or off-site |
| Stakeholder participation | Involved stakeholders and nature of their relationship |

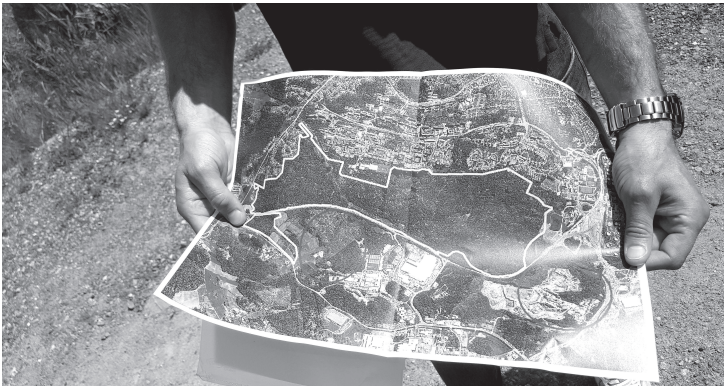
Source: elaborated by the authors.

This article presents results from two case studies from Gothenburg, Sweden and Šiauliai, Lithuania. Expert interviews with representatives of municipalities and park management and on-site observation were conducted on 31st of June 2016 (Hisingen case) and 16th of September 2016 (Šiauliai case). The selected projects are presented in more detail further in the text.

Hisingen urban park, Gothenburg, Sweden. Hisingen is the largest public park of the City of Gothenburg, Sweden. The urban park is rich in diverse habitats, including heather covered rocks, moorland, forest, fir grove and wetland. The park is important also in its cultural heritage, e.g. stone fences and castle remains, and recreational functions, e.g. walkways, bicycle paths, barbecue areas and open-air sports facilities. The park is managed by Office for Parks and Nature, City of Gothenburg.

Figure 1

Hisingen park manager is showing a map with round circles indicating the future location of logistic centres and other park area that is under environmental impact management activities



Source: Photo by Audrone Telesiene, 31st May, 2016.

The Urban Park is situated in an attractive area for industrial development. Thus, Volvo Company and Port of Gothenburg have developed plans for building logistic centres in the outskirts of the park area. In the picture (see Figure 1) you can see a park manager showing a map with round circles indicating the future location of logistic centres and other park area that is under environmental impact management activities. Both Volvo Company and Port of Gothenburg have environmental impact assessments conducted and construction and facilities development plans approved, following the Swedish Environmental Code and regulations by City of Gothenburg.

Šiauliai Central Park, Lithuania. Šiauliai Central Park is one of the largest public parks in Šiauliai, Lithuania. The park has valuable habitats, such as oak tree grove, plantation of *Hedera helix*, foot slope with springs and a forest. The park, located in an attractive urban area, has been known long as a venue of cultural events, leisure, and various gatherings. It was equipped with a stage, attractions, walking trails and benches. However, for many years the park has been abandoned and lost its charm: without pruning and thinning, the area became shady, condition and health of some plants deteriorated, while the stage and the attractions became old and are currently in an emergency condition. The park has become unattractive, so the locals avoid going there.

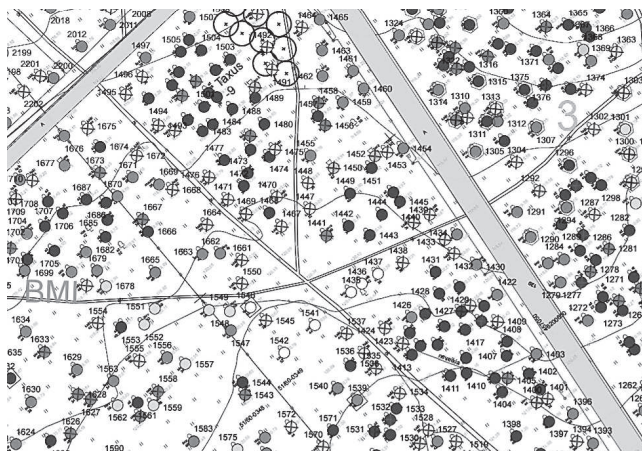
Šiauliai municipality owns and manages Šiauliai Central Park. The municipal environmental division assessed the condition of the Central Park, and took several steps to revive it and attract visitors: first, it allowed private entrepreneurs to use a specific area of the park, to equip climbing routes in the trees. In return, entrepreneurs undertook to maintain the area, mowing the grass and collecting litter. Second, in 2012 the municipality announced a tender for the Central Park redevelopment project. The successful tenderer was to develop the restructuring guidelines that will enable to reorganize and modernize the park.

The contract of Šiauliai municipality was awarded to *Želdynai*. It's project for redevelopment of the Central Park consists of three main phases. The first and the second phases essentially involve the plantation thinning (tree felling), while the third one – replanting and formation of the park spaces.

As stated in the report of Šiauliai municipality, “The project aims to protect and to demonstrate oaks and valuable other types of trees, that currently grow very densely, like a forest. To form necessary small spaces in the park, separating them from adjacent streets, auxiliary buildings with plantations, and to vitalise the landscape with more types of trees and shrubs” (Damulevicius 2013, p. 26) (see Figure 2). The project of *Želdynai* was launched in 2013. About 380 trees and shrubs were felt. Both damaged/diseased as well as healthy plants were removed (the Figure 2 presents an excerpt from Šiauliai Central Park tree inventory plan. Crosses in it mark the trees that were removed during the project).

Figure 2

An excerpt from Šiauliai Central Park tree inventory plan



Note: Crosses mark the trees that were removed during the project of *Želdynai*.

Source: Municipality of Šiauliai city (2016).

Results of comparative case study

Further analysis of cases is structured according to the analytical categories presented in the previous section.

Environmental compensation procedures and measures taken.

Hisingen case. As indicated by environmental impact assessments, four protected species – a grass snake, a frog, a salamander and a woodpecker – reside within the area, affected by the development of logistic centres. In addition, a threat to a cultural heritage – stone fences – was indicated. Stone fences also are considered as a unique ecotope and guarded against damage. This proved the need for mitigation measures. The specific mitigation measures and activities were discussed and deliberated among several offices of the Gothenburg city municipality and the representatives of Volvo Company and Port of Gothenburg. These measures were discussed during the planning process, which took over a decade to be finalized. The funds needed for implementation of mitigation measures were covered by the developers (Volvo Company and Port of Gothenburg) and managed by several municipality offices.

The Environmental administration of the City of Gothenburg has developed its own Environmental Compensation regulation; a most up-to-date document is titled “City of Gothenburg’s guideline for compensation measures in city planning process” (2016). It describes the guidelines for voluntary compensation measures to protect ecological and recreational values. It is based upon the “mitigation hierarchy” concept and follows principles (Kallstrand 2016):

- first try to avoid, then try to make efforts to minimize, and only then compensate the residual impacts,

- priority should be given to measures ‘near in time, place and value’ (as close to the ecological or recreational values under threat),
- municipality pays on municipal land,
- the measures are voluntarily on private land,
- mitigation measures should be planned and agreed on early in the planning process.

The guidelines include checklist for assessing the damage that include damage to ecosystem services, e.g. flooding control, noise reduction, etc., and damage to sociotopes (smallest socially and recreationally important landscape areas), e.g. open-air sports locations, picnic areas, etc.

Environmental compensation Measures agreed between the Hisingen park owner (municipality) and the developers (Volvo Company and Port of Gothenburg) include:

1. *Stone fence restoration.* Stone fence is considered as a protected cultural object, valuable as a unique habitat for various species. The fence has been removed from the construction site and restored in several hundred meters on the other side of a large grassland within the park. Several important lizards’ and insect’s species have already settled the new stone fence; thus restoration is considered to be successful.
2. *Restoring an ameliorated system of ponds.* Several ponds have been destroyed within the construction sites. Ponds are an important habitat for a protected frog and salamander species. The newly developed system of ponds includes ponds that are interconnected, newly excavated and occupy a large grassland within the park, close to the Volvo construction site. Some of the ponds were also adapted for recreational purposes, e.g. has small bridges, walking paths along the coasts. Two ponds were additionally excavated within a nearby forest within the park. Several ponds were made purposefully chaotic, with many clay and silt banks that would not be attractive to people, but attractive to the endangered species. This compensation measure is again considered to be successful, because protected frog and salamander species have already settled the ponds.
3. *Enhancement of grass snake habitat* within the forest covered area in the park. The protected grass snake specie was found to be living close to logistic centres construction sites. The specie is endangered by the intense building activities and noise, and thus has to be attracted to other areas of the park. Small glades are being cut in a forest covered area and equipped with slash piles. In addition, special constructions of stone slabs are being scattered around the area. These are to become comfortable nests and worm-up places for the grass snake. The grass snake loves to remain covered and it has not been observed for a long time within that area of the park. Thus, even though the measures have been already implemented, it does not show yet signs of success.
4. *Woodpecker habitat enhancement.* Same as with grass snake, a protected woodpecker specie is threatened by intense construction activities and noise. To attract them deeper into the forest area, new living places have to be built. There are plans to halfway cut down a number of healthy trees and leave them to decompose, as this is the typical place for woodpecker to reside. This will make new territories and broaden the living habitat of the specie. The measure is yet to be implemented (as of summer, 2016).

5. *Enhancement of park recreational functions.* To escape an issue of residual negative influence of the logistic centres upon the Hisingen Park and to reach for 'net positive impact' (or at least no net loss situation), additional recreational facilities have been built. These have been funded by the developers and include e.g. new walking paths, horse-riding routes, open-air sports facilities and bird watching sites.

Figure 3

Newly excavated system of ponds, devoted to compensate for the damage to a frog and salamander species' habitat within Hisingen Park



Source: Photo by Audrone Telesiene, 31st May, 2016.

Šiauliai case. Under the current Lithuanian legislation, environmental impact assessment is not mandatory to the Šiauliai Central Park redevelopment and similar projects. In absence of environmental impact assessment, it is difficult to demand environmental compensation measures from developers. Developers, of course, are bound to compensate for the areas and objects protected by the EU law, specifically Birds (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2009), Habitats (The Council of the European Communities 1992) and the Environmental Liability (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2004) directives, when there is a threat to Natura 2000 territories. Damage must be compensated also for felling trees, by measuring their value according to the trunk diameter (Government of the Republic of Lithuania 2008 – Decree No. 206). However, even in the cases, where certain environmental compensation is legally binding, there is a lack of clear guidelines and methods to ensure the implementation of adequate environmental compensation in the country.

However, in some cases, the municipalities may demand for environmental compensation measures via negotiations with developers of the project in its planning stage. Alternatively, if the municipality itself is the entity, commissioning the project,

it may include the compensation measures in the list of mandatory project conditions, supplied to all project developers. In case of Šiauliai Central Park, the environmental compensation measures, negotiated through both aforementioned methods, comprised:

- *Prevention of damage to Hedera helix.* A habitat of *Hedera helix* has been discovered in Šiauliai Central Park. Since this plant is included in the list of protected species under the Natura 2000, it was decided to follow the EU recommendations (directives of Environmental Liability (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2004), Habitats (The Council of the European Communities 1992) and impose strict damage prevention measures. In particular, a decision to prohibit any activity in the park area, where this species is common, was made. During the project, both size and quality of the habitat of *Hedera helix* remained unaltered, thus applied measures are considered to be successful.
- *Restoration of removed trees and shrubs.* As stated previously, the Šiauliai Central Park development project comprised not only tree trimming (cutting), but also their replanting works. The cut-down trees were supposed to be replaced by various new plants: mostly shrubs (hazel, dogwood and mountain currant), which allow forming internal and external spaces of the park. However, after the planned tree cutting, the park redevelopment works slowed down significantly. Since up to now only a small part of the planned plants has been replanted, there are no signs that would allow stating that the applied compensation measures were successful.
- *Expansion of the park's recreational functions.* With the aim of a 'net positive impact' (or at least 'no net loss' situation) to the Šiauliai Central Park, there were plans to implement an additional children's playground on-site of the park. There were also plans to renew the old walkways and benches, to establish a court at the centre of the park with a decorative sculpture, and to define nice lawn areas in various parts of the park, where the visitors could play games or spend time sitting/laying down on the grass. However, none of the aforementioned measures have been started to be implemented in the Šiauliai Central Park.
- *Creation of a scenic landscape.* A 'net positive impact' (or at least 'no net loss' situation) should have been guaranteed also by the creation of a scenic landscape. According to project authors, the landscape first could be improved by thinning out the trees. When trees grow too densely, some of them naturally become over-shadowed. After carrying out the required cuttings, the remaining trees would be revealed and show their true beauty. In addition, such cuttings would allow improving the species' composition of the park. There were also plans to shape a scenic landscape in the park by planting new vegetation of more varied species and by forming the parks' spaces (a central court with a decorative sculpture, open lawn courts), by renewing the walkways and benches and installing lighting. Of all the works listed, only the cutting of trees has been carried out – thus, it is too early to estimate the impact of this measure.

Figure 4

Damage coping strategies in Šiauliai Central Park



Source: Pilkauskas et al. (2013), p. 241.



Source: Photo taken by Audrone Telesiene, 16th September, 2016.

Objects of compensation.

Hisingen case. In case of logistic centres, development in Hisingen Park, Gothenburg, Sweden, and the remedying measures addressed several objects. First, the possible impact on fauna was taken into account. Damage coping measures were addressed towards the habitats of protected species of a grass snake, a frog, a salamander and a woodpecker. Significant adverse changes to the baseline condition of the habitats of these species were offset through several measures: restoring an ameliorated system of ponds, enhancement of grass snake habitat within the forest covered area in the park, woodpecker habitat enhancement through making new nesting tree trunks. Referring to the Environmental Liability directive (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2004), this can be classified as complementary remediation and compensatory remediation. Primary remediation was not possible, as the ponds were destroyed. Complementary remediation includes restoring the ponds in close proximity to the lost habitat. Compensatory remediation includes making additional efforts to build new residential slots (ponds in the forest, decomposed trunks, slash piles) for the species, and extending the residential area, compared to the area that the species resided before the damage occurred.

In Hisingen case, objects related to cultural environments were also considered for compensation. This includes taking into account the cultural and environmental value of old stone fences, found and destroyed on construction sites. The fences, a unique ecotope, have been restored close to the construction site within the park area.

Recreational opportunities have also been taken into account in Hisingen park case. This consists of additional improvements to recreational functions of the park. This type of remediation (compensatory remediation), as stated within the Environmental Liability Directive (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2004), does not consist of financial compensation to members of the public. Rather, it means building something additional, like horse riding routes, open-air sports facilities, to compensate for the damage.

In the *Central Park of Šiauliai*, the remedying measures were also directed at several objects. First, attention was given to the potential negative impact to flora, particularly the protected plant *Hedera helix*. In order to avoid the potential negative impact, preventive measures have been taken, prohibiting any activity in the habitat of *Hedera helix*. According to the mitigation hierarchy, such measure is considered as a damage avoidance strategy (BBOP 2012).

In case of Šiauliai Central Park, other plants were also considered as objects of compensation, in particular – trees and shrubs, to which a significant effect was caused by implementing the cuttings planned within the project. The damage caused to nature was decided to be compensated by replanting plants in other places of the park. Such replanting strategy, according to the Environmental Liability Directive (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2004), may be considered as complementary remediation and compensatory remediation.

Finally, in case of the Šiauliai Central Park, recreational possibilities and landscape have also become objects of compensation. Compensation comprised additional improvements to the park's recreational functions and its general image. As stated in the Environmental Liability Directive (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2004), alterations of such nature are to be considered as compensatory remediation.

Damage equivalence and location of damage compensation.

As mentioned in the first part of this article, damage equivalence is related to in-kind or out-of-kind measures. In addition, the location of damage compensation can be implemented on-site or off-site.

The damage equivalence in the case of *Hisingen Park* was ensured through implementing in-kind compensatory measures, as the impacts are on protected species. Concerning location of damage compensation, main strategy in Swedish case was the implementation of on-site compensation measures.

In Hisingen park case, several resources and services have been considered for remediation: habitats of protected species, cultural environments and recreational opportunities. Cultural environments and natural habitats restoration and creation (e.g. stone fence, ponds, tree trunks for woodpeckers, slash piles) should be viewed as an in-kind compensation. The damaged objects, e.g. ponds, were restored and not replaced by other kind of valuable services (e.g. trees). Same with stone fence – it was rebuilt close to its primary location (currently a construction site). These measures should also be viewed as on-site measures. As they are in close proximity to the logistic centres construction sites and the measures are being implemented within the same ecosystem area.

Recreational opportunities (horse riding routes, sports facilities etc.) are to be considered as out-of-kind but on-site measures. They are dedicated to give an extra value to the park and to make it more attractive to the residents from nearby neighbourhoods or generally, the inhabitants of City of Gothenburg.

In the case of *Šiauliai Central Park*, several resources and services were considered for remediation. First, replanting of destroyed plants, and later – expansion of recreational opportunities and creation of scenic landscape in the park. As for the plants replanting, it has become a model of the out-of-kind compensation. As stated by Pilkauskas et. al. (2013), mostly the so-called “less valuable species of trees” were removed from the park, specifically, chestnut and poplar, as well including tall and thin birch. It was decided to compensate these trees with different species, giving priority to shrubs (hazel, dogwood and mountain currant) rather than trees. According to the project authors, these species have been selected because they are more suitable for the formation of the park spaces: tall shrubs allow to create the common park space, separating the park from the streets and utility buildings, and lower form the internal spaces of the park. Replanting was carried out/planned in the same area of the park; therefore, it should be seen as intensive on-site compensation.

Expansion of the recreational opportunities (children’s playground, upgrading walkways and benches, installing a central area with a decorative sculpture, seeding lawns for playing and resting) and creation of scenic landscape should also be treated as the out-of-kind, but on-site compensation. As in Hisingen Park, those measures are designed to increase the park value, to make the park more attractive not only to the residents living in the neighbourhood, but also for general population of Šiauliai.

Stakeholders’ participation in the decision-making about mitigation measures.

Stakeholder participation is a universal principle. It should insure the multiple interests of different stakeholders are met during the decision making and implementation processes of environmental mitigation. The European directive on environmental liability states that “Persons adversely affected or likely to be adversely affected by environmental damage should be entitled to ask the competent authority to take action. Environmental protection is, however, a diffuse interest on behalf of which individuals will not always act or will not be in a position to act. Non-governmental organizations promoting environmental protection should therefore also be given the opportunity to properly contribute to the effective implementation of this Directive” (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2004, par. 25).

Hisingen case. The competent authority to make decisions on mitigation measures in Hisingen Park’s case is Municipality of Gothenburg. The developers of new logistic centres carry out the activities causing negative impact: Volvo Company and the Port of Gothenburg. These two groups of actors were the core decision makers. The wider public, including inhabitants of neighbouring residential areas, have been addressed during the planning process to express their interests and concerns. However, as stated by the park manager during an interview, inhabitants remained inactive and uninterested in the developments within the park. Information about construction plans also was sent to environmental organizations. Stakeholder relations in this case included infor-

ming (information and discussions held with residents of neighbouring areas). The manager indicated, that one of the residential areas is socially underdeveloped, meaning composed of higher numbers of at-poverty-risk families, immigrant households, low-education and low-income households. To park manager's opinion, the new recreational facilities developed within the park will positively contribute to community building and to building the social competence within that neighbourhood.

The municipality and the developers represented the two major stakeholders. The relation between these stakeholders is cooperative. Usually they held meetings, where, after reviewing the legally binding regulations and legal documents, they approach mitigation decisions through mutual discussion and agreement. The motivation to take mitigation measures is based on both voluntary and legally binding factors. Legally binding is the Swedish Environmental Code (2000)(and other legal documents) and voluntary is to follow the environmental compensation guidelines as developed by City of Gothenburg.

Šiauliai case. In case of the redevelopment of Šiauliai Central Park, the competent authority responsible for the territory and its protection, is Šiauliai city municipality. The contracted developer of the park was (after winning a tender) a private company titled *Želdynai*. The main actor in the decision-making process, thus, was the municipality. Specifically, the municipality, in the project planning stage, submitted the project conditions to *Želdynai*, involving the mandatory mitigation measures. The motivation to require these measures was determined through both legally binding documents and voluntary factors. The EU Habitats Directive (The Council of the European Communities 1992), the basic principles of which after Lithuania's accession to the EU have been incorporated into the country's legal framework, caused legally binding factors. Meanwhile, voluntary factors came from the individual initiatives of Šiauliai city municipality, and their experts from the Environmental Department. Interestingly, the contracted authority of *Želdynai* not only took into account all the requirements submitted to them by municipality, but also voluntarily added new mitigation measures.

The public, including locals living in the vicinity, did not participate in decision-making on the Šiauliai Central Park redevelopment project in its full empowering sense. The final project was introduced to the residents during a public presentation, as required by the procedures. Residents could also find a brief description of the project and plans for tree felling and replantation on the website of Šiauliai city municipality. At this stage, the public could express their interests and hesitations. After the start of the project, there was a lot of negative public feedback. Municipality made effort to provide some extra information about project for the public. The local non-governmental organization (NGO) *Aukuras* caring for the protection of natural and cultural heritage was also notified about the Šiauliai Central Park redevelopment project, but this organisation did not express the interest to participate in the discussion about measures of compensation. Thus, the relations of the stakeholders in terms of both the public and the NGO essentially included the exchange of information.

Comparison of analysed cases

There are limitations in comparing two cases that are presented in this article. Swedish case involved private developer, while in Lithuanian case municipality acted as main developer. Nevertheless, both cases touch upon quite sensitive issue – the development of public spaces, where economic interest encounter public interest. The summary of comparative case analysis is presented in Table 3.

Table 3
Comparison of cases based on analytical categories

| | Hisingen Public Park in Gothenburg (Sweden) | Šiauliai Central Park (Lithuania) |
|--|--|---|
| Objects of compensation | Fauna (habitats) Recreational opportunities | Flora Landscape and scenery Recreational opportunities |
| Type of compensation measures | In-kind (as related to securing habitats to protected species) Out-of-kind (as related to impro- ving recreational opportunities) | Mainly out-of-kind |
| Location of compensa- tion measures | On-site compensation | Mainly on-site compen- sation |
| Motivation behind compensation | Both legally binding and voluntary | Mainly voluntary |
| Stakeholder's involvement | Main stakeholders: municipality, developers and the public. Type of interaction: cooperative in case of developers and the municipality, informative in case of relations between the munici- pality and the public. | Main stakeholders: municipality and the public Type of interaction: informative |

Source: elaborated by the authors.

Both projects are similar in terms of objects to be compensated. As both cases are related to public spaces, recreational opportunities were important value. In addition, both projects were concerned with protected species. The location of the compensation measures in both cases was on-site (close to the damaged area). The type of compensation depended on the object of compensation. In Lithuanian case, mostly out-of-kind compensation was implemented. The goal of this strategy was to enhance the overall quality of the site and ameliorate the habitats (trees that are more valuable were planted instead of removed ones). Main difference between projects was the motivation behind compensation. In Lithuanian case, most compensatory measures were voluntary, while in Swedish case developers had an obligation to implement mitigation measures.

Conclusions

Environmental compensation in urban development projects is rarely implemented to cover all negative impacts of human activities. Limited urban spaces reduce the possibilities of implementing needed compensatory on-site measures. Moreover, urban development projects often imply the negotiation over the economic development benefits and environmental losses. The compensation idea in urban projects is usually related to social or economic losses, but rarely natural environment is regarded as a value that has to be compensated. Regulatory policies of urban development lack clearly set environmental compensation guidelines, especially in Baltic region.

European Union provides a strong recommendation of integrating mitigation hierarchy principles into national regulations; however, this is not legally binding. There are different environmental policy traditions in Sweden and Lithuania, resulting in diverging approaches concerning urban development regulation. These policy differences are reflected in practices of coping with negative environmental impacts in territorial planning of urban spaces. Therefore, the comparison of Swedish and Lithuanian cases allows to identify best practices (from a Nordic country), that could be applied to achieve more sustainable urban development in Baltic countries.

The practices of environmental compensation in analysed cases highlight the different possibilities of implementation of no-net loss principle. Swedish case clearly followed mitigation hierarchy principles that are embedded in Gothenburg's city guidelines. On contrary, Lithuanian case exemplified voluntary compensation measures that are not based on mitigation hierarchy principles. The approach of analysed municipalities towards the location of compensation measures is similar, as both municipalities try to implement on-site compensation measures. However, the practices related to the type of compensation differs. Gothenburg municipality emphasizes the in-kind compensation measures, while out-of-kind compensation is implemented mainly in Šiauliai. Yet, the implementation of various mitigation measures on voluntary (not-legally binding) basis is very much dependent on the intrinsic and individual value systems of the public servants.

The process of negative impact mitigation in both analysed cases clearly lacks sufficiently active public engagement. The best niche for this public engagement is through the rules of planning procedures. The residents (as referred to the analysed cases) usually took a role of observer, requiring for information but not asking the right to be a part of decision-making process that shapes the urban future.

Further research needs systemic and wider comparative approach with more cases from Baltic-Nordic countries. The results would enable better understanding of the environmental compensation measures, usually undertaken in urban development projects. The policy guidelines or regulations are needed to ensure more effective mitigation of environmental damage.

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Lina Garsviene, Jurgita Bersenaite

ASSESSMENT OF CRIMINALITY IN PUBLIC SPACE IN LARGEST CITIES OF LITHUANIA FOR THE PERIOD 2006–2015

Criminality as a phenomenon is urgent problem for society in all countries. The issue is particularly important, because it relates to overall society and to everyone personally. For better prevention of criminality, it is necessary to understand the overall trends and differences between territories. The article presents the experience of the largest cities of Lithuania. The analysis of statistical data on registered criminality in five largest cities of Lithuania (Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipėda, Šiauliai and Panevėžys) is provided. The aim of research is to conduct the structural and dynamic analysis on criminality in largest cities of Lithuania. The tasks of the research are to assess the dynamics of all the criminal offences and criminal offences committed in public space during the period of 2006–2015 in the largest cities of Lithuania, to identify the greatest share of criminal offences in public space and compare it in target cities. The authors applied general scientific methods as graphical data visualization, structural analysis, dynamic analysis, relative analysis, comparison, generalization. The period of 2006–2015 was chosen for the research in order to reflect the trends of criminality in public space. The article discusses the prevalence of main indicators of criminality in the largest cities (expressed as the number per 100 000 population), emphasizes the territorial characteristics of these indicators, and gives the structural and dynamic analysis. The research results discover issues (cities and crimes), where additional attention from competent authorities would be necessary. For example, it was found that in 2015, the highest level of criminality was in Klaipėda where 3366 criminal offences per 100 000 population were registered, and the lowest level of criminality was in Panevėžys – 2402 criminal offences. It was also identified that particular crimes (e.g. thefts, violation of public order, robberies and vehicle thefts) make a great share of criminal offences committed in public space. The findings of the research provides practical knowledge for both competent authorities, which work towards prevention of crime, as well as for scientists in Lithuania for searching factors that stimulates domination of certain kinds of crimes in certain territories.

Key words: criminality, public space, largest cities of Lithuania.

Noziedzības novērtējums Lietuvas lielāko pilsētu sabiedriskajā telpā 2006.–2015. gados

Noziedzība ir nopietna sabiedrības problēma visās valstīs. Šī problēma ir īpaši nozīmīga, jo attiecas gan uz sabiedrību kopumā, gan uz katru individu atsevišķi. Lai nodrošinātu labākus noziedzības preventīvus pasākumus, ir nepieciešams saprast gan kopējās noziedzības tendences, gan atšķirības starp teritorijām. Raksts piedāvā Lietuvas lielāko pilsētu pieredzi. Rakstā tiek piedāvāta statistisko datu analīze par reģistrēto noziedzību piecās lielākajās Lietuvas pilsētās (Viļņa, Kauņa, Klaipēda, Šauļi un Paņevēžas). Raksta mērķis ir veikt noziedzības Lietuvas lielākajās pilsētās strukturālo un dinamisko analīzi. Raksta uzdevumi: novērtēt noziegumu un noziegumu sabiedriskajā telpā dinamiku laikā no 2006. līdz 2015. gadam Lietuvas lielākajās pilsētās, noteikt noziegumus, uz kuriem pienākas lielākais īpatsvars no sabiedriskajā telpā veiktajiem noziegumiem un salīdzināt rezultātus pētāmajās pilsētās. Pētījuma metodes: apkopošana, dinamiskā analīze, strukturālā analīze, datu grafiskais attēlojums, salīdzināšana, savstarpējās attiecības analīze. Noziedzības tendenču atspoguļošanai tika izvēlēts laika posms no 2006. līdz 2015. gadam. Rakstā tiek vērtēta noziedzības pamatrādītāju izplatība Lietuvas lie-

lākajās pilsētās (skaitliski izteikta uz 100 000 iedzīvotāju), tiek akcentētas šo rādītāju teritoriālās iezīmes, kā arī tiek sniegta strukturālā un dinamiskā analīze. Pētījuma rezultāti atklāj jautājumus (pilsētas un noziegumus), kuri prasa papildus uzmanību no kompetentu organizāciju puses. Piemēram, tika atklāts, ka visaugstākais noziedzības līmenis 2015. gadā bija reģistrēts Klaipēdā, kur reģistrēja 3366 noziegumus uz 100 000 iedzīvotāju, savukārt, viszemākais noziedzības līmenis bija reģistrēts Paņevēžā – 2402 noziegumi. Tāpat tika atklāts, ka noteikti noziedzības veidi (piemēram, zādzības, sabiedriskās kārtības pārkāpumi, laupīšanas un zādzības no transportlīdzekļiem) veido lielāko noziegumu īpatsvaru, kuri tiek veikti sabiedriskajā telpā. Pētījuma rezultāti nodrošina praktiskās zināšanas, kā kompetentām organizācijām, kuras strādā uz noziedzības apkarošanu, tā arī Lietuvas zinātniekiem, to faktoru meklējumiem, kuri nosaka noteikto noziedzības veidu dominēšanu noteiktajās teritorijās.

Atslēgas vārdi: noziedzība, sabiedriskā telpa, lielākās Lietuvas pilsētas.

Оценка преступности в общественных местах крупнейших городов Литвы в 2006–2015 годах

Преступность является серьёзной проблемой общества во всех странах. Данная проблема особенная важна, так как относится к обществу в целом и к каждому индивиду в отдельности. Для лучшего обеспечения предотвращения преступности, необходимо понимать, как общие тенденции преступности, так и различия между территориями. Статья предлагает опыт крупнейших городов Литвы и анализ статистических данных о зарегистрированной преступности в пяти крупнейших городах Литвы (Вильнюс, Каунас, Клайпеда, Шауляй и Паневежас). Целью статьи является намерение провести структурный и динамический анализ преступности в крупнейших городах Литвы. Задачи исследования: оценить динамику преступлений и проступков в общественных местах за период с 2006 по 2015 год в крупнейших городах Литвы, определить преступления, которые имеют наибольшую долю в преступности в общественных местах и сравнить результаты в исследуемых городах. Методы исследования: обобщение, динамический анализ, структурный анализ, графическое изображение данных, сравнение, соотносительный анализ. Для отражения тенденций преступности в общественных местах был выбран период с 2006 по 2015 год. В статье рассматривается распространённость основных показателей преступности в крупнейших городах Литвы (выраженная в количестве на 100 000 населения), подчёркиваются территориальные характеристики этих показателей, а также даётся структурный и динамический анализ. Результаты исследования обнаруживают вопросы (города и преступления), где дополнительное внимание со стороны компетентных организаций будет необходимо. Например, было обнаружено, что самый высокий уровень преступности в 2015 году был зарегистрирован в Клайпеде, где было зарегистрировано 3366 преступлений на 100 000 населения, в свою очередь, самый низкий уровень преступности был зарегистрирован в Паневежасе – 2402 преступления. Также было обнаружено, что определённые виды преступлений (например, кражи, нарушение общественного порядка, ограбления и кражи из транспортных средств) составляют наибольшую долю преступлений, совершенных в общественных местах. Результаты исследования обеспечивают практические знания как для компетентных организаций, которые работают на предотвращение преступности, так и для ученых Литвы, для поиска факторов, которые обуславливают доминирование определенных видов преступности на определенных территориях.

Ключевые слова: преступность, общественное пространство, крупнейшие города Литвы.

Theoretical and methodical substantiation of research

Criminality as a phenomenon is the problem of all the society and is common to all countries without exception. “Lawyers, sociologists, political scientists are convinced that criminality is inevitable and “eternal” expression of the previous and contemporary societies, but the scale of this social dysfunction and means of expression should be controlled successfully by development of up-to-date science and technologies” (Acus, Beteika 2016, p. 65). This issue is particularly important, because it is related to everyone personally. Unsustainable social and economic development as one of the most important internal problems of the country is emerging through the differentiation of various social strata, implies unemployment, poverty and the growing dissatisfaction of citizens, and often provokes the growth of crime (Mikonis 2010).

The analysis of various international documents (e.g. United Nations 2009; Harrendorf et al. 2010) shows that there is a tendency to focus even on the national, provincial and local (municipal) level when developing the relevant crime prevention interventions. For this reason it is important to study and compare the variation of indicators of a country and its largest cities that would provide a better understanding of the level of criminality of the country and predict its development.

When summarizing authors assessing criminality in Lithuania we could discern that a part of them focus on more specific areas or characteristics of criminality. Jakaitis and Bielinskas (2013) explored the impact of urban structure, architecture, landscape and physical environmental effects of cities on safety in public urban space (in Vilnius). Matijosaitiene et al. (2013) assessed the safety of residents in public green space of Kaunas city. Dabrovolskas (2014) identified the reasons that cause the provision of criminal information and the consumption demand in media and cinema both. Vaitekunas and Bukauskaite (2008) investigated distribution of criminality of Lithuanian juvenile and youth by geography and its numbers. Zilinskas (2012) chose the aspect of “Crime of Denial” and assessed its appearance in Lithuanian criminal law.

Another part of researches focused on the general assessment of situation of criminality in Lithuania, i.e. does not assess criminality according to the distinct Lithuanian cities. Babachinaite and Petkus (2014) assessed the types of criminality and personality traits of victims and offenders. Mikonis (2010) explored the general indicators of threats in contemporary environment and identifies the priorities of threat prevention. Dobryninas et al. (2014) also studied the impact of social factors on homicides in Lithuania and the public attitude towards the homicides.

Other authors chose a specific Lithuanian city or explored the problem of criminality in a deeper dimension. As for instance Acus and Kraniauskas (2012) studied the dynamics of criminal offenses and their causality in Klaipėda, and discussed the dynamics and allocation of thefts in this city more specifically in 2015 (Acus, Beteika 2016). Spiriajevas (2015) presented the territorial clusters of criminal offenses in Klaipėda city and emphasizes that the description of a place or area is one of the most important subjects in crime geography. Beconyte et al. (2014) assessed the territorial distribution of criminal offences in Vilnius city when interpreting it by such factors as the population density and the level of urbanization.

It should be noted that in order to have a more detailed view of criminality (or a particular deeper dimension of it) in 5 largest cities of Lithuania it is appropriate to compare the situation of criminality in these cities.

The assessment of this criminality problem in the context of the largest cities of Lithuania was due to the contract research ordered by Siauliai city municipality. Systematized statistical material could be properly used for a development of criminality reduction programs in future (Acus, Kraniauskas 2012). Registered criminality data is a complex outcome of various processes in society, and reveal not only the real changes of criminal offenses, but also the common changes of criminal policy, solving and registration of criminality, attitudes of citizens towards the criminality, criminal justice and the state (Acus, Beteika 2016).

The research was carried out in spring 2016. The assessment of dynamics and structure of criminality helps to identify its real extent in the particular city, and comparison of the situation in other cities allows discerning the key similarities and differences. Knowing the real situation of criminality, it is easier to adapt the effective preventive measures, influence the relevant criminal offences, thus reducing the spread of criminality and increasing security in the society. This research does not include the assessment of motives and other characteristics of criminal offences. These mentioned aspects could be the objects of further researches.

The contract research aimed to identify the dynamics of criminality in public space because public space particularly fell into the field of prevention activities in municipalities, so the highlighted trends (features) of criminal offences would allow purposefully choose preventative measures for a particular city. As Babachinaite and Petkus (2014) argued, the analysis of criminological problems and the search for solutions is always relevant, and only the consistent examination and dealing with these problems is probable effective way to choose the appropriate preventive measures. In addition, when analyzing the type of location of criminal offences it becomes obvious that criminal offences are committed most often (Beconyte et al. 2014).

First we will discuss the consideration of a *public place*. According to Simkaityte-Kudarauske (2011), having analyzed the related legal literature, court practice, laws and other regulations it was identified that there is no unified definition of *public place* clearly understood and applied in Lithuanian Laws.

Perhaps the *Law on Meetings of Republic of Lithuania* (Lietuvos Respublikos Seimas 1993, last amended in 2014) explains the concept of public place the most widely indicating that it regulates the conditions and order of organization of meetings “in public places, i.e. in the streets, squares, parks and other public places and public buildings of cities, towns and settlements”. Similarly, it is published in the *Law on the Management of Noise of Republic of Lithuania* (Lietuvos Respublikos Seimas 2004, last amended in 2013), which establishes the competence of Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania to delegate subordinate public administration institutions to conduct the control of noise “in public places, i.e. in the streets, squares, parks and other public places and public buildings, bars, discos, cafes, entertainment of cities, towns and settlements”.

According to Simkaityte-Kudarauske (2011), when interpreting the concept of public place, it was established that depending on the legal ratio and the goal of the legislation the public place could be understood as a place or area owned by the state or a municipality, i.e. public space; or as a place or area regardless of who owns the right of ownership, however it is open to the society. Otherwise as it is stated in a court practice, it is a place even owned privately but which serves to protect the public interest and therefore it is considered to be a public place.

In this paper (the figures, tables and generalizations) authors provide general statistical data on criminality in public space by combining statistics on criminality in public places and streets. The classification and the concepts of criminal offences analysed in the paper correspond to the terms explained in *the Criminal Code of Republic of Lithuania* (Lietuvos Respublikos Seimas 2016).

Seeking to analyse the criminality in the largest cities of Lithuania in this article we use the indicators of absolute change and relative change. Absolute change refers to the simple difference in the indicator over two periods in time (value of indicator in period 2 – value of indicator in period 1). Relative change expresses the absolute change as a percentage of the value of the indicator in the earlier period (absolute change / value of indicator in period 1). Also we evaluate how much each item consists on a statement as a percentage of a base figure (number of public criminality events).

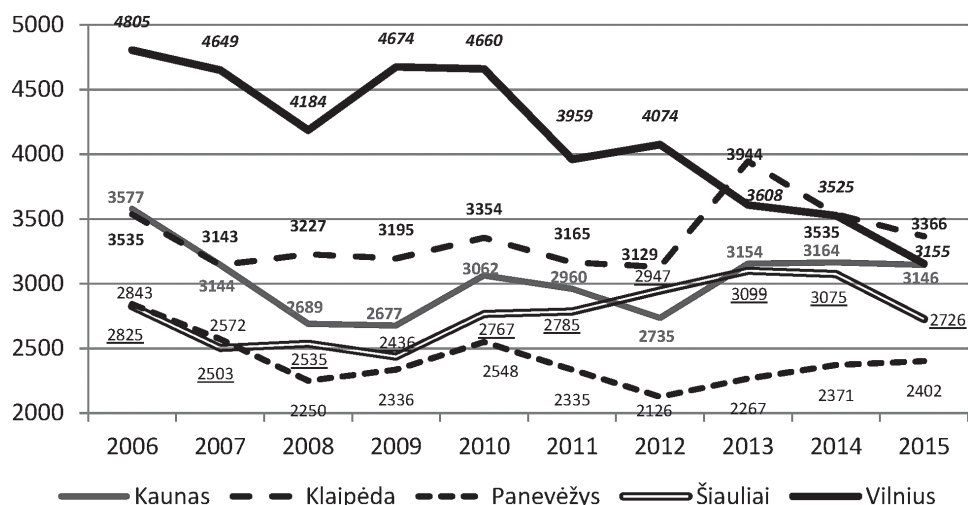
The subject of research is the statistics on criminality in public space. The aim of research is to conduct the structural and dynamic analysis on criminality in 5 largest cities of Lithuania. The objectives are the following ones: 1) to assess the dynamics of all the criminal offences and criminal offences committed in public space during the period of 2006–2015 in the largest cities of Lithuania; 2) to identify the greatest share of criminal offences in public space and compare it in target cities.

The authors applied general scientific *methods* as graphical data visualization, structural analysis, dynamic analysis, relative analysis, comparison, generalization.

Structural and dynamic analysis of criminal offences in 5 largest cities of Lithuania

The paper presents the statistical data from the Information Technology and Communications Department under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania (Informatikos ir ryšių departamentas prie Lietuvos Respublikos vidaus reikalų ministerijos 2016). This information site enabled the analysis of criminal offences committed in the largest cities of Lithuania. The registered *criminal offences* are the crimes and misdemeanour that are registered in the Departmental Register of Criminal Acts of Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania during the reporting period. The dynamics of criminal offences in the *largest cities of Lithuania* is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Criminal offences in 5 largest cities of Lithuania (per 100,000 population)



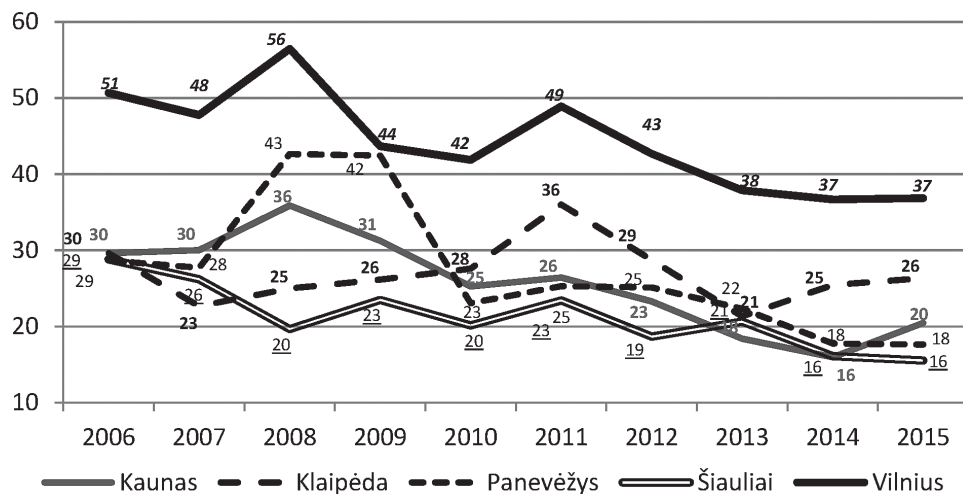
Source: elaborated by the authors using data of the Information Technology and Communications Department under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania.

In 2015, the highest level of criminality was in Klaipėda, where 3366 criminal offences (per 100,000 population) were registered, whereas in Panevėžys the situation was contrary – 2402 criminal offences. Acus and Kraniuskas (2012) acknowledge that Klaipėda remains as an urban community with one of the highest number of criminality.

When analyzing the period for 2006–2012 it is obvious that criminality in the capital of Lithuania (Vilnius) was at the highest level, but there a decrease (approximately, 52.3%) was registered, and Klaipėda took the first position in 2013 in respect of criminality. If one compares the situation in all the largest cities in 2014, it could be stated that criminality was decreasing gradually, excluding Panevėžys. During the period for 2008–2015 Šiauliai took the fourth position in respect of criminality, and actually the gap among these cities was also between 2011 and 2014.

In order to compare the latter situation of criminal offences in these cities the calculations of averages covering the period from 2013 to 2015 were made. The highest average of criminal offences (3615 units per 100,000 population) was in Klaipėda in 2013–2015, and Vilnius held the second position with 3429 criminal offences, while the remaining cities formed such a rank: 3155 criminal offences in Kaunas, 2967 – in Šiauliai and 2347 – in Panevėžys (per 100,000 population).

Figure 2
Criminal offences committed in public space (per 100,000 population)
as a share of total criminal offences, %



Source: elaborated by the authors using data of the Information Technology and Communications Department under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania.

Further, the variation of criminal offences in public space during the entire period is presented in the paper seeking to highlight and assess the situation in the context of total criminal offences. The study revealed that statistics on criminal offences committed in public space is divided into criminal offences committed in public places and streets, but there in the paper when discussing the types of criminal offences authors focus on the assessment of statistics on public space.

When assessing all the entire period it could be said that a share of criminal offences committed in public space in the largest cities of Lithuania decreases. It may be noted that a share of criminal offences committed in public space in Siauliai was also the lowest except for 2006, 2007, 2013 and 2014 fractionally. Although the criminal offences in public space committed in Vilnius decreased considerably, however, the share of criminal offences committed in this space is the largest during all the entire period. The average of the latter three years reveals that criminal offences committed in Vilnius achieved an average of 37%, in Klaipėda 27%, while in Siauliai only 17%. The situation in Kaunas and Panevėžys was similar to Siauliai and formed corresponding to 18% and 19%. It could be seen that criminal offences in public space dominated in Vilnius but not in other largest cities of Lithuania. Due to the objective to highlight the peculiarities of criminal offences in public places and streets committed in target cities we have marked the criminal offences that made up the largest percentage (see Table 1).

Table 1

Criminal offences in public space (per 100,000 population) in 2015, %

| Criminal offences | Cities | | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | <i>Vilnius</i> | <i>Kaunas</i> | <i>Klaipeda</i> | <i>Siauliai</i> | <i>Panevezys</i> |
| Violation of public order | 5.1 | 12.1 | 19.7 | 32.7 | 26.1 |
| Thefts | 40.9 | 40.1 | 38.4 | 15 | 37.9 |
| Robberies | 5.4 | 5.1 | 15 | 10.1 | 11 |
| Serious and grave crimes | 2.5 | 1.9 | 2.8 | 8.4 | 1.8 |
| Non-severe health impairment | 1.8 | 2.6 | 2.3 | 6.9 | 4.6 |
| Vehicle thefts | 19 | 20.8 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 6.5 |
| Severe health impairment | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 1.5 | 0.8 |
| Rapes | 0.1 | 0 | 0.2 | 0 | 0 |
| Homicides | 0 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0 | 0 |
| Other criminal offences | 25 | 16.9 | 19.1 | 22.9 | 11.2 |

*Note: The criminal offences in the table are sorted in descending order according to Siauliai data.

Source: elaborated by the authors using data of the Information Technology and Communications Department under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania.

Thefts took the first position in Vilnius, Klaipeda, Kaunas and Panevezys and made up about 37–41% (per 100,000 population) of the total criminal offences committed in public places and streets, from 2013 to 2015. Meanwhile it is noted that violation of public order was the largest share of all criminal offences in Siauliai in 2015 (see Table 1), and by the way in the last three years. In contrast to other largest cities thefts were registered in the second position that made up 15% (per 100,000 population), although this share decreased gradually since 2013.

Furthermore, it was noted that *vehicle thefts* in Vilnius and Kaunas took the second position and share of this criminal offence was 19–21% (per 100,000 population) in 2015, whereas serious and grave crimes as criminal offences made up 8.4% in Siauliai and it was the largest share in comparison to other largest cities. Although these indicators are among the lowest ones when comparing specified cities according to the number per 100,000 population. It is worth mentioning that crimes (*thefts*, *violation of public order*, *robberies* and *vehicle thefts*) committed in public space make up the largest percentage of criminal offences committed in public space. It suggests the idea that the competent authorities should focus on the prevention of these criminal offences.

Table 2 is presented in order to assess what share of criminal offences misdemeanour make up in the target cities. Below we give the main concepts and their definitions for their clear interpretation. A *crime* is a dangerous act or omission forbidden under the Criminal Code and punishable with a custodial sentence. A *misdemeanour* is a dangerous act or omission forbidden under the Criminal Code, which is punishable by a non-custodial sentence, with the exception of arrest (Lietuvos Respublikos Seimas 2016).

Table 2

**Dynamics of crimes and misdemeanour
(per 100,000 population) in 2013–2015**

| Cities | Crimes | | | Misdemeanours | | | Misdemeanours (%) as share of total crimes | | |
|-----------|--------|------|------|---------------|------|------|--|------|------|
| | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
| Vilnius | 3240 | 3139 | 2955 | 368 | 387 | 200 | 10.2 | 11.0 | 6.3 |
| Kaunas | 2854 | 2790 | 3009 | 299 | 375 | 137 | 9.5 | 11.8 | 4.3 |
| Klaipėda | 3655 | 3169 | 3196 | 289 | 365 | 169 | 7.3 | 10.3 | 5.0 |
| Siauliai | 2861 | 2790 | 2566 | 238 | 285 | 161 | 7.7 | 9.3 | 5.9 |
| Panevezys | 2080 | 2154 | 2260 | 187 | 217 | 142 | 8.2 | 9.2 | 5.9 |

Source: elaborated by the authors using data of the Information Technology and Communications Department under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania.

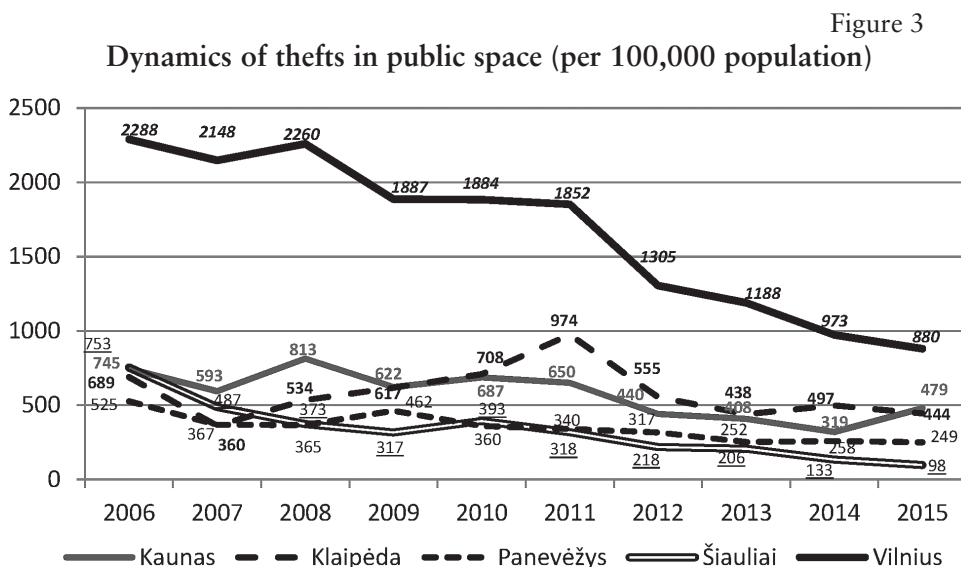
All the criminal offences are classified into crimes and misdemeanours, therefore one can notice that misdemeanours make up approx. 6–10% of the total criminal offences in target cities (see Table 2). Thus, when assessing criminality in target cities, we distinguish Klaipėda where the number of crimes was the largest and was above 3000 crimes (per 100,000 population). A number of crimes in Vilnius and Siauliai decreased during the period of 2013–2015 (in Vilnius – approx. 9.6%, in Siauliai – approx. 11.5%). Although there was registered the smallest number of crimes in Panevezys, but it increased approx. 9% during the last three years. It is obvious that the volume of misdemeanours decreases in all 5 largest cities of Lithuania when comparing 2014 and 2015.

The following paragraphs will focus on the detailed assessment of dynamics of several criminal offences committed in public space for the period of 2006–2015, highlight essential differences among cities, and discuss the highest percentages of criminal offences.

Thefts took the second position only in Siauliai while in the other largest cities they took the first position and made up 37–41% of the total criminal offences committed in public places and streets (see Figure 3). A huge number of thefts in the largest cities of the country could be interpreted in different ways. First, it is explained by the higher density of population or features of a district, similarity of urban areas and social structure of population (Beconyte et al. 2014). Second, thefts are the fastest way to obtain the desired object that is often an attribute of the appropriate status in society. So the decline of this criminal offence, according to is usually associated with the stabilization of economic life of society: reduction of unemployment, entrenchment of law enforcement, reduction of total criminality, relocation of criminals to the electronic space, etc. (Acus, Kraniauskas 2012; Acus, Beteika 2016).

The research findings indicate that the number of thefts committed in Vilnius considerably exceeded the situation in other cities: it exceeded 3 times in 2006, and 2 times in 2015 per 100,000 population (the average of thefts committed in public space was 1014 per 100,000 population between 2013 and 2015). It is noted that the number of thefts in Vilnius is significantly decreasing, e.g. from 2,288 to 880 thefts

per 100,000 population. The registered number of thefts in Siauliai is also declining, and is the smallest one among other largest cities with the average of 146 thefts per 100,000 population whereas in Panevezys the average number of thefts was 253 between 2013 and 2015).



Source: elaborated by the authors using data of the Information Technology and Communications Department under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania.

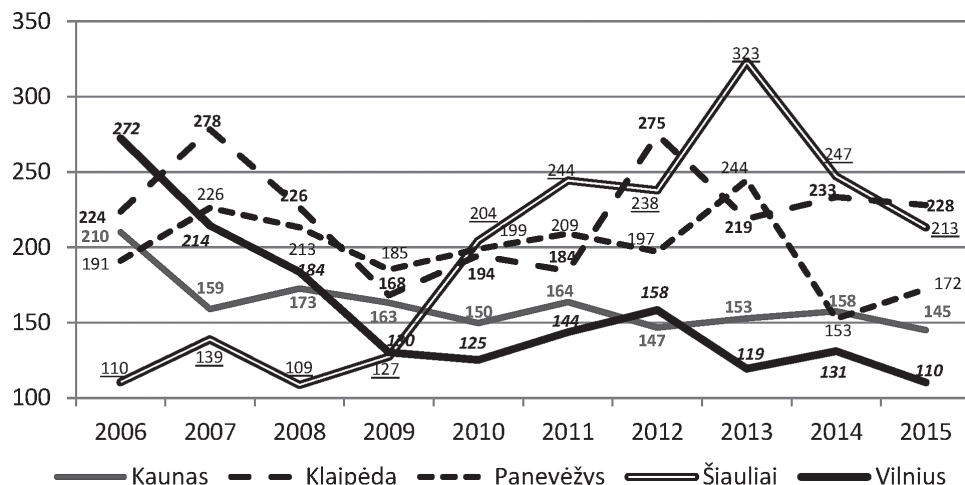
According to the analyzed data, the situation in Kaunas and Klaipėda is partly similar though the trend of decline of these criminal offences is observed in Kaunas. Meanwhile the indicators of Klaipėda increased (especially in 2011) and exceeded the indicators of Kaunas significantly between 2010 and 2014. A similar, but slightly longer movement is observed not only in Lithuania, but also in the other countries of the European Union since 2010 (European Commission 2011).

Violation of public order as a very sensitive phenomenon from the socio-cultural point of view concerns not only the local people, but also the guests who come to the city (Acus, Kraniauskas 2012). Consequently summarized statistical data show that violation of public order made up the largest share (per 100,000 population) of total criminal offences committed in public space in Siauliai during 2013–2015 (see Figure 4).

It is worth mentioning that the number of violation of public order in Siauliai was rapidly increasing until 2013 and already exceeded this indicator of other largest cities in 2010. The average number of violation of public order was 261 offences 100,000 population during 2013–2015. It suggests that violation of public order, unlike the situation in other cities of Lithuania, has a growing trend and therefore it is necessary to find the ways to prevent these violations in Siauliai.

Figure 4

Dynamics of violation of public order in public space (per 100,000 population)



Source: elaborated by the authors using data of the Information Technology and Communications Department under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania.

The declining trend of violation of public order during the period for 2006–2015 is observed in Vilnius and Kaunas. The average of the last year in these cities makes up correspondingly 120 and 152 criminal offences per 100,000 population. However the number of these offences in Panevezys and Klaipeda does not change significantly. During the observed period the number of violation of public order in Panevezys was variable: increased and decreased depending on various factors, while the trend of this criminal offence in Klaipeda was not directed.

Robberies as well as other property crimes have the same motivational factors that correlate with absence of consumerist opportunities, and are committed in the face of dissatisfaction with the socio-economic situation (Acus, Kraniauskas 2012). Robberies in public places and streets make up 10–15% of total criminal offences committed in Siauliai, Panevezys and Klaipeda, and only 5% in Vilnius and Kaunas (see Table 1).

Discussing the dynamics of robberies (see Table 3) during past three years it would be worth to state that the largest average number of robberies was in Klaipeda (186 robberies per 100,000 population) and other largest cities of Lithuania have listed in such order: Vilnius – 122 robberies, Siauliai – 73 robberies, Kaunas – 63 robberies and Panevezys – 61 robberies (per 100,000 population).

The assessment of the longer period revealed that the number of robberies in the largest cities of Lithuania decreased significantly since 2008. While in the latter period (i.e. in 2011) there were registered 337 robberies (per 100,000 population) in Klaipeda. Since this year Vilnius remains second largest city in accordance to robberies. Other largest cities of Lithuania change their positions in respect of registered robberies.

Table 3

Dynamics of robberies in public space (per 100,000 population)

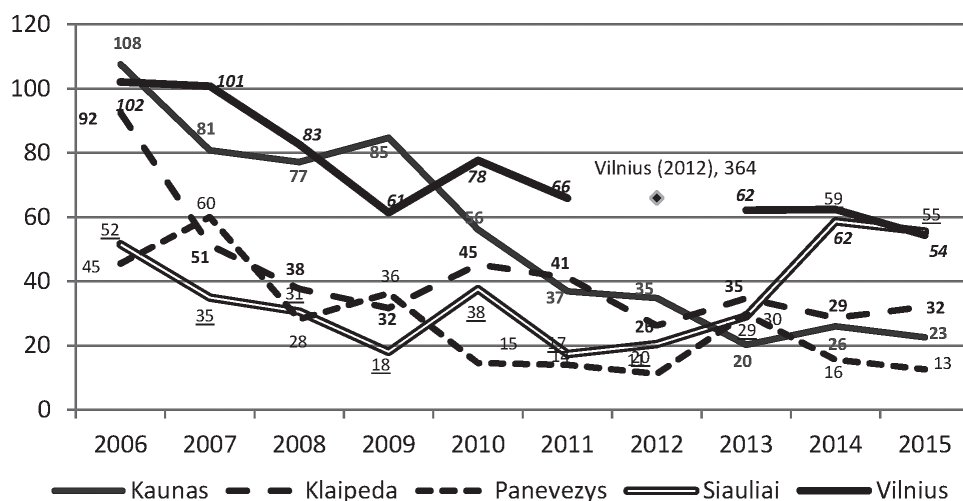
| Cities | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | $\Delta 2006-2015$ |
|-----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------------------|
| Vilnius | 1031 | 918 | 400 | 317 | 274 | 229 | 171 | 134 | 116 | 116 | -88.7 |
| Kaunas | 708 | 670 | 183 | 154 | 127 | 111 | 75 | 72 | 58 | 61 | -91.4 |
| Klaipeda | 475 | 456 | 254 | 257 | 290 | 337 | 208 | 190 | 194 | 174 | -63.4 |
| Siauliai | 319 | 292 | 125 | 109 | 86 | 97 | 83 | 83 | 69 | 66 | -79.3 |
| Panevezys | 207 | 174 | 187 | 141 | 114 | 98 | 55 | 62 | 49 | 72 | -65.1 |

Source: elaborated by the authors using data of the Information Technology and Communications Department under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania.

Dynamics of serious and grave crimes in public space. It is noted that in Vilnius the number of serious and grave crimes increased even four times in 2012, and the situation reached the same level next year. When interpreting the reasons of these year one could note that the number of registered serious and grave crimes in public places and streets increased due to the several cases which included a lot of episodes that were established in accordance with the Article 260 of the Criminal Code that year, e.g. unlawful possession of precursors of narcotic or psychotropic substances for the purpose of handling them. For example, one case has involved over 570 episodes and another one – 200 episodes. The numbers are so conspicuous in 2012 due to the cases related to the possession and handling of narcotic substances.

Figure 5

**Dynamics of serious and grave crimes in public space
(per 100,000 population)**



Source: elaborated by the authors using data of the Information Technology and Communications Department under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania.

It is necessary to mention that the number of serious and grave crimes in public places and streets reached the highest level in 2014 and 2015 in Siauliai, i.e. the indicator of it was 55–59 per 100,000 population. The very radical variation of that indicator was not observed, except the mentioned situation in Vilnius in 2012 (see Figure 5) though it could be mentioned that the number of serious and grave crimes in public space decreased in Kaunas and Klaipeda during all the observed period.

It is necessary to emphasize that the *vehicle thefts* make up a significant share of criminal offences committed in target cities, i.e. 19% of criminal offences in public space were committed in Vilnius, 21% – in Kaunas, and 6.7% – in Panevezys. The *vehicle thefts* in Siauliai made up approx. 2.5% of criminal offences in public space. These peculiarities suggest that the vehicle thefts dominate in the two largest cities of Lithuania.

Table 4
Dynamics of criminal offences in public space (per 100,000 population)

| Criminal offences | Cities | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | Average for 2013–2015 |
|------------------------------|-----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vehicle thefts | Vilnius | 1505 | 1349 | 796 | 585 | 717 | 696 | 406 | 423 | 284 | 409 | 372 |
| | Kaunas | 1636 | 1626 | 405 | 225 | 309 | 273 | 181 | 149 | 64 | 249 | 154 |
| | Klaipeda | 641 | 478 | 133 | 132 | 187 | 267 | 129 | 26 | 16 | 20 | 21 |
| | Siauliai | 208 | 131 | 54 | 78 | 224 | 185 | 95 | 101 | 31 | 15 | 49 |
| | Panevezys | 178 | 155 | 120 | 127 | 66 | 92 | 77 | 58 | 55 | 43 | 52 |
| Non-severe health impairment | Vilnius | 143 | 149 | 147 | 85 | 90 | 70 | 61 | 53 | 48 | 39 | 47 |
| | Kaunas | 96 | 84 | 82 | 63 | 51 | 49 | 45 | 25 | 19 | 30 | 25 |
| | Klaipeda | 40 | 38 | 42 | 28 | 38 | 54 | 59 | 30 | 44 | 27 | 34 |
| | Siauliai | 33 | 60 | 59 | 45 | 48 | 46 | 35 | 63 | 36 | 45 | 48 |
| | Panevezys | 46 | 34 | 24 | 30 | 28 | 41 | 46 | 20 | 29 | 29 | 26 |

Source: elaborated by the authors using data of the Information Technology and Communications Department under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania.

When assessing the entire period the decline of the *vehicle thefts* is registered though the numbers of criminal offences in Vilnius and Kaunas significantly exceeded the indicators in Siauliai, Panevezys and Klaipeda during the entire period. When assessing the entire period the decline of the vehicle thefts is registered though the numbers of criminal offences in Vilnius and Kaunas significantly exceed the indicators in Siauliai, Panevezys and Klaipeda during the entire period. By the way, the increase of the vehicle thefts was notable in Siauliai in 2010 and 2011 but it decreased to 15 thefts in 2015, while Vilnius and Kaunas had the opposite trend of growth.

Non-severe health impairment made up 6.9% of total criminal offences committed in public space in Siauliai when it does not reach 5% in other largest cities. When assessing the situation of non-severe health impairment in Vilnius and Kaunas it is improving consistently, but Siauliai remains with the largest indicators (per 100,000 population) of this offence among the other largest cities, and it was found that there was no clear trend of non-severe health impairment in Siauliai, Klaipeda and Panevezys.

The following paragraphs are devoted to the consideration of criminal offences that are not the most common, i.e. severe health impairment, rapes and homicides.

When assessing the number of severe health impairment in public space we state that their variation is rather chaotic. It may be noted that a noticeable decrease in this indicator was registered in Kaunas, Vilnius, Klaipeda and Panevezys between 2006 and 2010. In 2015 there were 9.6 registered *severe health impairments* per 100,000 population in Siauliai.

Table 5

**Dynamics of crimes against human life and health in public space
(per 100,000 population)**

| Criminal offences | Cities | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | Average for 2013–2015 |
|--------------------------|-----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------------|
| Homicides | Vilnius | 7.5 | 5.5 | 3.4 | 1.9 | 4.5 | 1.5 | 4 | 3.8 | 2 | 4.7 | 3.5 |
| | Kaunas | 15.8 | 6.7 | 5.3 | 3.9 | 3.9 | 4.1 | 4.2 | 1 | 4.6 | 4.6 | 3.4 |
| | Klaipeda | 10.1 | 10.3 | 5.8 | 7 | 3 | 8 | 1.9 | 6.9 | 4.4 | 6.4 | 5.9 |
| | Siauliai | 0.8 | 7.5 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 3.5 | 7.3 | 6.5 | 0.9 | 2.8 | 9.6 | 4.4 |
| | Panevezys | 4.5 | 12 | 9.4 | 12.4 | 1 | 5 | 4.1 | 2.1 | 2.1 | 5.3 | 3.2 |
| Rapes | Vilnius | 1.1 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 0 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.4 |
| | Kaunas | 2 | 1.2 | 0 | 0.3 | 0 | 2.8 | 0.3 | 1.3 | 1 | 0.3 | 0.9 |
| | Klaipeda | 1.7 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 0 | 1.8 | 1.2 | 0 | 0.6 | 0 | 2.6 | 1.1 |
| | Siauliai | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 2.8 | 0 | 0.9 | 0 | 0.3 |
| | Panevezys | 1.8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1.9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Severe health impairment | Vilnius | 2.3 | 1.9 | 5.1 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 1.9 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 1.9 | 0.9 | 1.2 |
| | Kaunas | 3.7 | 2.6 | 5.3 | 5.4 | 0.9 | 3.8 | 3.2 | 0.7 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 0.6 |
| | Klaipeda | 4.5 | 1.7 | 0 | 1.2 | 3.6 | 3.1 | 2.5 | 0.6 | 3.2 | 2.6 | 2.1 |
| | Siauliai | 2.5 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 2.6 | 1.7 | 0 | 0.9 | 4.7 | 0.9 | 0 | 1.9 |
| | Panevezys | 8.2 | 4.6 | 1.9 | 7.6 | 1.9 | 0 | 5.1 | 2.1 | 4.2 | 0 | 2.1 |

Source: elaborated by the authors using data of the Information Technology and Communications Department under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania.

When assessing the number of *rapes* in public space we note that an interval is from 1 to 2.8 though a clear trend of increase or decrease is not observed in target cities. It is one of the most serious types of violent crimes and it is defined as an expression of the power and control in social life.

We can also mention that the number of *homicides* in public space in the interval between 1 and 9. “Considering the EU countries number of police-recorded offences of intentional homicide fell overall by 24% between 2008 and 2014, while the number of rape offences increased by 37% over the same period” (European Commission 2011). Despite the fact that a contemporary criminality in Lithuania is characterized by further decline of the most serious violent crimes (Babachinaite, Petkus 2014), *homicide* rate of Lithuania remains in the first position among all the EU member states according to the data of 2011 (Dobryninas et al. 2014).

Conclusions

The highest level of criminality was registered in Klaipėda (3366 criminal offences per 100,000) and the lowest in Panevėžys – 2402 criminal offences in 2015.

It was found that the criminal offences, i.e. *thefts*, *violation of public order*, *robberies* and *vehicle thefts*, committed in public space make up the largest share of criminal offences committed in public space. This suggests that prevention of these criminal offences should receive attention of the competent authorities.

In contrast to other largest cities of Lithuania the *violation of public order* made up the largest share (32.7%) in Šiauliai in 2015. Meanwhile, in other largest cities *thefts* took the first position and made up approx. 37–41% (per 100,000 population) of the total criminal offences committed in public space. The analysis of data shows that the *vehicle thefts* took the second position in Vilnius and Kaunas with 19–21%. Besides, it was found that the percentage of *serious and grave crimes* in Šiauliai was the largest (i.e. 8.4%) in comparison to other largest cities in 2015. Though that indicator was among the lowest ones when assessing the number of criminal offences per 100,000 population.

When assessing the structure of criminal offences according to crimes and misdemeanour it was found that the level of criminality was largest in Klaipėda when it exceeded 3,000 crimes per 100,000 population during last three years in that city.

The number of criminality in Vilnius and Šiauliai during all the entire period of 2013–2015 decreased (it was approx. 11.5% in Šiauliai and 9.6% in Vilnius). It was found that the amount of *misdemeanour* was in decline in all the largest cities of Lithuania if one compares 2014 and 2015.

The *violation of public order* in public places in Šiauliai increased rapidly until 2013 and it exceeded the indicators of other largest cities since 2010. These results suggest that the violation of public order in Šiauliai, unlike the same offences in other largest cities, has the growing trend and therefore it is necessary to look for the ways of prevention of these offences in Šiauliai. Meanwhile, the descending trend of violation of public order was found between 2006 and 2015 (the average of it made up 120 and 152 offences per 100,000 population). Both in Panevėžys and Klaipėda the number of violation of public order remains similar.

The numbers of *thefts* in Vilnius exceeded other largest cities significantly: 3 times in 2006, and still 2 times in 2015. While the thefts in Šiauliai decreased annually, the number of that criminal offence was one of the lowest among other largest cities of Lithuania.

It was found that the number of *robbery* decreased significantly since 2008 in the largest cities of Lithuania. Šiauliai was changing its position with Kaunas and Panevėžys during the entire period.

There was no observed changes of the number of *serious and grave crimes* in public space (except in Vilnius in 2012), however it could be mentioned that the number of serious and grave crimes in public space decreased in Kaunas and Klaipėda during the entire period.

The *vehicle thefts* in Vilnius and Kaunas dominate more than in other largest cities. While the decreasing number of thefts is registered in Vilnius and Kaunas, but

throughout the period the number of this criminal offence exceeds the indicators of Siauliai, Panevezys and Klaipeda.

Non-severe health impairment in Siauliai makes up 6.9% of total criminal offences committed in public space, while it does not reach 5% in other largest cities of Lithuania. When assessing non-severe health impairment in Vilnius and Kaunas, the situation is improving and Siauliai had the highest indicators per 100,000 population of this criminal offence in 2013.

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EKONOMIKA

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MUNICIPAL FISCAL COMPETITIVENESS AND ITS EVALUATION

The competitiveness of regions is discussed in the scientific literature differently, but still no consensus on the concept of regional competitiveness. In this article, the authors aim to evaluate municipalities' fiscal competitiveness and its determinants in Lithuania. There are scientific researches that assess regional competitiveness applying the concept of fiscal competitiveness, but such researches focus only on the calculation of competitiveness indices, including tax collection and public spending indicators as one of the components. The article characterizes the region's fiscal competitiveness and determines the channels of the impact on the regional economic growth, as well as evaluates determinants of Lithuanian municipal revenues and expenditures. Authors applied the research methods as analysis, synthesis, comparison, grouping, generalization, description, and cluster analysis. In the article, the concept of fiscal competitiveness and its place within the regional competitiveness concept was analysed. As a result, two aspects of regional competitiveness in terms of the concept of fiscal competitiveness were defined: the municipality's ability to collect revenues to the budget as much as possible and the municipality's ability to distribute expenditures as efficiently as possible in order to ensure economic growth. In addition, basic determinants of municipalities' fiscal competitiveness were defined: institutional environment, local and foreign investments, human capital, society entrepreneurship, formation of companies' clusters. The dynamic and structural analysis of Lithuanian municipal budget revenues showed that four resort municipalities and three municipalities of the largest cities are in the "top 10" by the budget revenues. The assessment of the highest budget expenditures per capita showed that there are three resort municipalities and four border municipalities in the "top 10". Additionally, the one municipality as in the case of budget revenue – Neringa, occupied the first place in terms of budget expenditure per capita. The results of cluster analysis using two indicators related to budget revenues and expenditures, showed that municipalities, which collect the lowest revenues and have minimal expenditures, demonstrate similarities in terms of analysed indicators. At the same time, similarities between leaders by budget revenues and expenditures have not been observed.

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Key words: municipalities, fiscal competitiveness, budget revenues, budget expenditures.

Fiskālā konkurētspēja un tās novērtējums municipalitātēs

Zinātniskajā literatūrā reģionu konkurētspēja tiek apspriesta no dažādiem skatupunktiem un konsensus attiecībā uz reģionālās konkurētspējas konceptu pagaidām nav atrasts. Raksta autori uzstāda mērķi novērtēt fiskālo konkurētspēju municipalitātēs un to noteicošus faktorus Lietuvā. Virknē pētījumu reģionālā konkurētspēja tiek novērtēta no fiskālās konkurētspējas viedokļa, tomēr uzmanība šāda veida pētījumos tiek fokusēta tikai uz konkurētspējas indeksu

aprēķināšanu, iekļaujot nodokļu iekasēšanas un sabiedrisko izdevumu rādītājus kā vienus no komponentēm. Dotais raksts raksturo reģionu fiskālo konkurētspēju, nosaka tās ietekmes uz reģionālo ekonomisko izaugsmi ceļus, kā arī novērtē ienākumu un izdevumu rādītājus Lietuvas municipalitātēs. Autori pielietoja analīzi, sintēzi, salīdzināšanu, grupēšanu, apkopošanu, aprakstu un klasteranalīzi. Rakstā ir analizēta fiskālās konkurētspējas koncepcija un tās vieta reģionālās konkurētspējas koncepta ietvaros. Rezultātā, divi reģionālās konkurētspējas aspekti fiskālās konkurētspējas kontekstā bija atzīmēti: municipalitātes spēja ievākt pēc iespējas vairāk ienākumu budžetā un municipalitātes spēja sadalīt izdevumus efektīvākā veidā reģionālās izaugsmes nodrošināšanai. Papildus, autori noteica fiskālās konkurētspējas pamatrādītājus: institucionālā vide, vietējās un ārvalstu investīcijas, cilvēkkapitāls, sabiedrības iesaistišanās uzņēmējdarbībā, klasteru veidošanās uzņēmumu starpā. Lietuvas municipalitāšu budžeta ieņēmumu dinamiskā un strukturālā analīze parādīja, ka četras kūrortu municipalitātes un trīs Lietuvas lielāko pilsētu municipalitātes atrodas “top desmitniekā” pēc budžeta ieņēmumu rādītāja. Lielāko budžeta izdevumu analīze parādīja, ka “top desmitniekā” atrodas trīs kūrortu municipalitātes un četras pierobežas municipalitātes. Budžeta izdevumu uz vienu iedzīvotāju analīze parādīja, ka pirmo vietu ieņem Neringas municipalitāte, tāpat kā budžeta ieņēmumu gadījumā. Klasteranalīzes rezultāti, izmantojot divus budžeta ieņēmumu un izdevumu rādītājus, atklāja, ka municipalitātēm, kurām ir viszemākie ieņēmumi un viszemākie izdevumi, ir līdzīgas iezīmes analizējamā rādītāju kontekstā. Tajā pat laikā, līdzīgas iezīmes starp līderiem pēc budžeta ieņēmumiem un izdevumiem netika atrastas.

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Atslēgas vārdi: municipalitātes, fiskālā konkurētspēja, budžeta ieņēmumi, budžeta izdevumi.

Фискальная конкурентоспособность и её оценка в муниципалитетах

Конкурентоспособность регионов в научной литературе обсуждается с разных точек зрения и консенсус в отношении концепции региональной конкурентоспособности пока не найден. В данной статье авторы ставят целью оценить фискальную конкурентоспособность муниципалитетов и определяющие ее факторы в Литве. В ряде исследований региональная конкурентоспособность оценивается с точки зрения концепции фискальной конкурентоспособности, однако внимание в такого рода исследованиях сосредотачивается только на расчете индексов конкурентоспособности, включая показатели сбора налогов и государственных расходов как одни из компонентов. Данная статья характеризует фискальную конкурентоспособность регионов, определяет пути её влияния на региональный экономический рост, а также оценивает показатели доходов и расходов в Литовских муниципалитетах. Авторы применили методы анализа, синтеза, сравнения, группировки, обобщения, описания и кластерного анализа. В статье проанализирована концепция фискальной конкурентоспособности и её место в концепции региональной конкурентоспособности. В результате, два аспекта региональной конкурентоспособности в контексте фискальной конкурентоспособности были отмечены: способность муниципалитета собрать как можно больше доходов в бюджет и способность муниципалитета распределить расходы наиболее эффективным образом для обеспечения регионального роста. Дополнительно были определены основные показатели фискальной конкурентоспособности: институциональная среда, местные и зарубежные инвестиции, человеческий капитал, вовлеченность общества в предпринимательскую деятельность, формирование кластеров среди предприятий. Динамический и структурный анализ бюджетных доходов Литовских муниципалитетов показал, что четыре курортных муниципалитета и три муниципалитета крупнейших городов Литвы находятся в «топ десять» по показателю бюджетных доходов. Оценка самых высоких бюджетных расходов на душу населения показала, что в

«топ десять» входят три курортных муниципалитета и четыре приграничных муниципалитета. Также анализ бюджетных расходов на душу населения показал, что первое место занимает муниципалитет Неринга, как и в случае бюджетных доходов. Результаты кластерного анализа, используя два показателя бюджетных доходов и расходов, показали, что муниципалитеты, собирающие самые низкие доходы и имеющие самые низкие расходы, имеют схожие черты в контексте анализируемых показателей. В тоже время, схожие черты между лидерами по бюджетным доходам и расходам не были обнаружены.

Исследование финансируется Исследовательским советом Литвы в рамках проекта «Оценка фискальной конкурентоспособности муниципалитетов в контексте экономического роста» Nr. MIP-013/2015.

Ключевые слова: муниципалитеты, фискальная конкурентоспособность, бюджетные доходы, бюджетные расходы.

Introduction

The relevance of the research. In the scientific literature, there are discussions about regions' (counties, municipalities) economic and social development level, the evaluation of economic and social indicators, and municipal ratings. However, the concept of regional competitiveness, in particular the concept of regions' fiscal competitiveness, is rarely used. This is topical in Lithuania due to several reasons:

1. Lithuanian tax system is unitary and regions have a little opportunity to compete on fiscal measures,
2. regions, because of geographical, political or historical reasons, have different opportunities to earn income and to achieve a higher economic development,
3. the Lithuanian territory is small and regions are not sufficiently far from each other, so it is difficult to offer substantially different business environment for entrepreneurs.

The aim of the research – to evaluate municipalities' fiscal competitiveness and its determinants in Lithuania.

Research tasks:

1. to describe the regional fiscal competitiveness dimension within the concept of regional competitiveness;
2. to define the impact of fiscal competitiveness on the region's economic growth;
3. to evaluate Lithuanian municipal budget revenues and cost factors using the cluster analysis.

Research methods: analysis, synthesis, comparison, grouping, generalization, description, and cluster analysis.

The article presents five sections. The second section explains dimension of regional fiscal competitiveness within the concept of regional competitiveness. The third section defines the impact of fiscal competitiveness on the region's economic growth. In the fourth section the authors evaluate Lithuanian municipal budget revenues and expenditures determinants using cluster analysis and in the fifth section offer conclusions.

The regional fiscal competitiveness concept within the concept of regional competitiveness

The competitiveness of regions in the scientific literature is discussed differently, but still no consensus there. Interest in the regional economy in Europe finds roots in the beginning of the last century, the 9th decade. One of the most important representatives of this trend is Porter (1990), who formulated the theory of clusters. This theory is based on assessment of impact of corporate and regional competitiveness on the country's competitiveness. According to Porter (1990), a cluster is a group of co-operating companies and associated institutions in a particular area, with similarities and complementarity. Clusters can be formed both in the city and in the region, both in the country and adjacent territory. Cluster competitiveness approach primarily is related to the fact that there is not competition inside the cluster, but the whole clusters as separate units compete with each other.

The term of regional competitiveness is often used, but it lacks a specific description. Budd and Hirmis (2004) note that the description of the concept of competitiveness is as complex as globalization: both terms are widely used, but are not defined specifically. Bronisz, Heijman and Miszczuk (2008) argue that it is very difficult to measure regional competitiveness, because there is a critical number of factors and variables that are changing constantly. Porter and Ketels (2003) argue that, despite the fact that the concept of competitiveness is widely used; the concept itself is complex.

In the scientific literature, the basis for defining the region's competitiveness is discussed in two ways – microeconomic point of view focuses on the company's competitiveness, in turn, macroeconomic point of view focuses on the country's competitiveness. Krugman (1994) contributed to this discussion describing the territorial competitiveness concept as a "dangerous obsession" because of three main aspects:

1. the idea to compare the company and the country is misleading and wrong;
2. in a result of competition, one company's success means other's failure, while the country's or region's success can create opportunities for other countries or regions;
3. competitiveness means the other concept of productivity value and the standard of living in the country primarily characterized by the growth rate of productivity.

As Huggins, Izushi, Prokop, Thompson (2014) noticed, the importance of the concept of regional competitiveness in recent years continues to grow, both in supplementing theoretical aspects, as well as in empirical studies. Authors believe that widely accepted fact that separate territories compete with each other by attracting investments, thus, encouraging industrial, and service companies to form clusters can explain the growing interest. Žitkus (2015) indicate that in Lithuanian scientific literature the concept of regional competitiveness is used separately in scientific and applied research projects. In applied research projects, competitiveness relates only to economic, regional functional area; in scientific works, region's competitiveness relates to achieved results or regional potential. Authors present a definition of competitiveness of the region: "the region's ability to create economic, social, infrastructural and institutional conditions, under which companies achieve better performance, and needs of citizens are more satisfied, comparing with other regions".

Alexandros, Metaxas (2016) argue that the concept of competitiveness of the region sometimes is used to justify economic policy measures, which include subsidies, wage growth limitation and so on, taking into account the existing opinion that low wages makes the country more competitive. Authors believe that this approach has serious drawbacks, because low wages reflect a low level of competitiveness and a low level of public welfare, subsidies deplete national resources and hinder the most efficient way to allocate resources. The productivity shows the true level of competitiveness. High level of productivity contributes the increase of wages, high capital gains and high level of welfare, so the main goal of economic activities is to create conditions for rapid and sustainable productivity growth.

Criticism to regional competitiveness assessment express Kitson, Martin, Tyler (2004), which argue that the calculation and comparison of regional indicators can be useful in finding answers, which regions and why work better, but wrong and even dangerous, if one measures global competition between regions for market share, where the regions can be only as “winners” or “losers”. Authors stress that the competition is very important; it encourages creativity and skills, but it is necessary to separate concepts of competition and competitiveness, especially in terms of regions. Authors indicate that the regional competitiveness is more complex concept, which is linked with regional development in a long term and should not concentrate only on regional market and available resources.

Aiginger, Firgo (2015) propose to assess regional competitiveness through three areas – economic, social and environmental. According to authors, it is impossible to achieve the rapid growth of competitiveness using a low-cost, low social and environmental standards policy. In addition, it is proved that the environmental ambition and investments in the social sphere do not stimulate the growth of competitiveness, because it is determined by education and innovation. In addition, a great influence is making by strong institutions, which show the importance of policies for regional competitiveness. Reasonable selection of regional policy, combining smart specialization and diversification as well as strengths of the region based on cluster formation allows increasing both – the regional and national competitiveness.

In the scientific studies, assessment of regional competitiveness includes fiscal competitiveness as well mostly focusing on calculation of competitiveness indices including tax collection and public spending indicators as components (e.g. see Avila 2014; Lietuvos laisvosios rinkos institutas 2015). Thus, the research of public sector revenues and expenditures is considered as helpful for assessment of the regional competitiveness.

Fiscal competitiveness of regions can be integrated into Porter's (1990) theory on cluster formation, as far as tax rates can encourage companies to concentrate in a particular territory. In assessing the fiscal competitiveness, Krugman's (1994) insight is appropriate, because higher competitiveness of one region does not reduce the fiscal competitiveness of another region. Kitson, Martin, Tyler (2004) agree with this insight. In addition, according to Krugman (1994), fiscal competitiveness should be increased directly because of productivity growth: the budget expenditures should be used to promote the growth of productivity, and this phenomenon would allow collecting more revenues to the budget.

Summarizing scientific findings presented in the section, authors provide the opinion that the municipal (regional) fiscal competitiveness could be defined as the ability of municipality (region) to redistribute budget revenues thereby that residents, business companies in all spheres of activity could be able to pay more taxes to the municipal (regional) budget.

The impact of fiscal competitiveness on the municipal (regional) economic growth

Regional fiscal competitiveness is linked closely to regional economic growth, whereas the effective distribution of budget expenditures has an impact on economic growth, and economic growth is logical result of the growth of budget revenues. In the scientific literature, precise characteristic of fiscal competitiveness for region are absent, and research results, which could demonstrate the impact of regional fiscal competitiveness on the regional economic growth, are missing as well. Therefore, in this article regional fiscal competitiveness manifested in two aspects – the region's ability to collect more revenues to the budget and the ability to distribute them effectively. Additionally, in authors' mind, assessment of impact of regional fiscal competitiveness on economic growth through these two channels is appropriate also. The region's ability to collect more revenues to the (regional) budget depends on the product generated in the region, quantity and quality of human capital, the number of firms, local and foreign investments and other factors. Regional distribution of revenues in terms of effectiveness in the context of economic growth should ensure the growth of generated product, improvements in the quality of human capital, increasing number of enterprises and the growth of both local and foreign investments.

Scientific studies that assess determinants of the regional economic growth focus on three areas: impact of institutional environment, human capital and impact of the business sector. The latter research direction is quite wide; it evaluates impact of economic structure and foreign investments, domestic investments and entrepreneurship as well as a number of companies, and their size on economic growth.

Regional fiscal competitiveness, in terms of both its aspects – the ability to collect more revenues to the budget and to allocate them efficiently – depends on regional freedom to set tax rates, tax incentives, and social benefits. Scientists discuss whether fiscal decentralization is useful for achievement of economic growth in region. There is number of scientific articles that discuss impact of fiscal decentralization on economic growth (Zhang, Zou 1998; Xie, Zou, Davoodi 1999; Akai, Sakata 2002; Thornton 2007; Boskin 2012; Amagoh, Amin 2012; Baskaran, Feld 2013; Kim 2013), but the results are different. Some authors found that fiscal decentralization has positive effect on economic growth (e.g. Akai, Sakata 2002; Thornton 2007; Amagoh, Amin 2012; Kim 2013), in turn, some others saw that impact of fiscal decentralization on economic growth is ambiguous (Davoodi, Zou 1998; Xie, Zou, Davoodi 1999; Hammond, Tosun 2009). There are also studies that determine the negative impact of fiscal decentralization on economic growth (Zhang, Zou 1998; Rodriguez-Pose, Kroijer 2009; Baskaran, Feld 2013).

Fiscal competitiveness is based on fiscal policy, which included collection of tax revenues and other types of income, as well as public spending (budget expenditures) in different areas significant for society and economic development. A detailed assessment of how fiscal policy affects economic growth can be attributed to the International Monetary Fund's (2015) document "Fiscal policy and long-term growth", which analyses impact of fiscal policy measures on economic growth not only for macro level, but also for structural levels (individual markets and areas). Fiscal policy effects may vary in short and long terms. This is demonstrated in Cottarelli, Jaramillo (2012) and Boskin (2012) studies.

Human capital and regional fiscal competitiveness in the context of economic growth are related to both budget revenues and expenditures. Higher human capital in the region makes more possibilities to develop the business, as well as to collect more budget revenues. Assessment of human capital accumulation is possible using such indicators as education, entrepreneurship activity, and creativity, which encourages economic growth and thus increases budget revenues in a long-term perspective.

In scientific studies, impact of human capital on the region's competitiveness and economic growth is measured using variety of indicators. Some studies (Gennaioli, La Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes, Shleifer 2011; Unger, Rauch, Frese, Rosenbusch 2011; Faggian, Partridge, Malecki 2016) are in general nature, in which the human capital factor is seen in conjunction with other determinants of competitiveness and economic growth. In order to assess possibilities of public authorities to influence economic growth, scientists compare human capital and institutional environments (e.g. Dias, Tebaldi 2012; Acemoglu, Gallego, Robinson 2014).

The impact of human capital on competitiveness and economic growth often is seen as analysis of education and quality of the educational system (e.g. Castello-Climent, Hidalgo-Cabrillana 2012; Hanushek 2013). In such studies, special attention is paid to higher education and the role of university (e.g. Zhan, Zhuang 2011; Audretsch, Hulsbeck, Lehmann 2012; Castello-Climent, Hidalgo-Cabrillana 2012).

During the last decade the interest in the extent, to which the competitiveness and economic growth is determined by education (training) in the field of business has increased. The positive impact was found in business studies (e.g. Colombo, Delmastro, Grilli (2004); Souitaris, Zerbinati, Al-Laham (2007); Von Graevenitz, Harhoff, Weber (2010); Gennaioli, La Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes, Shleifer (2011); Martin, McNally, Kay (2013)). There are studies (e.g. Oosterbeek, van Praag, Ijsselstein (2010)), which indicate that business education does not affect or even has a negative impact on society and entrepreneurial intentions to start a business.

Another research group, in terms of impact of human capital on economic growth, evaluates human capital through the prism of entrepreneurship, assuming that the business environment is creative. Audretsch, Pena-Legazkue (2012) found a positive effect, O'Connor (2013) noted that it is very difficult to measure enterprise economic benefits, and Shane (2009) showed that a typical company start-up is not innovative, creates few workplaces and low income, so these kind of companies have a limited impact on economic growth.

Business sector's impact on regional competitiveness is broad and covers many transmission channels: economic structure, foreign investments, local investments, entrepreneurship, a number of companies and their size etc. All these factors affect the region and its fiscal competitiveness, as they affect both the budget revenues and expenditures.

The scientific literature pays more attention to assessment of the impact of foreign direct investments on the regional competitiveness and economic growth. The positive effects were identified in several studies, e.g. Görg and Hijzen (2004), Javorcik (2004), Johnson (2005), Busse and Groizard (2006), Jyun-Yi and Hsu (2008). Yao and Wei (2007) found out that in order developing countries could gain success in catching-up of developed countries using foreign capital, considering three conditions: skilled labour (as well as a good educational system); favourable functioning of institutions and market liberalization; ability to develop and adopt new technologies. Moran, Graham, Blomstrom (2005) and Busse, Groizard (2006) show that the impact of foreign direct investments on the country's technological progress varies widely because of country's economic regulation. It is particularly concerned with labour market and financial market regulation. It is argued that in protectoral and "perverse" economies foreign direct investments can make a negative impact on economic growth.

An assessment of determinants of Lithuanian municipal budget revenues and expenditures using cluster analysis

Cluster analysis. Each field of science has its own testing methods, which help not only to disclose the issue, but also to explain reasons of such situation and also offer possible solutions. Valackienė and Mikėnienė (2008) emphasize that it is not easy to choose methodology, taking into account the problems under research. One of the possible methods for evaluation of municipal fiscal competitiveness is cluster analysis. The aim of cluster analysis is to group objects so that differences within the cluster would be minimal, and between clusters larger (Čekanavičius, Murauskas 2002).

There are five stages of cluster analysis:

1. It is important, firstly, to choose objects of cluster analysis. In this study, the object of cluster analysis is Lithuanian municipality.
2. Secondly, to find features of clustering.
3. It is necessary to select quantitative measure for detecting the similarity between objects. Metric distance measurements, correlation coefficients and coefficients of associativity are used commonly for measurement of similarity between objects. Metric distance measurements provide a difference in material measures – higher values indicate on less similarity between objects (Čekanavičius, Murauskas 2002). In this article the authors investigate distances between objects using the Square Euclidean distance – one of the most commonly used measurements, which is calculated by the following formula (1):

$$\|X - Y\|^2 = \sum_{i=1}^m (x_i - y_i)^2 \quad (\text{Čekanavičius, Murauskas 2002}) \quad (1)$$

The Euclidean distance is the square root of the sum of the squared differences in the variables' values (Čekanavičius, Murauskas 2002). Therefore, the authors use the standardized values of variables – the z-value, calculated according to the formula (2):

$$z_i = \frac{x_i - \bar{x}}{s} \quad (\text{Čekanavičius, Murauskas 2002}) \quad (2)$$

4. The chosen method helps to divide objects into clusters. There are many clustering methods. There are two major classes of cluster analysis methods – hierarchical and non-hierarchical methods. Application of hierarchical clustering methods helps to define a hierarchy between clusters, e.g. all objects treated as a single large cluster, which consists of smaller clusters etc. Hierarchical methods are used for determination of total interdependence of the structure of all clusters and then decide what the optimal number of clusters is. Hierarchical methods are divided into merger and division methods. According to merger methods, small clusters are connected to a larger until it becomes single. The division method is opposite to a logical connection method. The only consistent cluster is split. Non-hierarchical methods usually are applied, when the number of clusters is known and then the investigation of desired properties of clusters is necessary (Čekanavičius, Murauskas 2002). In this article, the authors use the hierarchical merger method of clustering.

There are several agglomerative procedures and they can be distinguished by the way they define the distance from a newly formed cluster to a certain object, or to other clusters in the solution. Clusters can be connected by a series of tests: single linkage (nearest neighbour), complete linkage (farthest neighbour), average linkage, centroid or ect. Different measurements provide slightly different results, which are determined by the amount of information used. However, there is not straight answer to the question, which measure is the best. In this article, clusters are connected using average linkage method, which is calculated according to the formula:

$$d(U, V) = \sum_{x_i \in U} \sum_{y_j \in V} d(X_i, Y_j) / (n_U n_V) \quad (\text{Čekanavičius, Murauskas 2002}) \quad (3)$$

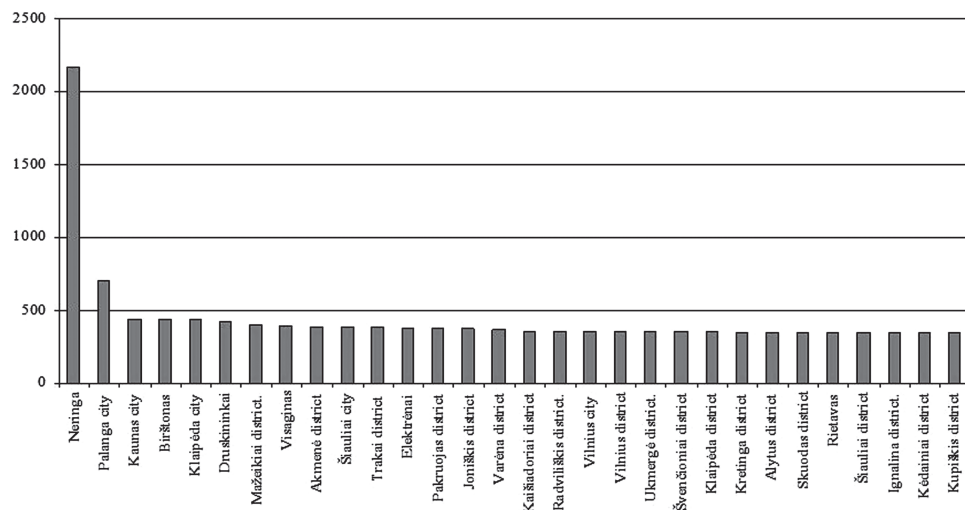
5. At the stage of the review of results, authors move back to the original data and make an assessment, whether clustering results are logical. As a comparison, other clusters can be used by merger techniques, re-clustering procedure, removing individual observations and others.

Assessment results. Before assessing determinants of Lithuanian municipal budget revenues and expenditures using cluster analysis, in particular, it is appropriate to estimate the level of revenues and expenditures.

In Lithuania, there are 60 municipalities, which can have a status of the city, district or can be without one of these statuses. The Figure 1 presents 30 municipalities that possess the highest budget revenues per capita.

Figure 1

**Municipalities that collected the highest budget revenues per capita
in 2014 in Lithuania, in euros**



Source: created by the authors using data of the Lithuanian Department of Statistics.

Neringa municipality collects the most of the revenues, which are even three times higher than in Palanga municipality, which has the second place.

It should be noted that the two municipalities-leaders (Neringa municipality and Palanga municipality) are resort municipalities. In general, there are four resort municipalities in the “top 10” – Neringa, Palanga, Birštonas and Druskininkai. In the “top 10” there are also three municipalities of the largest cities – Kaunas, Klaipėda and Šiauliai.

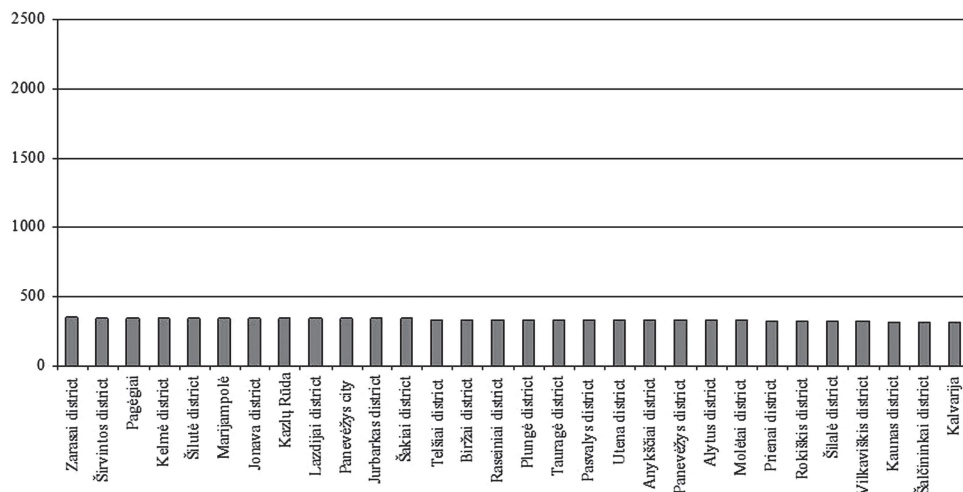
Visaginas municipality, Mazeikiai district municipality, Akmene district municipality can be found among the leaders according to the budget revenues per capita as well. Each municipality has specific reasons for high budget revenues per capita. For example, Visaginas municipality currently attracts many public funds due to the presence of nuclear plant decommissioning. In Mazeikiai district municipality, the oil refinery company Orlen Lithuania, which is characterized by a high added value and high export volumes, operates. In Akmene district municipality, there is the foreign capital owned Cement Company, which is one of the largest companies in the Baltic States and the only company in Lithuania, which manufactures cement.

Figure 2 shows 30 municipalities, which collect low budget revenues per capita.

Kalvarija municipality has the last place according to this indicator. Comparing this municipality with the leader (Neringa municipality), one can find the difference in seven times between the indicators. There are six region centres located in urban areas among municipalities with lowest revenues. For example, the Kaunas city municipality is the third among the leaders by collected revenues, and Kaunas district municipality is the third from the bottom. Panevezys city – centre of the district, is among low-income municipalities and occupies only 40th place.

Figure 2

**Municipalities that collected the least budget income per capita
in 2014 in Lithuania, in euros**



Source: created by the authors using data of the Lithuanian Department of Statistics.

The authors search for the reasons, which could explain such differences between municipalities in terms of municipal budget revenues, using cluster analysis. The authors applied hierarchical clustering method and divided all 60 municipalities according to two indicators: added value per capita and the number of employed per 100 inhabitants. The assumption that higher values of selected statistical indicators determines higher ability of municipality to collect revenues to the budget provided the logic of analysis.

Application of cluster analysis allowed authors to divide municipalities into 2 clusters. The results are shown in the Table 1.

Table 1

**Municipal clusters according to added value per capita and the number
of the employed per 100 inhabitants in 2014 in Lithuania**

| I CLUSTER | II CLUSTER | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Neringa | Birštonas | Tauragė district | Radviliškis district |
| Palanga city | Visaginas | Ukmergė district | Švenčionys district |
| Kaunas city | Akmenė district | Elektrėnai | Kretinga district |
| Klaipėda city | Kalvarija | Pakruojis district | Rietavas |
| Druskininkai | Šalčininkai district | Joniškis district | Raseiniai district |
| Mažeikiai district | Kaunas district | Širvintos district | Biržai district |
| Šiauliai city | Vilkaviškis district | Jurbarkas district | Kaišiadorys district |
| Vilnius city | Šilalė district | Varėna district | Pagėgiai |

Sequel to Table 1 see on the next page

Sequel to Table 1

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Klaipėda district | <i>Rokiškis district</i> | Lazdijai district | Skuodas district |
| Panevėžys city | <i>Prienai district</i> | Ignalina district | Anykščiai district |
| Alytus city | <i>Molėtai district</i> | Kazlų rūda | Pasvalys district |
| Marijampolė | <i>Alytus district</i> | Kėdainiai district | Kelmė district |
| Utena district | <i>Panevėžys district</i> | Trakai district | Zarasai district |
| | Vilnius district | Plungė district | Šakiai district |
| | Šiauliai district | Jonava district | Kupiškis district |
| | Telšiai district | Šilutė district | |

Note: municipalities marked in bold collect the highest budget revenues; municipalities marked in italic collect minimal budget revenues.

Source: created by the authors.

The “top 10” of municipalities, which collect the highest budget revenues, fall in both the first and the second cluster. Thus, these municipalities have not a great similarity between each other in terms of the analysed two factors. Meanwhile, other municipalities, which collect the minimum budget revenues, fall in to the one cluster, so they are quite similar. It should be noticed that the first cluster consist of city municipalities and district municipalities, for example, both Klaipėda city and Klaipėda district municipality.

Although the cluster analysis does not clearly shows the factors that determine the revenues of local budgets, it only reveals certain patterns. In the first cluster, there are large cities municipalities that generate high level of production and a low unemployment rate. In addition, the first cluster includes three resort municipalities, which do not generate high product in absolute terms, but low level of population allows to obtain satisfactory results after recalculation of the data per capita. Budget revenues in these municipalities come from both Lithuanian and foreign business, particularly from service sector. For example, the first cluster includes Mazeikiai district municipality, where the biggest part of high added value is produced in oil refinery company Orlen Lithuania, thus providing significant budget revenues as well.

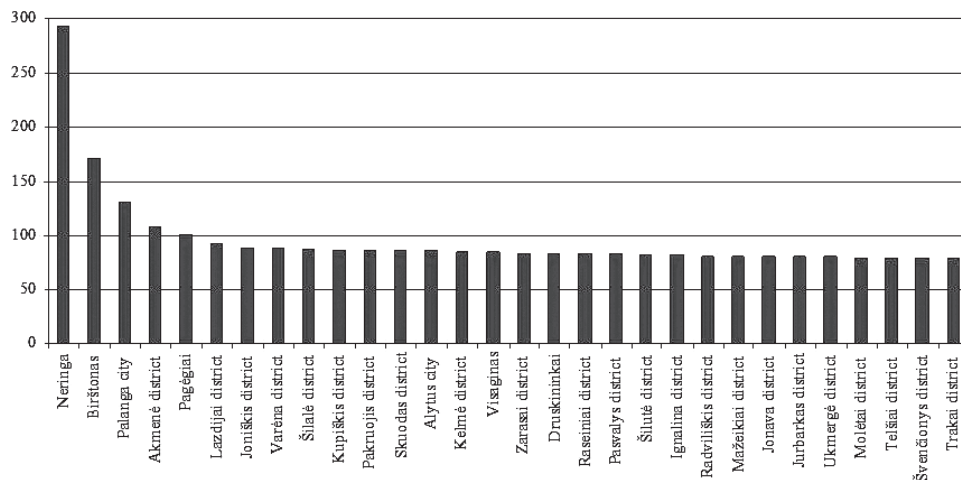
The second cluster consists of 47 municipalities, including three from first ten according to budget revenues. Districts produce high added value, but have a lack of good employment performance, so are not able to be included in the first cluster. This leads to the conclusion that municipal revenues per capita was determined mostly by added value, despite the fact that the biggest part of the municipal revenues consists of revenues from taxes, which depends on the number of employed.

The evaluation of fiscal competitiveness is important for not only budget revenues, but for budget expenditures also. In this article, cost-effectiveness analysis is not provided, and the article focuses only on assessment of the total amount of expenditures.

Figure 3 shows 30 municipalities that have the highest budget expenditures per capita.

Figure 3

Municipalities that experienced the highest level of budget expenditures per capita in 2014 in Lithuania, in euros



Source: created by the authors using data of the Lithuanian Department of Statistics.

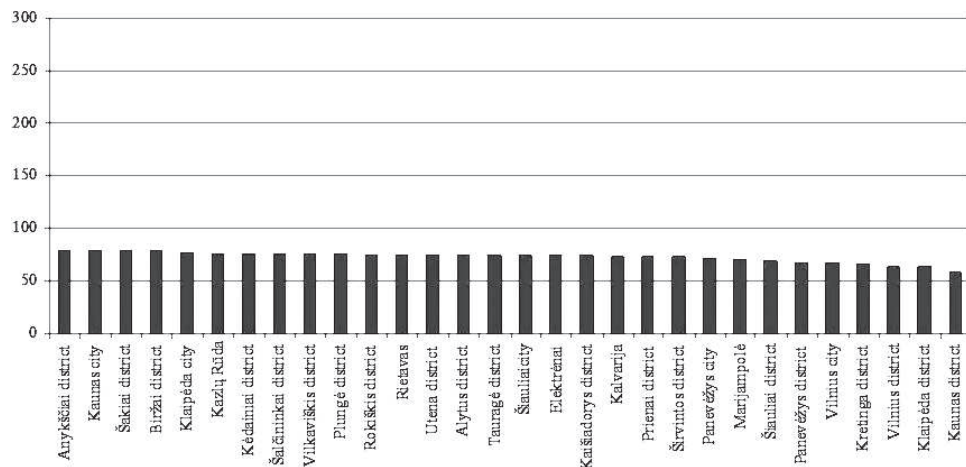
According to these data, the same one municipality as in the case of budget revenues, i.e. Neringa, occupied the first place as well. However, the difference is already smaller. Budget expenditures in Neringa municipality are less than twice higher than in Birštonas municipality (the second place). Comparison of budget expenditures between the first place (Neringa municipality) and the last place (Kaunas district municipality) discovers the difference that is less than 5 times. In general, there are three resort municipalities and four border municipalities (Pagegiai, Lazdijai district, Joniskis district and Varena district) in the “top 10”.

Figure 4 shows 30 municipalities that experience the lowest level of budget expenditures per capita.

Three largest cities with neighbouring districts municipalities – Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda are the last in the group of municipalities that experience the lowest level of budget expenditures per capita. It should be noticed that 7 of 10 municipalities with the lowest level of budget expenditures per capita are district centres. According to the data on collection of budget revenues, only 2 such district centres got in the second half of 30 municipalities that experience the lowest level of budget expenditures per capita.

Figure 4

**Municipalities that experienced the lowest level
of budget expenditures per capita in 2014 in Lithuania, in euros**



Source: created by the authors using data of the Lithuanian Department of Statistics.

In order to find out what causes these differences in municipal budget expenditures, cluster analysis using two indicators that determine budget expenditures – the number of pupils from pre-school and general education institutions per 100 inhabitants and the number of recipients of social benefits per 100 inhabitants was performed. The choice of these indicators is based on the structure of Lithuanian municipal budgets, where the largest share of expenditures relates to education and social security. Pre-school and general educational institutions receive financing from local budgets, and the increasing number of students in these institutions should have an impact on local government's spending. On the other hand, this kind of expenditures depend on the average number of pupils and students in groups and classes, what leads to the cost effectiveness in education. Social benefits also are paid from the local municipal budgets, thus, it would be logical to assume that higher number of recipients of social benefits, increases municipal expenditures.

According to cluster analysis results, the municipalities were divided into 2 clusters. The data (see Table 2) indicate that municipalities with the highest budget expenditures was shared equally between two clusters. In turn, all municipalities that have the least budget expenditures fall into one cluster. Therefore, the authors concluded that municipalities with the least budget expenditures have similarities according to the tested indicators. It should be noticed that the municipalities with minimal costs have relatively high number (per 100 inhabitants) of students from pre-school and general education institutions, but at the same time relatively low number (per 100 inhabitants) of recipients of social benefits. Therefore, the authors emphasize, in terms of both analysed indicators, that larger commonalities between municipalities with the highest level of budget expenditures are not detected. This may be related to the fact that, as the authors

mentioned above, there are three resort municipalities and four border municipalities among municipalities that have the highest level of budget expenditures, so budget expenditures depend on other factors as well.

Table 2

Municipal clusters according to the number of pupils from pre-school and general education institutions per 100 inhabitants and the number of recipients of social benefits per 100 inhabitants in 2014 in Lithuania

| I CLUSTER | II CLUSTER | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Neringa | Alytus city | Akmenė district | Alytus district |
| Birštonas | Kėdainiai district | Pagėgiai | Anykščiai district |
| Palanga city | Plungė district | Lazdijai district | Zarasai district |
| Varėna district | Šiauliai city | Joniškis district | Ignalina district |
| Šilalė district | Kaunas city | Kupiškis district | Kelmė district |
| <i>Panevėžys city</i> | Klaipėda city | Rokiškis district | Kalvarija |
| <i>Kretinga district</i> | Raseiniai district | Kazlų Rūda | Mažeikiai district |
| <i>Marijampolė</i> | Kaišiadorys district | Tauragė district | Šilutė district |
| <i>Vilnius city</i> | Druskininkai | Šakiai district | Jonava district |
| <i>Vilnius district</i> | Visaginas | Pakruojis district | Vilkaviškis district |
| <i>Širvintos district</i> | Švenčionys district | Skuodas district | Šalčininkai district |
| <i>Klaipėda district</i> | Elektrėnai | Pasvalys district | Telšiai district |
| <i>Kaunas district</i> | Utena district | Jurbarkas district | Radviliškis district |
| <i>Panevėžys district</i> | Trakai district | Ukmergė district | Rietavas |
| <i>Šiauliai district</i> | Prienai district | Biržai district | |
| | Molėtai district | | |

Note: municipalities marked in bold have the highest budget expenditures; municipalities marked in italic have minimal budget expenditures.

Source: created by the authors.

Summing up the results of cluster analysis it can be concluded that municipal clustering does not fully answer the question about main determinants of differences between municipalities in terms of local budget revenues and expenditures. Municipalities that collect the lowest revenues and have the minimal expenditures demonstrate similarities in terms of tested indicators, in turn, similarities between the leaders by budget revenues and budget expenditures have not been observed.

Conclusions

The literature analysis showed that the concept of region's competitiveness is used often, but it lacks a specific description. Authors stress that it is very difficult to measure the regional competitiveness because it has many determinants. They also strip the use of region's competitiveness concept in scientific and applied research projects. It was found that the assessment of the regional fiscal competitiveness focuses on the calculation of indices of competitiveness, including indicators of tax collection and public spending, as components.

According to authors, the regional fiscal competitiveness could be integrated into the cluster formation theory, because the tax concessions could encourage companies to concentrate in a specific territory. It was found also that the concept of fiscal competitiveness should be linked with increase of productivity: budgetary expenditures should be used in a way that promotes productivity increase, and this phenomenon would allow the budget to collect more revenues. Therefore, the municipal (regional) fiscal competitiveness could be defined as the ability of the municipality (region) to redistribute budget revenues thereby that residents, business companies in all spheres of activity could be able to pay more taxes to the municipal (regional) budget.

It was found that the region's fiscal competitiveness is closely linked to regional economic growth, whereas the effective distribution of expenditures has an impact on economic growth, and economic growth occurs due to the revenues growth. The region's ability to collect more revenues to the (regional) budget depends on the region's generated product, human capital quantity and quality, the number of firms, local and foreign investments and other factors. Scientific studies that assess determinants of the regional economic growth focus on three areas: impact on institutional environment, human capital and business. The latter research direction is quite wide; it evaluates impact of economic structure and foreign investments, domestic investments and entrepreneurship as well as a number of companies, and their size on economic growth.

Neringa municipality is the absolute leader by collecting budget revenues and its indicator is three times higher than in Palanga municipality, which has the second place. In the "top 10", there are four resort municipalities and three municipalities of the largest cities. The last place on this indicator Kalvarija municipality has. Comparing this municipality with the first one (Neringa municipality), the difference in seven times should be noticed. The cluster analysis showed that municipalities, which collect the minimal budget revenues, fall into one cluster, so this means that these municipalities have a great similarity between each other according to the analysed two income factors.

The assessment of the highest budget expenditures per capita showed that the same one municipality as in the case of budget revenues, i.e. Neringa, occupied the first place. In the "top 10", there are three resort municipalities and four border municipalities. The last places were occupied by the country's three largest cities with neighbouring districts of the municipality.

In order to find out what causes these differences in municipal budget expenditures, cluster analysis was performed using two indicators mainly forming budget expenditures. The municipalities that collect the lowest revenues and have minimal expenditures demonstrate similarities in terms of selected indicators, however, between leaders by budget revenues and expenditures general similarities have not been observed.

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DIALOGIC FEATURES OF NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS WEBSITES – RELATIONAL APPROACH

The birth of the Internet in the early nineties of the twentieth century revolutionized the mechanism of communication, significantly affecting the functioning of entire societies. This article is part of these issues, its objective is identification of the way, in which public benefits organizations, which use website in building dialogic potential (“dialogic communication”). Such studies in European countries were carried out only marginally. The study used coding scheme based on the Taylor and Kent (1998) work and modified for the needs of non-profit organizations’ websites. This is the first tool in the literature of public relations used to study the relationship between the organization and the users of a website. Taylor and Kent (1998) indicate five principles playing the key role in dialogic communication process between the organization and the website user. Only those non-profit organizations were selected, which as of 1 January 2015 had the status of public benefit organizations (PBO). The selection of such non-profit organizations was not coincidental. First, having the status of PBO, is associated with certain privileges, e.g. the ability to receive a 1% tax donation from individuals. It means that an organization should seek the opportunity to obtain additional financial resources resulting from tax opportunities, even through the website. Secondly, the status of PBO means the necessity to conduct thorough and transparent reporting. Using the formula for the minimum size of the sample (Kaczmarczyk 2011) with a finite population a minimum sample size of 367 subjects was obtained. The study shows that non-profit organizations, make little use of the five principles in the building website dialogic potential (in particular to elements directly constituting the website dialogic potential). The results indicate that the set of principles forming technical part of website dialogic potential was used in analysed organizations twice as often compared to purely dialogic principles. The content analysis of the non-profit organizations proved that their websites most often contain the elements that gave them only a digital brochure character with poor opportunity to develop a dialogue between non-profit organizations and stakeholders.

Key words: dialogue, relationship, non-profit organization, internet.

Bepeļņas organizāciju tīmekļa vietņu dialoga īpašības – komunikatīvā pieeja

Interneta rašanās divdesmita gadsimta deviņdesmitajos gados nodrošināja izrāvienu komunikācijas mehānismā, būtiski ietekmējot sabiedrību. Rakstā tiek pētīts šis process ar mērķi noteikt, kādā veidā organizācijas, kuras izmanto tīmekļa vietnes dialoga potenciāla (saziņai ar sabiedrību) realizācijai, vinnē. Šāda veida pētījumi Eiropas valstīs notika tikai pastarpināti. Rakstā tiek izmantota kodēšanas shēma, kura balstās uz Teilora un Kenta darbu (Taylor, Kent 1998) un ir modificēta bepeļņas organizāciju tīmekļa vietnēm. Šis ir pirmais instruments sabiedriskām attiecībām veltītajā literatūrā, kuru izmantoja sakarības starp organizāciju un tās tīmekļa vietnes lietotājiem izpētei. Teilors un Kents (Taylor, Kent 1998) norāda uz pieciem principiem, kuri spēlē atslēgas lomu dialogā starp organizāciju un tās tīmekļa vietnes lietotāju. Dotajam pētījumam tika atlasītas tikai tās bepeļņas organizācijas, kuras uz 2015. gada 1. janvāri bija atzītas par sabiedriskā labuma organizācijām (SLO). Šāda veida bepeļņas organizāciju atlase nebija nejauša. Pirmkārt, SLO statuss paredz virkni priekšrocību, piemēram, iespēju saņemt nodokļu ziedojumus no indivīdiem 1% apmērā. Tas nozīmē, ka organizācijai ir jāmeklē iespējas saņemt papildus finanšu resursus, izmantojot nodokļu iespējas, pat caur tīmekļa vietni.

Otrkārt, SLO statuss nozīmē nepieciešamību nodrošināt rūpīgu un caurskatāmu atskaišu iesniegšanu. Izmantojot formulu minimāla izlases izmēra noteikšanai (Kaczmarczyk 2011) pie noteikta iedzīvotāju skaita, tika saņemts minimālais izlases apjoms no 367 subjektiem. Pētījums parādīja, ka bezpeļņas organizācijas maz izmanto minētus piecus principus, realizējot tīmekļa vietnes dialoga potenciālu (it īpaši elementi, kuri tieši veido tīmekļa vietnes dialoga potenciālu). Pētījuma rezultāti parādīja, ka virkne principu, kuri veido tīmekļa vietnes dialoga potenciāla tehnisko daļu analizētajās organizācijās tika izmantoti divreiz biežāk salīdzinājumā ar tīriem dialoga principiem. Bezpeļņas organizāciju tīmekļa vietņu kontentanālie pierādīja, ka tīmekļa vietnes visbiežāk satur tādus elementus, kuri nodrošina tikai digitālās brošūras raksturiezīmes ar mazu iespēju attīstīt dialogu starp bezpeļņas organizāciju un ieinteresētām pusēm.

Atslēgas vārdi: dialogs, savstarpēja attiecība, bezpeļņas organizācija, internets.

Диалогические особенности интернет сайтов неприбыльных организаций – коммуникативный подход

Рождение интернета в начале девяностых годов двадцатого века обеспечило прорыв в механизме общения, существенно влияя на общество. В статье изучается данный процесс с целью определить, каким образом выигрывают организации, использующие интернет сайты для реализации диалогического потенциала (общения) с обществом. Такого рода исследования в Европейских странах проводились только косвенно. В данном исследовании используется схема кодировки, основанная на работе Тейлора и Кента (Taylor, Kent 1998) и модифицированная для нужд интернет сайтов неприбыльных организаций. Это первый инструмент в литературе об общественных отношениях, который использовался для исследования взаимосвязи между организацией и пользователями её интернет сайта. Тейлор и Кент (Taylor, Kent 1998) указывают пять принципов, которые играют ключевую роль в процессе диалога между организацией и пользователем интернет сайта. Для данного исследования были отобраны только те неприбыльные организации, которые на 1 января 2015 года имели статус общественно полезных организаций (ОПО). Отбор такого рода неприбыльных организаций был не случаен. Во первых, статус ОПО предполагает ряд преимуществ, например, возможность получить налоговые пожертвования от индивидов в размере 1%. Это означает, что организация должна искать возможность получить дополнительные финансовые ресурсы, используя налоговые возможности, даже через интернет сайт. Во вторых, статус ОПО означает необходимость провести тщательное и прозрачное представление докладов. Используя формулу для определения минимального размера выборки (Kaczmarczyk 2011) при определенной численности населения, был получен минимальный размер выборки из 367 субъектов. Исследование показало, что неприбыльные организации мало используют упомянутые пять принципов при реализации диалогического потенциала интернет сайтов (в частности, элементы непосредственно составляющие диалогический потенциал интернет сайта). Результаты исследования показали, что набор принципов, формирующих техническую часть диалогического потенциала интернет сайта, в проанализированных организациях были использованы в два раза чаще, по сравнению с чисто диалогическими принципами. Контент анализ интернет сайтов неприбыльных организаций доказал, что их интернет сайты чаще всего содержат элементы, обеспечивающие только характеристику информационной брошюры с маленькой возможностью развить диалог между неприбыльной организацией и заинтересованными сторонами.

Ключевые слова: диалог, взаимоотношение, неприбыльная организация, интернет.

Introduction

Currently the growing role of the Internet has caused that all sorts of organizations have begun to recognize the opportunity it gives to engage its members in bilateral interactions, constituting opposition to the previous model based on the unilateral transfer of information. Many authors indicate growing importance of this medium in Public Relations (PR). Already in 1996, Gustafson and Thomsen predicted that PR practitioners would definitely spend more time communicating online with customers, media or simply internet users (Gustafson, Thomsen 1996). Internet not only strengthens the bargaining power of stakeholders, but also the organization's ability to gather information, monitoring public opinion and engage in direct dialogue with the users of website (McAllister, Taylor 2007; Van der Merwe, Pitt, Abratt 2005). Numerous studies in this field, carried out especially in the Anglo-Saxon countries concerned mainly on websites content analysis (Rybalko, Seltzer 2010; Park, Reber 2008; Esrock, Leichty 2000), the website and social media potential identification in building and maintaining relationships with its user (Van Zyl, Hinson, Agbleze 2014; Saxton, Lovejoy 2012; Lovejoy, Saxton, Waters 2012; Ingenhoff, Koelling 2009; Bortree, Seltzer 2009; Kent, Taylor, White 2003) or its role in crisis management and image building (Greer, Moreland 2003; DiNardo 2002). These studies included organizations with very different characteristics, ranging from those of a commercial nature (mostly enterprises), through the non-profit organizations, universities and websites of political organizations.

This article is part of the above-discussed issues and its objective is to identify the way, in which public benefit organizations (PBO) use website in building dialogic potential ("dialogic communication"). Among website users can be users of varying importance for the organization, i.e. media, local government, sponsors, volunteers and current and potential donors. Native scientific literature in this field is very modest; studies on the use of internet by non-profit organizations are missing. In addition, the role websites of these organizations play in building and maintaining relationships with its users are not described sufficiently. This article is intended to partially fill this gap. It is part of a larger research project, which besides the website dialogic potential analysis also includes determining the role of social media in the Public Relations practice of Polish non-profit organizations. The authors in their study focused primarily on the characteristics of the website, which facilitate two-way symmetrical communication performing a key role in building the dialogic potential of websites for all types of organizations. However, in the study authors tried to avoid the mistake equates this kind of organization communication with the understanding of dialogue *per se*. Because in each case the dialogue involves two-way communication, while not every two-way communication is a dialogue. So, for example, if a particular non-profit website is characterized by a high "dialogic" potential (features facilitating two-way symmetrical communication), this does not mean that dialogue between website user and the organization actually exists.

Our plan for the paper is as follows. After presenting our research methodology, which describes sample and coding procedures, we turn to an examination of our

findings. We end the article with conclusions of poor construction of examined websites in terms of relatively low dialogic potential and inability to use websites as a tool for two-way communication.

The research methodology

As mentioned the main objective of the research presented in this article was to identify the way, in which public benefit organizations (PBO) use website in building dialogic potential ("dialogic communication") with its users. The present study is part of a wider research project, which further includes the role of social media in non-profit organization communicating process with the environment.

The study used modified for the needs of non-profit organizations websites coding scheme based on the Taylor and Kent work (Taylor, Kent 1998). This is the first tool in the literature of public relations used to study the relationship between the organization and the users of a website. Taylor and Kent (1998) indicate five principles playing the key role in dialogic communication process between the organization and the website user.

The first principle is known as dialogic "loop". It is the most important element in building the website dialogic potential, because even if the organization deploys the other four elements without dialogic "loop" its ability to build true dialogue are limited. The second principle building the website dialogic potential is the usefulness of the information. In this study, this principle has been modified to fit the needs of non-profit organizations. On the one hand, the division into useful information for the public has been retained, on the other hand, it distinguishes between these groups of stakeholders particularly important for an organization of this type, i.e. donors, volunteers, media and local government. Generation of return visits constitute the third principle in website dialogic potential building process. Those responsible for its administration should build the website in a manner, which would encourage users for regular visits. The forth principle building the website dialogic potential is the ease of interface, based mainly on the website technical characteristics. It is a prerequisite in building dialogue. The conservation of visitors is the fifth and last principle. Website should have qualities that will make you stay on it for as long as possible (so called *stickiness*).

Only those non-profit organizations were selected, which as of 1 January 2015 had the status of public benefit organizations (PBO) (1). In the list of PBO as of January 1, 2015 year there were 8018 organizations. Using the formula for the minimum size of the sample (Kaczmarczyk 2011) with finite population (for a confidence level of 0.95, and the maximum error of 0.05), a minimum sample size of 367 subjects was obtained. In order to choose the organization sample the Research Randomizer (Urbaniak, Plous 2013) algorithm has been used. Then, non-profit organizations were checked for having its own website. In most cases, organizations have placed a link in the technical report published on the Department of Public Benefit website. In other cases, the internet search engine www.google.pl or database of non-governmental

organizations was used to identify the website. Among the 367 non-profit organizations, almost 29% do not have a website (106 organizations). So 261 subjects have qualified for later studies.

The study used the questionnaire, consisting of 56 questions, where responses were coded as follows: the presence of a particular element coded as 1, and its absence as a 0. Websites were accessed from “average” (speed/performance) networked computers every day for 20 days, at similar times of the day. The procedure applied was to allow the measurement of the website loading time, first determined not by the coder’s computers, but instead, primarily by site design. Initially 10% of the same non-profit organizations websites were tested in order to check the reliability of the coders (two coders were responsible for content analysis of all non-profit websites). Kappa Cohen factor was used for this purpose, which ranged from 0.7 to 1.00 (mean = 0.87) for all 56 elements used in the questionnaire. The research material was subjected later to univariate statistical analysis using central tendency (including the mean) and dispersion (including measures of spread such as the variance and standard deviation).

The results

The results indicate that the set of principles forming technical part of website dialogic potential was used in analysed organizations twice as often compared to purely dialogic principles. Among the 261 organizations that have their own website a total of 35% of components that make up this principles was identified. In case of ease of interface the presence of 7 features was analysed on the website, in case of conservation of visitors 4 features and in the case of usefulness of information respectively 9 for public, 5 for donors and volunteers and 4 for media. Potentially, for 261 organizations 8523 features could be identified. However, for the usefulness of the information for the volunteers 159 organizations were analysed, only those that in the annual technical report showed using this form of work (214 organizations benefited from volunteering, of which 159 had its own website). Therefore, we can risk a statement that website designers of non-profit organizations place a much greater emphasis on its technical elements in comparison to those directly related with dialogic potential.

The results of the study are consistent with general trends observed in the research of non-profit organizations conducted in other countries (e.g. Ingenhoff, Koelling 2009; Kang, Norton 2004; Naudé, Froneman, Atwood 2004). Analysed websites are primarily a source of presentation of public relations traditional materials, being equivalent to primarily digital brochure, with very little use of dialog opportunities offered by the internet. Additionally, in comparison to e.g. the research of Swiss non-profit organizations (Ingenhoff, Koelling 2009), technical elements used in the design of a website have been used on a much lower scale.

Big differentiation among the features that build technical part of the website was observed. By far the most frequently elements constituting the conservation of visitors were identified (61.3%). In the case of virtually every organization loading time of

homepage was shorter than 4 seconds, and more than 85% of organizations allowed access to important information on the website, most frequently in the form of a separate link. At the opposite end, there was a group of elements constituting the usefulness of information for volunteers. In the case of 122 organizations from 159, which based on data from the annual reports benefited from volunteering and have its own website, did not possess any feature building this principle (76.7%). In total less than 11% of the features were diagnosed for this principle. Only 15 organizations can be identified, whose websites contain more than 4 features that make up this principle (max. 5 features in this principle). In the case of usefulness of information for public, the cluster of features building this principle reached almost half (49.1%). In this principle, almost 87% of organizations give user the access to the history of the organization, 85% of organizations on the home page shows own logo and 66% ensured access to the mission statement of the organization. Only 14.6% of organizations (associations) placed on its website the option to fill out the membership declaration. In the case of the other three groups constituting the technical features of the website, i.e. ease of interface, usefulness of information for donors and media, the number of identified features was similar (24.0% respectively, 28.6 and 26.0%).

In the case of the ease of interface principle, every non-profit organization has at least one feature, although only 3 organizations have more than 4 elements (max. 7 feature could be identified). As many as 77 of the 261 organizations that have their own website did not have any feature constituting the usefulness of information for donors principle (29.5%), 5 websites consist of all five features and in the case of the usefulness of information for media almost one quarter did not possess any feature building this principle (23.4%). Only 3 organizations have websites with all the 4 elements constituting the cluster. Differentiation of the various features in these three clusters was large. In the case of ease of interface virtually every organization has links to website subpages (98.9%), in the usefulness of information for donors principle 63.2% of organizations give information on how to support/donate in the form of a separate link or already on the home page and in the case of usefulness of information for media biographical note of organization authorities was identified on 73.6% non-profit websites. In these three clusters only occasionally appear such features as: sitemap (7.3%), version "text-only" (0.0%), choice between low and high dependence on graphics (4.6%), specified link with information for media (7.7%), clearly stated organization position/speeches (3.8%). Detailed data is shown in Table 1.

The principles directly building the website dialogic potential of non-profit organizations were identified twice less often than those of a technical nature. Among the 261 organizations that have their own website a total of 17% of the features that make up this cluster were recognized. In both dialogic "loop" and generation of return visits, cluster number of responses were similar. Although in dialogic "loop" principle, only 6 non-profit organizations do not have on website any feature building it, but mainly it was decided by the fact that as many as 96.9% of organizations put on the home page general contact information.

Table 1

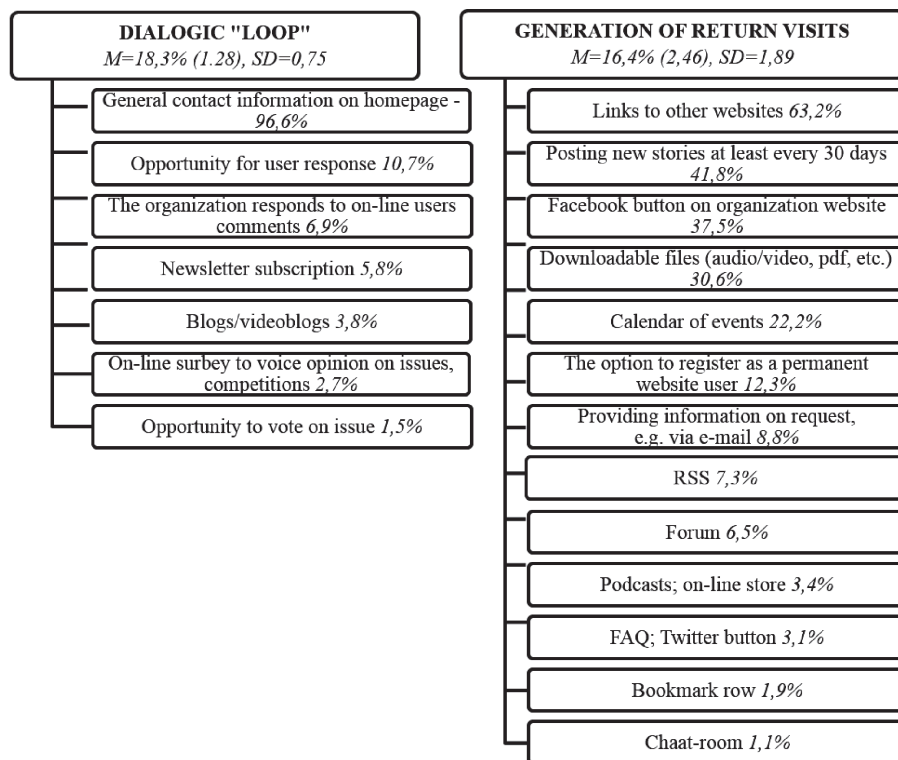
The presence of technical features in building the non-profit websites' dialogic potential

| The usefulness of information for volunteers | Ease of interface | The usefulness of information for media | The usefulness of information for donors | The usefulness of information for public | Conservation of visitors |
|---|---|---|---|--|---|
| <i>M=10,7% (0,64), SD=1,34</i> | <i>M=24,0% (1,68), SD=0,85</i> | <i>M=26,0% (1,04), SD=0,83</i> | <i>M=28,6% (1,43), SD=1,29</i> | <i>M=49,1% (4,42), SD=1,80</i> | <i>M=61,3% (2,45), SD=0,19</i> |
| Specified link with information for volunteers 20,7% | Major links on the homepage to the subpages 98,9% | Biographical note of organization authorities 73,6% | How to contribute money on homepage or separated link 63,2% | Organizational history/ About us 86,6% | Short loading time (<4sec.) 96,6% |
| Description of cooperation principles 13,2% | Search engine box 32,2% | Press releases 19,2% | Specified link with information for donors 29,1% | Organizational logo 85,4% | The availability of important information on the homepage (latest news) 85,1% |
| "How to join" button 12,6% | Links back to home page 13,0% | Specified link with information for media 7,7% | Contact information for donors on the homepage 21,5% | Mission statement/ statute-book 66,3% | Specified date of last updated news publication 59,8% |
| Contact information for the volunteer on the homepage 12,0% | Possibility to select language 11,9% | Clearly stated positions/speeches) 3,8% | "Donate on-line" option 19,2% | Financial reports 49,8% | Presence of "splash screen" 3,8% |
| Call to action 5,7% | Sitemap 7,3% | | Information on how the donated money is used 10,0% | Public benefit organization logo 30,7% | |
| | Choice between low and high dependence on graphics 4,6% | | | Multimedia galleries 64,7% | |
| | Version "text-only" 0,0% | | | Financial reports 49,8% | |
| | | | | Other organizational documentation 25,7% | |
| | | | | News archive 18,4% | |
| | | | | Option "how to join" for the new members of organization 14,6% | |

Source: own study.

Figure 1

The presence of the dialogic features of non-profit websites



Source: own study.

In the case of the second principle building directly the website dialogic potential i.e. generation of return visits, the non-profit organizations when designing a website the most frequently used links to other websites (63.2%) and posting new stories at least every 30 days (41.8%). The role of such features as forum, frequently asked questions, podcasts, RSS, chatroom, which clearly encouraging to re-visit the organization's website and directly building the dialogic potential were treated marginally. Non-profit organizations as a channel for social-media used primarily Facebook (the role of such popular tools in the Anglo-Saxon countries, as Twitter was negligible in Polish non-profit organizations).

Conclusions

The network communication and public relations activities of non-profit organizations is a phenomenon rarely described in Polish scientific literature. This article is intended to partially fill this gap. The results indicated that among the 367 organizations, up to 29% does not have its own website, and other organizations are characterized

by low dialogic potential, in particular to principles directly building website dialogic potential. It would seem that the use of such a cheap public relations tool in particular with regard to the organization with the opportunity to obtain a 1% tax income from individuals would be much greater. In addition, the scale of principles utilization indirectly building dialogue (technical) environment was not large (35% of all features that make up those clusters).

The content analysis of the non-profit organizations proved that their websites most often contain these elements that gave them only a digital brochure character for example access to mission statement / statute-book, organization logo, organizational history, biographical note of organization authorities, news updates with rare opportunity for user response or short loading time. Also only to a minimal extent associations and their websites have the option "How to join" for the potential new members (14.6%) and option "Join us" in the case of organizations using volunteering (12.6%) and subscribing to the newsletter option (5.8%). So tested non-profit organizations designing this communication channel only to a minimal range are guided by the interest of potential member or volunteer.

The results of the study also indicate that organizations designing websites are not driven by the needs of a specific audience, but the main attention is focused on the usefulness of the information for the public. Therefore, in the general public cluster more than 49% of features were identified. Elements of the usefulness of information for media, donors and especially for volunteers were observed much less frequently (Figure 1). It should be emphasized also that the non-profit organizations' websites did not have those elements that would refer directly to the local government. This fact may be worrying, because often the local government significantly creates its budget; and furthermore, non-profit organizations and local governments have a statutory duty of creating annual and longer-term cooperation programmes.

The studies have identified only a few organizations whose websites was marked by a high level of dialogic potential. In the case of one single organization, nearly 68% of all dialogic features were recognized and in the case of three organizations a bit more than 66%. The other non-profit organizations were distanced clearly. What is worth emphasizing is that all 4 organizations were related to activities for disabled people (e.g. the Polish Struggle Society with Cystic Fibrosis or the Association of Patient Families with Marfan Syndrome). In the case of only a single organization, its revenues in 2014 were slightly more than 1 million euro, while in the other cases, it amounted to 70 thousand euro and less than 25,000 euro for the 2 organizations, respectively. The construction of a website with a relatively large dialogic potential does not require the need for a large financial outlay.

To sum up, Internet and own website appears to be a perfect tool in building relationship, but only understanding a new role of public relations allow us to fully exploit that potential.

Notes:

(1) The list of public benefit organizations entitled to receive 1% of income tax from individuals for the 2014, drawn up in accordance with article 27 Public Benefit and Volunteer Service Act (Journal of Laws from 2014, item 1118).

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БИЗНЕС-СРЕДА В СТРАНАХ БАЛТИЙСКОГО РЕГИОНА: ВЗГЛЯД С ТОЧКИ ЗРЕНИЯ ДЕМОГРАФИИ БИЗНЕСА

В последние 10–15 лет значительно вырос интерес к демографии бизнеса. Считается, что такие показатели, как рождаемость предприятий, смертность предприятий, выживаемость предприятий отражают состояние бизнес среды в той или иной стране и оказывают влияние на экономический рост и уровень занятости. Главная цель статьи: проанализировать взаимосвязь рождаемости и смертности предприятий с такими базовыми макроэкономическими показателями как темпы роста ВВП и уровень безработицы. В основе работы лежит макроэкономический анализ обширной статистической информации, в первую очередь данных Евростата, а также данных национальной статистики ряда стран. В своей статье автор проводит анализ бизнес среды стран Балтийского региона. Автор выделяет три типа бизнес-среды, характерные для стран региона: стабильную, промежуточную и динамичную. Критериями такого деления могут быть показатели бизнес-демографии. Проведенные автором исследования свидетельствуют, что каждый тип среды имеет свои плюсы и минусы. По мнению автора, существует устойчивая взаимосвязь между показателями рождаемости и смертности предприятий и показателями экономического роста. В период экономического подъема страны с динамичной бизнес-средой развиваются значительно более высокими темпами, чем «стабильные экономики». Однако в период кризиса падение ВВП в этих странах также будет максимальным. В тоже время, хотя создание новых предприятий часто рассматривается как один из ключевых факторов, определяющих создание новых рабочих мест и сокращение безработицы, проведенный автором анализ свидетельствует, что не существует сколь-либо серьезной зависимости между показателем рождаемости предприятий и уровнем безработицы. Более того, несмотря на относительно небольшое число вновь создаваемых предприятий в странах со стабильной бизнес-средой, уровень безработицы часто бывает ниже, чем в динамичной среде. Проведённые автором исследования позволяют более точно оценить, как риски, связанные с ведением бизнеса в той или иной стране Балтийского региона, так и те преимущества, которые данная страна имеет для ведения бизнеса.

Ключевые слова: демография бизнеса, рождаемость предприятий, смертность предприятий, экономический рост, занятость, Балтийский регион, Европейский Союз.

Biznesa vide Baltijas reģionā: skats no biznesa demogrāfijas viedokļa

Pēdējo 10–15 gadu laikā ievērojami palielinājās interese par biznesa demogrāfiju. Tiek uzskatīts, ka tādi rādītāji, kā uzņēmumu dzimstība, uzņēmumu mirstība, uzņēmumu izdzīvošana atspoguļo biznesa vides stāvokli noteiktā valstī un ietekmē ekonomisko izaugsmi un nodarbinātības līmeni. Raksta mērķis: analizēt uzņēmumu dzimstības un mirstības sakarību ar tādiem makroekonomiskiem pamatrādītājiem kā IKP pieauguma tempi un bezdarba līmenis. Raksta pamatā ir plašas statistiskās informācijas makroekonomiskā analīze, pirmkārt, Eurostat datu, kā arī atsevišķu valstu nacionālas statistikas datu analīze. Savā rakstā autors analizē biznesa vidi Baltijas reģiona valstīs. Autors izdala trīs reģiona valstīm raksturīgus biznesa vides tipus: stabila, starpposma, dinamiska. Par kritērijiem šādai sadalei var kalpot biznesa demogrāfijas rādītāji. Autora pētījumu rezultāti liecina, ka katram vides tipam ir raksturīgas gan pozitīvas, gan negatīvas iezīmes. Pēc autora domām, eksistē stabila sakarība starp uzņēmumu dzimstības un mirstības rādītājiem un ekonomiskās izaugsmes rādītājiem. Ekonomiskās izaugsmes laikā valstīs ar dinamisku biznesa vidi attīstās ar ievērojami augstākiem tempiem nekā “stabilas

ekonomikas”. Tomēr, krīzes laikā IKP kritums šajās valstīs arī būs maksimālais. Tajā pat laikā, neskatoties uz to, ka jaunu uzņēmumu radīšana bieži tiek uzskatīta par vienu no atslēgas faktoriem, kas nosaka darba vietu radīšanu un bezdarba samazināšanos, autora analīze liecina ka nopietna sakarība starp uzņēmumu dzimstību un bezdarba līmeni neeksistē. Turklāt, neskatoties uz samērā nelielu jaunu uzņēmumu skaitu valstīs ar stabilu biznesa vidi, bezdarba līmenis bieži ir zemāks, nekā dinamiskajā vidē. Autora pētījumi ļauj precīzāk noteikt kā riskus, kuri ir saistīti ar biznesu viena vai otrā Baltijas reģiona valstī, tā arī biznesa priekšrocības, kuras dotajā valstī eksistē.

Atslēgas vārdi: biznesa demogrāfija, uzņēmumu dzimstība, uzņēmumu mirstība, ekonomiska izaugsme, nodarbinātība, Baltijas reģions, Eiropas Savienība.

Business Environment in the Baltic Region: View from the Business Demography

Demand for statistics on business demography has grown in recent 10–15 years. Births and deaths of enterprises, their life expectancy play important role in economic growth and employment creation, although the relationship between these indicators have not been studied completely. The major aim of the article: to analyze the relationship between births and deaths of enterprises and the fundamental macroeconomic indicators (GDP rate and the unemployment rate). The work carried out an extensive analysis of the macroeconomic statistics, primarily Eurostat data and the data of national statistics. According to the author's opinion, there are three types of business environment in the Baltic region: the stable environment, the intermediate environment and the dynamic environment. The criteria for this division are the enterprise births rates and enterprise death rates. The research indicates that each type of business environment has its positive and negative sides. During the economic recovery, the country with a dynamic business environment develops more rapidly than the “stable economy”. However, during the depression, fall in GDP in “dynamic countries” is maximal as well. At the same time, the author believes that there is not any serious relationship between the births of the enterprise and unemployment rate. Furthermore, despite the relatively small number of new enterprises, the most countries with a stable business environment has the unemployment rate lower than the “dynamic countries”. The research provides the opportunity to evaluate the prospects of development of the countries of the Baltic region and to assess the risks associated with the business in a particular country, as well as the advantages that this country has.

Key words: business demography, enterprise birth rates, enterprise death rates, business environment, economic growth, employment, Baltic region, European Union.

Введение

Хотя термин «демография бизнеса» появился относительно недавно, данные бизнес-демографии все более и более широко используются в научной литературе. Специалисты *Евростата* отмечают устойчивый рост интереса к таким показателям и планируют, что этот интерес сохранится и в дальнейшем. В настоящее время демография бизнеса является ключевой частью, активно разрабатываемой Евростатом *OECD-Eurostat Entrepreneurship Indicators Programm* (European Communities, OECD 2008), имеющей своей целью создание целостной и международной сопоставимой системы показателей, характеризующих уровень развития предпринимательства и состояние бизнес-среды. Однако, несмотря на то, что интерес к данным бизнес-демографии постоянно растет, научных работ, имеющих целью выявить взаимосвязь этих показателей с такими базовыми макроэкономическими

параметрами как экономический рост или уровень безработицы все еще немного. Аналитические обзоры Евростата безусловно интересные, но большинство таких аналитических обзоров носит описательный характер и анализирует только динамику показателей бизнес-демографии или различия этих показателей в отдельных странах и регионах. Лишь очень небольшая часть из них посвящена исследованию взаимосвязи рождаемости предприятий и занятости, в первую очередь это исследования Х. Скоура (Scour 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2014) и М. Оттенса (Ottens 2014). Интересное исследование было проведено и специалистами *Deutsche Bank* (Vetter 2014). По мнению автора представляют интерес и материалы ежегодных исследований *Global Entrepreneurship Research Association* (Kelley, Singer, Herrington 2016) хотя большая часть этого исследования посвящена не Европе, а другим регионам мира.

Несколько работ, посвященных данной проблематике появилось в последние годы и в Латвии (Rastrigina, Dombrovskis 2009; Kuzminova 2014; Rutkovska 2015). Однако в целом число исследований такого рода невелико и практически каждое исследование в данном направлении обладает научной новизной и актуальностью.

Главной целью данной статьи было проанализировать (используя данные бизнес-демографии) состояние бизнес-среды в странах ЕС, выяснить специфику этих показателей в отдельных странах и выявить взаимосвязь рождаемости и смертности предприятий с такими базовыми макроэкономическими показателями как экономический рост и уровень занятости. В основе работы лежит макроэкономический анализ обширной статистической информации, в первую очередь данных *Евростата*, а также данные национальной статистики ряда стран.

По мнению автора, несмотря на то, что бизнес-среда каждой страны имеет свои особенности, в странах ЕС можно выделить три типа бизнес-среды: стабильную (которая существует в большинстве «старых» стран ЕС), промежуточную и динамичную (характерную для Латвии, Литвы и ряда других стран). Автор считает, что нельзя однозначно говорить о абсолютном преимуществе того или иного типа бизнес-среды, каждый из них имеет как свои плюсы, так и свои минусы. В этих условиях, главная задача как менеджмента предприятий, так и государственных структур наиболее полно использовать те плюсы, которые имеет бизнес-среда той или иной страны.

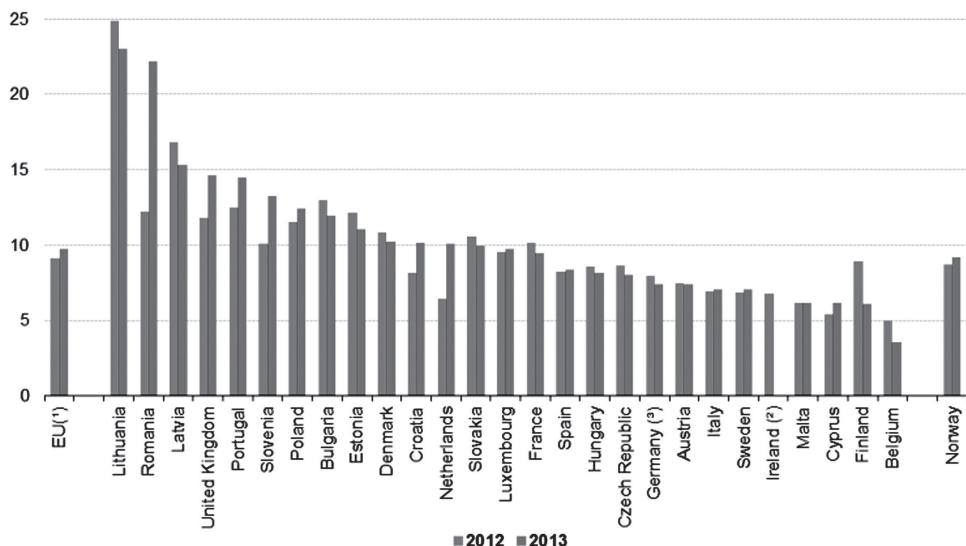
Характеристика бизнес-среды

Как уже говорилось, суть демографии бизнеса состоит в том, что для макроэкономического анализа бизнес-среды применяется система показателей, которая раньше использовалась лишь при анализе динамики населения, то есть такие показатели, как «рождаемость предприятий», «смертность предприятий», «продолжительность жизни», «выживаемость» и другие. В целом, такие показатели дают довольно точную информацию о состоянии бизнес-среды в той или иной стране, ее плюсах и минусах. Исходной точкой для расчета основных показателей бизнес-демографии является количество активных предприятий, то есть предприятий, которые либо осуществляли продажи (имели нетто-оборот) или имели

занятых (то есть на них работал хотя бы один человек). Вновь зарегистрированные предприятия рассматриваются как родившиеся в данном году, и наоборот компании, которые фактически прекратили свою деятельность рассматриваются как умершие. На основании этих показателей рассчитываются как абсолютные, так и относительные показатели, такие как уровень рождаемости предприятий (отношение родившихся предприятий к общей численности активных предприятий) или уровень смертности (отношение умерших предприятий к общей численности активных предприятий). Так, например, в Латвии в 2014 году уровень рождаемости предприятий составлял 15.1%, уровень смертности предприятий – 13.0%.

Рисунок 1

**Уровень рождаемости предприятий (*enterprise birth rates*),
2012–2013 (%)**

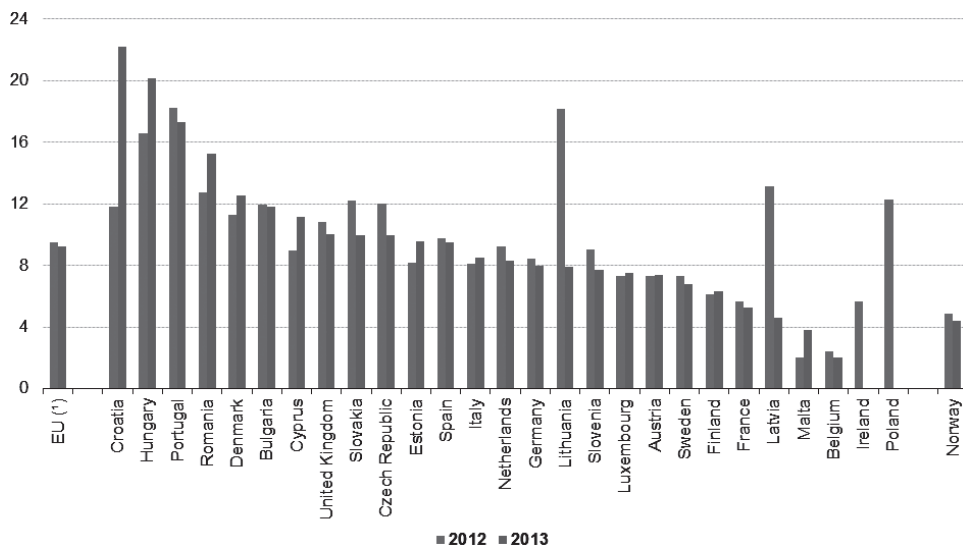


Источник: Eurostat 2016a.

Анализируя показатели рождаемости предприятий в странах ЕС, нетрудно заметить, что ситуация в различных странах существенно различается. В 2013 году данный показатель различался почти в семь раз (от 3.6 % в Бельгии до 23% в Литве). Кроме Литвы наиболее высокие показатели рождаемости были зафиксированы в Латвии и Румынии. Существенно различается и влияние процесса создания новых предприятий на ситуацию на рынке труда. Доля занятых на вновь созданных предприятиях в общей численности занятых колеблется от 0.7% в Финляндии до 5.7% в Румынии. Высоким (около 5%) этот показатель будет и в странах Балтии (Латвии и Литве).

Рисунок 2

**Уровень смертности предприятий (*enterprise death rates*),
2012–2013 (%)**



Источник: Eurostat 2016a.

Уровень смертности предприятий в среднем по ЕС составлял (2012, 2013 годы) около 9%, однако также, как и показатель рождаемости, уровень смертности предприятий существенно различался по странам. В 2013 году наибольшим этот показатель был в Хорватии (22%), наименьшим в Бельгии (около 2%).

Если сопоставить показатели рождаемости и смертности предприятий между собой, то хорошо видна их взаимосвязь. Страны с высокой рождаемостью предприятий обычно имеют и высокую смертность, то есть многие новые предприятия оказываются нежизнеспособными. Примером таких экономик могут быть Литва или Латвия. Наоборот, в странах со стабильной бизнес средой и рождаемость, и смертность предприятий достаточно низкие. Наиболее ярким примером таких стран является Бельгия, где оба показателя самые низкие в Европейском Союзе.

Автор считает, что анализ данных о рождаемости и смертности предприятий позволяет выделить три основных типа бизнес среды, характерных для стран ЕС. Такая группировка позволяет более точно оценить, как преимущества ведения бизнеса в той или иной стране, так и имеющиеся угрозы. Группировка стран ЕС по отдельным типам бизнес-среды приведена в таблице 1.

Таблица 1

Характеристика бизнес-среды отдельных стран Европейского Союза

| Бизнес-среда | Уровень рождаемости предприятий | Уровень смертности предприятий | Страны |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| Стабильная | Менее 10% | Менее 10% | Бельгия, Германия, Чехия, Испания, Франция, Ирландия, Италия, Кипр, Люксембург, Мальта, Нидерланды, Австрия, Швеция. |
| Промежуточная зона | 10–14% | 10–14% | Болгария, Дания, Эстония, Хорватия, Венгрия, Польша, Словения, Великобритания. |
| Динамичная | Более 14% | Более 14% | Латвия, Литва, Португалия, Румыния, Словакия. |

Источник: разработано автором.

Таким образом, внутри Европейского Союза можно выделить три группы стран:

- **Страны со стабильной бизнес-средой.** К таким странам можно отнести большинство «старых» стран ЕС, а также такие страны, как Мальта и Кипр. Показатели смертности и рождаемости предприятий в этих странах ниже среднего по ЕС (около 9%)
- **Промежуточная зона.** Страны, в которых оба этих показателя несколько выше среднего. В эту группу попадают как некоторые новые страны ЕС, так и такие страны Западной Европы, как Великобритания и Дания.
- **Страны с динамичной бизнес-средой.** К этой группе стран можно отнести те, где показатели смертности и рождаемости предприятий существенно (в полтора раза и более) превышают средние по ЕС. Большинство этих стран относится к Восточной Европе, однако, к этой же группе можно отнести и Португалию, которая по многим макроэкономическим показателям ближе к восточноевропейским странам, чем к своим западным соседям.

Похожую ситуацию можно наблюдать и на примере стран Балтийского региона.

Таблица 2

Характеристика бизнес-среды стран Балтийского региона

| Страны | Бизнес-среда | Рождаемость предприятий (%) 2014 | Смертность предприятий (%), 2013 | Выживаемость предприятий в первые два года (%), 2014 |
|-----------|--------------|--|--|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Германия | Стабильная | 7.2 | 8.27 | 62.89 |
| Финляндия | Стабильная | 7.88 | 5.18 | 62.43 |
| Швеция | Стабильная | 7.23 | 6.64 | 86.12 |

Продолжение таблицы 2 см. на следующей странице

Продолжение таблицы 2

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|----------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Норвегия | Стабильная | 8.34 | 6.47 | 68.82 |
| Дания | Промежуточная | 11.14 | 11.02 | 60.94 |
| Эстония | Промежуточная | 10.73 | 8.96 | 67.36 |
| Польша | Промежуточная | 12.50 | 12.79 | 68.40 |
| Латвия | Динамичная | 15.05 | 12.97 | 66.02 |
| Литва | Динамичная | 24.50 | 18.10 | 48.25 |

Источник: составлено автором по Eurostat 2016b, 2016c, 2016d.

Для Скандинавских стран и Германии характерна стабильная и устойчивая бизнес-среда с относительно небольшим количеством вновь создаваемых предприятий и более-менее стабильной работой уже имеющихся. Для Латвии и Литвы характерна динамичная среда. Новых предприятий создается больше, однако вероятность их банкротства или ликвидации существенно выше. В Латвии, например, лишь 66% предприятий выживает в первые два года и менее 40% выживает в течении 5 лет, в Литве количество таких предприятий еще меньше. Данию, Польшу и Эстонию сегодня можно отнести к промежуточной зоне, так как большинство показателей в этих странах выше, чем в среднем по ЕС, но заметно ниже, чем в странах с динамичной средой.

Взаимосвязь типа бизнес-среды и основных макроэкономических показателей

Показатели рождаемости и смертности предприятий оказывают влияние на многие стороны экономической жизни страны, однако с макроэкономической точки зрения наибольшую важность имеет то, какое влияние рождаемость и смертность предприятий оказывает на важнейшие макроэкономические показатели, такие как темпы экономического роста и уровень безработицы. Именно эти взаимосвязи и будут проанализированы в данном разделе статьи.

Рождаемость предприятий и уровень безработицы. Создание (рождение) новых предприятий часто рассматривается как один из ключевых факторов, определяющих создание новых рабочих мест и создающий предпосылки для устойчивого экономического роста. Считается, что создание новых предприятий может повысить как конкурентоспособность экономики страны на международных рынках, так и уровень конкуренции внутри страны, вынуждая уже действующие предприятия работать более эффективно вследствие роста конкуренции на внутреннем рынке. Кроме того, считается, что новые предприятия способствуют росту инвестиций, стимулируют инновации и внедрение новых технологий. В этом контексте процесс создания (рождения) предприятий рассматривается как показатель стимулирующий экономический рост и создание новых рабочих мест. Однако, на практике все далеко не так однозначно.

Таблица 3

**Рождаемость предприятий
и уровень безработицы в странах Балтийского региона**

| Страна | Рождаемость предприятий, 2014, % | Уровень безработицы, % | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
| Финляндия | 7.9 | 6.9 | 6.4 | 8.2 | 8.4 | 7.8 | 7.7 | 8.2 | 8.7 | 9.4 |
| Швеция | 7.2 | 6.1 | 6.2 | 8.3 | 8.6 | 7.8 | 8.0 | 8.0 | 7.9 | 7.4 |
| Германия | 7.2 | 8.5 | 7.4 | 7.6 | 7.0 | 5.8 | 5.4 | 5.2 | 5.0 | 4.6 |
| Дания | 11.1 | 3.8 | 3.4 | 6.0 | 7.5 | 7.6 | 7.5 | 7.0 | 6.6 | 6.2 |
| Польша | 12.5 | 9.6 | 7.1 | 8.1 | 9.7 | 9.7 | 10.1 | 10.3 | 9.6 | 7.5 |
| Эстония | 10.7 | 4.6 | 5.5 | 13.5 | 16.7 | 12.3 | 10.0 | 8.6 | 7.4 | 6.2 |
| Латвия | 15.1 | 6.1 | 7.7 | 17.5 | 19.5 | 16.2 | 15.6 | 11.9 | 10.8 | 9.9 |
| Литва | 24.5 | 4.3 | 5.8 | 13.8 | 17.8 | 15.4 | 13.4 | 11.8 | 10.7 | 9.1 |

Источники: составлено автором по Eurostat 2016b, 2016g.

Анализ данных по странам Балтийского региона, приведенных в таблице 3 показывает, что не существует сколь-либо серьезной зависимости между рождаемостью предприятий и уровнем безработицы. Более того, несмотря на относительно небольшое число вновь создаваемых предприятий в странах со стабильной бизнес-средой уровень безработицы часто бывает ниже, чем в динамичной среде. Кроме того, в период экономических кризисов в странах со стабильной бизнес средой уровень безработицы обычно бывает более стабильным и колеблется в значительно меньшей степени.

Бизнес-среда и экономический рост. Более заметное влияние состояние бизнес-среды оказывает на динамику ВВП. Сравнительный анализ таких показателей, как рождаемость бизнеса и темпы роста ВВП достаточно хорошо показывает, что при благоприятных условиях (в период экономического подъема) страны с динамичной бизнес-средой развиваются значительно более высокими темпами, чем «стабильные экономики». Однако в период кризиса падение ВВП в этих странах также будет максимальным.

Таблица 4

Темпы роста реального ВВП

| Страны | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| ЕС в целом | 2.1 | 3.3 | 3.0 | 0.4 | -4.4 | 2.1 | 1.7 | -0.5 | 0.2 | 1.5 | 2.2 |
| Германия | 0.7 | 3.7 | 3.3 | 1.1 | -5.6 | 4.1 | 3.7 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.6 | 1.7 |
| Финляндия | 2.8 | 4.1 | 5.2 | 0.7 | -8.3 | 3 | 2.6 | -1.4 | -0.8 | -0.7 | 0.2 |
| Швеция | 2.8 | 4.7 | 3.4 | -0.6 | -5.2 | 6 | 2.7 | -0.3 | 1.2 | 2.6 | 4.1 |
| Норвегия | 2.6 | 2.4 | 2.9 | 0.4 | -1.6 | 0.6 | 1 | 2.7 | 1 | 1.9 | 1.6 |
| Дания | 2.4 | 3.8 | 0.8 | -0.7 | -5.1 | 1.6 | 1.2 | -0.1 | -0.2 | 1.3 | 1.0 |

Продолжение таблицы 4 см. на следующей странице

Продолжение таблицы 4

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Эстония | 9.4 | 10.3 | 7.7 | -5.4 | -14.7 | 2.3 | 7.6 | 4.3 | 1.4 | 2.8 | 1.4 |
| Польша | 3.5 | 6.2 | 7.0 | 4.2 | 2.8 | 3.6 | 5.0 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 3.3 | 3.6 |
| Латвия | 10.7 | 11.9 | 9.9 | -3.6 | -14.3 | -3.8 | 6.2 | 4.0 | 2.9 | 2.1 | 2.7 |
| Литва | 7.7 | 7.4 | 11.1 | 2.6 | -14.8 | 1.6 | 6.0 | 3.8 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 1.8 |

Источник: Eurostat 2016e.

В двухтысячные годы ежегодные темпы роста ВВП в Латвии и Литве часто составляли 10% в год и более, что в несколько раз превосходило средние показатели ЕС. В конечном итоге, столь быстрые темпы привели к перегреву экономики, что очень сильно сказалось в период кризиса. Падение ВВП в 2009 году в Латвии, Литве и Эстонии составило более 14%, то есть втрое больше, чем в среднем по ЕС (-4.4%). Однако, несмотря на резкие перепады, в конечном итоге страны с динамичной системой оказываются в выигрыше, что хорошо видно на примере следующей таблицы.

Таблица 5

Реальный ВВП на душу населения (2005 год – 100%)

| Страны | Бизнес-среда | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 |
|-----------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Германия | Стабильная | 100.0 | 103.8 | 107.4 | 108.7 | 103.4 | 107.7 | 111.3 | 111.9 | 112.1 |
| Финляндия | Стабильная | 100.0 | 104.0 | 109.1 | 108.9 | 99.1 | 102.0 | 104.4 | 102.9 | 101.0 |
| Швеция | Стабильная | 100.0 | 103.7 | 106.4 | 104.9 | 98.8 | 104.4 | 106.6 | 106.8 | 107.6 |
| Норвегия | Стабильная | 100.0 | 101.4 | 103.1 | 101.8 | 99.0 | 98.2 | 98.2 | 99.7 | 99.2 |
| Дания | Промежуточная | 100.0 | 103.1 | 104.2 | 102.8 | 96.5 | 97.4 | 98.0 | 97.3 | 97.3 |
| Эстония | Промежуточная | 100.0 | 110.4 | 118.7 | 113.9 | 97.9 | 101.2 | 109.9 | 114.9 | 117.5 |
| Польша | Промежуточная | 100.0 | 106.3 | 113.6 | 119.4 | 121.2 | 124.7 | 130.3 | 132.9 | 135.1 |
| Латвия | Динамичная | 100.0 | 112.0 | 124.2 | 122.0 | 102.1 | 102.9 | 110.4 | 117.6 | 123.6 |
| Литва | Динамичная | 100.0 | 109.5 | 121.7 | 126.6 | 109.0 | 113.1 | 122.6 | 128.8 | 134.5 |
| ЕС | | 100.0 | 103.0 | 105.8 | 105.8 | 100.8 | 102.5 | 104.0 | 103.2 | 103.2 |

Источник: Eurostat 2016f.

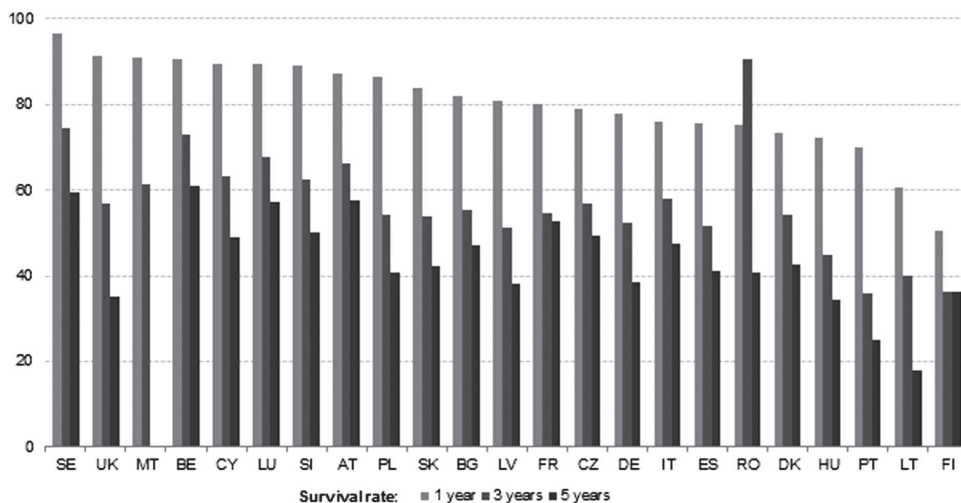
Несмотря на кризис, во время которого ВВП в Латвии, Литве и Эстонии сократился на 15–20%, именно в этих странах (и в Польше) за последние 10–15 лет был достигнут наиболее существенный рост реального ВВП (в среднем 3–4% в год). В то время, как в странах со стабильной бизнес-средой темпы роста либо были существенно ниже, либо вообще отсутствовали. В Германии рост составил около 1.5% в год, в Швеции менее 1%, в Финляндии, Дании и Норвегии рост отсутствовал вообще. Таким образом, можно сделать вывод, что стабильность бизнес-среды – это не всегда хорошо. Безусловно, стабильная среда снижает вероятность разорения и банкротства, что особенно сильно сказывается в периоды экономических кризисов (в нашем случае в 2009–2010 годах). Однако стабильность среды и насыщенность рынка часто снижают и возможности быстрого роста

новых предприятий. В результате стабильность оборачивается экономическим застоем и, как результат, темпы экономического роста в странах с наиболее стабильной бизнес-средой могут быть минимальные.

Выживаемость предприятий. Серьезное значение для характеристики бизнес-среды имеет и жизнеспособность (выживаемость) предприятий. Систематическая работа по сбору таких данных ведется в *Евростат* с 2009 года. Разработана и внедрена целая система специальных показателей, оценивающих способность предприятий выживать в течении определенного срока времени (один, два, три года или пять лет). Если говорить о ЕС в целом, то в 2013 году выжило чуть более 80% предприятий, созданных в предыдущий год. Однако эта ситуация будет серьезно различаться по странам. Самые высокие показатели выживаемости были в Швеции (96.5%), а также на Мальте, в Люксембурге, в Бельгии и на Кипре. Самый низкие показатели в 2013 году были зарегистрированы в Финляндии, Литве, Португалии и Венгрии. Если анализировать ситуацию за пять лет (2009–2013), то показатель выживаемости показывает, что за этот период смогло выжить менее половины (44%) предприятий, зарегистрированных пять лет назад. Причем если в Швеции или Бельгии этот показатель будет около 60%, то в Литве он будет менее 20%. Как уже говорилось, в Латвии в первый год выживает около 80% предприятий, однако только половина предприятий выживает три года и менее 40% выживает в течении 5 лет.

Рисунок 3

Показатели выживаемости предприятий (*Survival rate*) в странах ЕС



Источник: Eurostat 2016a.

Теоретически должна существовать сильная связь между такими параметрами, как рождаемость и смертность предприятий и степенью их выживаемости. И безусловно, какая-то зависимость между ними существует. В Балтийском регионе

это хорошо видно на примере стран с наиболее стабильной бизнес средой (Швеция) и страны, где бизнес среда наиболее нестабильная (Литва). Если в Швеции в первый год прекращает свое существование лишь 3.5% предприятий, то в Литве таких предприятий почти половина. Если анализировать ситуацию за пять лет (2009–2013), то, как уже говорилось, за этот период смогло выжить почти 60% предприятий, зарегистрированных пять лет назад в Швеции только 18% аналогичных литовских предприятий. Однако, если проанализировать ситуацию во всех странах региона, то такая взаимосвязь будет далеко не столь однозначна.

Таблица 6

Выживаемость предприятий в первые два года (%)

| Страна | Бизнес-среда | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 |
|-----------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Германия | Стабильная | 62.64 | 59.63 | 61.53 | 61.97 | 62.31 | 62.89 |
| Финляндия | Стабильная | 67.2 | 68.55 | 67.05 | 63.8 | 59.61 | 62.43 |
| Швеция | Стабильная | 86.64 | 86.68 | 86.26 | 85.74 | 84.4 | 86.12 |
| Норвегия | Стабильная | 66.04 | 63.78 | 66.55 | 68.28 | 68.3 | 68.82 |
| Дания | Промежуточная | 57.07 | 59.75 | 63.41 | 62.71 | 59.69 | 60.94 |
| Эстония | Промежуточная | 55.87 | 75.32 | 66.08 | 69.85 | ... | 67.36 |
| Польша | Промежуточная | 74.51 | 71.55 | 69.85 | 70.15 | 67.93 | 68.40 |
| Латвия | Динамичная | 63.61 | 61.87 | 59.46 | 61.25 | 69.95 | 66.02 |
| Литва | Динамичная | 30.86 | 29.47 | 46.63 | 48.02 | 50.07 | 48.25 |

Источник: Eurostat 2016b.

Количество выживших предприятий в Польше, бизнес-среду которой можно охарактеризовать, как среду промежуточного типа, превосходит аналогичный показатель многих стран со стабильной бизнес-средой, а показатели Латвии (где уровень рождаемости и смертности предприятий один из самых высоких в ЕС) примерно соответствуют уровню Норвегии или Финляндии. Данный парадокс, по мнению автора, достаточно трудно объяснить, и этот вопрос в дальнейшем может стать предметом научных дискуссий.

Выводы

Подводя итоги всего сказанного можно сделать вывод, что бизнес среда в странах Балтийского региона (также, как и в ЕС в целом) существенно различается между собой. Бизнес-среду большинства «старых» стран ЕС (ЕС-15) с точки зрения демографии бизнеса, можно охарактеризовать как стабильную. Показатели смертности и рождаемости предприятий в этих странах относительно невелики. В то время как бизнес-среду в бывших социалистических странах, вступивших в ЕС относительно поздно можно охарактеризовать или как динамичную, или как промежуточную. Каждая из типов бизнес среды имеет как свои плюсы, так и свои минусы.

Статистика свидетельствует, что страны с динамичной средой имеют больше внутренних резервов и при благоприятных условиях развиваются более высокими темпами. Одновременно в период кризиса экономика этих стран в большей степени подвержена колебаниям. Если говорить о перспективах отдельных вновь создаваемых предприятий, то существует определенная зависимость между характером бизнес среды и перспективами выживаемости предприятия, однако эта зависимость часто нивелируется влиянием других факторов.

В целом, проведённый в данной статье анализ может расширить понимание характерных черт бизнес-среды той или иной страны, как в странах Европейского Союза в целом, так и в отдельных странах Балтийского региона. Разработанный в данной статье подход, и проведённая автором классификация стран ЕС по типу бизнес-среды поможет, по мнению автора более точно оценить, как риски, связанные с ведением бизнеса в той или иной стране, так и те преимущества, которые данная страна имеет для ведения бизнеса. Как уже говорилось, в этом случае главной задачей менеджмента предприятий становится задача наиболее полного использования тех плюсов, которые имеет бизнес-среда той или иной страны и одновременно, объективная оценка имеющихся рисков.

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Tatiana Bogolib

LIVING STANDARDS OF POPULATION AND MANIFESTATION OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

Redefining of the traditional approach of the standard of living as a result of economic development, where the main target is the economic growth and a standard of living of the population is only its consequence, is underway in the modern economic science. The living standards of the population are the main social component of the national economies. Social exclusion reflects the partial or total removal of the individual from the social structure of society, and social processes. The purpose of the article is to justify the need to improve the standard of living of the population, and as a result, a significant reduction in the level of exclusion in the Ukrainian society. A set of scientific and special methods was used in writing this article. Analysis was applied when the standard of living of the population was analysed, induction and deduction methods were used in determining the causes of social exclusion, and logical method was used in the development of a new paradigm for improvement of living standards of the population for reducing the level of social exclusion. Structural economic and financial crisis has led to a drop in GDP, decline in living standards of the population, an increase in the number of the unemployed, mass migration of Ukrainian citizens and as a result the growth of social exclusion. Thus, deepening of the differentiation of the standards of living and increased social tension in society are negative consequences of a deep financial and economic crisis in the Ukrainian economy. Taking into account that the biggest part of the Ukrainian society found itself below the poverty line, with the exception of 10% of wealthy people and the rural population faces the greatest risk of social exclusion, overcoming the crisis, and reduction of social exclusion require a new social paradigm of social development, which will be based on the strengthening of the households' positions, reducing unemployment and migration, increasing the incomes of the population and households.

Key words: living standards, quality of life, social exclusion, Ukrainian society.

Iedzīvotāju dzīves līmenis un sociālās atstumtības izpausmes Ukrainas sabiedrībā

Mūsdienu ekonomikas zinātnē ir aktuālas pārdomas attiecībā uz tradicionālo pieeju dzīves līmenim kā ekonomiskās attīstības rezultātam, kad par galveno mērķi tiek noteikta ekonomiskā izaugsme, bet iedzīvotāju dzīves līmenis ir tikai tās rezultāts. Iedzīvotāju dzīves līmenis ir valstu nacionālo ekonomiku pamatelements. Sociālā atstumtība, kā rezultāts zemam dzīves līmenim, parāda daļēju vai pilnīgu personības izolāciju no sabiedrības sociālās struktūras, no sabiedrības procesiem. Raksta mērķis ir pamatot nepieciešamību paaugstināt dzīves līmeni, lai ievērojami mazinātu sociālo atstumtību Ukrainas sabiedrībā. Raksta izstrādes gaitā tika izmantots vispār-zinātnisko un speciālo metožu kopums. Analīze – iedzīvotāju dzīves līmeņa analīzei, indukcijas un dedukcijas metodes – sociālās atstumtības iemeslu noteikšanai, loģiskā metode – jaunās dzīves līmeņa paaugstināšanas paradigmas izstrādei, lai mazinātu sociālo atstumtību. Strukturālā finansiāli-ekonomiskā krīze noteica IKP samazinājumu, dzīves līmeņa samazinājumu, bezdarbnieku skaita palielinājumu, iedzīvotāju masu migrācijas no Ukrainas un rezultātā sociālās atstumtības palielinājumu. Tādējādi, dzīves līmeņa diferenciācijas padziļināšanās un sociālās spriedzes pieaugums sabiedrībā ir Ukrainas ekonomikas dziļas finansiāli-ekonomiskās krīzes negatīvas sekas. Ņemot vērā, ka lielākā Ukrainas sabiedrības daļa atrodas aiz nabadzības robežas, izņemot 10% bagāto cilvēku, un pastāv augsts sociālās atstumtības risks lauku iedzīvotāju

vidū, krīzes pārvarēšanai un sociālās atstumtības mazināšanai ir nepieciešama jaunā sabiedrības attīstības sociālā paradigma, kura balstītos uz mājsaimniecību pozīciju nostiprināšanos, bezdarba un migrācijas mazināšanos, iedzīvotāju ienākumu paaugstināšanos.

Atslēgas vārdi: dzīves līmenis, dzīves kvalitāte, sociālā atstumtība, Ukrainas sabiedrība.

Уровень жизни населения и проявление социального отторжения в украинском обществе

В современной экономической науке происходит переосмысление традиционного подхода к уровню жизни как результату экономического развития, когда главным целевым ориентиром является экономический рост, а уровень жизни населения является только его следствием. Уровень жизни населения является основной социальной составной национальных экономик государств. Социальное отторжение, как результат низкого уровня жизни, отображает частичное или полное извлечение личности из социальной структуры общества, общественных процессов. Цель статьи состоит в обосновании необходимости повышения уровня жизни населения для значительного снижения уровня отторжения в украинском обществе. При написании статьи была использована совокупность общенаучных и специальных методов. Метод анализа — при анализе уровня жизни населения, методы индукции и дедукции были использованы при определении причин социального отторжения, логический метод — при выработке новой парадигмы повышения уровня жизни населения для снижения уровня социального отторжения. Структурный финансово-экономический кризис привел к падению ВВП, снижению уровня жизни населения, увеличению количества числа безработных, массовой миграции граждан с Украины и как результат росту социального отторжения. Таким образом, отрицательным последствием глубокого финансово-экономического кризиса украинской экономики является углубление дифференциации уровня жизни населения страны и усиление социального напряжения в обществе. Учитывая, что большая часть украинского общества оказалась за чертой бедности, за исключением 10% богатых людей, и существует большой риск социального отторжения среди населения сельской местности, для преодоления кризиса и снижения уровня социального отторжения необходима новая социальная парадигма общественного развития, которая будет основываться на укреплении позиций домохозяйств, сокращении безработицы и миграции, повышении доходов населения.

Ключевые слова: уровень жизни, качество жизни, социальное отторжение, украинское общество.

Introduction

The standard of living is a complex and multidimensional concept that unites the spectrum of socio-economic relations connected with the state and conditions of human life in society. During a long period, the standard of living of the population remains one of the major socio-economic categories, which not only characterizes the material well-being of an individual, but also defines a generalized result of the national economy over a given period. Today, the standard of living should be seen not as an integral statistical formation of the income derivatives and characteristics of the qualitative aspects of life, but as a system-building component, which, on the one hand, acts as an indicator of social efficiency (or efficacy in general) of functioning of the country's economic development model, and on the other hand, catalyses further progress of the society.

Social exclusion is a relatively new concept that has no universal definition, although during the decades it has evolved in parallel with the ideas of ensuring social rights and improving the well-being of the EU population. In Ukraine, in terms of structural economic and financial crisis the level of living of the population significantly reduced, a deep differentiation of society appeared, resulting in deepened social exclusion. Therefore, the topic of living standards of the population and manifestations of social exclusion is an important and relevant in the Ukrainian society.

In modern economic science, there is a rethinking of the traditional approach to the standard of living and social exclusion as a result of economic development of society. In the context of globalization, economic growth and as a result rising of living standards of the population and reduction of social exclusion level must be the main priority. This should be a priority of the state policy. Over the past two and a half years, Ukraine faced deepening of the structural economic crisis, differentiation of society, and the increase of social exclusion. These problems are not studied sufficiently by scientists in Ukraine.

Formation of the theoretical foundations of the study of living standards began in the last century. It has been widely developed in the 60s in the developed Western countries. At the end of the past century and in the beginning of the twenty-first century, the scientists of the European Union started active theoretical study of the issues of social exclusion. A significant contribution to the development of the standard of living theory was made by the following scientists: D. Bell (Bell 2004), M. Weber (Weber 1998), J. Galbraith (Galbraith 1976), the Nobel laureates G. S. Becker (Becker 1993), A. Bergson (Bergson 1938), G. Tobin (Tobin 1956), M. Friedman (Friedman 1953), F. A. von Hayek (Hayek 1944), T. Schultz (Schultz 1968).

Today, Ukrainian and foreign scientists dedicate their works to studying the problem of the standard of living and social exclusion: T. M. Bogolib (Bogolib 2016), O. Vasylyk (Vasylyk 2000), A. Galchynskiyi (Galchynskiyi 1993), V. Geyets (Geyets 2011), E. Libanova (Libanova 2011), D. Polozenko (Polozenko 2010), and V. Fedosov (Fedosov 2003).

In Ukraine, such studies are required to identify the problems of living standards differentiation, deepening of social exclusion, and for the purpose of effective public support, development of a new paradigm of raising living standards and reducing social exclusion level. This problem is not of a national but a global level, and is characteristic of many countries; therefore, to solve this problem, the world scientists should unite their efforts of scientific research, scientific hypotheses and get a single result.

Theoretical and methodological aspects of the standard of living of the population and the signs of social exclusion in the Ukrainian society

The following modern approaches to the study of living standards by foreign researchers can be identified: the theory of ideal, the theory of wealth, the theory of consumer society, the theory of needs. A special feature is that the approaches in Western literature are called theories.

Thus, according to the theory of ideals, the central component of quality characteristics of life is the realization of certain ideals. The ideals include the possibility of personal fulfillment (Maslow 1999, p. 36). Personally unitary theories are based on the feelings of happiness, satisfaction and fulfillment of desires. The English scientist J. Bentham (1748–1832) is considered to be the founder of this direction. The basis of this theory is ethics, which connects the ethical good with pleasure and delight. According to J. Bentham, the society is a simple sum of individuals and there are no public interests, and the task of economics is to use people's desire for pleasure, and seek to understand where the funding from the state is necessary and where not (Bentham 1998).

The representatives of the theory of wealth, primarily French economist A. R. J. Turgot (1727–1781) and others rely on the production of goods and real income (Turgot 1961). In these theories, financiers seek to assess the quality of life through indicators of living standards. These theories are often amenable to criticism due to their failure to explain the changes depending on the way of life.

The main representative of the theory of consumer society, was a French philosopher and sociologist Jean Baudrillard (1929–2007), who criticized his predecessors in his book “Consumer Society” (Baudrillard 2006). The fundamental negative features of such theories are abstraction from the axiom of the limited natural resources and an individual's personality, which are discussed in other theories.

Considering the role of the theory of needs in the context of the living standards of the population, US researchers often use the triad of needs, which is formed as the need for: possession of material goods, close interpersonal relationships, self-realization. The emphasis is made on the latter two needs.

Maslow's remark about a “driving force” is crucial here (such as economic growth, increasing the retirement age, etc.), through which people can progress thanks to the fact that the society is able to increase the level of needs motivation from low to high living standards. No less important is the idea of sufficiency. Most people want more cash resources, security, friends, respect and self-confidence no matter how much they have already achieved. People need money, but at the same time they want to get satisfaction from job and to be proud of it (Maslow 1999, p. 36).

Emergence of the “quality of life” concept as an economic category in the late 50s became evolutionary in the development of approaches to the standard of living. The term first appeared in the work of the American economist John. K. Galbraith (1908–2006), who stated that in a society where people are starving, are badly dressed, and suffering from diseases, the most important task of the economy is to increase the income (Galbraith 1976).

American scientist Daniel Bell (1919–2011), English economist R. F. Cann (1905–1989) etc., who defined the concept of usefulness in the well-being of the economy, according to which the “standard of living” including its qualitative characteristics can be determined not only on the basis of the subjective level of satisfaction got by an individual from the consumption of a benefit or a set of benefits, but it will be formed in direct proportion to the increase in funding for science and technology (Bell 2004, Cann 1931).

In the mid 70s of XX century American scientist Daniel Bell (1919–2011) in his work “The coming post-industrial society: the experience of social forecasting” (Bell

2004) formulated the concept of the multivariate social organism, in which Daniel Bell saw education and science as a necessary precondition of a new quality of life.

In the developed countries, members of society are guaranteed a certain level of prosperity that depends on the state of the economy, mentality and other factors. This is the result of civilizational development, which has led to the desire to create a common prosperity of the state, which led to the collapse, because the process was accompanied by the growth of consumption of not only material but also spiritual values that can be hardly measured. In recent times, when the countries with developed market relations have reached a high level of consumption of the population, the concept of living standards became a broader concept if compared with the concept of social well-being or quality of life (Kenneth 1958, p. 82).

According to J. Garden quality of life provides an appropriate level of material resources, employment, housing and working conditions, transport means availability and an acceptable environment (Garden 1977, p. 178).

Many scientific publications say that a high standard of living is achieved when a person is provided with food and shelter, as well as other subjects of social infrastructure, where a person can meet the needs, such as the desire for peace and justice.

The level of life is also affected by such qualitative characteristics of the society development as the degree of pollution, noise background, health status and level of development, as well as the level of crime (Human 2016). Such an understanding of the standard of living is typical of most Western scholars of the late XX century.

In contrast to the theories about the standard of living developed in the late XX century in the past decade a growing number of supporters of a comprehensive, systematic approach to the issue of the standard of living appeared, and a system of financial support for living standards is now the main component (Becker 1993, pp. 110–119).

A shift from an average individual to the household as the central and most representative object of the living standards studies became a significant breakthrough in the development of the system of ideas about the standard of living. Now there is no more a doubt that focusing on an average individual in the assessment of the standards of living is approximate and generalized, and does not reflect the essential characteristics of the phenomenon under study. Indeed, the study of cash income, consumption, availability of material goods has sense, first of all, at the household level, as in this area the basic functions of life support and human development are realized (Bell 2004).

Social exclusion is a relatively new concept that has no clear definition. EU defines social exclusion as a process, in which some social groups or separate individuals are not able to fully participate in public life as a result of their poverty, lack of basic knowledge and capabilities, or as a result of discrimination (Joint Report on Social Inclusion 2004). This separates them from employment, income and educational opportunities, as well as from social institutions and activities. They have restricted access to power and a decision-making process of the authorities, and thus cannot take part in the processes of development and decision making that affect their lives.

Based on the above, social exclusion is a sign of direct violation of basic human rights, i.e. to quality education, health care and good health, adequate standard of

living, access to cultural values, protection of their interests and in general to participation in economic, social, cultural and political life, and a sign of a low level of human development in the country. It lies in the fact that separate individuals, groups or entire communities suffer from a range of related issues, such as unemployment, poor professional skills, low incomes, poor living conditions, high levels of crime, family breakdown.

The concept of social exclusion underlines the cross-cutting issues, and draws attention to the institutional, political and economic processes that gave rise to this phenomenon (Joint Report on Social Inclusion 2004).

Poverty, lack of basic competencies and learning opportunities during the life or discrimination can lead not only to the competitiveness in the labour market, but in fact to separate a person from employment and necessary income, and prevent obtaining of social assistance and involvement in public life. Unemployed person, for example, can easily become poor, which is caused by isolation from work, as well as from income and employment and leads to dependence on social assistance.

Social exclusion is a multifaceted, complex category. Its study should be complemented by traditional studies of poverty, since these two phenomena indicate loss of human resources, opportunities and life chances, which is unacceptable from the standpoint of social justice and sustainable economic growth in the future (Kieselbach 2003, pp. 69–76).

Empirical data and analysis

Macroeconomic situation and living standards.

Since the beginning of 2014, Ukraine is in a state of prolonged financial and economic crisis and military conflict in the East of the country. The economic situation in Ukraine is complicated through a reduction in production, the decline in GDP, inflation, and rising of unemployment. This significantly affects the living standards of population.

Table 1

The macroeconomic indicators influencing the living standards of population in Ukraine, in 2014–2016

| Indicator Year | GDP decrease | Production decrease level | Inflation ratio | Unemployment level |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| 2014 | 7,6% | 24,0% | 68,0% | 1,7 million people |
| 2015 | 12,4% | 28,4% | 124% | 2,2 million people |
| 2016 (8 months) | 11,2% | 27,2% | 24% | 2,5 million people (4 million people hidden unemployment) |

Source: State Statistics Service of Ukraine (2016)

We have analyzed the main macroeconomic indicators (as employment, population income level etc.) directly influencing the living standards of population in years 2014–

2016 and characterized living conditions (as migration, state support, population differentiation etc.).

Migration. The Ukraine's territory has decreased by 30% and its population has become 9 million people smaller since 01 January 2014: 4 million people living in Crimea and on territories uncontrolled by Ukraine, 5 million people have left for the European Union countries, Russia and Canada (UN Annual Report on Statistics 2015, 2016). In general, in 2014–2016, 5 million of economically active population of the country were migrants. Ukrainians are looking for shelter in many EU countries, especially in Sweden, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Spain, and Poland. The refugee status is most often obtained in Russia and Canada. According to official statistics, 233 thousand Ukrainians live in Poland, 206 thousand in Germany, 18 thousand in Italy, 74 thousand in Spain, and 2 million in Canada (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine 2016; Bogolib 2016).

Migration within the country resulted in worsening of living conditions of many people. For example, displaced residents from the Crimea and Donbas, the number of which makes 2.0 mln. people in 2016, almost do not receive assistance from the state and in 2015 this assistance was very low – the workers received UAH 448 (USD 16.85), unemployed people received UAH 842 (USD 31.58) (Law of Ukraine “On State Budget of Ukraine for 2016” 2016).

In December 2015, the Law of Ukraine “On State Budget of Ukraine for 2016” (Law of Ukraine “On State Budget of Ukraine for 2016” 2016) set 2.9 million UAH to assist displaced residents (2 million people). These costs have been calculated to cover living expenses, housing and communal services. This amount is 15.7% less than in 2015, while the number of migrants has increased significantly. In Ukraine, there are no effective non-financial mechanisms (employment programs, housing maintenance programs) that would compensate for the reduction of direct social support. The scale of reduction of social support is demonstrated by the statistical data. In 2015, 150 thousand people did not receive funds, in 2016 – 450 thousand pensioners. Thus, statistical data discover that the third part of migrants (690 thousand people) does not receive social assistance from the state. In situation, when most of the displaced residents (85%) have neither house, nor work, and meet with insufficient social assistance from state, volunteer organizations provides significant support (Ukraine Annual Report on Statistic Service 2016). Efforts on solving the problems of migrants resulted in creation of the Ministry of internally displaced persons, but it almost does not work due to the unwillingness of the Ministry of Social Policy to delegate its functions.

Sixteen percent of displaced residents have found jobs and were employed according to their major field of study; part of the people occupied the low-income positions. The level of economic inactivity among internally displaced people makes 46.8%, at the same time the average for Ukraine now makes 38% (Ukraine Annual Report on Statistic Service 2016).

A new term “new poor people” appears in a scientific vocabulary in Ukraine, which means the hundreds of thousands migrants from the Crimea and the Donbas, who have lost their homes, jobs and often the savings. Understated subsistence level in Ukraine hinders possibilities to improve effectively social conditions of “new poor people” through pensions, salaries, and various types of social assistance.

Many scientists believe the main reason for the “new poverty” is a military conflict in the East. In addition, millions of Ukrainians in general remain the hostages on the uncontrolled territories. The population that lives in the conflict zone has the distressful situation and cannot receive assistance from the state, such as pensions and other social benefits.

Population differentiation. In Ukraine, mostly the families with young children, especially large families turned out into the poor. The elderly of 75 years and older, residents of villages and small towns, especially in the north-west and to the south from the centre of the country were at risk. After 2014 the working people, including public sector workers, and migrants became poor.

One of the main reasons of widely spread poverty relates to the facts that the cost of goods and services has risen by 7–10 times (Ukraine Annual Report on Statistic Service 2016), in time, when wage growth has been negligible for the majority of the population of Ukraine. In 2014, wages did not rise, in 2015 it increased by 12%, in 2016 – by 6%. This eventually led to a significant differentiation of the population.

Other significant reason for increasing poverty lies in crisis in the bank sector. In 2014–2016, Ukrainians have lost their life savings because of the collapse of the banking system, when 85 banks ceased to exist and the amount of withdrawals made 150 thousand UAH (USD 5.639). The outflow of deposits from banks in 2014 amounted to 135 billion UAH (5.075 billion US dollars); in 2015, it made 172 billion UAH (6.466 billion US dollars). The National Bank has spent 4.7 billion UAH (0.176 billion US dollars) for payment of guaranteed deposits. This is a small part of repayment. All this affected the level of living of the population and households (Ukraine Annual Report on Statistic Service 2016).

Income of the population and the households in general has decreased in several times, costs increased, especially for utility services. Starting from May 2016 the minimum wage increased by UAH 72 (and makes USD 54.5). Social standards have grown by 3.1%, which is inadequate to the level of inflation and rise in prices for consumer goods. This differentiation of the population is a clear threat to national security (Law of Ukraine “On State Budget of Ukraine for 2016” 2016).

In 2010, 6% were rich people, 72% were the population of middle-income, 4.5% of the population lived below the poverty line, and 17.5% were poor. In 2016, 12% of people are rich, there is no middle-class population, 68% are poor and 20% are very poor (Ukraine Annual Report on Statistic Service 2016). Statistical data demonstrate that the economic stratification in society is great, and the gap is growing.

Taking into account above mentioned, in author’s mind, today it is very important to introduce a progressive taxation system in order to increase budget revenues and, accordingly, to increase social spending. The economic growth and the new wave of economic recovery, which will help to create a middle class at the rate of 60% of total population (the best value) is of great importance. This will be a class of innovators who are actively developing the economy. Under these conditions, the rapid narrowing of the gap between rich and poor and the formation of a broad middle class becomes possible.

Employment. According to International Labour Organization (ILO), 53% of the unemployed in Ukraine (economically inactive people) did not look for job due to

the difficulties with searching for job (women with young children, students, older people) (International Labour Organization 2015).

The unemployment rate among the people with higher education is 34.1% (displaced citizens), whereas the average rate for Ukraine makes 9.6%. The employment rate among the economically active people is 35.1%; on average in Ukraine it makes 56%. In Ukraine, 36% of workers are employed in the shadow economy (Ukraine Annual Report on Statistic Service 2016).

State support. The Constitution of Ukraine (Art. 46) (The Constitution of Ukraine 1996) explicitly states that the pensions and other social benefits should not be below the subsistence minimum established by law. The subsistence minimum is calculated every year based on the minimum consumer basket; its level is stated in the Law of Ukraine “On the State Budget of Ukraine” (Law of Ukraine “On State Budget of Ukraine for 2016” 2016).

According to the Law of Ukraine “On Living Wage” (Art. 3) (Law of Ukraine “On Living Wage” 2005), the consumer basket should be reviewed no less than once every five years. However, in Ukraine it has not been changed since 2000 (Decree of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “On approval of sets of food, non-food items and sets of services for major social and demographic groups of people” 2000). In November 2016, the Government has reexamined the filling of consumer basket, but its set cannot provide even poor existence. The boundary of absolute poverty in Ukraine (for international comparison) makes \$ 5.00 according to Purchasing-Power Parity (PPP). In 2015, a significant portion of Ukrainians spent just such amount per day.

The analysis of macroeconomic situation and living conditions shows that in terms of the structural economic and financial crisis the social sphere remains the most vulnerable, what is manifested at the level of living of the population. In 2014–2016, the following factors that lead to a sharp decline in living standards were identified clearly in Ukraine: inflation; investment failure; a high level of shadow economy; steady decline in production of goods and services, a reduction in GDP; defaults in payments and deterioration in financial discipline; high level of unemployment; very high bank credit rates; continuation of the process of economy dollarization; the lack of foreign capital growth in the country; economic returns from privatization and the development of a mixed economy are insignificant, and do not have any expected results; incomes polarization.

Social exclusion.

Unequal access to tangible and intangible benefits is the foundation of a formed system of differences in social status, living conditions and ways of human well-being. Accordingly, it is regarded as one of the main basic and constant causes of social stratification, separation of the groups of rich and poor, i.e. people with high and low level of life (Mayer 1968).

Scientists explain the emergence of social inequality in different ways. It has a genetic (biological, physiological, psychological characteristics of people) and social (born by social factors, such as the division of labour, the life organization) nature. Falling living standards lead to social exclusion.

Social exclusion reflects the partial or complete removal of a citizen (groups of citizens) from the social structure and social processes, and it is a consequence of existing regulatory or psychological barriers of socially significant role. This category includes not only representatives of the so-called lowest layers of the society, but also all whose lives are determined by the degree of indifference and cruelty of the control by the other groups in society, rather than a personal choice (Libanova 2011).

The lack of material and social resources or limited access to them contributes to the fact that a person cannot meet the basic needs and to develop in full. This leads to a multifaceted phenomenon – the exclusion from the social environment or social circle. In Ukraine, the majority of citizens are socially excluded due to their low incomes. Changing social structure of society in terms of financial and economic crisis and military conflict resulted in considerable differentiation of society, destruction of the middle class, the emergence of the “new poor” people and those living below the poverty line.

Professor Libanova E. M. determines 18 criteria (Libanova 2011) concerning households. We have determined 8 most important criteria of social exclusion in Ukraine, basing our investigation on personality.

Table 2

Criteria of social exclusion of the personality in Ukraine, in 2010–2016

| Index Year | Level of population poverty | Unavailability of education | Poor housing conditions | Unavailability of health services | Unemployment level | Unavailability of cultural leisure | Low status of economically active citizens | Lack of funds for adequate nutrition |
|---------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| 2010 | 22% | 16% | 24% | 22% | 1 million people | 22% | 26% | 25% |
| 2015 | 82% | 34% | 32% | 41% | 2,2 million people | 54% | 50% | 56% |
| 2016 | 88% | 36% | 36% | 58% | 2,5 million people (4 million people hidden unemployment) | 56% | 52% | 56% |

* Criteria proposed by the author.

Source: State Statistics Service of Ukraine (2016).

The unemployment level index will be common for the living standards and for the social exclusion conditions. Almost 90% of the population cannot meet their minimum life necessities (food, shelter, education, health, and culture) (Ukraine Annual Report on Statistic Service 2016).

It should be noted that materially unsecured people are not always excluded because their system of values determines the deficiencies of their lives as the need and normal living conditions. The feeling of exclusion occurs, when a person questions typical norms and values, rethinks own aspirations and re-estimates the existing needs, and feels his/her daily lack of self-realization in different spheres. Nowadays, many

highly educated, professionally trained people in Ukraine found themselves not only below the poverty line, but also beyond the public life.

If before 2014 the people without education, unemployed, and social inactive were excluded, after 2014 in the contrary, we see smart and progressive people that are socially excluded. If in 2010 the presence of university degree was practically a barrier of social exclusion, in 2016 higher education is not a barrier for social exclusion. Therefore, a scientific idea of social exclusion was violated, the sense of which is that the children under the age of 16 and people older than 55 are more prone to social exclusion. The “new poor” people are socially excluded today and education and scientific degrees do not protect them against the social exclusion.

Scarcity of funds for working people, as well as for the other socio-demographic categories, put on the back burner the needs in the cultural development through the inability to go to the theatres, museums, cinemas and other cultural events; it becomes a barrier for complete relaxation with a possibility to change the environment, to take advantage of travel services, to obtain the necessary preventive medical care by visiting the spa facilities. Eventually, the constant refusal to satisfy different needs is oppressing person, causes psychological discomfort because of unused potential and often leads to antisocial behaviour.

One more problem for Ukraine is the issue of poverty in rural areas. The risk of exclusion in rural areas is 100%. Rural population of Ukraine has the lowest incomes per capita – 1300 UAH (48.5 USD) that do not cover the consumer basket value. They have limited access to health services (68% of communities do not have health care institutions), limited access to education (46% village schools were closed in 2016), the External Independent Evaluation (EIE) system makes the higher education for schoolchildren from villages unavailable. Eighty percent of rural population deny themselves in cultural leisure, 96% of rural population are engaged in labour activity in their households (in fact they are unemployed) (Ukraine Annual Report on Statistic Service 2016).

For example, to study at state expense at the University one needs to score 176 points minimum (it is a high index). Village school-leavers can seldom pass the (EIE) with such a score and they cannot study for the funds of individuals because of low household incomes. Year by year, therefore, it is more difficult for rural inhabitants to become students of a higher educational establishment.

The exception from the general rule of social exclusion is Kyiv, Lviv, Odesa, Kharkiv, and Dnipro, where a high level of wages is observed in spite of the structural economic and financial crisis (but this applies only to the employed population).

Measuring social exclusion mainly by economic indicators is the most common in the practice of research and political decisions. Ukraine has developed a comprehensive model of social exclusion and an adequate to it complex system of indicators.

Together with the economic possibilities of the population there must take into account the availability of education, healthcare, housing conditions, the labour market situation, communication capabilities, the availability of social infrastructure objects, and involvement in the political and cultural processes.

In 2010, 8.5% of households did not have a single sign of social exclusion, and 37.7% of households were in a state of an acute social exclusion (Ukraine Annual

Report on Statistic Service 2016). In 2016, 0.4% of households had 3–4 of 8 signs of social exclusion, and 86% of households were in a state of acute social exclusion (Ukraine Annual Report on Statistic Service 2016).

Decrease in standard of living and social exclusion is related processes. In the modern conditions social exclusion defines the life of the society. Significant differentiation of the population living conditions deepened the character of social exclusion among Ukrainian population.

Conclusions and possible solutions

The study of living standards, quality of life and the signs of social exclusion in Ukraine led us to the conclusion that these are the interconnected phenomena. Structural economic and financial crisis has led to a considerable differentiation of the population in Ukraine, where the middle class was completely destroyed. The bases of the Ukrainian society are very rich, rich, poor, and very poor strata of population. Due to low incomes highly educated, working citizens are unable to fully implement their potential. A new social group – the “new poor” citizens (internally displaces people, highly educated citizens) appeared and the rural residents are most vulnerable. High level of education and experience are not barriers for social exclusion anymore, what remains many specialists socially excluded. Socially excluded people, which do not find their place in Ukrainian society in most cases, have to go abroad. At the same time, there are significant problems with availability of highly educated and experienced human capital and the national economy of Ukraine suffers accordingly. A critical social exclusion is a common phenomenon and topical not only for the Ukrainian society, but for the European Union as well. According to statistics in the European Union, 4 million refugees (Eurostat 2016) do not have funds for living, houses, food, and work. They are socially excluded citizens who pose a threat to the security of the European Union.

In the present circumstances, we need a new paradigm of the human living conditions, fighting against poverty, and social exclusion. We must raise the living standards of people. This is a return to the old paradigm, but there is no movement forward without it.

Promotion of the process of the standard of living improvement is the main task. In order to improve the standard of living in Ukraine it is necessary to activate the factors that promote highly efficient and productive activity, and on this basis to activate citizens' personal responsibility for their financial situation. The main directions of the new paradigm of living standards raising and reducing social exclusion should include achievement of: significant improvement in the financial conditions and living standards; effective employment; increase of the level and competitiveness of the workforce; improvements in constitutional rights in the sphere of labour relations, social protection, education, health, culture, and housing provision; focusing in state policy on households, providing of social guarantees; normalization and improvement of the demographic situation; significant improvement in the social infrastructure. Here-with the main factor is the economic growth.

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TIESĪBZINĀTNE

Zane Sedlova

PRELIMINARY REFERENCE PROCEDURE: SOME HISTORICAL LESSONS

The article recalls the significance of a preliminary reference procedure within the European integration process and, in particular, its role for representation of the individual's interests before the European Union's judiciary. The author identifies the main problem – a gap in legal protection exists when a national court does not share a party's conviction that a preliminary reference on a question of the European Union law is necessary to reach a decision, even if the court is under the duty to address the Court of Justice. Hence, the target of the research is to explore whether there have historically been any legal remedies to safeguard the individual's interests, when the issue of addressing the court of Luxembourg is at stake. The author primarily uses historical and comparative methods to deal with the question. Being said that, the author addresses the origins of a preliminary reference procedure, including the role of Germany as the only Baltic Sea Region country forming the first stone of the European Union, i.e., the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, and, respectively, the scope of a preliminary reference procedure. The main part of the article is devoted to the analysis of the procedure under Article 33, Article 35 and Article 88 of the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community permitting the undertakings and their associations to complain to the Court of Justice regarding a violation of the duty to make a preliminary reference. The author identifies the legal ground and prerequisites the appeal for a failure to request a preliminary reference to be admissible. Although never applied in the practise, such historically existing legal remedy made a mechanism to control the national judge's decision not to make a preliminary reference, while the existing European Union's treaties lack such possibility.

Key words: preliminary reference procedure, Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, legal remedy.

Prejudiciālā nolēmuma procedūra: dažas vēsturiskās mācības

Rakstā uzsvērts prejudiciālā nolēmuma procedūras nozīmīgums Eiropas integrācijas procesā un, jo īpaši, šīs procedūras loma attiecībā uz indivīda interešu pārstāvību Eiropas Savienības tiesu sistēmā. Autore identificē galveno problēmu – pastāv ierobežota tiesiskā aizsardzība, ja dalībvalsts tiesa nepiekrīt lietas dalībnieka pārliecībai, ka ir nepieciešams saņemt prejudiciālo nolēmumu par Eiropas Savienības tiesību jautājumu, pat ja tiesai ir pienākums vērsties Eiropas Savienības Tiesā. Tādējādi šī raksta mērķis ir izpētīt, vai vēsturiski ir pastāvējuši kādi tiesību aizsardzības līdzekļi nolūkā nodrošināt indivīda interešu aizsardzību, kad tiek vērtēts jautājums par vērsanos Luksemburgas tiesā. Autore, galvenokārt, izmanto vēsturisko un salīdzinošo metodi, lai sasniegtu pētījuma mērķi. Ņemot vērā minēto, autore aplūko prejudiciālā nolēmuma procedūras izcelšanos, tajā skaitā Vācijas lomu, kura kā vienīgā Baltijas jūras reģiona valsts piedalījās pirmā Eiropas Savienības stūrakmeņa, t.i., Eiropas Ogļu un Tērauda kopienas dibināšanas līguma, veidošanā, un attiecīgi arī prejudiciālā nolēmuma procedūras piemērošanas sfēru. Raksta lielākā daļa ir veltīta procedūras, kas atbilstoši Eiropas Ogļu un Tērauda kopienas

dibināšanas līguma 33. pantam, 35. pantam un 88. pantam ļāva uzņēmumiem un to asociācijām vērsties Eiropas Savienības Tiesā saistībā ar pienākumu uzdot prejudiciālo jautājumu pārka-pumu, analīzei. Autore norāda tiesisko pamatu un priekšnoteikumus sūdzības atzīšanai par pieņemamu saistībā ar tiesas pienākuma vērsties pēc prejudiciālā nolēmuma neizpildi. Šāds vēsturiski pastāvošs tiesību aizsardzības līdzeklis, lai arī praksē nekad nerealizēts, nodrošināja mehānismu, ar kura palīdzību varēja kontrolēt dalībvalsts tiesneša lēmumu saistībā ar preju-diciālā jautājuma neuzdošanu, kamēr pašreiz spēkā esošie Eiropas Savienības dibināšanas līgumi šādu iespēju nenodrošina.

Atslēgas vārdi: prejudiciālā nolēmuma procedūra, Eiropas Ogļu un Tērauda kopienas dibināšanas līgums, tiesību aizsardzības līdzeklis.

Процедура преюдициального решения: некоторые исторические уроки

В статье акцентируется значимость процедуры преюдициального решения в процессе Европейской интеграции и, в особенности, роль данной процедуры по отношению к пред-ставительству интересов индивида в судебной системе Европейского Союза. Автор опре-деляет основную проблему – существует ограниченная правовая защита, если суд страны члена Европейского Союза не согласен с убеждением участника дела о необходимости получить преюдициальное решение о правовом вопросе Европейского Союза, даже в слу-чае, если у суда есть обязанность обратиться в Суд Европейского Союза. Таким образом, цель данной статьи состоит в том, чтобы выяснить, существовали ли исторически какие-либо средства защиты прав для обеспечения защиты интересов индивида, когда оценива-ется необходимость обращения в суд Люксембурга. Для достижения поставленной цели, автор, в основном, использует исторический и сравнительный метод. Беря во внимание выше сказанное, автор рассматривает происхождение процедуры преюдициального ре-шения, в том числе роль Германии, которая как единственная страна региона Балтийского моря участвовала в формировании основ Европейского Союза, т.е. в договоре об основа-нии Европейского Сообщества угля и стали, а также сферу применения процедуры пре-юдициального решения. Большая часть статьи посвящается анализу процедуры, которая согласно статьям 33, 35 и 88 договора об основании Европейского Сообщества угля и стали, позволяла предприятиям и их ассоциациями обращаться в суд Европейского Союза в связи с обязанностью информировать о нарушении преюдициального вопроса. Автор показы-вает правовую основу и предпосылки для признания жалобы приемлемой в связи с невы-полнение обязанности суда обратиться за преюдициальным решением. Такое истори-чески существовавшее средство защиты прав, хотя на практике никогда не реализовывалось, обеспечивало механизм, с помощью которого можно было контролировать решение судьи суда страны-члена в связи с решением не задавать преюдициальный вопрос, в то время как существующие на данный момент договоры основания Европейского Союза, такую возможность не обеспечивают.

Ключевые слова: Процедура преюдициального решения, договор основания Европей-ского Сообщества угля и стали, средство защиты прав.

1. Introduction

Already (1) in the first preliminary ruling of the Court of Justice of the European Communities (hereinafter – the Court of Justice) (2) the advocate general empha-sized that a preliminary reference procedure (3) must lead to a real and fruitful collaboration between the national courts and the Court of Justice, solving the prob-

lems and differences in the legal systems of the Member States (case 13/61 [1962] ECR I-45).

Over the years, the jurisprudence of preliminary rulings according to de la Mare and Donnelly (2011) can be seen as a historical record of legal integration of the European Union (hereinafter – the EU) (4). Hence, today a preliminary reference procedure is recognised as the cornerstone of the European legal integration (Malferrari 2005). Indeed, preliminary rulings have defined the most important principles in the development of the EU law (Bernard, Sharpston 1997), for instance, the supremacy of the EU law, its direct effect and indirect effect, effective protection of the EU law rights (Anderson, Demetriou 2002). As regards the Baltic Sea Region countries (5), they have requested 2793 times or more than 30% of the whole amount of references for a preliminary ruling. There were 9146 new references for a preliminary ruling from 1952 to 2015, i.e., from Denmark – 172, Estonia – 17, Finland – 95, Germany – 2216, Latvia – 46, Lithuania – 37, Poland – 89 and Sweden – 121 (Court of Justice of the European Union 2015).

Although a preliminary reference procedure does not confer any rights for individuals directly, it is regarded as the foremost avenue for the representation of the individual's interests before the EU's judiciary (Malferrari 2005). Any party in a national litigation can perform the function of signalling for the necessity to refer a preliminary question, while the national court *ex officio* decides whether the preliminary reference is needed (de Visser 2013). Thereby, under the existing law, parties to the national proceedings can do no more than urge the court to make a reference (Lenz 1994–1995). As a result, willingness of the national courts to refer cases to the Court of Justice in good faith has been critical to the whole evolution of the European legal system (Steiner, Woods 2009).

For that reason, the story of successful European integration under preliminary reference procedure is impaired when the national court under the obligation to refer the matter to the Court of Justice fails to do it. The Treaty establishing the European Economic Community [1957] (hereinafter – the EEC Treaty) (6) and its successive treaties lack a mechanism at the EU level permitting to compel the national court to request a preliminary reference (Woodworth 1967). Indeed, the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (hereinafter – the TFEU) does not specify any sanctions for a failure to make a preliminary reference (Broberg, Fenger 2014), as well as the problem has not entirely been ruled by the Court of Justice yet (Classen 2002).

Interestingly, undertakings and their associations subject to the jurisdiction of the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (hereinafter – the ECSC Treaty) were entitled to appeal to the Court of Justice regarding the eventual violation of the ECSC Treaty by the Member State. Hence, the article presents the historically existing possibility of addressing the Court of Justice under the ECSC Treaty in order to compel the national court to request a preliminary ruling. In the first place, the author examines the origins of the preliminary ruling procedure in general. Subsequently, the possibility to review the failure to request a preliminary reference under the ECSC Treaty is assessed. The author primarily uses historical and comparative methods to deal with the topic.

2. Origins of preliminary reference procedure

A preliminary reference procedure is one of the most original features of the EU system, as it is known since the EU's foundation (Hartley 2014). The European Coal and Steel Community was the first of the European Communities, but is the least well known (Stirk, Weigall 1999; Dedman 1996). In order to implement the objective of establishing the European integration also in the judiciary system, the EU's six founding states, i.e., Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands; the United Kingdom was invited to the negotiation of the ECSC Treaty, but it refused to participate (Chalmers, Tomkins 2007), were looking for cooperation model between the Court of Justice and national courts. In the fifties of the last century the continental Europe did not have a model of cooperation which the EU could take over. Hence, the EU's framers were looking for a solution in their national legal systems (Arnull 1999).

The only Baltic Sea Region country being the EU's founder was Germany. In 1951, when the ECSC Treaty was negotiated, Germany was eager to set up a mechanism capable of protecting Member States against excesses of the High Authority (7) and also acting as a Constitutional Court (de Visser 2013) as in Germany separate legal issues could be addressed to the Constitutional Court due to the constitutional review system. Moreover, the German delegation promoted the idea of preliminary reference mechanism, which allowed the Court of Justice to play an instrumental role in developing its case-law and European integration. During the EEC Treaty negotiations the German lawyers, again, emphasized the importance of developing a uniform European jurisprudence in which the Court of Justice would act as the main judicial body with regard to the interpretation of the treaty (Rasmussen 2013). Hence, German efforts and experience were of particular significance to establish the preliminary reference procedure in the EU. In addition, the drafters of the ECSC Treaty also relied on the Italian constitutional law (Arnull 1999; Bignami 2013). Similarly, the French system served as a good example how the courts of general jurisdiction successfully cooperate with the administrative courts (Broberg, Fenger 2014; Levasseur, Scott 2001).

The founding states of the EU adapted their traditions and incorporated them in Article 41 of the ECSC Treaty by which the Court of Justice was given a jurisdiction to render preliminary rulings on the validity of several EU acts: 'The Court shall have sole jurisdiction to give preliminary rulings on the validity of acts of the High Authority and of the Council where such validity is in issue in proceedings brought before a national court or tribunal.' Accordingly, any court, not only the last instance court, subject to the jurisdiction of the European Coal and Steel Community was obliged to refer to the Court of Justice, but no references for the purpose of interpretation of the treaty or the EU legal acts were permitted. As compared to the present, any national court has a right to request a preliminary reference on the interpretation and validity of different EU legal acts, while the national courts acting as final courts are obliged to refer the relevant question to the Court of Justice. The purpose of Article 41 of the ECSC Treaty was to prevent national courts from declaring acts of the High Authority

and the Council invalid (Basedow 2010). The ECSC Treaty entered into force on 23 July 1952.

Hence, the scope of the preliminary reference procedure under the ECSC Treaty was limited, although the duty to request a preliminary reference concerned entirely all courts of the EU. The procedure under Article 41 of the ECSC Treaty was used rarely. According to Anderson and Demetriou (2002), up to 23 July 2002, when the ECSC Treaty expired, the Court of Justice under Article 41 had delivered 8 rulings only (8). Nevertheless, the Court of Justice has stated that it retains to have a jurisdiction to deliver preliminary rulings in accordance with Article 41 of the ECSC Treaty, even after the expiry of that treaty in order to ensure uniform interpretation of the rules deriving from the ECSC Treaty (case C119/05 [2007] ECR I-6199).

As stated before, Article 41 of the ECSC Treaty did not *expressis verbis* confer the Court of Justice the right to provide preliminary rulings on the interpretation of the treaty or the EU legal acts. However, such competence has been discovered. Some commentators infer the Court of Justice possesses implied powers to interpret the ECSC Treaty under the preliminary reference procedure (Arnull 1990). The Court of Justice affirmed such allegation in 1990 when it acknowledged that the jurisdiction conferred by Article 41 of the ECSC Treaty covers not only appraisal of the validity, but also the interpretation (case C-221/88 [1990] ECR I-495). The Court of Justice noted that Article 177 of the EEC Treaty and Article 150 of the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community, unlike Article 41 of the ECSC Treaty, gave the court jurisdiction to deliver preliminary rulings on questions of interpretation expressly (Dubinsky 1994), but all three treaties were designed to ensure the utmost uniformity in the application of the EU law and to establish for that purpose effective cooperation between the Court of Justice and national courts. The Court of Justice concluded that it would be inconsistent with the logic of the treaties for it to have responsibility for determining the correct interpretation of the rules applicable under the EEC Treaty and the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community, but to leave jurisdiction to determine the effect of provisions of the ECSC law exclusively in hands of the national courts (Arnull 1990). The author finds such reasoning consistent with the preliminary reference procedure's target to promote the European legal integration, but questionable though. It is contrary to the text of Article 41 of the ECSC Treaty and it is not conclusive regarding the time before the other treaties assigned the Court of Justice jurisdiction to provide preliminary rulings on the interpretation of primary law as the EEC Treaty and the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community [1957] entered into force on 1 January 1958, while the ECSC Treaty entered into force on 23 July 1952. Moreover, Article 41 of the ECSC Treaty has never been amended during its 50 years lifetime (Arnull 1990).

3. Review of failure to make preliminary reference

3.1. Legal ground

Unlike today, the founding states of the EU enshrined historically the legal remedy for the failure to make a preliminary reference. Namely, the ECSC Treaty provided for undertakings and their associations procedural rights within the infringement procedure. More concretely, the infringement procedure under Article 88 of the ECSC Treaty is regarded as a predecessor of that of Article 169 of the EEC Treaty and infringement proceedings in the following treaties, although it differs significantly (Bebr 1981). In addition, the infringement procedure is the only *de facto* legal remedy available to the EU to control whether Member States fulfil their duties under the treaties (Barav 1975; Ebke 1984-1985).

Namely, Article 33 (9) defined the jurisdiction of the Court of Justice while Article 35 (10) in conjunction with Article 88 (11) of the ECSC Treaty set a legal ground for a procedure which permitted undertakings to complain to the Court of Justice (although through the High Authority) of eventual violation of the ECSC Treaty by a Member State. More precisely, Article 33 of the ECSC Treaty conferred to the Court of Justice the jurisdiction in actions brought by undertakings or their associations to have decisions of the High Authority declared void on several grounds, including infringement of the ECSC Treaty, while Article 35(1) of the ECSC Treaty authorised undertakings or their associations to raise the attention of the High Authority whenever the High Authority was required by the ECSC Treaty to take a decision, but failed to fulfil this obligation. One of such obligations was incorporated in Article 88 of the ECSC Treaty, i.e., to institute an infringement proceedings, if the High Authority considers that a Member State has failed to fulfil an obligation under the ECSC Treaty, including Article 41.

If the High Authority did not take any decision or refused to initiate an infringement proceedings against the defaulting Member State within a two months' period since the undertaking addressed the High Authority, such High Authority's decision might be brought before the Court of Justice for the appeal. Undertakings could in this manner force the High Authority to proceed against the defaulting Member State in case of decisions concerning them, which were individual in character or even general decisions which they believed involved a misuse of powers affecting them (de Visser 2013; Gormley 1967; Greaves 2005). However, an undertaking seeking the annulment of the individual decision was considered as a complete remedy only (Buergenthal 1961).

Accordingly, as any national court of Member State was obliged to request a preliminary ruling under Article 41 of the ECSC Treaty and undertakings could plead the High Authority to initiate an infringement proceedings against the Member State's failure to fulfil that obligation, and the High Authority's refusal to initiate an infringement proceedings shall be regarded as an individual decision concerning the eventual infringement of the ECSC Treaty, violation of the duty to make a preliminary reference was reviewable by the Court of Justice. Theoretically, this appeal merely challenged the High Authority's ruling, which rejected as unfounded the allegation made by the

undertaking that a Member State has violated the ECSC Treaty. Nevertheless, in order to resolve the controversy between the appellant and the High Authority, the Court of Justice would have to pass a decision on the validity of that allegation. If the Court of Justice ruled against the High Authority, it would in effect have found that the Member State did violate the ECSC Treaty. If the Member State did not thereafter remedy its default, the High Authority had to institute the necessary proceedings to force the Member State to do so (Buergenthal 1961). Hence, undertakings could obtain the judgment from the Court of Justice for the national court's failure to make a preliminary reference, although the High Authority, not the Member State would have the status of the defendant within the procedure (Buergenthal 1962).

3.2. Prerequisites to admissibility

In order to assess a possibility to review the failure to make a preliminary reference under the ECSC Treaty, the author identifies three prerequisites, deducible from the case-law of the Court of Justice, the appeal for the failure to make a preliminary reference to be admissible.

First of all, applicants must show they are undertakings within the meaning given to the word 'undertaking' by Article 80 of the ECSC Treaty (12) (joined cases 8–54 and 10–54 [1956] ECR I-227). Namely, they perform production function of coal or steel within the territory of Member State or within European territories whose foreign relations are assumed by such a state (Buergenthal 1962). Only undertakings engaging in production function qualify to be regarded as the 'undertaking'. Ancillary activities such as crushing, screening and washing the imported coal do not amount to the coal-producing activities. The ECSC Treaty regards as production activities only those which it is expressly recognising as such in the nomenclature (joined cases 9 and 12–60 [1961] ECR I-197).

Secondly, the Court of Justice has recognised that applicants must be regarded as having an interest in proceedings with the High Authority's action (joined cases 7–54 and 9–54 [1956] ECR I-175). It is enough an applicant claims that the decision concerns it and supports its claim by an appropriate statement explaining the interest which it has in having the High Authority's decision declared void (case 30–59 [1961] ECR I-1). For instance, an interest test would be satisfied if the illegal act or omission of a Member State has an adverse economic effect upon the operation of the undertaking (Buergenthal 1962).

Thirdly, an undertaking must specify the action, which the undertaking believes the High Authority is legally bound to take. Namely, the procedure under Article 35 of the ECSC Treaty can only be brought if the matter has been raised with the High Authority and the grounds upon which such proceedings are based can only be the refusal of the High Authority to take the decision which it was called upon to adopt (joined cases 24/58 and 34/58 [1960] ECR I-281). In other words, an undertaking has to formally require the High Authority to initiate an infringement proceedings against the Member State for its failure to fulfil obligation incorporated in Article 41 of the ECSC Treaty.

Being said that, the author is not aware of the fact the Court of Justice would ever have evaluated the case based on Articles 33, 35 and 88 of the ECSC Treaty alleging the failure to make a preliminary reference. Nevertheless, the legal doctrine has welcomed the pure existence of such legal remedy in the early days of the preliminary reference procedure as remarkable (Woodworth 1967), and even declared it as a legal innovation that might be utilized in international conventions affecting rights of individuals (Buergethal 1962).

Although the ECSC Treaty expired only in 2002, the establishment of the European Economic Community marked a decline in the political influence of the European Coal and Steel Community, whose institutions were eventually absorbed by the new communities (Dedman 1996). Since 1958, when the EEC Treaty entered into force, applicants under the EEC Treaty were no longer having a legal remedy for the failure to make a preliminary reference (Woodworth 1967) as *locus standi* for eventual violations of the treaties was restricted (Freedman 1964). Afterwards, any person has a right to urge the Commission to exercise its discretion to initiate infringement proceedings, but without a possibility to appeal the Commission's decision.

4. Conclusions

1. The framers of the EU, especially Germany, insisted for the creation of the preliminary reference procedure in the ECSC Treaty. According to Article 41 of the ECSC Treaty, the Court of Justice had the jurisdiction to render preliminary rulings on the validity of acts of the High Authority and of the Council. Moreover, any court, not only the last instance court, subject to the jurisdiction of the European Coal and Steel Community was under the duty to make a preliminary reference. However, no references for the purpose of interpretation of the treaty or the EU legal acts were permitted, until the Court of Justice discovered such competence in 1990.
2. A national court *ex officio* decides whether the preliminary reference is necessary. Unlike today, the founding states of the EU also envisaged the legal remedy for the failure to make a preliminary reference. For that reason, the preliminary reference procedure did not only shed light on the European integration brightly, but also ensured legal protection for the failure to address the Court of Justice. Namely, undertakings or their associations under Article 33, Article 35 and Article 88 of the ECSC Treaty could appeal to the Court of Justice the decision of the High Authority not to initiate infringement proceedings against the Member State for its eventual infringement of the duty to make a preliminary reference. From the applicants' perspective, it was material to substantiate they are undertakings having an interest in the proceedings with the High Authority's action and to formally require the High Authority to initiate an infringement proceedings against the defaulting Member State. Although never applied in the practise, such historically existing legal remedy merits attention as *subsequent* EU treaties lack a legal remedy for the failure to make a preliminary reference.

Notes:

(1) The article reflects the author's ideas presented in the international conference 'European Integration and Baltic Sea Region: Diversity and Perspectives – 2015' dedicated to the Latvian Presidency of the Council of the European Union, Riga, 12 June, 2015.

(2) Whenever the reference is made to the Court of Justice, it embodies former Court of Justice of the European Coal and Steel Community, Court of Justice of the European Communities, Court of Justice of the European Community as well as the Court of Justice of the European Union.

(3) Whenever the reference is made to the preliminary reference procedure, it embodies procedure under Article 41 of the Treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community [1951], provision originally known as Article 177 of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community [1957] and changed to Article 177 of the Treaty establishing the European Community [1997] as a result of Treaty on European Union [1992], renumbered to Article 234 of the Treaty establishing the European Community [1997] by the Treaty of Amsterdam [1997] and now called Article 267 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union [2016].

(4) Whenever the reference is made to the EU, it embodies former European Coal and Steel Community, European Communities, European Community as well as the European Union.

(5) The author regards Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Sweden as the Baltic Sea Region countries.

(6) The Treaty establishing the European Economic Community [1957] has been amended by successive treaties, including the Treaty of Lisbon, which amended and renamed the treaty as the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

(7) The High Authority is an executive organ of the European Coal and Steel Community whose functions were taken over by the Commission due to the Treaty Establishing a Single Council and a Single Commission of the European Communities [1967]. The treaty was signed on April 8, 1965 and entered into force on July 1, 1967 with the aim to replace the executive bodies of the three Communities, i.e., the Commissions of the European Economic Community, the European Atomic Energy Community and the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community by a single European Commission (Weil 1967).

(8) For more details, see case 23–68 *Klomp v Inspektie der Belastingen* [1969] ECR I-43; case 168/82 *CECA v Fallimento Ferriere Sant'Anna SpA* [1983] ECR I-1681; case 36/83 *Mabanaft GmbH v Hauptzollamt Emmerich* [1984] ECR I-2497; case 172/84 *Celestri & C. SpA v Ministry of Finance* [1985] ECR I-963; case 239/84 *Gerlach & Co. BV, Internationale Expeditie, v Minister van Economische Zaken* [1985] ECR I-3507; case C-221/88 *ECSC v Acciaierie e Ferriere Bussoni SpA* [1990] ECR I-495; case C-18/94 *Hopkins v National Power plc and Powergen plc* [1996] ECR I-2281; case C-390/98 *Banks & Co. Ltd v The Coal Authority and Secretary of State for Trade and Industry* [2001] ECR I-6117.

(9) Article 33 of the ECSC Treaty states:

'The Court shall have jurisdiction in actions brought by a Member State or by the Council to have decisions or recommendations of the High Authority declared void on grounds of lack of (...) infringement of this Treaty or of any rule of law relating to its application (...).

Undertakings or the associations (...) may, under the same conditions, institute proceedings against decisions or recommendations concerning them which are individual in character or against general decisions (...).'

(10) Article 35 of the ECSC Treaty states:

'Wherever the High Authority is required by this Treaty, or by rules laid down for the implementation thereof, to take a decision or make a recommendation and fails to fulfil this obligation,

it shall be for States, the Council, undertakings or associations, as the case may be, to raise the matter with the High Authority.

The same shall apply if the High Authority, where empowered by this Treaty, or by rules laid down for the implementation thereof, to take a decision or make a recommendation, abstains from doing so and such abstention constitutes a misuse of powers.

If at the end of two months the High Authority has not taken any decision or made any recommendation, proceedings may be instituted before the Court within one month against the implied decision of refusal which is to be inferred from the silence of the High Authority on the matter.'

(11) Article 88 of the ECSC Treaty states:

'If the High Authority considers that a State has failed to fulfil an obligation under this Treaty, it shall record this failure in a reasoned decision after giving the State concerned the opportunity to submit its comments. It shall set the State a time limit for the fulfilment of its obligation.

(...).'

(12) Article 80 of the ECSC Treaty states:

'For the purposes of this Treaty, 'undertaking' means any undertaking engaged in production in the coal or the steel industry within the territories referred to in the first paragraph of Article 79, and also, for the purposes of Articles 65 and 66 and of information required for their application and proceedings in connection with them, any undertaking or agency regularly engaged in distribution other than sale to domestic consumers or small craft industries.'

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SOCIĀLĀ PSIHOLOĢIJA

Irēna Žukovska, Aleksejs Ruža

PESSIMISTIC SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEFS OF OPTIMISTIC LATVIAN STUDENTS

Everything has a reason, there are causes and consequences, sometimes they are not so obvious and are not on a surface, but they still exist. Human nature asks for explanation for every single event that are less or more important and when there is no obvious and usual explanation because of lack of experience the need for ready-made explanation just to calm down grows. Life is flooded with the events that person don't like but still need to explain and even more justify by blaming external forces for everything that the person could not do. Superstitious beliefs are a great explanation for own failures, too general prediction about the situation outcome to be wrong, kind of magical approach for dealing with the problems, good taboo to keep the line uncrossed when it's about forbidding something. Human nature asks for explanation, but it asks for one more thing as well, and it's prediction. Everyone makes a prediction what is going to be next to build up a plan in order to achieve the aim. Some predictions are general, some are concrete, but still positive or negative, optimistic or pessimistic. The topic of the present study is Pessimistic superstitious beliefs of optimistic Latvian students. Present study focuses on the personal disposition (optimism/pessimism) and valence of superstitious beliefs, which can be positive or negative. The aim of the present study was to research students' superstitious beliefs in a context of personal disposition. The questions of the study were: what are the most common positive and negative superstitious beliefs? Are there superstitions' valence dispositional (optimism/pessimism) differences? 352 respondents volunteered to take a part in the present study, 184 females: 93 females with pessimistic personal disposition, and 91 females with optimistic personal disposition 168 males: 75 males with pessimistic personal disposition 93 males with optimistic personal disposition. The results of the study indicate that pessimists and optimists are pessimistic in their superstitious beliefs, to moreover the research has shed a light on the most common positive and negative superstitious beliefs.

Key words: superstitions, superstitious beliefs, personal disposition, optimism, pessimism, the valence of superstitious beliefs.

Optimistisko Latvijas studentu pesimistiskās māņticības

Visam ir savs iemesls, vienmēr ir cēloņi un sekas, dažreiz tie nav tik acīmredzami, bet tomēr tie turpina pastāvēt. Cilvēka daba pieprasa izskaidrojumu katram vairāk vai mazāk svarīgam notikumam, gadījumos, kad pieredzes trūkuma dēļ izskaidrojums nav acīmredzams un ierasts, vajadzība pēc gatava izskaidrojuma, lai nomierinātu sevi, pieaug. Dzīve ir piepildīta ar notikumiem, kas nepatīk, jo vairāk kurus ir jāattaisno, vainojot ārējos spēkus par visu, ko pats nespēja paveikt. Māņticība ir lielisks izskaidrojams paša neveiksmēm, pārāk vispārināts paredzējums par situācijas iznākumu, lai tas būtu aplams, sava veidā maģiska pieeja problēmu risināšanas ceļā, labs tabu, aizliedzot kaut ko, lai noteiktā līnija netiktu pārkāpta. Cilvēka daba pieprasa izskaidrojumu notiekošam, bet līdztekus izskaidrojumam tā pieprasa situācijas paredzējumu. Katrs izvirza paredzējumu par to, kas notiks tālāk, plānojot savas nākotnes rīcības mērķa

sasniegšanas ceļā. Daži paredzējumi ir vispārināti, daži ir precīzi un konkrēti, bet kopumā tie paliek pozitīvi vai negatīvi, optimistiski vai pesimistiski. Pētījuma tēma ir Optimistisko Latvijas studentu pesimistiskās māņticības. Pētījums fokusējas uz personības dispozīcijas (optimisms/pesimisms) un māņticību valences, kas var būt vai nu pozitīvā, vai nu negatīvā. Pētījuma mērķis bija izpētīt māņticības fenomenu personības dispozīcijas kontekstā. Pētījuma jautājumi: kādas pozitīvas un negatīvas māņticības ir izplatītākas respondentu vidū? Vai pastāv māņticības valences dispozicionālas atšķirības? Pētījumā piedalījās 352 respondenti, 184 sievietes no kurām 93 bija ar pesimistisko personības dispozīciju un 91 ar optimistisko personības dispozīciju un 168 vīrieši, no kuriem 75 ar pesimistisko personības dispozīciju un 93 ar optimistisko personības dispozīciju. Pētījuma rezultāti parādīja, ka gan pesimisti, gan optimisti ir pesimistiski savās māņticībās, bez tam tika konstatētas izplatītākas pozitīvās un negatīvās māņticības.

Atslēgas vārdi: māņticības, māņticības izpausmes, personības dispozīcija, optimisms, pesimisms, māņticības valence.

Пессимистичные суеверия оптимистичных латвийских студентов

У всего есть причина, всегда есть причина и последствия, даже когда они не так очевидны и не лежат на поверхности, они всё равно есть. Человеческая натура требует объяснения каждому более или менее значимому событию, в случаях, когда нет очевидного привычного объяснения из-за нехватки опыта, потребность в готовом объяснении возрастает просто для того, чтобы успокоиться. Жизнь наполнена событиями, которые не нравятся, но которые человек должен не только объяснить, но оправдать, виня внешние силы во всём, чего не смог достичь. Суеверия — отличное оправдание собственных неудач, слишком общее предсказание или прогноз касательно исхода ситуации, чтобы прогноз был ошибочным, что-то вроде магического подхода к решению проблем и хорошее табу для наложения запретов, чтобы некая линия не была пересечена. Человеческая натура требует объяснения, но ещё она требует прогноз, предсказание, что же будет дальше. Каждый делает свои предположения о том, что будет дальше, строя планы для достижения цели. Некоторые прогнозы общие, некоторые конкретные и определённые, но в целом они остаются позитивными или негативными, оптимистичными или пессимистичными. Тема данного исследования: Пессимистичные суеверия оптимистичных латвийских студентов. Исследование концентрируется на личностной диспозиции (оптимизм/пессимизм) и валентности суеверия, которая может быть либо позитивной, либо негативной. Целью данного исследования являлось изучение суеверий в контексте личностной диспозиции. Вопросы исследования: Какие позитивные и негативные суеверия являются наиболее типичными? Существуют ли диспозициональные (оптимизм/пессимизм) различия валентности суеверий? В исследовании участвовало 352 респондента, 184 женщины: 93 женщины с пессимистичной личностной диспозицией, 91 женщина с оптимистичной личностной диспозицией; 168 мужчин: 75 с мужчина с пессимистичной личностной диспозицией, 93 с оптимистичной личностной диспозицией. Результаты исследования показывают, что пессимисты и оптимисты пессимистичны в своих суевериях, а так же были выявлены наиболее типичные позитивные и негативные суеверия респондентов.

Ключевые слова: суеверия, суеверные верования, личностная диспозиция, оптимизм, пессимизм, валентность суеверия.

Introduction

Superstitious beliefs are a mysterious power, which seems has a control over situation outcome. Someone can be sure that he failed the exam or job interview just because black cat has crossed his way, but is it that bad, so nothing could be done to save the fortune on a busy day. Of course, no, but when it's about important events, desire to succeed superstitious beliefs serve their best to calm down someone's anxiety.

Everyone has a dream, something he wants so much, so he is caught in the middle between own fears and desire to fulfill the dream, which seems to be the greatest challenge of the life. When it is about dreams, goals and everything that could be named "outcome of the situation" predictions, expectations and the wish to insure that everything will be o.k. take a place. Everyone has his own expectations, some are general, some are concrete and certain, but always pessimistic or optimistic, positive or negative. Superstitious beliefs are great, but irrational approach to predict what is going to be next: failure vs. success, and what is needed to be done to insure that things will run smoothly, but the question is: are there any difference between optimists' and pessimists' superstitious beliefs? The question that yet stays unanswered by empirical and theoretical studies.

Optimists are sure that at the end of the day everything will be o.k., they had a strong belief that if it's not right, it's just not the end and there is one more opportunity and one more goal oriented approach to fix the situation, in other words, there is a light in the end of the dreary day. Pessimists, are sure that nothing good is going to happen, things will get even worse, so nothing is worth doing, for them downs are greater than their ups, there is no light because it's always cloudy even on a sunny day.

Superstitious beliefs. It's hard to define superstitious beliefs, because it's hard to define something that seems to be full of mysterious and magic when it's about simple life, where science doesn't take a leading role to explain someone's failures, defeats and fears and insecurities.

Historically there were two approaches to define present phenomenon that cannot handle the critics of present day. Ones that are too wide, to see the line between superstitious beliefs and others things like paranormal beliefs, astrology and so on and ones that are too concrete so the big not enough researched phenomenon is too much simplified so the definition doesn't cover the phenomenon itself (Delacroix, Guillard 2008).

Superstitions or superstitious beliefs as well are easy to describe by well-known examples like knocking the wood, Friday, 13 and lots of others mysterious and weird things that are used to predict whether things will run smoothly or something may go wrong. Black cats, broken mirrors are good one categories when it's about illustrating the definition, but are a bit weak and too concrete when it's about definition itself, it must be concrete on the one hand and complete, so nothing is left in a grey zone of not knowing on the other hand.

Nowadays, superstitious beliefs are defined as a wide range of behaviors, practices, which are united by fears, insecurities and are aimed to reduce stress, anxiety, insecurity

and gain confidence, psychological well-being and insure positive outcome of any important situation, in a case of emergency, lack of information (Foster, Kokko 2008).

Illusion of control and opposite side of the reality, learned helplessness, are used to find out the answer to classical question of superstitious beliefs: Why do people are superstitious? When the individual is forced to face the uncontrollable situation (conditions, events) he responds to the situation by acting upon the superstitions he beliefs, in order to succeed, regardless the obvious chances for positive or negative outcome (Rudski 2004). It means that individual hold onto illusion of control, which from rational point of view does not make any difference on failure or success but helps to calm down, when pressure turns too high to stay relaxed. Superstitious beliefs are kind of transition from the nothing depends on me, to the taking under control the stuff that is seen as something that could lead to the disaster, in other words, it's kind of transformation from chaos to control, which means that superstitious beliefs have a few important psychological functions like psychological adjustment and well-being (Malinowski 1948).

A theory of the gap, which was developed by Malinowski (1948) deals with the question when and why people turn superstitious, emphasizes the importance of controllability or uncontrollability of situation and anxiety, which is caused by mentioned conditions. The theory says that the more uncontrollable situation is or just seems, the more superstitious approach will be used in order to fix the problem and reach the aim.

Seems that superstitious beliefs deal with the belief that two independent events are connected, and could be influenced by certain behavior. But is there a belief inside the superstitious set of actions that take a place in everyday life, or it's just a fear to fail and the easiest way to be relieved when list of defeats can gain one more point?

Campbell (1996) has spited superstitious beliefs and superstitious behavior as the observable part of the phenomenon into "believing" and "acting". A Theory of Modern Superstition, says that modern superstitions is not about "believing" or "not believing" it's about "acting" upon in order to insure the success and get rid of growing negativity. Campbell's (1996) concept of half belief comes from the fact that individual himself is not sure for 100 per cent that he is or is not superstitious on the one hand, and fact that individual tries to deny that he is superstitious and at the same time he acts upon one particular superstitious belief, which could be seen as one that are true and powerful weapon to succeed on the other hand.

The need to structure a big diversity of superstitious beliefs into something smaller, has brought a question of superstitious beliefs structure on surface of scientific thought, which lately was used as ground to build instrumentations to measure superstitious beliefs phenomenon, which was used to observe and failed to measure. Peterson (1978) has introduced four component superstitious beliefs structure, which concentrates on consequences and protection. According to Peterson (1978) there are belief in unspecific bad consequences, belief in unspecific good consequences, belief in specific consequences and engaging in protective rituals. Belief in unspecific bad consequences and belief in unspecific good consequences refer to the general positive or negative prediction about the outcome, mentioned structures deals with the fortune or misfortune, no concrete prediction is supposed. Belief in specific consequences gives concrete prediction

about the near future, which could be positive or negative as well. Engaging in protective rituals structure doesn't serve any prediction, it just insures that everything will be o.k. if certain things will be done, or gives the instruction how to fix present situation.

Superstitious beliefs structure's development gave a life to the superstitious measurement instruments development, that means that superstitions got a second wind as something that could be measured ("Paranormal Belief Scale-PBS" by Tobacyk, Milford 1983; Wiseman, Watt 2004). Of course, there are big troubles to measure something that is a bit out of rational line, which seems to be dominant in the present world with all the scientific discoveries all over the world all over the fields of the science.

Superstitious beliefs predictors. The wish to control and ability and wish to predict are so typical for every human being it's a part of consciousness, so it doesn't make any surprise that superstitious beliefs' studies are focused on predictors of present phenomenon. In general, socially demographical predictors have been picked above psychological that could be explained by the fact that gender, age, and income do not require complicated measurements.

It's empirically confirmed that females are more superstitious (Wiseman, Watt 2004; Torgler 2007; Safaei, Khodabakhshi 2012). There is no clearance age differences, so the U-shaped relationship between superstitions and age, so there are some evidences that younger individuals are more superstitious than older individuals (Wiseman, Watt 2004), and there are some evidences that older individuals are more superstitious than the younger (Torgler 2007; Safaei, Khodabakhshi 2012). Education and monthly income in other words money variables also have an impact on superstitions. It's empirically proved that there is a negative correlation between mentioned variables, so the more educated someone is, the more money someone earns the less superstitious this someone will be (Torgler 2007; Safaei, Khodabakhshi 2012).

From demographical to more psychological aspects of life, the existence of positive correlation between trait anxiety and superstitious beliefs was confirmed by several studies (Wolfradt 1997; Bleak, Frederick 1998). It is suggested that higher level of anxiety means higher level of superstitious beliefs that matches the theory of the gap, illusion of control and learned helplessness.

From trait anxiety to the surface of perceived control, empirical findings have confirmed that there is a correlation between external locus of control and superstitious beliefs (Tobacyk, Milford 1983; Stanke 2004; Schippers, Lange 2006; Randall, Desrosiers 1980). Mentioned findings can be explained by the fact, that individuals with external locus of control see themselves as ones who have no control over own life because of some external forces like other people, faith, chance, luck have taken it away. Taking into account, that superstitions are seen as the external forces that stay out of individual's control and have a "magic" power to determinate the results it's pretty likely that the individuals with the external locus of control are more superstitious.

The valence expectations and vision of life in whole, in other optimism and pessimism in the context of superstitious beliefs are not a common topic for the psychological research, but there are some studies that have tried to touch mentioned variables, the existence of positive correlation between pessimism and superstitious beliefs (Fluke et al. 2014; Chang, Bridewell 1998; Rudski 2004).

Superstitious beliefs phenomenon got its diversity in almost every aspect of life, to start with, medicine, sports, marketing, job interview and end with the study exams (Hira et al. 1998; O'Reilly, Stevenson 2000; Kramer, Block 2008).

Optimism. People always expect something, no matter is it something particular or something general, but it's always positive or negative, which means that two types of people can be mentioned when it's about expectations and vision of life in whole, it's optimists versus pessimists. Optimism is defined as the tendency to expect positive outcomes (Angelo 2009). Scheier and Carver (1985) have stated optimism as individual's tendency to expect that good things and events will take a place in future, meanwhile pessimist is sure that bad things will take a place in a future.

Optimists are those whose cup is half full, they can't wait to face the day, cause the day is never grey, they use goal-oriented coping strategies when the problems occur. They are active and flexible when they are striking for the new horizons, but when the situation is helpless and nothing could be done to fix the damage they shift their attention to the stuff that could be fixed or saved (Srivastava, Angelo 2009; Nes, Segerstrom 2006).

Optimistic vision of life doesn't suggest that life is perfect with no problems, difficulties or obstacles, it suggests that it's temporary and all bad things will come to an end, meanwhile pessimistic vision suggests that all bad things are permanent and nothing good is going to happen, to moreover it is going to be worse (Gillham et al. 2000).

Optimism is socially valued trait in other words optimists are liked by people, that is one of the reasons why they have more friends, wider social network, they are with their friends and are making new friends to cope with adversities (Carver et al. 2010). Optimism has been associated with the wide range of findings, to start with, goal-oriented coping strategies, wide social network and social support, lower level of lowliness, higher level of self-esteem, lower level of depression, more positive and effective interpersonal interactions, lower levels of stress, anxiety and neuroticism (Srivastava, Angelo 2009). Brissette, Carver, Scheier (2002) have found that greater level of dispositional optimism leads to the higher perceived social support. Jackson, Soderlind and Weiss (2000) found that there is a positive correlation between optimism and loneliness, in addition it was found that less optimistic individuals use social avoidance coping strategies (Nurmi et al. 1996).

Personal disposition (optimism/pessimism) in the context of the current study. Although there are only a few studies that have touched personal disposition and superstitious beliefs as the research variables, present study focuses on the superstitious beliefs valence and personal disposition, so the question of the present study is: Are there superstitions' valence dispositional (optimism/pessimism) differences?

Personal disposition is tendency to expect that good things above bad things will happen in future, besides personal disposition is associated with the effectiveness of coping strategies and goal-oriented approach on a problem solving (Srivastava, Angelo 2009; Nes, Segerstrom 2006).

Taking into account that dispositional optimism is defined as positive expectation about the outcome of the situation and superstitious beliefs can be defined as fixed

general or concrete prediction about near future, which commonly refers to the statement: "If... then..." the valence of each superstitious statement can be evaluated.

Negative valence of superstitious beliefs refers to the statements: "If.... then you will have bad luck, misfortune (or concrete negative prediction like death, betray and so on)". Positive valence of superstitious beliefs refers to the statements: "If.... then you will have good luck, fortune (or concrete positive prediction like, money, success and so on)". Positive valence refers to the group of positive superstitious beliefs, while negative valence refers to the group of negative superstitious beliefs.

Present study aims to get a picture of the most common positive and negative superstitious beliefs and what is the matter most to find out, whether optimists are optimistic in their superstitious beliefs and pessimists are pessimistic in their superstitious beliefs.

Method

Participants. 352 respondents volunteered to take a part in the present study, 184 females: 93 females with pessimistic personal disposition ($M=22.73$; $SD=2.025$) and 91 females with optimistic personal disposition ($M=21.74$; $SD=1.65$), 168 males: 75 males with pessimistic personal disposition ($M=22.58$; $SD=1.361$) and 93 males with optimistic personal disposition ($M=22.53$; $SD=2.689$).

Procedure. All the participants were asked to fill out the questionnaire on their first language, which included demographical data (gender, age, and nationality), personal disposition test and one open-ended question about the superstitious beliefs. Ethical aspects of the research were taken into consideration: confidentiality, anonymity and opportunity to get testing results were provided for each participant.

Instrumentation. Life Orientation Test – LOT (Scheier, Carver 1985; adapted by Gordejewa et al. 2010) was used in order to measure personal disposition (optimism/pessimism) which was introduced by Scheier and Carver (1985) as the measure for generally positive or negative expectations about the situation outcome. LOT original version includes 12 statements: four items for optimism, four for pessimism and four for reducing the impact of social desirability. LOT Cronbach's alpha is between $\alpha=0.76$ to $\alpha=0.82$ (Scheier, Carver 1987; Brissette et al. 2002).

Open-Ended question: Name three superstitious beliefs you act upon or have ever acted upon. Mentioned question was aimed to evaluate the dominant valence of superstitious beliefs, whether superstitious beliefs are positive or negative.

Data analysis. SPSS 22.0 version (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) chi-square test and frequency analyses were used.

Results

To answer the first research question – what are the most common positive and negative superstitious beliefs and process the results achieved from analysis of verbal responses, frequency analyses was performed (Table 1).

Table 1

Most common positive and negative superstitious beliefs (N=352)

| Superstitious beliefs | | | |
|---|----|---|----|
| <i>Negative superstitious beliefs</i> | N | <i>Positive superstitious beliefs</i> | N |
| Black cat brings bad luck | 37 | If your right hand itches, you're going to get money soon | 5 |
| Whistling inside your home will cause you to lose money. | 7 | Sit before a journey | 10 |
| A woman with empty water buckets...* | 6 | A book under the pillow before the exam | 5 |
| Broken mirror-misfortune | 7 | If you really need to go back (for the forgotten thing), just make sure to take look in a mirror leaving the house again and you should be ok | 7 |
| If you spill salt, it's bad luck | 10 | | |
| Do not put on the jewelry, which isn't mine (don't belong to me)....* | 2 | | |
| If my ears are hot, someone is talking about you. | 4 | | |
| I don't sit on the corner of a table...* | 2 | | |
| Walking under the ladder* | 4 | | |
| Coming back for the forgotten thing is a bad omen | 7 | | |

In general, negative superstitious beliefs were mentioned 212 times, while positive superstitious beliefs were mentioned 140 times.

*respondent has mentioned the begging of the superstition's and has not mentioned the ending part of the superstition.

Source: Žukovska (2015), pp. 69–71.

Frequency analysis has showed that in general, negative superstitious beliefs were mentioned 212 times, while positive superstitious beliefs were mentioned 140 times. The results indicate that the most common superstitious beliefs are “black cat brings bad luck”, “if you spill salt, it's bad luck”, “whistling inside your home will cause you to lose money”, “broken mirror-misfortune” (see Table 1). In addition, results has showed that respondents tend to mention the begging of negative superstitious belief and don't mention the ending of superstitious beliefs. According to the results, the most common positive superstitious beliefs are: “sit before a journey”, “if you really need to go back (for the forgotten thing), just make sure to take look in a mirror leaving the house again and you should be ok”, “a book under the pillow before the exam”, “if your right hand itches, you're going to get money soon”.

Table 2

Superstitions valence personal disposition comparison (N=352)

| | | Superstitions valence | | χ^2 |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------|----------|
| | | Positive % | Negative % | |
| Personal disposition | Optimism (n=184) | 37.5 | 62.5 | .463 |
| | Pessimism (n=168) | 42.26 | 57.74 | |

(p>0.05)

Source: Žukovska (2015), pp. 69–71.

In order to answer second question of the research: Are there superstitions' valence dispositional (optimism/pessimism) differences and process the results achieved from analysis of verbal responses non-parametric chi-square test was performed (see Table 2). The results showed that there are no significant differences between optimists' and pessimists' valence of superstitious beliefs, $\chi^2=0.463$; $p=0.496$. Present results have showed that both pessimists' and optimists' valence of superstitious beliefs is negative 62.5% of cases for optimists ($n=184$) and 57.74% ($n=168$) of cases for pessimists (Table 2).

Discussion

The aim of the present study was to research students' superstitious beliefs in a context of personal disposition. The findings of the present study on the most common superstitious beliefs have shaded a light on the most typical superstitious beliefs that respondents act upon. According to the present results, superstitious beliefs can be seen as the mixture of prediction about the outcome, instruction for coping with the stress and problem solving and kind of taboo, which suggests that certain set of action is forbidden. The fact that respondents tend to mention the begging of the superstitious belief and tend not to mention the ending of the superstitious beliefs can be explained in a several ways. Firstly, it is possible that superstitious respondents are sure that the superstitions they act upon are well known by other people, so there is no need to waste time on writing the end of the statement if everyone knows what is going to be mentioned. Secondly, the tendency of unfinished statements was more typical for negative superstitious beliefs, so it means that positive and negative superstitious beliefs have different psychological impact. Finally, there is a superstitious explanation for the mentioned tendency, which suggests, that if someone keeps saying that something bad is going to happen, it happens, in other words, thoughts are material, so the mentioned tendency can be seen as one more superstitious belief or illustration of it.

Optimism vs. pessimism, positivity against the negativity, but is it still in a charge when it's about superstitious beliefs that say what must be done and what consequence someone will face if a certain set of action is not executed? The result of the present study indicates that there are no dispositional differences in superstitious beliefs valence, so it means that both optimists and pessimists are pessimistic in their superstitious beliefs, because negative valence takes a lead for both groups.

On the one hand, present findings can be explained by cultural dependence and respondents' social representations that build up the whole picture of the world and include the process of building up own social world from the way someone thinks and learns new material to the way this someone behave. Superstitious beliefs as it was mentioned are ready made, fixed explanations what is going to happen and what is need to be done in a case of emergency so they stay out in personal experience, logical thinking and are learned in a process of socialization.

Current result can be explained in a several ways. To start with, the process of socialization, parenting style and end with Campbell (1996) half belief concept. Taking into account the fact, that superstitious beliefs are a part of socialization and parenting

style, it's possible to suggest that superstitious beliefs that optimists act upon are pre-determined and fixed by family and social network in a whole. According to the Campbell (1996) half belief concept superstitious beliefs are more about "acting upon" neither then "believing". It's pretty possible that optimist acts upon one particular superstitious belief which is seen by them as the one that really has a "magic power" to predict the outcome of the situation and insure the success when chances to win are fading away.

To moreover, as it was already mentioned superstitious beliefs phenomenon, itself, is a mix of ban, warring and readymade instruction what is need to be done to deal with difficulties and obstacles, so the valence commonly is negative. Besides, superstitious beliefs depend on culture, so mythology, philosophy and folklore may influence the valence of superstitious beliefs.

Current study is limited in the several ways that means that there is a need of extra studies on a present phenomenon. One limitation pertains to the social desirability. Superstitious beliefs are not socially valuated trait meanwhile optimism is socially valuated trait, so there is a likelihood that respondents tend to be more optimistic than they really are. People want to be liked by other, the need to belong dictate certain way of behavior to enhance the chances to be accepted. It's a well-known fact that optimists are seen as more attractive, successful so individuals want to look like optimists even if they are not.

Second limitation pertains to the instrumentation, the valence of superstitious beliefs was evaluated using only on qualitative question. Cultural dependence and lack of empirical evidences on superstitious beliefs as the psychological phenomenon gave no opportunity to choose psychometrically strong instrumentation, so it leads to the lack of methodological thoroughness.

Third limitation pertains to the sample, which covers only one particular age group, so the age differences, which were found in several studies, are not taken into account.

Thus, superstitious beliefs are an undeniable part of real life. Life, where every single person is not just a man who is an active user of technologies, where everyone is an irrational and unique personality, with own psychological struggles, that sometimes are solved by knocking the wood for good, no shower before the big day just to be sure that things will run smoothly. Everyone wants to belief in something that empowers, guides or protects and superstitious beliefs are the best match for so much people. Superstitious beliefs are wide and in a certain extent foggy, so there are lots of unanswered questions, so lots of right and thrilling research turns can be made to find something that was not touched before.

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EXPECTING REFUGEES IN LATVIA: REALISTIC AND SYMBOLIC THREATS

In the light of a dramatic increase of illegal immigration in Europe, security issue has become a top priority in the politics of the European Union (EU) in 2015. The asylum crisis has shown that the future of the European project depends on the EU's ability to cope with these new security challenges. The present study is an attempt to make an in-depth social psychological study on subjectively perceived realistic and symbolic threats posed by coming refugees on residents of Latvia. Although the asylum system in Latvia was established in 1998, the state has provided shelter to only 219 foreigners. Latvia receives the lowest number of asylum applications in the EU in both relative and absolute terms. Due to the fact that Latvia is about to receive 776 refugees in the next couple of years, the problem of refugees has become more visible and widely discussed in Latvian society. Although the factual experience of interaction with refugees reportedly does not exceed ten per cent of Latvian population, around 80% of Latvia shares negative attitudes towards refugees, which is the highest per cent in the EU. This situation requires scientifically based explanations and empirical examination. One thousand Latvian residents evenly representing Latvia's demographic composition have participated in this study. Two modified Stephan's realistic and symbolic threat questionnaires have been used in it. Symbolic and realistic threats both represent a cognitive component of attitudes towards refugees. The results illustrate how threatened Latvian society really is about its welfare, political and economic power, identities, beliefs, morals and values, and identify factors influencing the formation of prejudice. The study suggests that in order to find ways to reduce prejudice and increase the level of societal cohesion and integration in the long run there is a need for complex empirical research on prejudicial attitudes and the perceptions of acculturation strategies and orientations.

Key words: acculturation, Latvia, prejudice, realistic and symbolic threats, refugees.

Sagaidot bēgļus Latvijā: reālistiskie un simboliskie draudi

Ņemot vērā nelegālās imigrācijas pieaugumu Eiropā 2015. gadā, drošības jautājumi kļuva par prioritāti Eiropas Savienības (ES) politikā. Migrācijas krīze parādīja, ka Eiropas projekta nākotne ir atkarīga no ES spējas tikt galā ar jaunajiem drošības izaicinājumiem. Šis pētījums ir centiens padziļināti izpētīt reālistiskos un simboliskos draudus, kas rodas Latvijas iedzīvotāju subjektīvajā uztvērē attiecībā uz valstī izmitināmajiem bēgļiem. Lai gan patvēruma sistēma Latvijā tika izveidota 1998. gadā, laika gaitā valsts ir piešķirusi šo statusu tikai 219 ārzemniekiem. Gan relatīvajos, gan absolūtajos skaitļos Latvija saņem vismazāko patvēruma meklētāju pieteikumu skaitu visā ES. Sakarā ar to, ka nākamajos divos gados Latvija plāno pieņemt 776 patvēruma meklētājus, bēgļu problēma ir kļuvusi aktuāla un plaši apspriesta Latvijas sabiedrībā. Neskatoties uz to, ka tikai katram desmitajam Latvijas iedzīvotājam ir faktiskā kontaktēšanās pieredze ar bēgļiem, ap 80% iedzīvotāju pauž negatīvu attieksmi pret bēgļiem, kas ir visaugstākais rādītājs ES. Līdz ar to šī situācija prasa zinātnisko skaidrojumu un empirisko analīzi. Lai izpētītu iedzīvotāju aizspriedumu saturu, tika izstrādāts un īstenots sociālpsiholoģiskais pētījums, kurā piedalījās viens tūkstošs dalībnieku, vienmērīgi atspoguļojot Latvijas sociāldemogrāfisko sastāvu. Draudu izpētei tika izmantotas divas modificētas Stefana Reālistisko un simbolisko draudu aptaujas. Reālistiskie un simboliskie draudi veido aizspriedumu kognitīvo

sastāvdaļu. Pētījuma rezultāti ilustrē Latvijas sabiedrības bailes attiecībā uz savu labklājību, politisko un ekonomisko stāvokli, identitātēm, uzskatiem, tikumību un vērtībām, kā arī identificē faktorus, kas ietekmē aizspriedumu veidošanos. Pētījums apliecina pieņēmumu: lai noteiktu aizspriedumu līmeņa samazināšanas paņēmienus un uzlabotu sabiedrības saliedētību un integrāciju ilgtermiņā, ir nepieciešami visaptveroši empīriskie pētījumi par aizspriedumiem, kā arī akulturācijas stratēģiju un orientāciju uztveri.

Atslēgas vārdi: akulturācija, aizspriedumi, bēgļi, Latvija, reālistiskie un simboliskie draudi.

Латвия в ожидании беженцев: реалистические и символические угрозы

В свете драматического роста нелегальной иммиграции в Европе в 2015 году вопросы безопасности стали приоритетными в политике Европейского Союза (ЕС). Миграционный кризис показал, что будущее Европейского проекта напрямую зависит от способности ЕС справиться с новыми вызовами безопасности. Настоящее исследование является попыткой углубленного социально-психологического исследования субъективно воспринимаемых жителями Латвии реалистичных и символических угроз со стороны принимаемых страной беженцев. Хотя система предоставления убежища в Латвии сформирована еще в 1998 году, за все эти годы страна предоставила этот статус только 219 иностранцам. Как в относительных, так и в абсолютных числах Латвия получает самое малое количество заявлений от ищущих убежища в ЕС. В связи с тем, что Латвия планирует принять 776 беженцев в ближайшие пару лет, проблема беженцев стала более заметной и широко обсуждаемой в латвийском обществе. Хотя фактический опыт контакта с беженцами имеют лишь около десяти процентов населения страны, около 80% жителей Латвии выражают негативное отношение к беженцам, что является самым высоким показателем в ЕС. Следовательно, данная ситуация требует научного объяснения и эмпирического анализа. Тысяча респондентов, равномерно отражающая социально-демографический состав Латвии, приняла участие в данном исследовании. Для изучения угроз использовались два модифицированных Опросника реалистических и символических угроз Стефана. Символические и реалистические угрозы образуют когнитивный компонент предрассудков в отношении беженцев. Результаты исследования иллюстрируют, насколько напугано латвийское общество в отношении своего благосостояния, политического и экономического положения, идентичностей, убеждений, морали и ценностей, а также идентифицирует факторы, влияющие на формирование предрассудков. Исследование свидетельствует, что для определения путей уменьшения предрассудков и увеличения уровня общественной сплоченности и интеграции в долгосрочной перспективе существует необходимость в комплексных эмпирических исследованиях предрассудков и восприятия стратегий и ориентаций аккультурации.

Ключевые слова: аккультурация, беженцы, Латвия, предрассудки, реалистические и символические угрозы.

Introduction

Terrorism, military conflicts and uncontrolled migration set security top high on the European agenda in 2015 and it is unlikely that this issue will disappear from this priority list any time soon. Security concerns have solidly occupied the minds of European nations and policy makers at all levels – it is now clear that the success and further development of the European project is very much dependent on Europe's ability to cope with the security challenges. This political and social context provides a rationale

for the growing corpus of empirical studies on threats, attitudes, perceptions of safety and security in the European countries (Ruža et al. 2016).

According to the Treaty of Lisbon, the EU and the member states share competence in migration and asylum policy, which is part of a broader policy area – freedom, security and justice (EU 2012). In 2015 the European Commission (EC) came up with a short-term solution to the contemporary refugee crisis and introduced the model, according to which each EU member state should accept a certain number of refugees. Responding to this initiative, the government of Latvia developed and adopted an action plan for the acceptance and integration of refugees in Latvia. The plan implies that Latvia accepts in total 776 refugees. This has raised strong opposition in the society and among the various political parties. Nevertheless, this is not to be the first experience of providing shelter for the foreigners in Latvia – the asylum mechanism in Latvia was established in 1998, and the country's only asylum seekers reception centre *Mucenieki* was opened in early 1999. A brief analysis of Latvia's asylum policy record has been recently made by the Centre for Public Policy Providus (Golubeva, Rikša 2015). In order to explain the buzz around a few hundred individuals and their potential role in reshaping the interethnic and societal balance in Latvia, it is worth mentioning that since 1998 Latvia has provided shelter to only 219 asylum seekers. It receives the lowest number of asylum applications in the EU in both relative and absolute terms (UNHCR 2015b). The success rate of asylum applications all these years has been rather constant (8%), although in 2015 it rose to 13% (29 individuals out of 328 were granted asylum), compared to EU average – 52%. Such small number of refugees has been ensuring their invisibility in Latvian society and politics. Apparently, 776 individuals pass a psychological threshold and acquire critical mass to become a threat and a problem for the in-group's society, its economy, culture, politics and identity.

The attitudes towards refugees in Latvia as well as in Europe in general are predominantly negative. Eurobarometer data show that Latvian population has the most sceptic attitude towards refugees – about 80% are negative about the arrival of refugees, which is the highest per cent in the EU (EC 2014).

The aim of the current study is to discover the strength of subjectively perceived realistic and symbolic threats posed by coming refugees on Latvian residents and determine the predicting variables of these threats. The study is designed to answer the research question on the level of expression of these threats in the cognitive component of prejudice.

Prejudice and threats

Prejudice towards out-groups often rests on acceptance of several inaccurate beliefs or myths. Berry and colleagues (2011) note that prejudice is in fact a universal feature of intercultural relations. Previous research has demonstrated that immigrants are often associated with terrorism, overpopulation, declining economy, degrading social systems, pollution, violence and erosion of cultural values. Immigrants are often portrayed as poor, criminal and uneducated – being a direct threat to national sovereignty, economy and social cohesion (Ward, Masgoret 2006; Espanshade, Calhoun 1993;

Cowan, Martinez, Mendiola 1997; Goot, Watson 2005; Haslam, Holland 2012; Verkuyten 2004; Pedersen, Attwell, Heveli 2005; Pedersen, Watt, Hansen 2006; Hartley, Pedersen 2015). Evans (1996), Mitchell and Russel (1997) notice the formation of a new kind of racism – *anti-immigrant racism*; this concept has been feeding the nationalist movements all over Europe since 1989.

Threat and fear play key roles in hostility towards asylum seekers. According to the Integrated Threat Theory of Prejudice (ITT), which is the foundation of the present empirical study, there are four types of threats posed by out-groups. These are *realistic threats*, *symbolic threats*, *negative stereotyping* and *intergroup anxiety* (Stephan, Stephan 1996).

Realistic threats are defined as threats, which challenge the welfare, political and economic power of the majority group. Symbolic threats challenge identities, beliefs, morals and values of the host community. These are often related to cultural, religious, linguistic differences, which threaten the social fabric of the host community. These threats predict action tendencies relating to negative treatment. Previous studies (Kamans, Otten, Gordijn 2011; Riek, Mania, Gaertner 2006) have shown that perceived realistic and symbolic threats may increase anxiety, therefore influencing intergroup tensions, which may culminate in discrimination or conflict.

Intergroup anxiety refers to the experience of being personally threatened during social interaction with out-group members; it is an important mediator between intergroup contact and attitudes towards out-groups. Negative stereotyping, on the other hand, refers to the expectations concerning the behaviour of the out-group members. Prior relations between the groups are critical for the creation of negative stereotypes (Stephan, Stephan 1996).

These four threats can be classified according to their interpersonal or intergroup emphasis – realistic and symbolic threats measure prejudicial attitudes, which are related to the in-group as a whole, but negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety measure fears, which are related to in-group members' perceptions of each other (Bizman, Yinon 2001).

Stephan and colleagues (2005) find that perceptions of threat play a causal role in the creation of negative attitudes. According to their study, neither realistic nor symbolic threats alone have a significant negative effect on attitudes, so it is a combination of these threats that cause the most negative attitudes towards immigrants. Therefore, when people experience only one of these threats, they do not feel threatened enough for this to affect their attitudes. Negative stereotypes, for their part, lead to negative attitudes towards immigrants – they set up negative expectations for the behaviour of the out-group, and these lead people to feel threatened by interactions with outgroup members. High levels of intergroup anxiety lead to negative evaluations of immigrants and less willingness to interact with them. The study reveals the effects of empathy on attitudes – empathy alone may not be enough to change behaviour, however, over a more extended time period it would be effective in modifying behavioural intentions. The study provides experimental support for the ITT by indicating that threats posed by immigrants can lead to prejudice.

Acculturation and integration

In 2015, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) performed an analysis of integration of refugees in Latvia and issued its recommendations, which were aimed to improve the current system (UNHCR 2015a). UNHCR emphasises that the overarching goal of the holistic approach to integration policies should be in empowering and supporting refugees, so that they become self-reliant and economically productive residents, who feel confident to interact with the local community and participate in the social and cultural life of the host society as soon as possible. UNHCR notes that the framework of the current integration policy, which has been originally developed to integrate Russian-speaking population and non-citizens in Latvia, does not provide equal opportunities for the integration of refugees, because these out-groups have different historic, social, political, economic and cultural origins.

According to Berry (2001), acculturation, which is the foundation of multiculturalism, is aimed to explain how immigrants want to deal with the heritage culture in the country of origin and the mainstream culture in the country of settlement. It is a culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems, which come into continuous contact. During acculturation, groups and their members engage in intercultural contact, producing a potential for conflict and the need for negotiation to achieve outcomes that suit both parties (Berry 2005). As a result, four acculturation orientations may be employed: *integration* (maintenance of the original culture and adoption of the host one), *assimilation* (loss of original culture and adoption of the host one), *separation* (maintenance of the original culture without adopting the majority culture) and *marginalisation* (loss of the original culture and no willingness to adopt a new one). These four orientations can also be used to describe intergroup relations and government policies, i.e. integration corresponds to the multiculturalism, assimilation – to melting pot, separation – to segregation, whereas marginalisation – to exclusion and individualisation (Van de Vijver, Breugelmans, Schalk-Soekar 2008).

There is a strong link between the perceived threats and acculturation attitudes. Lopez-Rodriguez and colleagues (2014) emphasise that high perception of threat is related to stronger negative attitudes towards minority groups and immigration. Threats mediate the relationship between stereotypes and acculturation preferences (positive stereotypes decrease perceived threat), and influence the host society's acculturation preferences. Generally, threats are stronger predictors of majority's acculturation preferences than stereotypes. The study suggests that perceived threats trigger fear in in-group, which tries to reduce this fear by adapting its source to the host culture, which in turn produces a perception of a safer environment for the in-group.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk & Schmitz (2003) performed an interesting cross-country analysis in Finland, Germany and Israel. Their results show that acculturation profiles of nationals and immigrants are concordant in Israel and Germany, and discordant in Finland, where the host society prefers assimilation. Immigrants whose personal acculturation preferences are in conflict with those of the hosts, i.e. separation in Finland and Israel, and assimilation in Germany, either perceive more discrimination or perceive more stress than other immigrants perceive. These results

show that the acceptance of the acculturation strategy that is employed by the host society plays an important role in the well-being of immigrants.

Maisonneuve and colleagues (2014) demonstrate that threats significantly moderate host population's perceptions of immigrants in France. Threat is not only the central variable in explaining prejudice and negative attitudes towards immigrants; it is also linked with the host population's acculturative preferences. They emphasise that France's "republican integration model" is often considered assimilationist, because migrants are expected to abandon their original culture and adopt the host one. However, the model accepts some conservation of the original culture in the private sphere, which is not directly controlled by the state. The study reveals that perceived threat moderates judgements in the public sphere and in the private sphere in the same way; and this moderating effect is no stronger in any of these spheres. People who feel threatened by the presence of migrants are more likely to prefer a target who adopts the host culture than the one who conserves the original one.

Limitations

In fact, there are two flows of asylum seekers – one is asylum seekers crossing the border illegally from the third countries in the East and one – those selected by Latvian authorities in refugee camps in Southern Europe, according to the agreement with the EC. On the one hand, this is solely the question of their mode of arrival, on the other – this might alter the previously established opinion that refugees consider Latvia only as a transit country, if the second group will prove otherwise. In other words, representatives of the first group often become asylum seekers only when they fail to avoid Latvian authorities on their way to other (more prosperous) European countries. The latest statistics demonstrate the dramatic increase of the number of illegal attempts to cross Latvian border by migrants from Asia and Middle East. Despite of this increase, Latvia is generally not seen as their first choice country or their final destination (Golubeva, Rikša 2015). However, the current study does not make the distinction between these two flows, because it focuses on the attitudes to refugees regardless of the means of their arrival in Latvia. International law does not distinguish between refugees, asylum seekers, and their mode of arrival either (Hartley, Pedersen 2015).

There is also a terminological challenge – there is an important distinction between the status of an asylum seeker, refugee, and a person with an alternative status in Latvia. The asylum issue has been dealt with in Latvia in accordance with the Asylum Law (Saeima 2015), which was adopted by the Parliament of Latvia (Saeima) in December 2015 and came into force in January 2016 (The previous Asylum Law was adopted in June 2009 and amended in October 2013). According to this law, Latvia offers two kinds of protection to asylum seekers. Refugee status is permanent; it also gives rights to acquire Latvian citizenship through naturalisation process after five years of residence. Alternative status is temporary – Latvian authorities review each such case every year. After five years of residence a person with the alternative status can acquire permanent residence permit, and after five more years – rights to acquire

citizenship through naturalisation process. There is also a possibility for a temporary protection (up to two years). The statistics on asylum in Latvia (PMLP 2016) show that the authorities received 1768 asylum applications, 219 individuals were given shelter. 71 asylum seekers were given refugee status, and 148 – alternative status. The distinction between refugees and individuals with alternative status is also omitted in this study to make the questions more comprehensive to the respondents. Since mass media, which are major opinion makers in the society, do not usually make this distinction, when discussing the issue of refugees, we leave this distinction to the legal studies.

To summarise, the term *refugees* in this particular study covers asylum seekers, persons with alternative status, and refugees, regardless of their means of arrival in Latvia.

The term *Latvians* in this particular study has no ethnic connotation; it refers to the population of Latvia in general – the host society, or the in-group.

Research overview and method

The current empirical study was implemented in Latvia between September and December 2015. The active phase of surveying fell into the period of time, when Latvian authorities were developing the action plan to deal with the issue of refugees, but the society – formulating its opinion on asylum matters.

Participants

One thousand Latvians evenly representing various population groups in accordance with Latvia's social demographic composition and geographic representation participated in this study: age (16–94, $Mean=42.81$, $SD=16.64$), gender (55.1% females, 44.9% males), residence (34.2% Riga, 65.8% rest of Latvia), mother tongue (43.5% Latvian, 56.5% other). The sample is also representative in terms of employment, level of education, and level of income. Political preferences of the participants have a tendency towards left-wing and centrist politics.

Procedure

The survey has been available in paper form in two languages – Latvian and Russian. The participants responded both individually and in groups, which normally did not take longer than 10–15 minutes. The structure of the questionnaire has the following model: in the first pillar respondents answer demographic questions, in the second – questions on cognitive component, third – emotional, and fourth – behavioural component of the attitude. The current article focuses on the measures and results of the first two pillars. The presentation and analysis of the results from the emotional component is available in our earlier publications (Murašovs et al. 2016a; 2016b; 2016c).

Measures

The demographic pillar of the questionnaire can be divided in two sections. The first section includes questions on respondents' age, gender, mother tongue, place of residence (Riga or elsewhere in Latvia), employment (occupation, economy sector, and study field for students), level of education, level of income per family member. The second demographic section is more specific. It covers the informational environment of the respondents (language of mass media, frequency of consuming media information in different languages), travel and communication patterns (travelling abroad, communication with foreigners) and emigration experience (geography and the period of emigration). In order to introduce the respondents to the issue in question (attitude to refugees), the survey offers two open questions: they are asked to provide a subjective definition of the term "refugee" and to list the main causes of becoming one. This section ends with a question on personal experience in communicating with refugees (and evaluation of such communication), and a question on personal political preferences (on the scale from far left to far right).

At the end of the survey, the question concerning the subjective level of participant's loyalty to the Latvian state has been asked, which is followed by the last question concerning the phenomenon of false consensus (Ross 1977) – to identify the degree to which the respondents think that the majority of their fellow citizens have a similar attitude towards refugees. This is based on the assumption that people overestimate the extent to which others share their attitude. Haslam and Holland (2012) emphasise that this effect is more than a cognitive distortion – when people believe their views are prevalent, they believe these views are socially validated.

The second pillar of the survey targets the cognitive component of the attitudes. It is based on two measures – realistic threat questionnaire and symbolic threat questionnaire (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, Tur-Kaspa 1998; Stephan, Ybarra, Bachman 1999; Stephan, Stephan, Gudykunst 1999; Hartley, Pedersen 2015; Cottrell, Richards, Nichols 2010), which have been modified and adapted to meet the specificity of current context in Latvia. The pillar consists of 15 questions; the respondents are asked to assess the degree to which they feel a threat to the welfare and values of the majority group. The responses are coded on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*). Due to the fact, that Latvia is only preparing to accept most of the refugees, the questionnaire has been modified to adjust to this situation – therefore, some of the questions of the realistic threat section are asked in future tense. Positively phrased questions are reverse-coded; therefore, higher values reflect greater feelings of the perceived threat. First, the respondents are asked questions concerning the symbolic threat, second – the realistic threat.

The design of the questionnaire ensures that no numeric answers are provided to respond to the survey questions – the respondents are given an unmarked scale between two polar answers and it is up to respondent's personal perception how to interpret this scale. Such an unconventional approach is applied to increase the honesty of answers and minimise responding in a socially desirable manner. The unmarked scales are later processed according to Likert approach and coded from 1 to 9.

Perceived symbolic threat questionnaire includes the following seven statements: *Upon arrival, refugees should confirm to the rules and norms of Latvian society as soon as possible. Refugee intake is a threat to Latvian culture. The values and beliefs of refugees regarding work are basically similar to those of the majority of Latvians. The values and beliefs of refugees regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with the values and beliefs of the majority of Latvians. The values and beliefs of refugees regarding family issues and socialising children are basically similar to those of the majority of Latvians. The values and beliefs of refugees regarding social relations are not compatible with the values and beliefs of the majority of Latvians. Refugees are not obliged to accept Latvian way of life.*

Perceived realistic threat questionnaire includes the following eight statements: *Refugees will get more from Latvia than they will contribute to it. The children of refugees should have the same rights to education in Latvia as Latvian children do. Refugees will increase the tax burden of Latvians. Refugees will not displace Latvian workers from their jobs. Refugees should be eligible for the same health care benefits as those received by Latvians. Due to the arrival of refugees, social services will become less available to Latvians. The quality of social services available to Latvians will remain the same, despite refugees coming to Latvia. Refugees should be as entitled to the same benefits (for example, to transport or public utilities) as poor Latvians are.*

Results

In order to study the strength of the subjectively perceived realistic and symbolic threats posed by coming refugees on Latvian residents and determine the predicting variables of these threats, two kinds of data analysis were performed. At first, a preliminary descriptive analysis represented in Table 1 included the Cronbach's alphas for both scales along with the means and standard deviations of the measures. Even though the original Stephan's methodology has been applied in this study, the data have shown that one of the entries from the list of symbolic threats, i.e. *The children of refugees should have the same rights to education in Latvia as Latvian children do*, does not fit the relevance profile of the scale. Therefore, during the calculation process it was excluded from the list in order to ensure internal consistency of the measure.

Table 1
Basics Statistics for all measures (N=1000)

| Measures | Alpha | M | SD |
|---|-------|------|------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Symbolic threats scale | .669 | 6.33 | 1.47 |
| Non-conformation to the rules and norms of Latvian society | | 7.63 | 2.35 |
| Undermining Latvian culture | | 6.58 | 2.60 |
| The values and beliefs regarding work | | 6.89 | 2.39 |
| The values and beliefs regarding moral and religious issues | | 7.50 | 2.16 |
| The values and beliefs regarding family issues and socialising children | | 6.43 | 2.48 |

Sequel to Table 1 see on the next page

| 1 | Sequel to Table 1 | | |
|--|-------------------|------|------|
| | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| The values and beliefs regarding social relations | | 6.87 | 2.38 |
| Non-conformation to the Latvian way of living | | 6.73 | 2.70 |
| Realistic threats scale | .665 | 6.08 | 1.23 |
| Refugees will get more from Latvia than they may contribute | | 7.24 | 9.91 |
| Increasing the tax burden on Latvians | | 7.37 | 2.55 |
| Displacing Latvian workers from their jobs | | 4.22 | 2.38 |
| Refugees' eligibility for the same health-care benefits received by Latvians | | 4.91 | 2.96 |
| Decreased availability of social services to Latvians | | 6.24 | 3.05 |
| Decreased quality of social services available to Latvians | | 5.32 | 2.75 |
| Entitlement to the same benefits available to poor Latvians | | 5.92 | 2.91 |

Source: elaborated by the authors.

These results show that mean values of all items constituting the Symbolic threats scale are far above average (minimal value = 1; maximal value = 9). Respectively it means that all kinds of subjectively perceived symbolic threats are of high value for the most of Latvian residents. Two items, i.e. *non-conformation to the rules and norms of Latvian society* and *values and beliefs of refugees regarding moral and religious issues*, have the highest values of this scale. About 50 per cent of all participants have rated these items with maximum score.

The mean values of items constituting the Realistic threats scale are also rather high and most of them are above average. Two items, i.e. *refugees will get more from Latvia than they may contribute* and *refugees will increase the tax burden on Latvians*, have the highest values of this scale.

The only item, which has a mean value below average, is *displacing Latvian workers from their jobs*, which, in perception of the most of Latvian residents is not so important concern taking into account a real situation in job market in Latvia.

The regression analysis determining major predictors of subjectively perceived realistic and symbolic threats posed by coming refugees on Latvian residents has been performed after preliminary descriptive analysis. Dependent variables (realistic and symbolic scales total values) did not estimate normal distribution parameters. Therefore binary logistic regression method was chosen in this case, where only variance from the first (coded with 0) and last (coded with 1) quartiles of the scales were taken into analysis. The first model involved a total of 51.2% of participants leaving a sample of 512 for the regression analyses in relation with realistic threats scale and 55.3% of participants leaving a sample of 553 for the regression analyses in relation with symbolic threats scale.

Two binary logistic regression models (Method=Enter) represented below indicated the most important predictors influencing perception of realistic (see Table 2) and symbolic (see Table 3) threats by Latvian residents in relation to refugee crisis in Latvia.

Table 2

**Binary logistic regression model predicting perceived symbolic threats
posed by coming refugees on Latvian residents**

| Variables entered | B | S.E. | (Exp)B | R ² (Cox&Snell) | R ² (Nagelkerke) |
|----------------------------------|---------|------|--------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Model | | | | .208 | .277 |
| False consensus | 1.670** | .279 | 5.310 | | |
| Interaction with refugees | -1.015* | .406 | 6.258 | | |
| Emigrational experience | .923* | .329 | 2.517 | | |
| Media content (Russian language) | -.309** | .101 | .734 | | |
| Media content (English language) | .288* | .124 | 1.334 | | |
| Level of education | -.259** | .102 | .772 | | |
| Political orientation | -.112* | .049 | .894 | | |
| Loyalty to Latvian state | -.094* | .040 | .910 | | |

Source: elaborated by the authors.

Table 3

**Binary logistic regression model predicting perceived realistic threats
posed by coming refugees on Latvian residents**

| Variables entered | B | S.E. | (Exp)B | R ² (Cox&Snell) | R ² (Nagelkerke) |
|----------------------------------|----------|------|--------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Model | | | | .205 | .273 |
| False consensus | 1.818** | .263 | 6.163 | | |
| Interaction with refugees | -1.192** | .359 | .303 | | |
| Emigrational experience | .706* | .314 | 2.025 | | |
| Media content (Russian language) | -.342** | .089 | .710 | | |
| Political orientation | -.150** | .048 | .860 | | |
| Level of income | -.141* | .071 | .710 | | |

Source: elaborated by the authors.

The results show, that in total, 67.8% of predictions were accurate in the first regression model and 67.3% of predictions were accurate in the second regression model. Both models in general indicate only modest improvement in fit over the baseline model. This becomes evident taking into account descriptive data, indicating that in evaluating perceived realistic and symbolic threats posted by coming refugees on Latvian residents a big number of participants showed conformity in answers marking these threats with the highest scores. Therefore, both models could not have strong predictive value; however, they helped distinguishing variables with bigger predictive effect.

In both models, the same variables predict perceived realistic and symbolic threats posed by coming refugees on Latvian residents. These are *the false consensus effect* (or subjective belief of participants, that their point of view is shared by the majority of their group), *contact experience with refugees*, *emigrational experience*, *consumption*

of *Russian media content*, and *political orientation*. All these variables have a predictive effect on both kinds of subjectively perceived threats posed by coming refugees on Latvian residents. Two more predictors were determined in relation to perceived symbolic threats. These are *level of education* and *loyalty to Latvian state*. In addition, one more predictor appeared in relation to perceived realistic threats. It is *level of income*.

It means that those participants who feel certain, that their opinion is shared by the majority of the in-group, haven't got any contact experience with refugees, have emigrational experience, do not consume media content in Russian language, but do consume one in English, have low level of education, support political parties standing up for bigger social guarantees, and show no high loyalty to Latvian state – tend to have bigger concerns and perceive symbolic threats at a higher scale. Respectively, those participants who feel certain, that their opinion is shared by the majority of the in-group, haven't got any contact experience with refugees, have emigrational experience, do not consume media content in Russian language, support political parties standing up for bigger social guarantees, and have lower level of income – tend to have bigger concerns and perceive realistic threats at a higher scale.

Conclusions

The aim of the current study, i.e. to identify the strength of subjectively perceived realistic and symbolic threats posed by coming refugees on Latvian residents and determine the predicting variables of these threats, has been achieved. Although the first pillar of the survey includes a wide pool of variables, the analysis has demonstrated that only some of these have actual predictive effect on the perception of realistic and symbolic threats by Latvians. These are the language of media content consumed by the participants (Russian and English), political orientation, levels of education, income, loyalty to the state, emigration experience, contact experience with refugees, and false consensus.

Despite the ability of various theories to explain the nature of this generally negative attitude at different levels, the situation requires the development of an inclusive and complex theoretical model, which could explain the interplay of various components of prejudice. Such model could become a basis for a sustainable approach towards acceptance and integration of refugees in such small European states as Latvia. Previous studies suggest that in order to reduce prejudice and increase the level of integration in the society, acculturation orientations of immigrants have to match the acculturation strategies of the host society. Therefore, there is also a necessity to perform empirical studies on acculturation issues.

Clearly, the current situation reflects low levels of readiness of small European nations to accept newcomers of different cultural backgrounds in their societies. Nevertheless, all pros and cons of this situation have to be analysed and discussed, because this new wave of immigration implies not only threats to the traditional interethnic balance in these societies; it also provides opportunities, which are capable of reforming rigid identities and improving their ability to cope with new challenges in a global and interconnected world. In the long run, such crises have a potential to strengthen

the EU foundations, increase the cohesion and integrity of the European in-groups, and can possibly play a positive role for reforming the shape and content of nationality concepts of European nations.

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ZINĀTNISKĀ DZĪVE

KONFERENCES UN SEMINĀRI

Viktorija Špilova

11. STARPTAUTISKĀ ZINĀTNISKĀ KONFERENCE “SOCIĀLĀS ZINĀTNES REĢIONĀLAJAI ATTĪSTĪBAI 2016” – APLIECINĀJUMS CIEŠAI STARPTAUTISKAI SADARBĪBAI UN SOCIĀLO ZINĀTŅU IEGULDĪJUMAM REĢIONĀLAJĀ ATTĪSTĪBĀ

2016. gada 14. un 15. oktobrī Daugavpils Universitātē jau vienpadsmito reizi pulcējās Latvijas un ārvalstu zinātnieki, lai apmainītos ar jaunāko pētījumu rezultātiem starptautiskās zinātniskās konferences “Sociālās zinātnes reģionālajai attīstībai 2016” ietvaros. Konferenci, kuras mērķis ir sekmēt sociālo zinātņu attīstību un ieguldījumu reģiona labklājībā, organizē Daugavpils Universitātes Humanitāro un sociālo zinātņu institūts sadarbībā ar Sociālo zinātņu fakultātes Ekonomikas un Socioloģijas, Sociālās psiholoģijas un Tiesību katedrām. Sadarbība starp zinātnisko institūtu un fakultāti veido veiksmīgu sinerģijas efektu, kad zinātniekiem ir iespēja sasniegt plašāku studējošo auditoriju, savukārt studējošajiem ir iespēja iesaistīties konferences aktivitātēs un izprast, kā top jaunās zināšanas, kuras vēlāk tiek pielietotas praksē, kā arī apbrīnīt savas pētnieciskas idejas.

Humanitāro un sociālo
zinātņu institūta
direktore, profesore
Dr. theol. Anitas Stašulānes
konferences atklāšanas
uzruna. Foto: DU arhīvs





11. starptautiskās zinātniskās konferences Zinātniskās komitejas priekšsēdētāja, profesora Dr.sc.soc. Vladimira Meņšikova konferences atklāšanas runa.
Foto: DU arhīvs

Šajā reizē konference bija veltīta Daugavpils Universitātes 95. gadadienai, kura bija nozīmīgs notikums ne tikai zinātniskajā saimē, bet arī reģionālajā līmenī. Kā atzīmēja konferences Zinātniskās komitejas priekšsēdētājs profesors Vladimirs Meņšikovs, sociālo zinātņu virziena attīstība Daugavpils Universitātē ir aizsākusies pirms 25 gadiem ar Ekonomikas nodaļas darbību, tā kā arī sociālajām zinātnēm šogad ir neliela, bet jubileja. Šodien sociālās zinātnes universitātē ir pārstāvētas ar zinātnisko institūtu un trīs katedrām, savukārt ikgadēja sociālajām zinātnēm veltīta starptautiskā zinātniskā konference nodrošina ieguldījumu zināšanu pārneses praksē aktivizēšanu, kā arī sekmē vietējā akadēmiskā personāla, studējošo un reģionu pārstāvju atpazīstamību aiz reģiona un valsts robežām.

2016. gada konferences formāts piedāvāja iepazīties ar 134 zinātnieku un studējošo no daudzām Baltijas jūras reģiona valstīm (Latvijas, Lietuvas, Polijas, Norvēģijas, Krievijas un Baltkrievijas), kā arī Ukrainas un Gruzijas referātiem par reģionālajai attīstībai aktuālajām tēmām plenārsēdes laikā, kā arī četrās darba grupās – Ekonomikā, Tiesību zinātnē, Socioloģijā un Sociālajā psiholoģijā. Spilgtus zinātnisko aktivitāšu



11. starptautiskajā zinātniskajā konferencē piedalījās zinātnieki no 8 valstīm.

Foto: DU arhīvs

sociālo zinātņu jomā ieviešanas praksē piemērus demonstrēja Valsts pētījumu programmas “Tautsaimniecības transformācija, gudra izaugsme, pārvaldība un tiesiskais ietvars valsts un sabiedrības ilgtspējīgai attīstībai – jaunas pieejas ilgtspējīgas zināšanu sabiedrības veidošanai” (EKOSOC-LV) projektu Nr. 5.2.3. un Nr. 5.2.9. un starptautiskā projekta “Jauniešu bezdarba novēršana Latvijas un Baltkrievijas pierobežas reģionos atgūšanās no recesijas laikā” (Daugavpils Universitāte un Vitebskas Valsts tehnoloģiskā universitāte) darba grupu ietvaros notikusi starprezultātu apspriešana.

Konferences darba kārtība aizsākās ar plenārsēdi. Jāatzīmē, ka šī gada konferences plenārsēde norisinājās divās dienās. Tās apmeklētība no ārvalstu kolēģu un pašmāju zinātnieku puses tika veicināta gan ar reģionālajai attīstībai aktuālo tēmu prezentācijām, gan ar svinīgu Daugavpils Universitātes Goda doktoru (*Honoris causa*) – šī gada jubilāru – sumināšanu.



Daugavpils Universitātes zinātņu prorektore, asociētā profesore Dr.biol. Inese Kokina pasniedz Atzinības rakstu Lietuvas zinātņu akadēmijas akadēmiķim, profesoram, Daugavpils Universitātes Goda doktoram Dr.hab.sc.soc. Arvidam Virgilijum Matuļonim. Foto: DU arhīvs

Daugavpils Universitātes zinātņu prorektore, asociētā profesore Dr.biol. Inese Kokina pasniedza Atzinības rakstus par ilggadējo sadarbību un zinātnes attīstības veicināšanu konferences partneriem no Lietuvas, Polijas un Baltkrievijas. Augstu novērtējumu un apliecinājumu turpmākai sadarbībai saņēma Lietuvas zinātņu akadēmijas akadēmiķis, profesors, Daugavpils Universitātes Goda doktors Dr.hab.sc.soc. Arvīdas Virgilijus Matuļonis (Lietuvas Sociālo pētījumu centrs, Lietuva); zinātņu prorektore, profesore, Daugavpils Universitātes Goda doktore Dr.oec. Jeļena Vankeviča (Vitebskas Valsts tehnoloģiskā universitāte, Baltkrievija); profesors, Daugavpils Universitātes Goda doktors Dr.sc.soc. Slavomirs Partickis (Jāņa Pāvila II Katoļu universitāte Ļublinā, Polija) un profesors, Dr.habilitated. Antanas Makštutis (Lietuvas Aizsardzības ministrijas Lietuvas ģenerāļa Jonasa Žemaitisa militārā akadēmija, Lietuva). Sakarā ar 70 gadu jubileju, milzīgu ieguldījumu Daugavpils Universitātes Sociālo zinātņu fakultātē, Sociālo pētījumu institūta dibināšanu un jaunas zinātnieku paaudzes izveidošanu ar Daugavpils Universitātes Atzinības rakstu tika apbalvots DU HSZI profesors, Dr.sc.soc. Vladimirs Meņšikovs.

Svinīga noskaņojuma pavadījumā plenārsēdes darbs turpinājās ar zinātnisko pētījumu rezultātu prezentāciju. Kopumā, savu pētniecisko aktivitāšu rezultātus plenārsēdes laikā prezentēja zinātnieki no 8 valstīm (Latvija, Lietuva, Polija, Norvēģija, Gruzija, Ukraina, Baltkrievija, Krievija), pievēršoties visām sociālo zinātņu disciplinām un daloties bagātajā pieredzē. Nodarbinātība, pārrobežu sadarbība, iekļaujošā reģionālā

attīstība, enerģētiskā drošība, sociāli-ekonomiska attīstība reģionos, sociālā atstumtība ir tikai dažas no apspriestajām tēmām, kuras šodien atrodas reģionu darba kārtībā.

Nodarbinātības jautājumus savos pētījumos cilāja Vitebskas Valsts tehnoloģiskās universitātes profesore Jeļena Vankeviča un Lietuvas Aizsardzības ministrijas Lietuvas ģenerāļa Jonasa Žemaitisa militārās akadēmijas profesors Antanas Makštutis. Zinātnieki pievērsās nodarbinātības metodoloģiskajiem aspektiem. Tā, profesore J. Vankeviča (kopā ar asociēto profesori Aļonu Korobovu un profesora asistenti Olgu Zaicevu) uzsvēra jauniešu nodarbinātības un bezdarba apzināšanas metodoloģiskus izaicinājumus uz Baltkrievijas piemēra. Profesors A. Makštutis, savukārt, iepazīstināja klātesošos ar nepieciešamību pēc metodoloģiskā risinājuma pilnīgas nodarbinātības sasniegšanai un izpētei.

Rīgas Tehniskās universitātes profesors Juris Saulītis, Nikolaja Kopernika Universitātes profesors Voicehs Kosiedovskis, Perioslava Hmeļnicka Grigorija Skovorodas Valsts pedagoģiskās universitātes profesore Tatjana Bogolib un Lietuvas Zinātņu akadēmijas akadēmiķis, Lietuvas sociālo pētījumu centra profesors Arvīdas Virgilijus Matuļionis savās uzstāšanās skara reģionālās labklājības jautājumus.

Profesors J. Saulītis norādīja, ka nevienmērīga zinātnes un tehnoloģiju sasniegumu sadale starp reģioniem veicina labklājības līmeņa izteiktu diferencēšanos un raisa diskusijas par garantētā ienākuma nepieciešamību, savukārt profesors V. Kosiedovskis šajā sakarā lika akcentu uz iekļaujošās reģionālās attīstības konceptu, kurš Centrālās un Austrumeiropas valstīs ir salīdzinoši jauns. Labklājības diferencēšanas straujie procesi raisa bažas par sociālo atstumtību dažām no sabiedrības grupām. Šo problemātiku uz Ukrainas piemēra savā referātā skara profesore T. Bogolib. Līdz ar labklājības līmeņa izteiktu diferenciāciju aktuāls kļūst jautājums par iespējām noteikt sabiedrības sociālu struktūru. Akadēmiķis un profesors A. V. Matuļoņis runāja par metodoloģiskajiem risinājumiem un savu zinātnisko pieredzi sabiedrības sociālās struktūras noteikšanai.

Labklājības dimensiju pavisam citā aspektā izpētīja un prezentēja Daugavpils Universitātes vadošā pētniece Dr.oec. Vera Komarova, kura aicināja aizdomāties par progresa "cenu" globālajā pasaulē, uzsverot ka augsti attīstītajās valstīs pienāk brīdis, kad ekonomiskās attīstības veicināšana vairs nenodrošina sociālās labklājības celšanos.

Lietuvas Aizsardzības ministrijas Lietuvas ģenerāļa Jonasa Žemaitisa militārās akadēmijas profesorei Manuelai Tvaronavičienei un Daugavpils Universitātes profesoriem Vitoldam Zaharam un Jānim Teivānam-Treinovskim ir bagāta pieredze reģionālās drošības jautājumu izpētē. Profesors V. Zahars un profesors J. Teivāns-Treinovskis reģionālo drošību pēta krimināltiesību kontekstā, kas tiek atspoguļots viņu zinātniskajos darbos. Šai konferencei tika sagatavoti ziņojumi par sabiedrības drošības izaicinājumiem postindustriālajā sabiedrībā un aktualitātēm kriminālpolitikā. Savukārt, profesore M. Tvaronavičiene aktualizēja jautājumu par enerģētisko drošību klasteru veidošanas un ilgtspējas kontekstā, kas ir salīdzinoši jauns un maz izpētīts koncepts.

Pārrobežu sadarbība tika atspoguļota Jāņa Pāvila II Katoļu universitātes Ļublinā profesora S. Particka (kopā ar Dr. Dāvidu Blaszczaku) ziņojumā, kurā īpaša uzmanība tika veltīta Latvijas un Polijas sadarbības pieredzei un sociālo tīklu (*social net-works*) nozīmei, balstoties uz sociālo tīklu teorijām. Starpvalstu sadarbība pieredzes apmaiņas kontekstā tika aktualizēta Norvēģijas pilsētu un reģionālo pētījumu institūta vadošā pētnieka PhD Adnes Aslanda (kopā ar kolēģiem no Latvijas Universitātes – Intu

Mieriņu, Ilzi Koroļovu un Aleksandru Aleksandrovu) prezentācijā. Tā, PhD A. Aslands uzsvēra, ka skolu skaita samazināšanas jautājums lauku teritorijās ir aktuāls gan Latvijā, gan Norvēģijā, tomēr abās valstīs ir vērojama atšķirīga atbildīgo institūciju un sabiedrības attieksme, kā arī sabiedrības iesaistīšanās jautājuma risināšanā.



11. starptautiskās zinātniskās konferences plenārsēdes dalībnieki pēc aktīvām diskusijām 2016. gada 15. oktobrī. Foto: DU arhīvs

Pārbagātajā plenārsēdes programmā zinātnieki prezentēja arī savas rezidences valsts pieredzi un izaicinājumus reģionālajā attīstībā. Šīs prezentācijas bija veltītas plašajam jautājumu lokam. Tā, Krievijas Zinātņu akadēmijas Socioloģijas institūta profesors Viktors Voronovs (kopā ar Mg. Mariju Voronovu) skāra ekonomiskus, sociālus un kulturālus aspektus etnisko grupu savstarpējās attiecībās reģionālajā līmenī. Tbilisi Valsts politehniskās universitātes profesors Murmans Kvarachelija (kopā ar doktorantu Zviadu Kvarachelija) prezentēja reģionu fiskālās stabilitātes izpēti metodoloģiskus jautājumus uz Gruzijas piemēra, atsaucot atmiņā nesenu fiskālo krīzi un tās mācības pasaules ekonomikā. Daugavpils Universitātes profesors Vladimirs Meņšikovs (kopā ar zinātniskā grāda pretendentu Olgu Volkovu) sagatavoja prezentāciju par sabiedrības izglītības veselības jomā (*health literacy*) ietekmi uz indivīda dzīves stratēģijas realizācijas iespējām, pievēršoties Latvijas pieredzei uz Latgales reģiona dažādu sociāli-demogrāfisku sabiedrības grupu analīzes pamata. Skolas un sabiedrības mijiedarbības īpatnības lauku teritorijās Norvēģijā bija Norvēģijas pilsētu un reģionālo pētījumu institūta vadošās pētnieces Dr. Susannas Soholtas prezentācijas pamatā. Varminko-Mazurski universitātes Olsztunā zinātnieks Dr. Jaroslavs Mioduževskis (kopā ar asociēto profesori Renātu Pžigodsku no Belostokas Universitātes) piedāvāja iepazīties ar Polijas pieredzi, kā īpašumtiesību maiņas procesā mainās lauksaimniecības struktūra. Daugavpils Universitātes pētniece Dr. oec. Viktorija Šipilova uzstāšanās laikā iepazīstināja klātesošos ar reģionālās attīstības izpēti būtisku jomu – strukturālo pārmaiņu ekonomiku, kas ir jauns pētījumu virziens Latvijā.

Diskusiju pāriešana darba grupās ļāva divu dienu garumā koncentrēt uzmanību uz katra sociālo zinātņu virziena ietvaros aktuālajiem jautājumiem. Konferences programmā tika pieteikti referāti Ekonomikas, Socioloģijas un Sociālās psiholoģijas, Tiesību zinātnes grupās. Augsts pieteikumu skaits no doktora studiju programmās studējošajiem apliecina, ka aug jaunā zinātnieku paaudze, kura ir spējīga ar savām zināšanām iesaistīties reģionālās attīstības problēmu izpētē un risināšanā.

Sociālo zinātņu nozīmei reģionālajā attīstībā un to spējai kopā ar dabaszinātnēm rast starpdisciplinārus un inovatīvus risinājumus esošo reģionālo problēmu risināšanai apliecināja Valsts pētījuma programmas EKOSOC-LV "Tautsaimniecības transformācija, gudra izaugsme, pārvaldība un tiesiskais ietvars valsts un sabiedrības ilgtspējīgai attīstībai – jaunas pieejas ilgtspējīgas zināšanu sabiedrības veidošanai" (vadītāja – akadēmiķe, profesore Dr.habil.oec. B. Rivža) projekta Nr. 5.2.3. "Latvijas lauku un reģionālās attīstības procesi un iespējas zināšanu ekonomikas kontekstā" un projekta Nr. 5.2.9. "Sociālās apziņas izmaiņu ietekme uz ekosistēmas pakalpojumu ilgtspējīgu nodrošinājumu" darba grupas darba kārtība, kura paredzēja starprezultātu apspriešanu.



Projektu realizācijas laikā zinātnieku uzmanības centrā ir Latvijas reģionu viedās attīstības iespējas un virzieni, kā arī ilgtspējīgas konkurētspējas aspekti Latvijas reģionos un lauku teritorijās. Zinātnieki apkopoja ekspertu viedokļus par viedās specializācijas veidošanos un attīstību Latgales reģionā, kā arī izstrādāja viedās attīstības integrālo rādītāju – Viedās attīstības indeksu. Projekta ietvaros zinātniekiem ir iespēja pētīt sociālās apziņas izmaiņu ietekmi uz ekosistēmas pakalpojumu izmantošanas ilgtspējīgu nodrošinājumu. Daugavpils Universitātes zinātnieki īpašu uzmanību savos pētījumos velta Latgales reģionam un viedajai specializācijai īpaši aizsargājamās dabas teritorijās. Jāatzīmē visai veiksmīga studējošo iesaistīšanās projekta realizācijā un savu pētījumu sagatavošana konferencei.

Starptautiskā projekta "Jauniešu bezdarba novēršana Latvijas un Baltkrievijas pierobežas reģionos atgūšanās no recesijas laikā" starprezultātu apspriešanai veltītajā programmā uzmanība bija koncentrēta uz nodarbinātības problemātiku un jauniešu bezdarba mazināšanas iespējām. Projekts ir starpvalstu sadarbības rezultāts un to realizē Daugavpils Universitātes (Latvija) un Vitebskas Valsts tehnoloģiskās universitātes (Baltkrievija) zinātnieki.

Lielākā daļa no konferences laikā izskanējušiem ziņojumiem būs atrodama ikgadējas konferences rakstu krājumu sērijā. Rakstu krājumi tiek recenzēti un izdoti Daugavpils Universitātes Akadēmiskajā apgādā "Saule". Rakstu krājums ir atrodams *Electronic Journals Library of University of Regensburg* (Vācija).

Konference bija lieliska iespēja veicināt zinātniskas domas ienākšanu reģionu ikdienas darbos, kā arī bagāts ar veco draugu satikšanos un jaunu iepazīšanos notikums. Tas neapšaubāmi turpinās DU HSI un SZF ikgadējas konferences tradīcijas sociālo zinātņu attīstībā un popularizēšanā.

Piezīmes:

Informācija par plenārsēdes uzstāšanos saturu ir atrodama konferences tēžu krājumā "11. starptautiskās zinātniskās konferences "Sociālās zinātnes reģionālajai attīstībai 2016" tēzes", ISBN 978-9984-14-772-7, Daugavpils Universitātes Akadēmiskais apgāds "Saule".

Viktorija Špilova

**11TH INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE
“SOCIAL SCIENCES FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT 2016” –
A CONFIRMATION OF THE CLOSE INTERNATIONAL
COOPERATION AND A CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL
SCIENCES INTO THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

On 14 and 15 October at Daugavpils University the Latvian and foreign scientists were gathered already 11th time to exchange the latest research results during the international scientific conference “Social Sciences for Regional Development 2016”. The Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences of Daugavpils University in collaboration with the Departments of Economics and Sociology, Law, and Social Psychology of the Daugavpils University organized the conference, which aims to promote the development of social sciences and to contribute to wellbeing of the region. Cooperation between the research institute and the faculty provides a successful synergy effect, when scientists are able to reach wider audience of students, while students have the opportunity to participate in the conference activities and to understand the process of creation of new knowledge, which then is put into a practice, as well as to present their research ideas.



Director of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences Professor Dr.theol. Anita Stašulāne opens the 11th International Scientific Conference and addresses the participants of the plenary session. Photo: DU archive



Chair of the Conference Academic Committee, Professor Dr.sc.soc. Vladimirs Meņšikovs opens the 11th International Scientific Conference and addresses the participants of the plenary session. Photo: DU archive

This time the conference was dedicated to the 95th anniversary of Daugavpils University, what was a significant event not only in the scientific community, but also at the regional level. As noted by the Chair of the Conference Academic Committee, Professor Vladimirs Meņšikovs, development of direction of social sciences in Daugav-



Scientists from eight countries attended the 11th International Scientific Conference. Photo: DU archive

pils University has begun 25 years ago with the activities of the Economic Division, thus the social sciences in this year have a small, but the jubilee as well. Today, research institute and three departments represent the social sciences at the University, while the annual international scientific conference provides a contribution to the transfer of knowledge in practice, as well as contributes to recognition of local academic staff, students and regional representatives beyond the regional and national borders.

Conference format in this year offered to get acquainted with reports on topical issues in regional develop-

ment of 134 scientists and students from many states of the Baltic Sea region (Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Norway, Russia, and Belarus), as well as from Ukraine and Georgia during the plenary session and in four working groups – Economics, Law, Sociology and Social Psychology. Bright examples of the transfer of knowledge in a practice in the field of social sciences the National Research Program 5.2. “Economic transformation, smart growth, governance and legal framework for sustainable development of the state and society – a new approach to the creation of a sustainable learning community (EKOSOC-LV)” and international project “Prevention of youth unemployment of border areas of Latvia and Belarus under recovery from recession” (Daugavpils University, Vitebsk State Technological University) demonstrated within the working groups for discussing intermediary results of the projects.

The conference agenda began with the plenary session. It should be noted that the plenary session was held in two days in this year. The attendance by foreign colleagues and local scientific community has been ensured by both topical presentations on regional development issues, as well as by the solemn homage of Honorary Doctors (*Honoris Causa*) of Daugavpils University, which have celebrated the jubilee in 2016.



Vice-Rector for Research, Associate Professor Dr.biol. Inese Kokina presents the award to Academician of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Professor Honorary Doctor of Daugavpils University Dr.hab.sc.soc. Arvydas Virgilijus Matulionis. Photo: DU archive

Vice-Rector for Research, Associate Professor Dr.biol. Inese Kokina has presented awards for the long-term cooperation and the development of science to the conference partners from Lithuania, Poland and Belarus. Academician of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Professor, Honorary Doctor of Daugavpils University Dr.hab.sc.soc. Arvydas Virgilijus Matulionis (Lithuanian Social Research Centre, Lithuania); Vice-Rector for Research, Professor, Honorary Doctor of Daugavpils University Dr.oec. Alena Vankevich (Vitebsk State Technological University, Belarus); Professor, Honorary Doctor of Daugavpils University Dr.sc.soc. Slawomir Partycki (The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Poland) and Professor Dr.habilitated. Antanas Makštutis (The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, Lithuania) have received a high praise and acknowledgment for the further cooperation. Owing to a huge contribution to the Faculty of Social Sciences of Daugavpils University, establishment of the Institute for Social Research and creation of a new scientists generation Professor of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences of Daugavpils University Dr.sc.soc. Vladimirs Meņšikovs was awarded with the Certificate of Honor of Daugavpils University at the 70-year anniversary.

In accompaniment of a festive mood, the plenary session has been continued with presentations of the research results. Overall, scientists from eight countries (Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Norway, Georgia, Ukraine, Belarus, Russia) presented the results of their research during the plenary session, focusing on all disciplines of social sciences and sharing rich experience. Employment, cross-border cooperation, inclusive regional development, energy security, socio-economic development of regions, social exclusion are just some of the issues discussed, which now is included in the regional agenda.

Employment issues in their studies Professor Alena Vankevich (Vitebsk State Technological University, Belarus) and Professor Antanas Makštutis (The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, Lithuania) have investigated. The scientists have focused on the methodological aspects of employment. So, Professor A. Vankevich (together with Associate Professor Alona Korobova and Assistant Professor Olga Zaitseva) have indicated methodological challenges for identification of youth employment and unemployment using the example of Belarus. Professor A. Makštutis, in turn, has presented the need in the methodological approaches to achieve and to research full employment.

Professor Juris Saulitis (Riga Technical University, Latvia), Professor Wojciech Kosiedowski (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Poland), Professor Tatiana Bogolib (Pereyaslav-Khmelnytsky Hryhoriy Skovoroda State Pedagogical University, Ukraine) and Academician, Professor Arvydas Virgilijus Matulionis (Lithuanian Social Research Centre, Lithuania) have presented issues on welfare.

Professor J. Saulitis has noted that uneven distribution of scientific and technological achievements between the regions contributes to the strong differentiation of well-being and raises the discussion about the need for guaranteed income, while Professor W. Kosiedowski has focused on inclusive regional development concept, which is relatively new in the Central and Eastern European countries. Rapid processes of welfare differentiation raises concerns about the social exclusion of certain groups in society. This problem was discussed using the example of Ukraine in the presentation of Professor T. Bogolib. Consequently, highly differentiated level of welfare makes

topical the question of the possibilities to determine the social structure of society. Academician, Professor A. V. Matulionis has talked about the methodological solutions and the own scientific experience in determining the social structure of society.

Leading researcher of Daugavpils University (Latvia) Dr. oec. Vera Komarova has investigated welfare issue in entirely different aspect. Dr. oec. V. Komarova has invited to think about the “price” of progress in a global world and stressed that there comes a time in economically highly developed countries, when economic development cannot longer ensure the social welfare increases.

Professor Manuela Tvaronavičiene (The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania), Professor Vitolds Zahars (Daugavpils University, Latvia) and Professor Jānis Teivāns-Treinovskis (Daugavpils University, Latvia) have rich experience in research of regional security issues. Reports on public safety challenges in post-industrial society (Professor J. Teivāns-Treinovskis) and current issues in criminal policy (Professor V. Zahars) were prepared for the conference. In turn, Professor M. Tvaronavičiene has raised the issue of energy security in the context of clusters and their sustainability what is a relatively new and little explored concept.

Professor S. Partycki (The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Poland) (with Dr. Dawid Blaszczyk from Pope John Paul II State School of Higher Education in Biala Podlaska, Poland) have presented the issue on cross-border cooperation (with focus on cooperation experience between Latvia and Poland), as well as indicated the meaning of social networks basing on theories of social networks. International cooperation in the context of the exchange of experience were highlighted in the presentation of senior researcher PhD Aadne Aasland (The Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR), Norway) (with colleagues Inta Mieriņa, Ilze Koroļova and Aleksandrs Aleksandrovs from University of Latvia, Latvia). So, PhD A. Aasland has stressed that reducing the number of schools in rural areas is the topical both in Latvia as well as in Norway, but in both countries there is a different attitude of responsible institutions and society, as well as public participation in the matter.



Participants of the plenary session of the 11th international scientific conference after discussions, 15 October, 2016. Photo: DU archive

During the rich program of plenary, scientists also presented experiences and challenges in the regional development of their country of residence. These presentations were devoted to a wide range of issues. So, Professor Viktor Voronov (with Mg. Maria Voronova) (Institute of Sociology of Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia) have presented the economic, social and cultural aspects of inter-ethnic relations at the regional level. Professor Murman Kvaracxelia (with doctoral student Zviad Kvaracxelia) (Tbilisi State Politechnical University, Georgia) have presented methodological issues for research of the regional fiscal sustainability using Georgia's example, recalling a recent fiscal crisis and its teachings in the global economy. Professor Vladimirs Meņšikovs (with doctoral candidate in economics Olga Volkova) (Daugavpils University, Latvia) prepared the presentation about impact of health literacy on capabilities of realization of individual's life strategy, focusing on the experience of different socio-demographic groups in Latgale region (Latvia). Peculiarities of interaction between school and community in rural areas in Norway was at the centre of presentation of senior researcher Dr. Susanne Soholt (The Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR), Norway). Dr. Jaroslaw Mioduszewski (University of Warmia and Masuria in Olsztyn, Poland) (with Associate Professor Renata Przygodzka from University of Bialystok, Poland) have offered to get acquainted with the Polish experience how a change of ownership affects changes in the structure of agriculture. Researcher Dr. oec. Viktorija Šipilova (Daugavpils University, Latvia) has presented the research results about significant issue of regional development – the economics of structural changes, which is a new research direction in Latvia.

Continuation of discussion into the working groups allowed to focus on the actual issues within each direction of social sciences during two days. Participants submitted reports for the working groups in Economics, Sociology, Social Psychology, and Law. The high number of applications from doctoral students confirms that a new generation of scientists who are able to get involved into the studying and solving of regional development issues with their knowledge is growing.

Agenda of working group dedicated to the discussions about preliminary project's results showed that social sciences are able together with the natural sciences to find solutions for regional development problems through interdisciplinary approach within the National Research Program 5.2. "Economic transformation, smart growth, governance and legal framework for sustainable development of the state and society – a new approach to the creation of a sustainable learning community (EKOSOC-LV)" (Chair – Academician, Professor Dr.habil.oec. B. Rivža) and its projects Nr. 5.2.3. "Regional development and possibilities of rural areas in Latvia in context of knowledge economy" and Nr. 5.2.9. "Impact of changes of social consciousness on provision of sustainable ecosystem services".



During the project implementation scientists have focused on possibilities to promote smart development, as well as on aspects of sustainable competitiveness in the Latvian regions and rural areas. Scientists have gathered expert views on formation and development of smart specialization in Latgale region, as well as have elaborated the integral indicator of smart development – Smart Development Index. The project's scientists have opportunity to study the impact of the changes of the social consciousness

on sustainability in services of ecosystem. Daugavpils University scientists in their studies devote particular attention to the Latgale region, and smart specialization in protected natural areas. It should be noted quite successful student involvement in implementation of the project and preparation of presentations for the conference.

In the program dedicated to the discussion of the preliminary results of the international project “Prevention of youth unemployment of border areas of Latvia and Belarus under recovery from recession”, the attention was focused on employment problems and strategies on reduction of youth unemployment. The project is the result of the cross-border cooperation. Scientists from Daugavpils University and Vitebsk State Technological University realize the project.

Most of the conference reports will be found in the series of annual conference proceedings. Collections of articles are reviewed and issued in the Academic Press “Saule” of Daugavpils University. The collection can be found in the Electronic Journals Library of University of Regensburg (Germany).

The conference was a great opportunity to promote inclusion of scientific thought to the regional daily work, as well as the event that was rich with meetings with old friends and new acquaintances. This, no doubt, will continue traditions of the annual conference of The Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences and Faculty of Social Sciences of Daugavpils University in development and promotion of social sciences.

Notes:

Information about the reports presented during the plenary session is available in the Abstracts of the 11th International Scientific Conference “Social Sciences for Regional Development 2016”, ISBN 978-9984-14-772-7, Academic Press “Saule” of Daugavpils University.

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