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RAKSTI

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CLUSTERS – COOPERATION CULTURE APPROACH

Latvian innovation performance on the EU level is very low, with declining SME collaboration. Co-operation culture in Latvian entrepreneurship environment is undeveloped. Networking and clusters are still very new concept in Latvia, while being increasingly popular and developed in Europe, where SME's are actively using such networking possibilities, in order to attract new external resources, implement innovation and develop new, competitive products and boost their export capacity. This article analyses the concepts of firm co-operation and co-opetition, benefits that company networking, and organized networks – clusters, can provide. Article elaborates on the Latvian situation with cooperation and cluster development and also uses Scandinavian cluster developer experience that can be used as an example for cluster development in Latvia. It is concluded that in modern economic environment, for companies to maintain their competitiveness, it is necessary to pursue both – strategies of competition and strategies of cooperation, one of such being the networking within the organized cooperation networks – clusters. It is concluded, that very important key factor for cooperation culture development within the clusters, is trust building between cluster participants, which can be achieved by using various mechanisms, such as ensuring information exchange, involvement of companies within joint projects and cluster branding. Trust building and successful cluster development is a long term endeavor, which requires sustainable funding and continuous efforts by the cluster facilitators. The continuous work of cluster coordinators and facilitators, their ability to ensure equal information flow within the cluster, and ability to develop it as a stabile and reliable platform, plays a significant role for the development of successful cooperation culture in the clusters, which helps companies to overcome various innovation barriers through cooperation. Based on the Scandinavian experience, it is concluded that it may take approximately from 5 to 10 years, for Latvian clusters to develop successful co-operation culture in the entrepreneurship environment.

Key words: clusters, co-operation, co-opetition, trust, entrepreneurship, innovation.

Klasteri – sadarbības kultūras pieeja

Latvijas inovāciju sniegums ES līmenī ir ļoti zems. Samazinās MVU iesaiste sadarbībā. Sadarbības kultūra Latvijas uzņēmējdarbības vidē ir maz attīstīta. Tīklošanās un klasteri vēl ir relatīvi jauni koncepti Latvijā, kas vienlaikus kļūst arvien populārāki un attīstītāki citur Eiropā, kur MVU aktīvi izmanto šādas tīklošanās iespējas, lai piesaistītu jaunus ārējos resursus, ieviestu inovācijas un attīstītu jaunus, konkurētspējīgus produktus un eksporta kapacitāti. Šajā rakstā

tiek aplūkoti ieguvumi, ko sniedz uzņēmumu sadarbība un tīklošanās organizētos sadarbības tīklos – klasteros. Rakstā tiek apskatīta gan Latvijas sadarbības kultūras un klasteru attīstības pieredze, gan Skandināvijas klasteru attīstītāju pieredze, kas var tikt izmantota arī kā piemērs Latvijas gadījumā. Tiek konstatēts, ka mūsdienu ekonomiskajā vidē uzņēmumiem, lai tie saglabātu savu konkurētspēju, ir nepieciešams izmantot gan konkurences, gan sadarbības stratēģijas, no kurām viena ir tīklošanās organizētu sadarbības tīklu – klasteru ietvaros. Tiek secināts, ka būtisks atslēgas faktors sadarbības kultūras attīstībai klasteros ir uzticēšanās veidošana starp klastera dalībniekiem, izmantojot dažādus mehānismus, gan nodrošinot informācijas apmaiņu, gan iesaistot uzņēmējus kopīgos projektos un attīstot klastera atpazīstamību. Sekmīga klasteru un savstarpējās uzticēšanās attīstīšana tajos ir ilgtermiņa pasākums, kas prasa stabilu finansējumu un nepārtrauktu klasteru attīstītāju darbu. Liela nozīme sekmīgai sadarbības kultūras attīstībai klasteros ir klasteru koordinatoru un attīstītāju darbam, to spējai nodrošināt vienlīdzīgu informācijas apriti klasterī un izveidot to kā stabilu, uzticamu attīstības platformu, kurā uzņēmēji var sadarboties un pārvarēt dažādas inovācijas barjeras. Balstoties Skandināvijas ekspertu pieredzē, tiek konstatēts, ka Latvijas gadījumā var paiet aptuveni 5–10 gadi, kamēr ar klasteru palīdzību tiks attīstīta sekmīga sadarbības kultūra uzņēmējdarbības vidē.

Atslēgas vārdi: klasteri, sadarbība, uzticēšanās, uzņēmējdarbība, inovācija.

Кластеры — подход на основе культуры сотрудничества

Достижения Латвии в области инноваций на уровне ЕС оцениваются как низкие. Снижается вовлечённость малых и средних предприятий в процесс сотрудничества. В свою очередь, культура сотрудничества в области предпринимательства в Латвии мало развита. Объединение в сети и кластеры в Латвии является еще новой практикой, которая в других странах Европы становится все более популярной и развитой. В других странах Европы малый и средний бизнес активно использует возможности объединения в сети для привлечения ресурсов, введения инноваций и развития новых конкурентоспособных продуктов и экспорта. В данной статье рассматриваются преимущества для предприятий от объединения в организованные сети — кластеры. Статья предлагает обзор опыта культуры сотрудничества и развития кластеров в Латвии, а также опыт основоположников развития кластеров в Скандинавии, который может быть успешно использован в Латвии в качестве примера. Результаты исследования показывают, что в современной экономической среде предприятиям для сохранения своей конкурентоспособности необходимо использовать как стратегии конкуренции, так и стратегии сотрудничества. Одна из стратегий сотрудничества — это объединение в организованные сети-кластеры. Автор делает вывод, что ключевым фактором в развитии культуры сотрудничества в кластерах является формирование доверия между участниками кластера, используя различные механизмы для обеспечения обмена информацией и вовлечения предпринимателей в реализацию совместных проектов, а также для повышения узнаваемости кластера. Успешное развитие кластеров и взаимодоверия внутри них является долгосрочным процессом, который требует стабильного финансирования и непрерывной деятельности координаторов кластеров. Большое значение в успешном развитии культуры сотрудничества имеет работа координаторов кластеров, их умение обеспечить равнодоступный поток информации внутри кластера и сформировать его как стабильную надежную платформу развития, на основе которой предприниматели могут сотрудничать и преодолевать различные инновационные барьеры. Основываясь на опыте экспертов Скандинавии, констатируется, что в случае Латвии может пройти примерно 5—10 лет, пока при помощи кластеров будет развита конструктивная культура сотрудничества в предпринимательской среде.

Ключевые слова: кластеры, сотрудничество, доверие, предприниметельская деятельность, инновация.

Introduction

Development of co-operation and co-opetiton culture within, and with the help of cluster development, is the focus of this article. Lessons from the theoretical framework in the field of cluster development, and practical cluster development cases in Latvia and expertise from Nordic experts, is being elaborated, to provide comprehensive analysis on clusters as a cooperation culture development approach.

While Latvia and Europe are recovering from the deep financial and economic crisis, the importance for sustainable, innovation based business environment development is necessary, to keep Latvian and European economies competitive, provide jobs and market development. Despite economic recovery, Latvian innovation performance is still among the lowest in the whole European Union. Particularly low and constantly decreasing performance is in the indicators: "Non R&D innovation expenditures in the business sector" and "Innovative SMEs collaborating with others".

While in EU27 the SME collaboration indicator is the fastest growing, meaning that SMEs are engaging in cooperation networks and utilizing their benefits, in Latvia the collaboration among SMEs, SMEs and R&D and public sector is still very low and declining (European Commission 2013). Latvian companies are generally not investing in innovation and are not open for co-operation with others, thus seriously endangering themselves and Latvian economy to lose the competitive advantages in the European and global market, which could seriously endanger firm survivability, economic growth and economic security in the long term. Co-operation culture is much undeveloped in the Latvian entrepreneurship environment, and development of organized cooperation networks – clusters, is at very early stages (Rocans 2013). Therefore not only analysis of cluster development cases in Latvia, but also lessons from theoretical analysis and successful foreign expertise could be very valuable for a successful cluster and co-operation culture development in Latvia. The necessity for foreign experience adaptation was also outlined already in 2009 by Vera Boronenko in her doctoral thesis:

> [..] the application of successful foreign experience in Latvia is quite limited. However, the situation can be changed. That is why it is necessary to [..] adopt successful experience in the sphere of clustering achieved by other states (Boronenko 2009).

This article uses qualitative empirical research methods. Main methods used are, document and literature analysis, analysis of some Latvian cluster development experience and focus group with foreign experts. In this article the co-operation culture and clusters, as important facilitators of such approach, are being analyzed. The article focuses on the analysis of co-operation and co-opetiton concepts and their provided benefits for the entrepreneurship development. The importance of cluster networks, as facilitators of social capital among companies is elaborated. Based on that, a particular form of organized co-operation networks – clusters are analyzed, showing how the cluster approach can develop co-operation culture and create benefits for the companies and regional economies. Theoretical framework is then supported by brief analysis of Latvian entrepreneurship environment and elaboration of some Latvian

cluster development cases experience, which is followed by deeper analysis of successful Scandinavian cluster facilitators experience and derived conclusions from New Zealand cluster expert workshop in Riga. In order to analyze such specific, practical information and experience in cluster development – development of co-operation culture within those Scandinavian clusters, a focus group with 5 cluster development experts from Sweden and Finland, was held in Riga on 11 September 2013. The focus group experts agreed that their names and affiliations are used for this paper, the full audio-recording of the focus group can be provided for all interested if necessary. More information on the experts is provided in the article.

This article follows the publication on clusters as factors for economic security and social inclusion (Rocans 2013), and also master's thesis on "Policy initiatives for the entrepreneurship cluster development in Vidzeme region: the case of Vidzeme food cluster" (Rocans 2012). Field research was carried out in the master's thesis, with interviews from Latvian entrepreneurs, R&D and public sector partners within the food cluster, and with national level policy makers, thus establishing deepened analysis on policy initiatives that could foster regional cluster development in Latvia. Field research results are also used in this article as a basis of cluster development experience analysis in Latvia. In this particular article, the analysis of clusters is mostly focused on social capital and co-operation culture development within clusters, as functional coordinated networks, not on economic analysis of cluster development in Latvia.

Therefore this article does not try to prove the necessity of cluster development in Latvia, based on economic analysis, but it focuses on the benefits to the business environment, created by the development of the co-operation culture within and with the help of cluster networks. The novelty that this article brings to the academic and practical discourse on cluster development in Latvia is that it focuses on practical issues with the cluster development – networking aspect within clusters, trust, information sharing and company cooperation relationship building, also deriving specific practical knowledge from highly experienced cluster experts, thus bringing international expertise.

This article provides a comprehensive analysis on co-operation culture development through clusters and can be used as a practical guide and support research for cluster facilitators, researchers and students in the field of clusters, co-operation and co-opetiton, economic and regional development.

Co-operation, co-opetition and clusters

According to the traditional view of inter-firm dynamics, relationships are either competitive or cooperative in nature. However, firms can compete and cooperate with each other at the same time in practice (Chai, Yang 2011). Such a situation where firms are in relationship of both – competition and cooperation is defined as a relatively new term: co-opetition, which is the phenomenon when firms engage in simultaneous cooperation and competition with each other (Gnyawali, He, Madhavan 2006). An example of co-opetition in the practice is when firms in this kind of relation-

ship cooperate, for example, to develop a new product and create value, and then compete in a market to get a share of it, or distribute the returns to the value that has been created (Chai, Yang 2011).

There are highly appraisal thoughts on the concept of co-opetition, among various authors. As Gnyawali, He and Madhavan explain in their research, many scholars have argued that firms can generate economic rents and achieve superior, long-run performance through simultaneous competition and cooperation, and that co-opetition is the most advantageous relationship between competitors. In many cases, a co-opetitive relationship can create competitive advantage via complementary resources (Chai, Yang 2011). There are also some critical views, who suggest that collaboration among rivals may inhibit competition by facilitating collusion or by shaping industry structure in anticompetitive ways (Gnyawali, He, Madhavan 2006). There always are some risks that can hamper successful relationships among companies in the co-opetitive environment. In practice, there can always be a risk where one party is not getting enough of a return, leakage of confidential information, different objectives and intentions or distrust (Chai, Yang 2011). Therefore, to minimize these risks, it is important that co-opetitive relationships are carefully developed.

It is clear that companies do not operate in the isolated spaces, they are not only competing for the customers and resources, but to stay competitive in the market, they are also forced to innovate and to find resources not only through competition, but also through cooperation. Therefore the effects and structures of collaborative relationships and co-opetiton between companies are elaborated.

> Today's business environment requires the ability of firms to pursue both competition and cooperation strategies simultaneously to achieve competitive advantage (Chai, Yang 2011).

It is especially important to pursue both these strategies for SME's who operate with much more limited resources than large companies. Actually various research suggest that collaborative advantage appear to be higher for the SMEs than large companies, and by joining forces with other companies, the SMEs can surmount the limits derived from their limited resources and become dynamic innovators. And although co-opetition is not unilateral and simple, often the advantages can outweigh the negatives (Dana, Granata, Carnaby 2011). Competition and cooperation can help firms leverage economic advantage as they share knowledge, information, marketing intelligence and distribution chains (Dana, Granata, Carnaby 2011). Ability to cooperate is especially relevant for SMEs, if these companies want to internationalize and be competitive not only in their local markets, but also abroad. As Ye Kwan Tang writes, SMEs encounter significant challenges in obtaining resources, foreign market knowledge, overseas contacts and business opportunities, and achieving organizational viability for developing foreign business. Tang explains that networking is important factor that can help SMEs to become more competitive: networks are influential in helping SMEs to overcome resource constraints and isolation and in enabling rapid internationalization from inception or at an early stage of start-up (Tang 2011). It is important to understand that networks are not some isolated structures that companies just become part of, and then benefit from – they are structures that are

being shaped by the companies themselves, through their commitment and collaboration, and the involvement of the companies will determine the success and level of benefits the networking brings. Networks are the products (outcomes) of firms' investments and efforts (Tang 2011).

As Chai and Young writes, the social capital that is developed in strong networks brings several benefits for the networked companies – it provides the access to broader sources of information, provides control and influence and provides solidarity benefits of closure and trust. The cohesive structure of networks exerts positive effect on the production of social norms and sanctions that facilitate trust and cooperative exchanges of high quality information and tacit knowledge, and also serves as a mechanism of social control that governs the interdependencies in partnerships (Chai, Yang 2011). Therefore it can be assumed, that to mitigate risks of co-opetitive relationships and for a co-opetiton to be successful, strong networks with developed social capital and relations among partners, are very important. Firms as participants of the networks are also the shapers of the relationships within them.

> Firm can have an active influence on its networking activities that shape its network relationships and position, which in turn affects business development. However, networking is resource-demanding [..] and requires considerable time and resources, and the right attitudes and skills, to be effective (Tang 2011).

Tang emphasizes that from a firm's perspective, networking is a resource-intensive business investment, and the commitment of firms to developing and maintaining relationships is essential to cultivate the level of trust and interdependency between partners that motivates exchange of resources (Tang 2011). Indeed the nature of networks, where co-opetition takes place, is not static and does not necessarily imply identically equal relationships among the participants. Much depends on the activity of the companies and the focus of the network – whether it is more on cooperation or on competition focused. Chai and Yang propose a typology of cooperative relationships:

> Three main relationships can be found: (1) "cooperative dominant", when there is more cooperation than competition; (2) "competitive dominant", when there is more competition than cooperation; (3) "equal relationship", when cooperation and competition is about the same (Chai, Yang 2011).

The way one of these tree dominant phases take place within the network, is largely defined by the objectives and interests of the companies – their needs and goals they want to achieve with the help of the network. As Manual Castels explains in his book "Communication Power", networks are complex communication structures that are built and focuses around certain goals, and the structure of the networks is constantly evolving in pursue of the best operational models for the network (Castels 2009). Castels emphasizes that networks are the most successful forms of organization, since they encompass three elements: flexibility, scalability and survivability. Networks are able to adapt for changing circumstances by changing the components of the network, but maintaining the goals. Networks can become wider or smaller without

much trouble, they maintain strong level of survivability since there are no one main center in the network (Castels 2009).

Basically what can be derived thus far is, that whether or not co-opetitive relationships among companies arise and are utilized successfully, depends on various factors. Mainly it is firm's readiness to cooperate with others, not only compete in market. It is necessary for a company to understand it's limitations at the first place. If the SME does not see any need for broader pool of resources, if it is not interested to grow, innovate or enter new markets – if it is not ready to invest time and resources necessary for growth, it will be less likely to cooperate with others. On the other hand, if the SME feels a need for growth, and understands that for that it needs to utilize resources of others, it is more likely to not just only enter networks, but become an active shaper of them.

So far the positive benefits of networks as a flexible, scalable multi-central and goal focused platforms that facilitate effective and less risky co-opetitive relationships has been elaborated on. But what is the main difference between cooperation in a network (a form of strategic alliance) and sporadic cooperation among partners without network relationships? Hassan, Chrisman and Mohamed explain that the strength of ties among cooperating parties influences both – firm behavior and outcomes of the cooperation. In general, strong ties among partners can provide much better results for the parties than week, sporadic ones (Hassan, Chrisman, Mohamed 2010).

> Strong ties are also more likely to foster trust and mutual identification between members. This on its turn then facilitates a rich exchange of information that will be taken into consideration and acted on. Such ties can promote a governance structure among the partners characterized by norms of mutual gain and reciprocity, closeness, indebtedness, and a history of interactions. Week, sporadic ties (for example contractual agreements that do not include development of social capital and deeper relationships among parties) on the other hand do not engender binding commitments because they do not necessarily lead to reciprocity or repeated contacts between parties to an exchange. Important factor is that week ties can function without any prolonged human or social contact between parties and as such, they do not possess the attributes necessary to foster trust that is an integral part of strong ties. Summarizing, it is concluded that [..] Only strong ties are likely to create the channels necessary for the active exchange of in-depth and detailed information and resources between partners that occur because of trust (Hassan, Chrisman, Mohamed 2010).

It is obvious that strong ties among parties can be developed within the networks, but short-term cooperation, that does not require prolonged relationships, developed trust and knowledge exchange, can be seen as a sporadic action, that does not develop culture of co-opetition among the companies, and all the benefits this approach can deliver, with a condition that a company acts as a active, invested partner and a shaper of these networked relationships. In the next chapter this paper elaborates on widely used and successful form of an organized network platform – clusters, who can serve as tools for competitiveness and innovation.

Clusters – tools for cooperation

> Collaborating and networking open up possibilities that cannot be achieved by any single person. The aim or the goal of the networking can have many different views, but there must always be a critical amount of people or organizations involved to fulfill the ambition (Lindahl, Ahlden 2011).

One of the most relevant, successful and globally popular tools for enhancing competitiveness through collaboration and networking is the "cluster". There are many definitions of "clusters", but all share the relevance of **geographical proximity, networking and specialization.** For example World Economic Forum states that clusters are: groups of related businesses in a common geographical framework, operating in an environment characterized by a high level of specialization, intense competition and a critical mass of highly trained employees (Ffowcs-Williams 2012). While, as defined by one of the cluster concept founders, Prof. Michael E. Porter:

> Clusters are geographic concentrations of interconnected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, firms in related industries, and associated institutions (e.g., universities, standards agencies, trade associations) in a particular field that compete but also cooperate." (Porter 2000).

So basically clusters are platforms that are specifically designed for a purpose to enhance competitiveness and innovation through collaboration and networking among partners/members within these clusters: companies, academia and public organizations. And it is very important to understand, that both – collaboration and competition can take place within these networking platforms. So the **clusters can be viewed as a vivid embodiment of the co-operation culture and co-opetition.**

Clusters, as specialized networking platforms and tools for economic development, are widely popular in many countries and regions, and that they bring different kinds of benefits to their participants and broader economic environment. The relevance of clusters in highly globalized economy is more important than ever. A. Centonze notes that over the past two decades, there has been significant emergence of clusters as a focus of academic research and economic development policy. (Centonze 2010). C.S. Colgan and C. Baker emphasize, that there is no doubt that the concept of clusters has become one of the central policy paradigms in economic development during the past decade. (Colgan, Baker 2003). President of The Competitiveness Institute, Dr. Christian Ketels emphasizes that the discussion about the clusters has progressed significantly over the years:

> Over the last two decades, the experience with cluster-based economic policies and the launch and management of cluster initiatives has grown significantly. Many countries, especially in Europe, but also in Latin America, North America and parts of Asia have designed policy programs based on the cluster idea. Hundreds of cluster initiatives have been launched, and many of them by now have years of experience. [..] Companies, regional governments, and others, especially academic institutions have learnt to use cluster initiatives as useful platforms for joint action (Ffowcs-Williams 2012).

In the foreword to the cluster initiative green book, M.E. Porter also highlights that the concept of the clusters has emerged as the central idea in competitiveness and economic development over the last decade, and that while understanding of clusters has grown; they have become a prevalent component of national and regional economic development plans (Solvell, Lindqvist, Ketels 2003). "Transantional Alliance of Clusters towards Improved Cooperation Support" (TACTICS) claims:

> Globalization has dramatically increased the need for specialization and excellence. Clusters are often a remarkable lever to foster and accelerate this process as they speed up innovation, boost the cooperation among actors and contribute to the territorial economic development (TACTICS 2012).

Many international organizations, development strategists and government consultants have recognized the growing and important role that clusters play in fostering industrial development. International economic organization such as OECD, the World Bank, IMF and others, are engaged in sponsoring research, evaluation and development of clusters or cluster policies throughout the world (Glavan 2008). Today almost every country, region and international aid agency has some form of a cluster program (Lindqvist, Ketels, Solvell 2013). One of the world's leading experts in the field of cluster development Ifor Ffowcs-Williams writes:

> Today's economy is about speed, flexibility and connectivity in an environment where innovation and economic growth are geographically concentrated. Clusters and their smart specializations are cornerstones of this reality (Ffowcs-Williams 2012).

European Commission is one of the most active cluster development supporters. The European Commission is now actively encouraging the development of world-class clusters. The logic is to support the internationalization of small firms, industrial transformation and the development of regional specializations (Ffowcs-Williams 2012). European Commission views clusters as a key source of competitive advantage in the global economy, and is not only fostering development of clusters, but also is actively supporting the cooperation across the Europe of regional research-driven clusters, with the objective of promoting European competitiveness and regional development through the smart specializations of regions (Ffowcs-Williams 2012).

It is clear that clusters are becoming increasingly important, and that they play explicit role in fostering the cooperation culture. Also, the development of clusters themselves is not an end-goal. Rather they have to be seen as platforms that bring certain benefits to their participants, regional, national or even European Union level economies. As European Secretariat for Cluster Analysis (ESCA) emphasizes:

> Clusters provide governments with an excellent opportunity to address social and economic challenges through business development and innovation support programs. However, clusters have to be considered as a tool not as an objective itself (ESCA 2013).

Keeping that in mind, it is important to understand what the main benefits that the clusters proved are, and how do they can help to develop cooperation culture among their participants and in the regions they operate in.

Clusters play a critical role in innovation processes among firms and in regions. Cluster must be seen in both dimensions: as a collection of different types of complementary actors (firms, R&D institutions, universities, public bodies, financing organizations), and in ways how these actors interact (Lindqvist, Ketels, Solvell 2013). As it is confirmed in one of the most recent and broad analysis: "The Cluster Initiative Green Book 2.0", clusters create an environment that fosters innovation.

> The reason clusters are relevant for innovation is that when there is a critical mass in a location of a sector or industry, the different actors can support each other, and new ideas are formed in both planned and unplanned meetings and interactions. Through interaction within the cluster, conditions are more likely to emerge that are adapted to the needs of the firms, and that are conducive to innovation. [..] By building a commons where firms, research and education institutions, and the other cluster actors can meet, exchange ideas and collaborate in projects, the innovation climate can be radically improved (Lindqvist, Ketels, Solvell 2013).

Cluster organizations can help bring the different types of actors together, and are able to connect business with academia, education with industry, and large firms with small firms. Clusters do this by providing activities and meeting places where common issues can be discussed and acted on jointly. Cluster approach can help to overcome the seven innovation gaps, which are:
1. the **research gap** barring interaction between firms and research organizations;
2. the **education gap** barring interaction between firms and education organizations;
3. the **capital gap** barring interaction between firms and education organizations;
4. the **government gap** barring interaction between firms and public bodies;
5. the **firm-to-firm gap** barring interaction among firms in the cluster;
6. the **cross-cluster gap** barring interaction with firms in other clusters/technologies;
7. the **global market gap** barring interaction with global markets and value chains (Lindqvist, Ketels, Solvell 2013).

One of the main prerequisites of the cluster – collaboration between academia and businesses, plays a crucial role. Cooperation between small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and research centers can make a productive tissue more competitive and dynamic (Cannarella, Piccioni 2005). Therefore, a successful cluster – one that has both active complimentary participants, and developed ways of interaction among them, may serve as a valuable tool for firms to succeed with new products, processes, packaging, logistics etc. (Lindahl, Ahlden 2011). Regional clusters can serve as valuable tool for the firms, since they contain both competitors and linked entities, such as suppliers, universities, and complementary firms.

Information flow between cluster participants (which is easier when firms are in close proximity) is one of the main benefits that cluster platform provides (Ketchen, Snow, Hoover 2004). Since the cluster platform – one that enhances participants to

communicate and exchange information among each others, is able to overcome innovation gaps for the companies, the cooperation and networking is one of the most obvious benefits, from being in the cluster. Every participant expects cooperation and networking to take place within the cluster (Lindahl, Ahlden 2011). Therefore, since the clusters networks can provide co-operation environment, that fosters knowledge transfer and development of innovations, clusters can be seen as a tools that actually help SME's to become stronger and more resilient, because innovation capability is critical for SME survival (Wolf, Kaudela-Baum, Meissner 2012).

Innovation fostering environment that the cluster networks provide, encompass several main types of activates, that most of the clusters utilize, and usually focus on 4–5 of them simultaneously, based on what the focus of the cluster is – more R&D or business development. They are:

- General cluster networking: information and knowledge sharing, meeting of various cluster actors, relationship building;
- Human resources upgrading: development of available skills resource pool for the cluster companies;
- Cluster expansion: increase the number of firms, promotion of investment;
- Business development: joint export promotion, purchasing, services;
- Innovation and technology: product, services and process innovation promotion, by enhancing cooperation between cluster companies, and between companies and R&D entities within clusters;
- Business environment: regional branding, improved infrastructure or legal solutions (Lindqvist, Ketels, Solvell 2013).

It can be assumed that clusters serve as a networked innovation fostering environments, which SME's can use to build their capacities and competitiveness. Since clustering initiatives, especially in Western Europe and Nordic countries, have been constantly developing for the last 10 and more years, upcoming approach to develop even more effective, specialized innovation fostering networks is at the forefront. For clusters to keep being dynamic and successful networks that proved benefits for their participants, it is important to focus even more on developing clusters as dynamic cooperation environments.

Recognized expert, practitioner in the field, director for innovation and foresight of the Council of Tampere Region (Finland) Petri Rasanen, in the international workshop "Smart clusters for a new industrial revolution" held in Brussels on 9 October 2013 outlined several key focal points. He noted that focus on the clusters as a cooperation platforms is necessary. The shift is happening from traditional, industry based innovation networks where universities and corporations are the main drivers and networks focuses on R&D projects and "technology push" to the market prevails, towards developing **clusters as a innovation ecosystems which function as a platforms for co-creation, testing and "speeding – up – to market" of new products, solutions, technologies and services.** Building of capability and capacities among cluster companies is the key, and focus is on the "market pull", rather than "technology push" (Rasanen 2013a, 2013b).

Considering this, it is obvious that development of clusters, co-operation culture and co-opetition within them, is a necessary prerequisite for these platforms to function successfully and to create real benefits for the companies, market and regional economies. As was outlined by the experts and practitioners in the aforementioned Brussels workshop, development of trustful relationships, social capital, effective transfer of information and knowledge in the clusters takes a lot of time, public support and, very importantly – interest and commitment of the companies and effective cluster facilitators. Since in Latvia generally cluster approach is still in the early development stages, there are many lessons to be learned from more experienced clusters in the Europe and especially in the Nordic countries, on how to develop successful co-operation culture and innovation fostering co-opetition environments through clusters.

Building on the already elaborated theoretical and practical knowledge, next chapter outlines the background of Latvian situation with the cooperation culture in entrepreneurship environment and describes practical key lessons, learned from experienced cluster development experts from Sweden, Finland, that could be used for the successful development of clusters and cooperation culture in Latvia, since development of clusters and co-operation culture closely linked, because the clusters basically serve as a facilitators of co-operation and co-opetition. Key findings are derived from the two events: focus group and expert workshop both held in Riga, in the autumn of 2013.

Lessons for development of co-operation culture and clusters in Latvia

Lessons learned – situation analysis in Latvia. The scientific article on entrepreneurship co-operation networks (clusters), as factor for economic security and mechanisms for social inclusion (Rocans 2013), focused on analysis of cluster development policies in EU and Latvia, illustrating a case of "Vidzeme high added value and healthy food cluster" in Latvia. Current situation with cluster development and state support policy in Latvia was analyzed, and it was concluded, that even with the 11 cluster pilot projects, funded for 3 years, through the Investment and Development Agency of Latvia (LIAA), the existing public support for cluster development is insufficient and has risks of short term effects without long term results. It was also elaborated, that cluster approach has a large potential for the development of currently undeveloped co-operation culture in Latvian entrepreneurship environment (Rocans 2013). During the interviews with the participants of Vidzeme food cluster network (representatives of companies and research organizations), it was found out that cluster is not an instrument that can bring rapid changes in the cooperation culture or short term, easily measurable results. For example director of State Priekuļi plant breeding institute A. Kronberga, noted that it is clear that tangible results are not going to happen within the cluster in the short term, since product development and their push to the market takes time, therefore cluster has to be seen as a long-term endeavor and development strategy (Rocans 2013).

In his analysis of Latvian entrepreneurship environment Latvian expert Arnis Sauka outlines several problems that hamper development of competitiveness of the

Latvian companies. The list of issues cover problems with unpredictable taxation changes, high production costs combined with relatively low revenues and **insufficient use of communication networks by the companies**. Sauka emphasizes that to be more competitive, Latvian companies need to seriously rise the innovation level, work more actively with the competitors and take more elaborated business risks and to use opportunities provided by the networking with other companies and R&D sector (Sauka 2013). In his analysis Sauka elaborates on similar thoughts that are outlined in the previous chapters of this paper. He notes that Latvian companies very minimally use networks, which are broadly recognized and globally used tool by successful and competitive businesses to achieve competitive advantages and attract external resources with low costs. He writes that generally Latvian companies almost completely ignore opportunities that they could utilize by cooperating with business labs, universities, R&D institutes, sources of market information, local governments and various entre-preneurship development supporting organizations.

On the other hand, these co-operation resources are actively used by the companies abroad, to enter export markets, stabilize the position of themselves in global and local markets. Therefore for Latvian companies to be competitive, they need not only to deal with external barriers, but also plan for more efficient internal strategies (Sauka 2013). Basically what Sauka outlines, is that Latvian companies are not utilizing co-operation resources and triple helix networks, while companies in other countries are doing it successfully, therefore Latvian companies are lacking in competitiveness and innovation development. As was noted in the interviews by the representatives of Vidzeme food cluster participants (company owner and researcher), both parties noted that cooperation among the companies is not the primary problem – it is much harder for companies to cooperate with R&D institutions, than to cooperate with each other (Rocans 2013).

Indeed situation in Latvia in terms of innovation performance and co-operation is very poor, compared to many other European countries, especially Nordic countries which are innovation and co-operation leaders in the Europe. Statistically only one out of 20 innovative SME's co-operate (with each other and with R&D sector), thus putting Latvia at the very bottom compared with other EU27 countries by this indicator (European Commission 2012) and in 2013, Latvia is still just in front of Romania and Bulgaria in terms of EU member states innovation performance, seriously lagging behind even Lithuania and Estonia, not even mentioning Sweden, Denmark and Finland, which are innovation leaders (European Commission 2013). On the EU 27 level in 2013 the indicator "Innovative SMEs collaborating with others" show the largest growth performance from 32 indicators altogether, with 7,9% growth, which means that in Europe generally cooperation networks are becoming significantly more utilized by SMEs (European Commission 2013).

In Latvia however the situation is different – "Innovative SMEs collaborating with others" is the second lowest performing indicator with negative (-6,9%) growth, after only staggering failure in "Non R&D innovation expenditures in the business sector" (-26,% in Latvia, -5,2% in EU27 (also the lowest performing indicator)) (European Commission 2013) It can be argued that both – very low and decreasing investment in innovation and SME co-operation, are one of the main factors that lead

Latvia to be one of the worst innovation performers in the EU. It is obvious that company and R&D networking through co-operation platforms provided by clusters, could be one of the solutions in the Latvia, one that has been highly successfully utilized for more than 15 years in innovation leaders Sweden and Finland.

As was noted in the interview with the Vidzeme food cluster participant, the owner of research farm "Gundegas" Mr. A. Spats, there is lack of coordinating and systematic structures, especially in rural areas of Latvia, therefore clusters are an opportunity for companies. There are no similar knowledge exchange systems among researchers, technologists, producers and traders, besides clusters.

Mr. Spats emphasized that organization of such knowledge exchange network and maintaining of contacts is very time consuming, therefore it is much better that it is done by the professionals (cluster coordinators) than each partner on their own (Rocans 2013). Also, another cluster participant Mr. A. Rungis, owner of the "Valmier-muiza brewery", who's company is partner in both the tourism and food clusters located in the Vidzeme region, outlined in the interview, that for a small, niche companies who build their business on high added value products and services not mass production, using clusters as an added value facilitators is not only preferable strategy, but actually a necessity to stay competitive in the market (Rocans 2013).

Also, the competition element of the clusters must not be forgotten. As pointed out by Mr. A. Spulis, coordinator of the Latvian Supply chain cluster, the perfect cluster covers all the elements of the value chain with the companies who are highly competitive, but at the same time these companies must be trustworthy and proven (by the practical joint projects), that means the company leaders must meet each others at least once during the project development (Spulis 2013).

The strategic planning of the cluster development and physical involvement of the company representatives in the meetings and joint projects (not only virtual communication via e-mail or phone) are important factors necessary for successful cluster development, outlined by the Gauja National Park tourism cluster facilitator A. Klepers and the managing director of the Latvian IT Cluster Lilita Sparāne (Klepers 2013; Sparane 2013). Few, joint large EU funded projects (not many small projects) and involvement of the key cluster stakeholders in these joint project development and cluster governance are the key factors that have been important for the successful long term development of Latvian IT cluster, which is one of the oldest and most developed cluster initiatives in Latvia, operating in the form of association already for 7 years, with total attracted project funding of 2,5 million euro, and with 35 member companies (Sparane 2013).

In the interviews with the participants and facilitators of the particular food cluster in Vidzeme, and facilitator of Gauja National park tourism cluster Mr. A. Klepers, it was concluded that for any cluster to develop successfully and stay operational in the long term, two main prerequisites have to be at place:

1) Companies who are open for the cooperation and interested in the cluster development and ready to form a clusters"core". If there are no such companies, no national or regional support programs for cluster development will be successful;
2) Permanent and long term strategic operation of the cluster coordinator (in many cases a public organization) that has dedicated resources for this task (Rocans 2012).

Since these two factors can be seen as one of the main prerequisites of the successful cluster development in the Latvia, it is beneficial to acquire knowledge from more experienced cluster facilitators, about how to maintain interest of companies to cooperate in the cluster, and how to optimally organize the cluster development processes by the cluster coordinators. Therefore practical key lessons on cluster and co-operation culture development from Swedish and Finnish cluster development expert focus group are derived in this paper. It is especially beneficial, since these particular experts are familiar with the cluster development and related issues in Latvia, since they represent organizations that are developing cooperation projects with the Vidzeme food cluster, and are familiar with the cluster structure and companies.

Lessons learned from foreign cluster development experts. Focus group with the five Nordic experts (1) was held in Riga, Latvia on 11 September 2013. Focus group participants where visiting Latvia in the September, in the framework of Swedish cluster led "BSR Food Hosue" food industry cluster co-operation network project development workshop. The focus of this project is to develop strong Baltic Sea Region food cluster co-operation network that would serve as a platform for food industry SME's to integrate in the larger market. Nordic cluster partners are interested in food sector cluster development in the Baltic countries that could be effective cooperation partners in the long term. Therefore they are developing cooperation with the food cluster organizations in the Baltic countries, and Vidzeme food cluster as one of them. Focus group participants where cluster development experts and practitioners from Finland and Sweden with managing and leading positions within their particular cluster organizations, and with experience in the field of cluster development and development of food industry from 5 up to more than 20 years.

During the focus group three main blocks of questions where discussed with the experts:

- What are the main factors important for developing trustful relationships among companies in the cluster, and what is the role of the cluster management team?
- How in their experience, the cluster development fosters cooperation, co-opetition and the development of trust among cluster participants?
- What are the key lessons from their experience in Scandinavia, to be learned and adapted by the growing Latvian clusters?

All the experts agreed that for as cluster to foster co-operation and co-opetition and trust among companies, several key factors must be in place, and that it takes time and effort for trustful relationship to develop (1)

Key factors outlined by the experts are:

- Cluster has to serve as a neutral platform, ensuring the equal distribution of information among the cluster participants, (by the cluster coordinator/management team).

> All companies should have exactly the same information all the time so that they can't even think that some companies are getting more specific information than others (Lahteenkorva, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1))

It is a necessity for a cluster to be a platform that guarantees the information flow between small and large companies, because **normally small and large companies never collaborate with each other.** Cluster must serve as an arena where small and big companies can meet, and such meetings and information exchange among different size companies would never happen without the cluster. (Lindahl, Lähteenkorva, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013.) Therefore for a cluster coordinator, it is very important to ensure the equality among different size companies within the cluster, especially when it comes to the joint projects:

> "No matter if you are small company or big company, if you are working in the same project you are equal." (Lahteenkorva, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1))

- Joint cooperation projects among cluster participants have to be developed within the cluster, and these projects have to be coordinated by the cluster organization in various levels.

Cluster facilitators have to act as neutral brokers and coordinate the projects together with the companies, but **they should never do all the work for the companies**, they should just give guidelines, provide information and involve companies, and help with coordinating legal issues before these projects start. (Lähteenkorva, Laitinen, Ahldén Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1))

> Legal stuff has to be clear if you start cooperation (in joint projects), it becomes more difficult to do it if there are already results. Companies complain allot for the paperwork, but you have to do it before the joint projects, because if you don't it can cause problems in a 1–2 years when the actual results develop (Laitinen, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

Paperwork always has to be done before the project. If companies develop something together, it has to be outlined what results will belong to which partners, and in a joint projects there always is a line what results belongs to individual companies, and what is common, therefore projects in a cluster should be run on a different levels, **not to directly mix competition and cooperation components** (Lindahl, Laitinen, Ahldén Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

- Cluster organization (cluster management team/facilitator) has to be directly involved in shaping the development of the cluster, but has to always be a neutral party.

> As a facilitator you can see how to connect the players in a cluster together to create added value. They would not connect themselves without the clusters, because first of all they don't know each other and they would not speak to each other (Ahldén, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

If a cluster facilitator is not neutral then trust among companies won't develop. Cluster coordinator and organization has to be open to all members. The role of the cluster manager is to ensure the information platform and keep neutral ground. (Lindahl, Laitinen, Ahldén, Lähteenkorva, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

> "Sometimes facilitator is aware that there are some companies doing the same development, that makes them direct competitors in the market, and then he should not interfere." (Laitinen, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

To summarize, key factors are: the organizational structure of the cluster (facilitators/management team) that ensure field for information exchange, act as a brokers; joint projects being developed within the cluster; neutrality of the cluster facilitators and equal distribution of information.

There are several ways how the cluster development fosters cooperation, coopetition and the development of trust among cluster participants.

It is important to understand that cluster is not a static network, it has to be constantly evolving and adapting to changing conditions. The main advantages and factors that differentiate clusters from simple networks, thus making them so valuable for the companies are:

- Cluster is an organized network, where there are facilitators and cluster organization acts as a broker for participants.
- Compared to ordinary network where you mostly have stakeholders from the same field with similar resources and knowledge, in clusters there are many different experts (companies, university, experts in logistics, marketing, product development, branding, biotechnology etc.), therefore cluster can provide a lot more resources for the companies than a simple network, and actually serve as an external development platform for SMEs (Lehmann, Lindahl, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

For a cooperation and trust to develop in the clusters it is always easier to start collaboration at the start of the value chain, not when the product is close to entering the market. It is always easier for SMEs to cooperate with each other, or big companies cooperate with the SMEs, since SMEs always can find a way to coexist in a large market space, and big companies on the other hand don't see SMEs as competitors, therefore they are ready to share knowledge and information. Collaboration among big companies is always much more difficult because of their organizational structure that involves a lot of legal agreements etc. (Lindahl, Lahteenkorva, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

It is also necessary for the companies to be interested in being in the cluster. It is always better for the companies who are not interested in cooperation to leave the cluster and not to bother others. Those companies which do not understand that in a cluster you are not only benefiting but also sharing your resources and knowledge, they are the ones that usually leave, and it is a very normal process for that to happen. However in most cases the cluster companies stay and the drop-out rate is minimal, since they value the benefits that information exchange and discussions in the cluster can provide, even if they are not active participants (Lindahl, Lahteenkorva, Ahlden Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

> "We are having companies participating in our cluster organization and they are paying the membership fee just because they want to participate and listen to the discussions, even if they never participate in the joint projects." (Lindahl, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

(for a company to stay) it is very important that companies receive some added value in being in the cluster. As long as a cluster can give companies something and keep them interested they understand the value. If cluster is not introducing new things and increasing, then it will start to decrease. It must be innovative all the time (Ahlden, Lahteenkorva, Lindahl, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

Since cluster is a dynamic network, as it develops and grows in time and scale, the level of cooperation changes. Some *mini clusters* (groups of companies) will form inside the "large cluster", formed by the companies that find they doing some projects in a smaller group, and other things with the larger cluster. Such minor business to business relations groups will occur spontaneously (Lindahl, Lahteenkorva, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)). The similar concept of "micro-clusters" has also been extensively analysed in the doctoral thesis of Latvian cluster development expert Andris Klepers, who is also involved in the strategic development of Gauja National Park Tourism cluster in the Vidzeme region. According to Klepers micro-clusters are specific forms of clusters, in that they consist generally of small companies without dominance of larger companies, and that such clusters are less specialized, but more focused on the relative growth in the competitiveness within the cluster itself compared to the previous competitiveness ratios of the companies. Such micro-cluster approach is especially relevant to the Latvian small internal market situation (Klepers 2011).

The relationships in the cluster – among the companies and between the companies and the facilitator also evolve seriously during the time. For example when the berry mini-cluster in Finland started 6 years ago, there were only competing companies that shared very little information with each other or with the cluster facilitators, and the first half a year was a very difficult time, but since then a lot has changed:

> I was working in a cluster for 6 years and at the beginning I did not had a network, companies did not trust me. It really takes years to really develop. And now within 6 years we are doing really, really deep business analysis within the cluster, we are doing all parts of business with the companies, but 4 years ago companies would not discuss those things, would not talk to cluster facilitator about them, It takes time to get the trust.[..] Today sometimes it takes just a one phone call and they are happy (Laitinen, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

When a cluster develops, this is common experience that even direct competitors in the cluster like to meet each other and discuss things in the meetings, because they have the same problems, and then suddenly they start to help each other, if they see that in market there is place for them both (Ahlden, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

The most important thing unanimously emphasized by all the experts in the focus group, is that trust building and development of co-operative relationships within a cluster is never-ending. It is a continuously on-going process that puts a lot of pressure on the key people in the cluster (most active CEO's of the companies and facilitators).

> "Building the cooperation environment within the cluster newer ends, you have to bud it all the time. You can't set a date, when you finally have

> achieved trustful cooperation. It is a continuous process. It is changing all the time." (Ahlden, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

> Cooperation level in the cluster is newer OK, you (cluster facilitator, organization) have to work on it all the time. You can newer relax, because it is an ongoing process, and it is absolutely necessary to have a modern means of communication, to tell the world that you are existing (Lindahl, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

> Clusters themselves are nothing without the people who are working in the clusters. If important key people leave the cluster, then you have to start again – not from the beginning, but from several steps back. It is absolutely impossible to say that we worked in the cluster for 1,5 years and now the cooperation is OK, it newer is, you can always be better (Lahteenkorva, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

To summarize, it is clear that cooperation culture evolves in the cluster with time, it can take more than 2–4 years to have a productive relationships, and even then the trust building is a constant, never ending process that relies on the key people of the cluster. Cooperation relationships in the cluster evolve and change in time as the cluster develops in size and age.

Since clusters in Scandinavia are so much more developed and experienced than cluster initiatives in Latvia, what are the key lessons from their experience in to be learned and possibly adapted by the growing Latvian clusters? Basically there are four blocks outlined, that Latvian cluster facilitators should take as lessons from Scandinavia:
- Cluster branding and external communication;
- Trust building within the clusters;
- Time and public funding for the cluster development;
- Cooperation with other clusters abroad.

As was outlined by the Swedish and Finnish experts, Baltic countries are in a good position currently to develop clusters, and export, since in many foreign markets the opinion on Latvian products and services is still not developed (for example Poland is being associated with the cheap products, that are not interesting for Swedish customers, thus putting it behind Baltic countries), but much work has to be done with the country and cluster external branding. Not only internal but also external communication is extremely important for a cluster to grow successfully.

> You have to put much effort of how you present your cluster – everything that goes out from the cluster must be seen from a view of a customer. It is talking to customers – what is in it for them? And to adapt to the new ways of consumption, changing consumer trends, growing specific segments, niches in the industry that clusters have to follow. Cluster can be communication link for companies to reach markets (Lehmann, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

For clusters to become successful, trust building is the most important factor to take into account. Trust building has to be on level of interpersonal communication within the cluster, but also constantly developing cluster platform as a reliable organization for companies. As Lindahl and Lahteenkorva strongly emphasized:

> **In clusters it is all about trust. That is the most important thing**. Trust is something you can't by it is something that takes time and you have to earn it. And when you have earned it, you can't be sure that you cannot lose it, and if you lose it you have to do something else, you can lose your trust once. **Even if you represent organizations, it is still very personal. Organizations do nothing, people do things**, and clusters will work if the right people are involved; it is all about the people, not the organizational model. Human capital is the most important thing. If you don't take care of that then you won't be in the business (Lindahl, Lahteenkorva, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

Time and public funding available are also very important elements for cluster development. While compared to Latvia, Nordic countries are at the very top of innovation performance and cooperation culture development, it was achieved within a long term and continuous public funding (Ahlden, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)). If the public support is there and clusters are being developed, similar results can be achieved in Latvia, in the following decade:

> We are working in a cluster development in almost 30 years, and we have a lot of clusters and cluster networks working together, and that will happen in Latvia also. **In 10 years you will have a lot of clusters here**, and you will be working together and compete and become better and better, based on our experience in Sweden. And more companies will join the clusters, but you need society to put in money for it to work and develop. Public and EU funding is necessary. Things will happen. Companies will get used to work together and with academic work, through clusters. **In 10 years it will look completely different** (Ahlden, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

Also it is very important for new Latvian clusters, such as "Vidzeme high added value and healthy food cluster" to integrate into larger value chains, so that to adopt knowledge and experience from much advanced clusters. Clusters who work in the same ways and areas should cooperate with each other and grow together. Clustering creates more benefits not only for the cluster companies, but also for a larger society, it is able to create more employment, bring new competitive products and services to the local and global market (Ahlden, Focus group, Riga, 11.09.2013; (1)).

To sum up the key findings from the focus group, it is clear that clusters as an cooperation culture approach is clearly working, and it has proved to be working successfully in Nordic countries – European innovation leaders. Latvian clusters can learn a lot from Nordic colleagues, and the key things that have to be taken in account are following:

- Cluster development takes a lot of time and effort from the cluster facilitators; it is never-ending process of innovation and trust building that needs public support.

- Key people and social capital within the cluster is extremely important, facilitators should provide neutral ground for cooperation and information exchange.
- External communication and branding of the cluster is also important, cluster cans serve as an external development platform and window to new markets for a companies.
- In positive scenario, cluster development in the next following 10 years can become similar to that in Sweden.

Lessons learned from the focus group are very much in line with the key recommendations for Latvian cluster facilitators, provided by international expert Ifor Ffowcs-Williams (CEO "Cluster Navigators" New Zealand), and during his expert workshop "On cluster Development", organized by Ltd."Konso" and Latvian ICT cluster, on 16.09.2013 in "Riga IT Demo centre".

Mr. Ffowcs-Williams outlined, that based on recent international survey of 350 cluster organizations in 50 countries; the overall picture is that most common areas of cluster cooperation are in the IT, food, automotive, green tech, health and energy sectors. On average, in the clusters there are 4 employees (facilitators, managers), 80 members, 60% / 40% private/public funding and half of the firms in clusters are in an hour's drive (regionally closely located) (Ffowcs-Williams 2013). He emphasized that it is important for clusters to have a long term vision and mix of public and private funding, cluster geography has to be narrowly defined, with over a half of cluster participants being within an hour's drive time from each other, and that a cluster organization need s to have a facilitators and a triple helix management board, in which the companies constitute largest part. Cluster has to serve as a neutral meeting place for its participants, and cluster development centers on active relationships, that start developing cooperation in the areas which require low trust among companies. Cluster development must be more action, not analysis driven with a focus on "learning by doing" – "If there are no failures you are taking it too easy!" (Ffowcs-Williams 2013).

The emphasis of effective cluster management and sustainable financial basis is also outlined by the European Secretariat of Cluster Analysis.

> Cluster management requires a sustainable financial basis. Without this [..] the cluster management has to spend a lot of resources on fundraising. In consequence these resources are not available for the development and provision of services for the cluster participants (ESCA 2013).

It is very important that the cluster managing team can focus most of its time and efforts on developing trust and cooperation among companies and it can only be done if the cluster organization can provide need-oriented services for the companies, and facilitate co-operation between the cluster members, build visibility and reputation of the cluster (ESCA 2013).

Concluding the analysis, it is clear that for a cluster to foster truly effective and trust-based cooperation culture, much time and resources must be invested in the cluster long term development. There are no short-term solutions.

Conclusions and recommendations

Modern business environment, where SMEs capacity to innovate is one of the most important factors for companies survival, requires the ability of firms to pursue both competition and cooperation strategies simultaneously to achieve competitive advantage, thus engaging in a co-opetitive relationships, best developed within organized networks such as clusters.

Clusters are dynamic, organized networks that change and develop in time and scale, thus also developing and changing cooperation culture among cluster participants.

Clusters are globally becoming more important tools that can be used to speed up innovation, boost the cooperation among actors and contribute to the territorial economic development and company competitiveness and survivability in global market.

For a cluster to be successful and sustainable, the most important factors are: development of trustful relationships, social capital, effective and equal transfer of information and knowledge among cluster participants and development of joint projects within the cluster, using cluster and cluster facilitators as a neutral platform providers.

Development of trustful cooperation culture within the clusters is a long-term, never-ending, continuous effort, that is very much dependant on the key people involved in the cluster, effective cluster management by the cluster facilitators and sustainable mix of public and private financing available to the cluster.

Latvia is one of the worst innovation performers in the EU27, and while cooperation among innovative SMEs in EU27 is rising, it is declining in Latvia. Latvian companies generally do not utilize the benefits from networking, thus loosing competitive advantage.

To stay competitive in the global market, Latvian SME's need to seriously rise the innovation level, work more actively with the competitors and to use opportunities provided by the networking with other companies and R&D sector. Clusters can be one of the instruments that can help. By integrating in the clusters, SME's will be able to utilize the benefits that co-opetitive relationships in the networks provide.

For Latvian clusters to develop successfully the important lessons to be utilized buy the cluster coordinators (managers), cluster development policy makers and cluster participants are: the importance to develop cluster branding and external communication; trust building within the clusters; cooperation with other similar clusters abroad. To achieve similar success level as clusters in Scandinavia, a sustainable long term public finding for the cluster development and at least 10 years time is necessary.

For Latvian clusters to develop successfully, it is important that cluster companies are open for the cooperation and interested in the cluster development, and this interest to cooperate can be facilitated by the successful, permanent and strategic long term operation of the cluster coordinator (in many cases a public organization) that has dedicated resources for this task.

(1) Focus group organized within the project "BSR Food House" in Riga, Latvia, on 11.09.2013. Available at: http://www.ideonagrofood.se/index.php/bsr-food-house-ger-utbyte-over-ostersjon/ Development workshop available at: http://www.vidzeme.lv/lv/jaunumi/3/126887/ Focus group with the five Nordic experts:

- **Jukka Lähteenkorva**, Finland OSKE Programme director of the Food Development cluster of Finland, responsible for coordination of five centres of expertise forming the basis of the cluster, also involved in the managament of Finland food cluster coordinating centre of expertise "Foodwest"Ltd. (operating as a cluster organization since 1995., working with the entire Finnish food industry);
- **Marja-Leena Laitinen**, Development director in "Kuopio Innovation" Ltd., Finland, one of the five centres of expertise, forming the Food development cluster of Finland, established in 2008. Coordinator of Finland berry cluster.
- **Lennart Lindahl**, President and CEO of Foundation "Ideon Agro Food", Sweden, operating in Skane region, as a one of the oldest cluster organizations in Scandinavia and Europe. Since its foundation in 1986, more than 500 food industry development projects including companies and academia have been developed. Mr. Lindahl has more than 25 years of experience as an expert in the field of cluster development.
- **Inger Ahldén**, Project coordinator in Foundation "Ideon Agro" Food, Sweden, together with Mr. Lindahl, operating within the cluster for more than 25 years. She has developed extensive experience coordinating and managing many industry-academia projects involving food companies.
- **Rikard Lehmann**, Communication manager within Foundation "Ideon Agro Food", Sweden, responsible for internal and external communication and branding of the cluster.

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SOCIOLOĢIJA

Gilberto Marzano, Roberta Vicedomine

PRIVILEGED OBSERVERS TALK ABOUT THEIR LIVING TOWN

At the end of 1960s, the French sociologist Raymond Ledrut claimed that a city is not a juxtaposition of parts, but urban areas show reciprocal relationships in the social space, and differences in urban community affect the character of cities. He speaks about the "image of a city" that is not so much a pictorial representation but the way in which people, inhabitants as well as visitors, talk about a place. The notion of the "character of a city" appeared even in the New Charter of Athens edited by the European Council of Town Planners' Principles for Planning Cities (1998). This article illustrates and discusses the first results of a research carried out during the years 2011 and 2012, which purpose was to investigate if the inhabitants' talking about their town can help to bring about the identification of relevant aspects that one regards as the character of a city, a term largely used not only in tourism and travel literature, but also in several scientific works. The research is essentially based on open ended semi-structured interviews with 25 elite persons, living in Udine (a city of about 100.000 people in the northeast of Italy) for at least 25 years, all belonging to the medium-high intellectual class. Interviews' data has been integrated with information gathered from local literature, local newspapers, official statistics, and web analysis. A mixed research approach has been followed, integrating qualitative and quantitative data, these latter in part extracted from the interviews and in part from the Internet applying content analysis techniques. Our hypothesis was that interviews, if suitably constructed and carried out, could reduce the difficulties of large-scale investigations, allowing the gathering of a large amount of data in a relatively short time. The idea of deriving constructs and thematic topics from the interviews is shared by Denis Royer (2013). Our methodological hypothesis is presented and discussed, underlying that, in our research, the interviews have led us to the identification of some relevant aspects that contributed to represent the character of Udine. For example, a questionnaire would hardly have allowed to highlight the compartmentalization of Udine city's life and unearthed the seemingly tolerant climate that reigns in this city.

Keywords: social anthropology, urban-life, town identity perception, qualitative research, large-scale investigations.

Привилегированные жители говорят о городе, в котором проживают

В конце 1960-х французский социолог Раймонд Ледрут обосновал, что город не является простым слагаемым составных частей, но, напротив, городские пространства демонстрируют определённые взаимоотношения своих социальных полей, а различия в городском сообществе влияют на характер города. Он говорил об «имидже города», который является не столько картинкой, сколько тем способом, которым люди — жители и визитёры — говорят об этом месте. Понятие «характера города» появилось даже в Новой хартии Афин, вышедшей под редакцией Европейского Совета планировщиков городов (1998). В данной статье представлены и обсуждены первые результаты исследования, реализованного в 2011—2012 годах с целью определить, могут ли рассказы жителей о своём городе

помочь идентифицировать те аспекты, которые входят в понятие характера города. Это понятие используется не только в туризме и в литературе для путешественников, но и во многих научных работах. В ходе исследования в качестве инструментария использовался полуструктурированный открытый опросник для 25 элитных персон, проживающих в городе Удино (город с населением около 100 000 человек на северо-востоке Италии) по меньшей мере в течение 25 лет и принадлежащих к верхней прослойке среднего интеллектуального класса. Данные, полученные в ходе интервью, были объединены с информацией из местной литературы, газет, официальной статистики и веб-ресурсов. Для интеграции качественных и количественных данных, взятых частично из интервью, а частично — из контент-анализа материалов Интернета, был применён смешанный исследовательский подход. Гипотеза исследования состояла в том, что соответствующим образом сконструированные и проведённые интервью могут помочь справиться с трудностями широкомасштабных исследований, позволяя обработать большое количество данных за относительно короткое время. Идея выделения концепций и тематических блоков из интервью поддержана также Дэнисом Ройером (2013). Авторская методологическая гипотеза представлена и обсуждена, акцентируя тот факт, что интервью, проведённые в рамках данного исследования, помогли идентифицировать ряд аспектов, позволяющих судить о «характере» Удино. К примеру, опросник позволил высветить наличие фрагментированности, разделённости городской жизни Удино, а также обнаружить толерантность общественного климата, установившегося в городе.

Ключевые слова: социальная антропология, городская жизнь, восприятие идентичности города, качественное исследование, широкомасштабные исследования.

Priviliģētie iedzīvotāji runā par pilsētu, kurā dzīvo

1960.-to gadu beigās franču sociologs Raimonds Ledruts pamatoja, ka pilsēta nav tikai vienkāršs sastāvdaļu kopums, bet otrādi, pilsētas telpa parāda noteiktas savu sociālo telpu savstarpējās attiecības, savukārt atšķirības pilsētas kopienās ietekmē pilsētas raksturu. Viņš runāja par pilsētas "tēlu", kurš ir ne tikai ilustrācija, bet lielā mērā paņēmiens, ar kura palīdzību cilvēki – iedzīvotāji un apmeklētāji – runā par šo vietu. "Pilsētas raksturs" jēdziens parādījās jau Atēnu Jaunajā hartā Eiropas Pilsētu planotāju padomes redakcijā (1998). Šajā rakstā atspoguļoti un apspriesti pirmie pētījuma rezultāti, kas tika veikts no 2011. līdz 2012. gadam ar mērķi noteikt, vai iedzīvotāju stāsti par savu pilsētu var palīdzēt identificēt tos aspektus, kas ietverti pilsētas rakstura jēdzienā. Šo jēdzienu izmanto ne tikai tūrisma un ceļotāju literatūrā, bet arī daudzos zinātniskajos darbos. Pētījumā izmantota daļēji strukturēta aptauja 25 elitārām personām, kuras dzīvo Udino pilsētā (pilsēta Itālijas ziemeļaustrumos ar iedzīvotāju skaitu ap 100000 cilvēku) vismaz 25 gadus un ir augstākās vidējās intelektuālās klases pārstāvji. Intervijā iegūtie rezultāti tika apvienoti ar iegūto informāciju no vietējās literatūras, avīzēm, oficiālās statistikas un interneta resursiem. Kvalitatīvo un kvantitatīvo datu, kas daļēji iegūti no intervijām un interneta materiālu kontentanalīzes,integrācijai tika izmantota jauktā pētījuma metode. Par pētījuma hipotēzi izvirzīts pieņēmums, ka atbilstošā veidā izveidotas un realizētas intervijas var palīdzēt tikt galā ar grūtībām, ko rada plaša mēroga pētījumi, ļaujot apstrādāt lielu datu apjomu samērā īsā laika periodā. Arī Denis Roiers (2013) atbalstīja ideju par koncepciju un tematisko bloku izdalīšanas nozīmi no intervijām. Autoru metodoloģiskā hipotēze atspoguļota un apspriesta, akcentējot faktu, ka šajā pētījumā veiktās intervijas palīdzēja indentificēt virkni aspektu, kas ļauj spriest par Udino "raksturu". Piemēram, aptauja ļāva noteikt pastāvošo Udino pilsētas dzīves fragmentārumu un sašķeltību, kā arī identificēt pilsētā pastāvošo sabiedriskā klimata toleranci.

Atslēgas vārdi: sociālā antropoloģija, pilsētas dzīve, pilsētas identitātes uztvere, kvalitatīvais pētījums, plaša mēroga pētījumi.

Introduction: the image of a city

At the end of 1960s, the French sociologist Raymond Ledrut claimed that a city is not a juxtaposition of parts, but urban areas show reciprocal relationships in the social space, and differences in urban community affect the character of cities (Ledrut 1968). He speaks about the *image of a city* that is not so much a pictorial representation but the way in which people, inhabitants as well as visitors, *talk about a place* (Ledrut 1973).

In the last decades, the system of relationships within a city and the inter-cities relationships has become more and more complex (Allen et al. 1998; Miles 2007). Nevertheless, there are authors that continue to write about the character or the image of a city (Bell, de-Shalit 2011), and these terms not only appears in tourism and travel literature, but also in scientific works (Frieden 1990; Miles 1998; Zhenghua 2003; Cranshaw et al. 2012). The notion of the *character of a city* appeared even in the *New Charter of Athens* edited by the European Council of Town Planners' Principles for Planning Cities (European Council of Town Planners 1998)

> Heritage is a key element which defines culture and the European character in comparison with other regions of the world. For most citizens and visitors, the character of a city is defined by the quality of its buildings and the spaces between them (1.11) (European Council of Town Planners 1998).

In general, the character of a city is interpreted as the result of a set of components such as urban landscape, buildings, public spaces, monuments, history, economics, social life, shops, cultural offers, and last, but not least, the temperament of its inhabitants. Randal O'Toole, commenting about the relationship between a city and its inhabitants, noted that the dictum of Winston Churchill "We shape our buildings, thereafter they shape us", in city planning circles, is changed into the axiomatic precept "We shape our cities, and then the cities shape us" (O'Toole 2007). Accordingly, other authors argued that there are some distinctive and constant traits that define the character of a city (*Krupat*, *Guild 1980;* Levine et al. 1989; Park, Peterson 2010), and have also observed that rules, in the sense of regulations, codes, ordinances and laws, affect these distinctive and constantant traits (Talen 2012). Furthermore, we know that in a city the complex of rules and management actions is the expression of the socio-economic and cultural values of the principal groups of stakeholders (Isin 2002).

Alberto Manfredini, discussing the influence of globalization and the present crisis of ethical values on contemporary urban architecture, so summarizes the Yona Friedman's concepts of mobile architecture and mobility of living as follows:

> La società cambia continuamente, sotto ogni aspetto e sotto ogni punto di vista. Vive un processo dialettico continuo, mentre la struttura urbana permane staticamente. Anche da questi contrasti nascono le crisi e le disgregazioni delle città [Society is constantly changing under every aspects and from all points of view. It is experiencing an endless dialectic process, while its urban structure permanently remains the same. And by these discordances, the crisis and disintegrations of cities are born] (Manfredini 2000).

On the contrary, Udine, like many other small-medium sized cities, seems indifferent to changes, and apparently, doesn't show signs of disintegration. If anything, some of its poorest areas (e. g. Udine east), which was in the past famous for its social problems, have now turned into a residential neighbour.

This premised the underlying issue of our research can be formulated as follows: are the talking of citizens about their home town helpful to illuminate the interrelation between the character of a city and the attitude of its inhabitants?

On a more general level, our investigation was suggested by an intriguing question: could analyzing the talking about a city from their inhabitants allow to identifying those relevant aspects that one perceives as the character of a city?

Our research is a qualitative one (Flick et al. 2004, Patton 2005). Qualitative research is a fascinating scope, but as Grbich notes (Grbich 2013), it is not simply a matter of choosing and applying accepted processes in qualitative research and in thematic analysis.

Although questionnaires are generally used in order to understand the desires, needs and concerns of residents of a city, and they are also largely employed in investigating subjective preferences and opinions, we decided to gather data by using deep semi-structured interviews, involving a small group of privileged observers. We were convicted that elite interviews would facilitate a preliminary general picture of the city's character and would suggest new and unexpected perspectives of analysis.

The research approach

Urban studies have always been important to anthropologists and the context analysis of a city has been considered a preliminary activity in investigating urban sub-cultures (Rollwagen 1972). It has been observed that, in the past, anthropologists have focused most of their researches on villages, mobile tribes and bands, but their goal has always been to understand all human life (Uzzel, Provencher 1976).

Recently, anthropological researches on urban areas have multiplied. This is closely related to the transformation of cities in contemporary, postmodern and hybrid civilization. The approach of sociologists and urban planners, which aimed at providing solutions to current problems, often supporting political choices or quarrelling with them, in some cases appeared inadequate to tackle the issues of globalization and the simultaneous presence of manifold subcultures in the same city. Today, the urban anthropology is considered an independent discipline, and there is a increase of urban anthropology researches, many of them are small-scale investigations, inspired by the pioneering work of Colette Pètonnet (Bergamaschi, Castiganò 2011), e. g. related to neighborhoods or city blocks.

Contemporary anthropologists view the city like an unlimited and inexhaustible mine to dig into. This was underlined by Alberto M. Sombrero, who at the end of *Antropologia della città* [Anthropology of the city], a theoretical overview of the anthropological thought on complex societies, observed:

> In realtà basta ascoltare le voci che corrono per capire quanto la "periferia"
> del nostro vivere urbano sia produttiva di differenze e quanto sia urgente

> tornare a non parlare più in termini di immaginari [In fact, it is sufficient to listen to what happens around us to understand how the "periphery" of our urban living is producing a lot of differences and how it is urgent to stop talking in terms of imaginaries] (Sobrero 1996).

There are many interesting famous works which investigated the structure and function of cities (Lynch 1992), as well as people's perception of a city (Suttles 1973; Jacobs 1992), and some authors have focused their attention to social interactions for the creation of local characters (Milgram 1977; Oldenburg 1989; Putnam 2000). Such studies have inspired our work (1).

To be more specific, in our research we followed an empirical qualitative approach. Accordingly, in carrying out our interviews, we didn't postulate any cultural image or character of the city of Udine and the same concepts of image and character of a city were considered in a critical and dubious way. We collected data, with the aim that they could contribute at understanding how people feel their cities. We are convinced that comparative analysis of a large amount of data dealing with personal feelings, perceptions and attitudes are the necessary premise for interpretative models of urban transformation. This is a really important issue, since in Europe 80% of the population live in urban settlements.

Another general consideration is underlying our work. Many postmodern experimental anthropological researches privilege a minimalist approach, sometimes showing a concern for storytelling and composing ethnographies in new ways (Anderson 2006; Ellis 2009; Ellis et al. 2011). Carol Grbich synthetizes the postmodern tendencies in qualitative research as follows:

> Postmodernism favour "mini narratives", which provide descriptive explanations for small-scale situations located within particular contexts where no pretentions of abstract theory, universality or generalizability are involved (Grbich 2013).

In this perspective, large-scale analysis are often the fields of humanists who have migrated to social sciences and are searching, seldom with a certain naivite, for new social theories. In our opinion, attempting large-scale research is necessary to tackle global transformations and we also think that the Internet is a very important place for getting data (Cranshaw et al. 2012). Nevertheless, large-scale investigations involve a large amount of samples, in addition data produced through large-scale surveys are likely to lack detail and depth on the investigated topic, while the exploitation of the Internet data is not easy to realize. Interviews, if suitably constructed and carried out, could reduce the difficulties of large-scale research, allowing the gathering of a large amount of data in a relatively short time. Unfortunately, that analysis would be really time consuming. This is a problem well known in *focused ethnographies* (Knoblauch 2005). But, as one knows, no method of gathering data is perfect. Interviews and questionnaires produce different kinds of data, and much of their optimal usage depends on the context of a research. For this reason we decided to proceed experimentally interviewing heterogeneous elite of people, who have in common an active, current or past, role in political and cultural life in their living town. It was not because their

point of view was more relevant than the one of other citizens, but because we considered they were closer to the official image of the city. This has not simplified our work.

The part of research we are presenting only aims to serve as the starting point for a more thorough further development, whose prospect is pursuing a mixed research approach (Tashakkori, Teddlie 2003), integrating qualitative and quantitative data (Denzin, Lincoln 2002; Grbich 2013), these latter in part extracted from the interviews and in part from the Internet. The idea of deriving constructs and thematic topics from the interviews is shared by Denis Royer (Royer 2013). To better understand the nature of *Enterprise Identity Management Systems*, the author proposes an approach based on a qualitative expert interview study, a second step dedicated to the design of theoretical explanations and a final step in which previous results are reviewed and confirmed.

A final remark must be made. In this article, we tried not to forget that in our research we were involved with real living persons and not with platonic concepts' instances. For this reason, adopting the Laurel Richardson's suggestions (Richardson 2000), recently reworked by Laura Ellingson (Ellingson 2008), we reported some sentences of our respondents, following a writing style used not only by who espouse *crystallization* as an alternative to *triangulation* for conducting qualitative research, but sometimes also by historians (Bergen 2012) and urban anthropologists (Fine, Weis 1996; Taboury 2004; Jouenne 2007). We are aware that the extracts from the interviews could give the reader too much space for interpretation, but they express the fuzziness of reality and, in our opinion, allow the reader to perceive the complexity of the issues (Lincoln, Denzin 2003).

Context. We deemed useful a short premise about the city of Udine. It will be helpful for the reader to better understand some local issues in this article. This is justified by our concern of giving a real life depiction of the city.

Udine is a city in the northeast of Italy, located in the middle of the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region, between the Adriatic Sea and the Alps (Alpi Carniche). It is less than 40 km far from the Slovenian border and 110 km from Venice. Its population was 98,287 in 2011 (a little over 100,000 in 2012), and that of its urban area was about 176,000 (Table 1).

Table 1

Population on 9 October 2011 (15th Census of Population and Housing)

CITIZENSHIP – GENRE								
Italian			Foreign/stateless			Total		
Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
39.374	45.805	85.179	6.131	6.977	13.108	45.505	52.782	98.287

Source: Municipality of Udine – Census of Population and Housing (2011)

Udine is the capital of the province that bears its name, and is the most important town of Friuli – a territory which covers an area of 8,240 square kilometers, subdivided

among the provinces of Udine (4,905 square kilometers), Pordenone (2,178 square kilometers) and Gorizia (466 square kilometers). Friuli has a large number of native speakers of a local language, *friulano* (Friulian), which is a Romance language belonging to the Rhaeto-Romance family. The Friulian language is supported by the Italian government law which protects linguistic minorities, and several dialectical variants are spoken by natives, Friulians. In Friuli's territories, the sense of local identity is very strong and is often accompanied by biases towards Italians who came from the south, derogatorily called *terroni* (southerners). The strong tie to the local identity is exploited by some movements and political parties that advocate a more autonomous Friuli in line with historical borders, such as the *Lega Nord Friuli-Venezia Giulia*, *Friuli Movement* and the *Front Furlan*. These political parties are the paladins of Friulians' identity and local dialects. The autonomists of Friuli are in competition with the city of Trieste, the capital of the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region (of about 205.000 inhabitants) which was in the past one of the fourth largest city of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, after Vienna, Budapest, and Prague, and also an important commercial port. Like Trieste, Udine is the home of a university. The University of Udine was founded in 1978 as part of the reconstruction plan of Friuli after the earthquake occurred in the Friuli province in 1976. Its aim is to provide the Friulians' community with an independent center for advanced training in cultural and scientific studies. The University of Udine is an important center for the studies of Friulian language. Recently, because of the economical crisis, two state universities for a small territory like Friuli Venezia Giulia are no longer economically sustainable, and there is an attempt to unify them, but Friulians perceive it as a loss of prestige.

During the Cold War, numerous military settlements were placed in the region, many of them in Udine and its surroundings. Around the whole region they were about 44, most of them in Friuli. The military presence largely contributed to the rise of the region's economy. A tangible sign is the high number of pizzerias; all managed by Neapolitan people who arrived in Udine for the military draft and decided to remain in the area.

The increasing of elderly population in Udine – 24.5% of residents are 65 years of age and older and 14.4% of them are over 75 – is important data to keep in mind.

Another interesting aspect is the high share (15.47%) of citizens over 65 who live alone. The immigration is counterbalancing the old age trend, since a large part of immigrants are under 60 and their average age is 31.

Original Udine's natives didn't use to speak Friulian, but a dialect Veneto-Friulian, that dates back to the time of the Republic of Venice domination (1420–1797). It is a sort of blended variation of Venetian and Friulian languages, now spoken only by a minority of old people; in the past it was a distinctive brand between city and country people.

In the last 20 years, Udine Municipality was administrated by various non-conservative coalitions, with the presence of autonomists and non-orthodox Lega Nord supporters.

What is so special about the city of Udine? Why should one be interested in studying it?

A remarkable characteristic of the city is that Udine is considered by Friulians the capital of Friuli, but it is not a Friulian town. Its historic center looks like a Venetian town, and, as we reported above, Udine's natives speak a sort of Venetian dialect. They, especially if elderly, feel themselves different from Friulian people. Another characteristic is the high percentage of immigrants who come from other Italian regions. Many of them were military personnel arrived during the Cold War, but there are also many school teachers and public clerks that came because of Friulian's low level of schooling. A large part of immigrants came with their families from the south of Italy. The first major migration flow took place in 1950s and 1960s, and was then followed by a migration from Eastern Europe (1990s) and more recently, from Africa. Of course, one ought to consider the internal flows from the rural Friulian villages as well: Udine has attracted many people from the mountains and foothills of Friuli, who have moved to work in the city and settled in it.

What is the image that these different types of people have about the city?

Are there common ideas, attitudes and behaviors shared by Udine's inhabitants? In the city, can one find something of the enchanted and disenchanted realms that has been described by Holmes (Holmes 1989) in his historic-anthropological essay on Rubignacco, a small village close to Udine (17 km of distance)?

These issues were investigated interviewing a set of privileged observers (persons having an active role in a political, governamental and cultural level, all Italians, living and working in Udine for at least twenty five years.

Method. Our investigation and research took place during the years 2011 and 2012. It was based on open ended semi-structured interviews of elite persons, where a set of carefully worded questions was created and used for each interview (Denzin, Lincoln 2002; Berg 2004; Bernard 2011). We integrated the interviews adding information gathered from local literature, local newspapers, official statistics, and web analysis. Qualitative analysis of the research data has been carried out applying content analysis techniques (Mayring 2000; Graneheim, Lundman 2004; Mayring 2004; Kohlbacher 2006).

Interviews were conducted with a group of heterogeneous privileged observers (influential, prominent persons also well-informed about the city), living in Udine for at least 25 years, and all belonging to the medium-high intellectual class. They were selected for their level of cultural and political involvement in the life of the city and their representativeness and authority in the local community. Selection respected the proportions of Udine's residents (25=36% natives of Udine, 7% Friulians, 36% Italians). No foreigner was interviewed since there were not foreigners residing in Udine for 25 years who held a prominent position. The selection was planned beginning with persons involved in the government of the city: councilors and former mayors. Then, we chose to interview several University professors (in the fields of Sociology, Economy, and City planning) and other persons involved in the cultural life of the city, such as journalists, architects, city planners, public managers, entrepreneurs, school teachers and priests. We created a list of 40 persons, most of whom were well-known people whose biographical information were easily accessible. Since some of them did not accept to be interviewed, we reduced the number in order to achieve a balanced contribution from all voices of the city.

Interviews have been transcribed and undergone a preliminary data analysis noting ideas, listing topics, grouping them, and remarking exceptions (Anzul et al., 1997; Dey 2003). The transcriptions have been analyzed by extracting, categorizing and comparing their contents. Since standards in content analysis are not clearly fixed and there are different approaches from one another in the type of analysis carried out, we adopted a specific technique which appears more suitable to our purposes. We considered each individual sentence within an interview as a single unit of analysis (Fahy et al. 2001) and relevant sentences have been extracted and grouped by theme (*Cityzens' participation*, *Udine and Friulians*, *Traders influence*, and so on). Labels such as fact, *opinion*, *assessment*, *conviction*, *estimation* and a *condensed meaning* have been assigned to each relevant sentence. Links were created, when necessary, from condensed meanings to external materials, such as newspaper articles, quoted events, blog contents, data, etc. Table 2 shows an example of the interviews' categorizing process referred to the theme of citizens' participation. In some cases, tables have been created using respondents' opinions/evaluations (see Table 3).

Table 2

Example of information (opinions/evaluation) extracted from interviews

Need for more activities for	No opinion	Not a problem	Moderate problem	Serious problem
Youths	9	2	6	8
Adults	4	3	12	6
Seniors	4	3	8	14

Source: elaborated by authors

Table 3

Example of the table created from respondents' opinions/evaluations

THEME: CITIZENS' PARTICIPATION						
N	Role	Born in	Extracted sentence	Type	Condensed meaning	Link
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Politician_01	Friuli	Citizen participation always is for people interested in a specific issue	GO	Only when directly involved	
1	Politician_01	Friuli	Citizens participation, when aimed at planning, is difficult to reach	GO	Difficulties in planning	
2	Lawyer_01	Udine	Participation has had relevant moments from the mid-nineties	MO	Sometimes high from 1995	
3	Architect_01	Udine	Participation is not largely spread, but has increased in recent years	MO	Generally no high; higher in last years	

Sequel to Table 3

3	Architect_01	Udine	Participation was high in the referendum of water or in the Indignant-World-Day. This event has gathered a large audience, from the early afternoon until dinner time, and this had, for the city, a significant meaning	F	Water referendum; Indignant-World-Day (2011)	_12 ref
4	Lawyer_02	Udine	Participation is for local issues. However, there is a matter of discussion which concerns the world of pa-rishes and especially the world of political parties	MO	Limited to local issues; discussions within parochial communities and political parties	_4 pa-rishes _5 parties
5	Engeneer_01	Italy	Unfortunately, in Udine, participation was not as it should have been	SO	Low enough	
5	Engeneer_01	Italy	There was no sharing ideas between city government and citizens; city government has not paid attention to criticism and demands of citizenship	SO	Very poor attention by city government	

GO = generic opinion; MO= motivated opinion; SO = simple opinion; F = fact.
Source: elaborated by authors

Interviews have been integrated adding data gathered from other data sources (official statistical reports, local newspapers, local literature, social network blogs) – either with the aims of better understanding social context, or with the prospect of testing the difficulties in gathering and organizing data from the above sources.

Research began by a literature review of the history of Udine and Friuli (Altan 1982; Ist. Reg. Storia Mov. F. Lib. 1997; Maniacco 2005; Ellero 2012, etc.). Then, it proceeded by gathering and analyzing documents about Udine's economic and urban situation. Statistics about Udine and Friuli were achieved by the *Statistical Annual Report* of Friuli Venezia Giulia Region and by official documents of Udine Municipality (Udine Comunica 2013). We defined the topics of the interviews and the persons to be interviewed, after we had examined many years' issues on the local newspaper "Il Messaggero Veneto", paying particular attention to the questions related to the city's cultural life and noting the names of personalities and journalists involved in it.

As mentioned before, interviews had been conducted with 25 people. Table 4 shows the distribution of respondents by age, place of birth, gender and role. At the time of their interview, all respondents were working or, if retired, were involved in cultural institutions, playing an active role in the local community. Respondents were chosen among lawyers, architects, engineers, journalists, presidents of cultural associations, university professors, priests, school teachers or ex- teachers. At the moment of their interviews, some respondents were holding, or had held, important political offices.

Table 4

Distribution of respondents by age, place of birth, gender and role

Age distribution		Origin		Sex and role of the interviewed	
Age group	N.	Place of birth	N.	Interviewed	N.
50–55	7	Udine	9	Man	20
56–65	11	Friuli	7	Women	5
65 and over	7	Italy	9	Political experience	5
				Cultural/communication sector	7
				Freelancer, lawyer, architect, engineer, etc.	11

Source: elaborated by authors

Interviews followed the same pattern based on open-ended questions having to do with the self-perception of the social/urban dimension of Udine, the relationship of the city with its surroundings and countryside, the attitudes and habits of its inhabitants, and so on.

Each interview lasted from two to three hours, and was recorded, listened and transcribed. Transcriptions were edited, and sent back to the respondents who had asked to revise them for style. Indeed, we adopted a procedure similar to a journalistic interview, since our interviewees were public figures.

During the interview, none of the respondents spoke Friulian or used dialectal expressions, but it must be noted that we who interviewed are not Friulian speaking. Generally, respondents who were involved in city government were extremely cautious, sometime elusive, in answering our questions. However, a non-response or an evasive answer can be very significant. The fact that everyone was asked the same questions, allowed us to gather data influenced by the "frame of reference" from the different respondents. And that was exactly what we wanted.

Key findings. The research was carried out following five primary social dimensions:
1. *Local governance*. Interviewed were asked to speak about:
   - Remarkable innovative elements introduced by the city governments in the last 20 years.
   - Citizens' participation in the life of the city.
   - What was the growth policy for the town?
   - What should be Udine's priorities?
2. *Social economy*: transition to the tertiary sector, arrival of new immigrants. Interviewed were asked to speak about:
   - Changes in the economy of the city.
   - Industrial activities.
   - Typical economic activities in Udine.
   - Immigrants' activities.
3. *Social relationships*: among natives, Italian immigrants and non-Italian immigrants. Interviewed were asked to speak about:
   - Who are the people that live in Udine?
   - How many foreigners gravitate towards Udine?

- What are their occupations?
- Municipality's initiatives for cultural exchanges between natives and immigrants.
- Acts of violence against immigrants.
- Proven welcoming to newcomers.

4. *Real estate*: choices made in the last decades. Interviewed were asked to speak about:
   - Prefererred type and spaciousness of abode.
   - Changes and transformations of the real estate market.
   - Preferences between purchase and renting.
   - Immigrants' problems and behaviors related to housing.
   - Residential preferences.
   - Interventions by Municipality.

5. *Social changes*: analysis of citizens' habits and lifestyle. Interviewed were asked to speak about:
   - How life has changed in neighborhoods
   - What has changed in the relationship with the surrounding countryside
   - What are the relevant habits and lifestyles of Udine's citizens?
   - Cultural life.
   - What do you like most about living in Udine?
   - What do you like least about living in Udine?

The three above reported first dimensions concern the perception of the character of a city as a result of Municipality actions, working and productive activities and relationships among residents, including cultural, political and social initiatives. We placed the questions on the perception of the city's changes, at the level of citizens' habits and urban planning, in the final part of the interview, convinced that, at that point, our interviewed was more relaxed and inclined to express his/her views. In addition, focusing again on topics treated before, one could get a sort of comparative control.

The questions on real estate had a twofold function. On the one hand, creating a break in the interview, on the other hand, verifying whether in the respondents' opinions there were echoes of an article, locally very popular, by the Friulian sociologist Raimondo Strassoldo, entitled *Il mal del mattone. La casa nell'ethos friulano* [The brick addiction. The ethos of Friulians about housing] (1987). In his article, the author compared the Friulians' housing built after the earthquake of 1976 with the housing of the rest of Italy, claiming that the Friulians' houses were larger. On this evidence, unfortunatyely obtained comparing buildings edified in different times, he argued about some cultural traits of Friulians (2). No respondent made any mention of the work of Strassoldo, and, according to a real estate agent who was one of our privileged observer, the housing choices in Udine look similar as in the rest of Italy.

Particular attention was put on the flow of people moving *to* and *from* the city, and on the relationship among Udine's inhabitants, rural hinterland and surrounding villages.

From the interviews, Udine emerges like a *transition city*, a city where one arrives and lives not for an elective choice and that is left without any particular regret. However, despite all the comings and goings, in Udine all things always remain the same. The case of militaries is emblematic. After the fall of the Berlin wall (1989) and the end of Cold War, soldiers have been replaced by University students. In the economy of city, students replaced militaries, but the city is indifferent towards students, as it was before towards militaries.

Udine appears like a city without specific traits, really conservative and conformist, and rather defiant to changes. It is presented by respondents like a city where one lives well, but to which one doesn't feel any particular affection, except its natives, obviously. Table 5 shows the principal opinions emerged by interviews analysis.

Table 5

Principal respondents' opinions about Udine

Opinion	Udine natives	Friulians	Italians
Clean	x	x	x
Quiet	x	x	–
Too quiet	–	–	x
Tolerant with immigrants	x	x	x
Very active cultural life	x	–	–
Moderate cultural life	–	–	x
Dominated by traders	x	x	x
A narrow-minded town	–	–	x
Integrated with Friuli	–	–	–
Specific traits	–	–	–

Source: elaborated by authors

Some themes found by the interviews' analysis are presented in the following paragraphs.

Citizen' participation. Respondents share the opinion that the citizens of Udine did not demonstrate constancy in political participation, since they have moved from periods of high participatory involvement to periods of deep disaffection.

> Political participation has been variable. I would say that there were periods of high intensity and periods of total indifference. It is mainly dependent on the ability of politicians, and, especially, on the capability of non-political associations in attracting and involving people, giving them issues worth to be tackled, and so on (Journalist).

> Certainly Udine is not a city which stands out for its high vitality, participation, etc. (University professor).

But, this attitude is attributed to Friulian temperament.

> Friulians don't like to participate or protest in the streets (University professor).

Paradoxicaly, many citizens decide to run for the local elections. Here are some motivations for the low level of citizens' participation in municipality decision- making.

> The swap of inhabitants is quite high: in the last 5 years, 3500–3700 people have left the city and 4300–4600 arrived. We have had a growing presence of immigrants, and they are not engaged in local decisions. This doesn't increase participation. There is also a significant growth in the elderly population. Continuous inhabitants' swap, high incidence of immigrants and increasing of elderly population are the three key factors that certainly don't encourage participation (University professor).

Many respondents told about the crisis of the historical political parties (Christian Democratic Party and Italian Communist Party). However, the control of the power and media is denounced to be the main cause which prevents any real participation of citizens, since "it's impossible to affect anything".

> Whatever happens, *The Messaggero Veneto* [the most read local newspaper] writes what it wants (University professor).

All respondents underlined a broad and generalized sense of frustration, deriving from the difficulties found in delivering effective participative processes.

Someone observed that, in the past, there were periods of intence political participation of citizens.

> The city that I found, first as councilor of culture, then as vice-mayor and finally as mayor, had never showed any particular interest in politics. But the mayor's election of 1995 was for the city of Udine an extraordinary event. It was the first time that a mayor was elected directly by citizens, and hence people were very involved, and their involvement *continued for* several years after (Ex politician, lawyer).

The changes in the 1980s have been confirmed by other respondents.

> In my opinion, a progress in Udine's cultural life appears to be remarkable from the late 80s, when citizens, especially those coming from Friuli, begin to look beyond themselves. Then, a lot of people realized that in order to remain alive one should interact with others (Journalist).

It must be noted the above allusion to the cultural narrow-minded of Friulians. They are usually focused on themselves and on Friuli.

> We wanted a university that would be the mirror of the historical and cultural history of Friuli. This university should be the University *of* Friuli, not a University *in* Friuli. Its commitment should be the study of *our* history, not only economic, but also cultural (Catholic Monsignor).

Many Friulians agree with the above opinion. The creation of the University of Udine has been a very important occurrence, which produced considerable effects and was a boost to modernization.

> In the last thirty years, the most important novelty in Udine has been the presence of the University, which has given new vital forces to the city. Students have changed many things, making the city more opened to new ideas. University has improved the quality of life in Udine. And Udine should be grateful to the University (Architect).

However, some criticism has been raised by respondents towards the municipal government which has not incentivized the citizens' participation, e. g. creating a conference center.

> Udine is a city where life is good. However, from the point of view of cultural activities, recreation and entertainments the city presents many deficiencies. Recently, something is changing. But, for example, the city still lacks stable spaces for conferences, meetings and round tables, and there isn't a public structure for cultural associations (Architect).

Udine and Friulians. The feeling of Friulians towards Udine is ambivalent. They often call Udine *capital of Friuli*, but fail to show a strong affection towards Udine's natives, who they consider very different from themselves. In fact, except for the same Friulians' suspicious nature, Udine's natives haven't got the crudeness in manner and speech which is typical of Friulians, never matching the Friulian cultural stereotypes. The Autonomist political movement is deeply rooted and wide spread in Friuli, but this does not seem to affect the political life of Udine. Although the *Friuli movement* has played a crucial role in several political occurrences, such as the victory of Sergio Cecotti (Lega Nord party) in the election of 1998 for Udine's mayor, or in the re-election of Marzio Strassoldo (ex-rector of the Udine University) as President of the Province of Udine, candidate for a conservative coalition which included the Lega Nord and the Autonomist movement.

However, autonomists played an important role in building and supporting many old-fashioned stereotypes about Friulians, such as that of "salt, onest e lavorador" (firm, honest and hard-working). But the legacy of their propaganda is beginning to fade; at least as far as young people are concerned. A recent research conducted on Udine University's students, showed the simultaneous presence of two antithetic and schizophrenic feelings about Friulians. Students indicated Friulians as either *dour* or *intolerant* toward those who are outside their circle, or *welcoming*, *warm* and *friendly* to others (Picco, 2008).

The relationship Udine-Friuli is very close one: many Friulians have experienced the creation of the University of Udine as a battle fought in the name of Friuli's autonomy.

> Chê de universitât e je stade une vecje richieste dai furlans, che par studiâ a jerin costrets a spostâsi in altris bandis (Triest, Vignesie, Padue o plui lontan), cul risultât che dome chei che a vevin un pôcs di bêçs si la podevin permeti, e che i plui meritevui par solit no tornavin plui in Friûl. [This University was a Friulians' old request; in the past they had to go to other cities to study (Trieste, Venice, Padua or even farer); so Fiulian students who didn't have enough money to support themselves could not go, those who were more deserving never came back] (VichipediE 2013; (3).

Relationships between Udine and its neighboring municipalities are troublesome. All respondents emphasized the separation between Udine's inhabitants and those who live in the countryside, the latter showing certain distrust towards city residents due to their arrogant behavior.

> In my opinion, Udine should make an effort to collaborate and communicate with other municipalities. Udine ought to be more and more available in providing services, and adopting a more generous attitude towards the needs of other municipalities. In fact, there are some difficulties in the collaboration between Udine and its hinterland. Udine is not accepted by Friulians as a metropolis; Friulians don't like the Udine's leadership to reach beyond its urban borders (Local politician).

One of the relevant points in the political program of the Lega Nord mayor, Sergio Cecotti, was finding the way to overcome the challenging relationship between Udine and Friuli. This concept is clearly expressed by the Councillor for the territorial planning.

> Mayor Cecotti political program for the future of Udine is characterized by two fundamental elements concerning the urban scope: removing Udine from an institutional isolation, by favouring the governmental management of its territorial system; putting Udine in a "network" with the entire historical Friuli without any claim of hegemony or obsession of *grandeur* from its past as capital. Udine should be aware that today the real identity of Friuli depends on a system of cultural, economic and social relations among all the territorial entities (Cavallo, 2001).

Finally, the separation of Udine from the rest of Friuli seems to be a consequence of a very special condition: the majority of choices related to the city are affected by traders, lawyers, engineers, architects and entrepreneurs, most of which reside outside Udine, and they know very little about the city, except for its small historical center.

Traders influence. All respondents agreed that traders have had, and continue to have, a great influence on the city and that they represent a really dominant lobby.

> I have always been convinced that Udine was a city headed by traders. The municipality has not been able to manage the historic center and hasn't had the courage to take the drastic decision to close it to cars circulation (Real estate entrepreneur).

The historic centre of Udine, which is very small, has not yet been completely closed to traffic. Traders have always been against the pedestrianization of the centre, sustaining that the restriction of mobility would drop the amount of purchases.

However, the shops' sales crisis in the center of city is not due to the urban mobility and parking shortage: the main reason is that malls have now become the new meeting places for a lot of families and young people.

> In fact, traders were a powerful lobby which fell apart when the business changed, since large-scale retails have swept away traditional traders, so traders historical families went out of business. There was not a generational

> change and the old traders were not able to understand and deal with the new situation (University professor).

> We are dealing with a trader class which has no intention to evolve and has a lot of disagreements among them. In fact, the city traders have not resolved the conflict between *old* and *new*. For this reason, while many other cities attained traffic closure of historical center without any protests and in this way getting great advantages from it, in Udine for any attempt to remove a car there is a trader who threats to commit suicide (Architect).

The influence of traders has had significant consequences for the life of the city. From one hand, traders needed an environment where their business could flourish without tensions, but on the other hand, they developed many external relations for goods supply. These two factors have contributed to make Udine a quiet town.

A quiet town. Recently, there was an article on the local newspaper *Il Messaggero Veneto* reporting two famous personalities feeling about Udine: the writer Mauro Corona and the chef Gianfranco Vissani, who were together in town shooting a TV program. Corona defined Udine "Quiet, calm, almost an embrace", while Vissani claimed: "It's the thirtieth time I have come to this magnificent region to shoot and every time I am in Udine I think that I should move here to this town, because one can live well in a hospitable and quiet place such as this".

The opinion that Udine is a quiet city was shared by all respondents. An analysis carried out on numerous blogs confirmed the image of Udine as a quiet place, although university's students coming from other towns often deem Udine too quiet, almost boring.

The cultural associations have an important role in city's life. They operate in different fields, such as music, theater, cinema, visual arts, sport, and so on. Participation in cultural events follows rigid circuits, and more or less always the same people participate in the same type of events.

> People who participate in events are always the same; initiatives are targeted at specific segments of people, so they attract only groups of selected persons. Initiatives are one way direction, and mono-targeted. That's the problem about Udine. Municipality pursues the strengthening of elitist groups, instead of promoting larger debates among citizens. This doesn't facilitate opportunities to evolve (University professor).

The above opinion has been really enlightening to us. We verified it by participating in local events and observing the theaters (3) goers and the participants to cultural events. This observation showed an evident compartimentation of city life. This compartimentation, that was also confirmed by other interviewees, is not limited to just cultural events, to which extra-EU immigrants don't attain.

A tolerant town. In the last years, immigrants have increased their presence in Udine, so some neighborhoods have acquired a multi-ethnic physiognomy. Despite the absence of conflicts, some respondents think that Udine's citizens and Friulians should demonstrate a greater openness towards immigrants. A large part of Udine population came from other Italian regions and, more recently, from abroad.

> There are many people coming from other countries; who are bringing experiences that should not be imposed to others. Immigrants should harmonize with other people. Immigration has generated a situation difficult to evaluate today, because it is still evolving. Now, it is very difficult to say, who the real inhabitants of Udine are since their composition is still in progess (Journalist).

Natives' attitude towards immigrants seems to be characterized by a twofold feeling.

> I think that immigrants have animated some areas of the town, and I believe that, among Udine's natives, two different mindsets mingle: on one hand there is a certain distrust and hostility toward immigrants, but on the other hand there is the awareness that immigrants energize city's lifestyle (University professor).

Relationships between local population and immigrants are good, without any particular strain. So far, there have been no serious cases of violence or acts of intolerance, but:

> Friulians should remove their narrow-minded habits from themselves, and embrace the horizon of multi-ethnicity, multilingualism, multiculturalism, and internationalism. These new attitudes should replace their current thought (Architect).

Feeling towards people coming from outside is not hostile, but Friulians and Udine's natives rarely allow intimacy, and never tolerate intrusiveness.

> We are not racists, we welcome immigrants, but they ough to work and must not do foolishness (Catholic Monsignor).

Udine's natives and Friulians would like for newcomers to demonstrate they respect and accept local lifestyle. They do not look favorably at those who remain anchored to their original culture

> Friulians want to be appreciated and respected. They are open minded, but expect that people coming from outside demonstrate appreciation for local ambiance. After an initial distrust, Friulians open their doors to others. But, if immigrants want to continue with their habits and they show no appreciation for the place where they came to live, then a very different attitude arises (Notary).

Discussion. Manuel Delgado Ruiz underlines a current issue of anthropological researches in urban areas:

> Une anthropologie urbaine ne peut donc apparaitre que condamnée à s'occuper de structures liquides, d'axes qui organisent autour d'eux la vie sociale, mais qui ne sont presque pas des institutions stables, mais une palette d'instants, d'ondes, de situations, de cadences, d'irrégularités, de confluences, de carrefours, de collisions, de fluctuations… [Urban anthropology is doomed to

deal with liquid structures, a sort of pillars around which social life is organized, but which are not stable institutions: they are rather like instantaneous palettes, waves, situations, cadences, irregularities, confluences, intersections, collisions, fluctuations...] (Ruiz 2004).

However, our research didn't show about Udine any reference to *liquid structures*, even though the concept of *liquid society* (Bauman 2005) is one of the most acclaimed interpretations of contemporary life (Catterall 2006; Atkinson 2007; Burnet 2011). Certainly, the continuous changing and consumerism are the main features of our epoch. In contemporary high-speed society, individual capabilities are augmented by the new technologies and people can be divided in social consumption classes, but the liquid life is not the norm, at least in the case of Udine. The city appears a compartmentalized one, and doesn't resemble to a Baumanian unpredictably complex system, with little room for interdependence among individuals. It is certainly a complex system, but the generalized consumerism which should create a common global identity, and regulate the relationships among people, is mediated by the different cultural identities of its inhabitants. Perhaps it is a reaction to the strong sense of identity of Friulians alimented by some political parties.

Many citizens of Udine are not Udine and Friuli's natives: they come from other Italian regions or from abroad, so they maintain tight connections with their regions/countries of origin, and never feel themselves deeply rooted in the city. The Friulian language, being very different from Italian, has contributed to maintain, sometimes to accentuate, differences among inhabitants (4).

It has been reported that the cultural offer in the city is strongly targeted to specific groups of people, who have no interest in communicating among them.

We also observed that Udine's natives, even second-generation immigrants, place a great importance on their pedigree of citizens and there are some very highly regarded attendees, such as to have studied in the high school "Stellini". Even the wine-bars where people have a drink before dinner are chosen following elitist criteria. In Udine, there aren't intolerant people, but they seem to show a mutual ignoring-each-other attitude, especially towards those who are outside their own group.

Our respondents' opinions have been fruitful, illuminating some interrelations between the character of the city and the attitudes of its inhabitants.

The salient characteristic of Udine which emerged from the interviews is that it is a city without any distinguishing traits. It appears a tolerant city, but only if one remains at his/her place. It is a city where the level of citizens' participation is very low and where people live, not isolated, but separated and is close minded to others. Osmosis among different social scopes is not denied, but must comply with expected requirements and respect some unspoken rules. The most important unspoken rule, which applies to all, is "do not bother me", which in daily life means intolerance of any behavior that doesn't fit into standards, and isn't necessarily a deviant conduct.

Regarding our qualitative approach, the interviews have led us to the identification of some relevant aspects that contributed to raprezent the character of Udine. For example, a questionnaire would hardly have allowed to highlight the compartmentalization of Udine city's life and unearthed the seemingly tolerant climate that reigns in

this city. In fact, the suggestion about compartmentalization of Udine came from an interviewee, and allowed us to quickly focus our observations to city's events. It is hard to say what effort would have been necessary to achieve this evidence, but we believe that it would have been much more difficult. Another example is that all respondents agreed on the fact that, in Udine, there haven't been incidents of racial intolerance. But the interviews have revealed something more which is related to the *social identities* of city inhabitants (5). The Friulians interviewed underlined, using various expressions, the same concept: nobody has anything against people coming from outside, but they should not trouble the city's life "they should not bother us". Conversely, non-Friulians made allusions to a sort of light discrimination. They also perceive the ostentatious use of the local dialect as a discriminatory factor, and some of them mentioned, as ridicoulus, the tourism regional official logo: "Guests of unique people" (Fig. 1). The meaning of this logo is difficult to understand for an Italian tourist or a foreign one, but its meaning is very clear for those who live in Friuli Venezia Giulia region: Friulians consider themselves unique, special people!

Figure 1

The tourist brand of Friuli Venezia Giulia Region

Source: Friuli Venezia Giulia Region

Finally, from this research, some ideas have emerged, but are still at an infancy stage. We think worth mentioning at least one of them.

We ran into many difficulties in representing the social dynamics of the city. We know that in contemporary society, individuals play multifarious roles, so it is common that they belong to different social groups simultaneously. However, what one perceives in Udine is something more, related to the compartmentalization of the city and the rule of "to don't bother me". From the interviews and the observation of people participating in local events, Udine looks like a city where one doesn't integrate him/herself easily. Using a metaphor, in Udine, people seem to live within sets of floating bubbles, more or less elastic and stable. But the transition/aggregation from/to a bubble-set is not only determined by the intrinsic characteristics of a person. In other words, it is not enough to share other people's ideal of social commitment or to belong to associations to prevent marginalization. The subjective feeling or difficulty for not being part of the city has been showed more or less by all our respondents, especially by those who were non-Friulians. This is an issue we ought to explore in a deeper way, also comparing our observation with the Peter Sloterdijk's philosophical interpretation of human society based on the metaphor of *spheres* and *bubbles* (6).

> In fully-grown spheres, forces are at work that draws the individual into an illusion shared by millions. It seems impossible to live in large society without yielding in some measure to the delirium of one's own tribe (Sloterdijk 2011).

However, in this article, the term of *bubble city* is only used to metaphorically synthesize the feeling that our respondents conveyed us about Udine. It is as if this city was populated with sets of bubbles. Even though people can simultaneously be within many bubbles, they remain isolated. It must be noted that, in Udine and in Friuli, depression is largely diffused and is accompanied by the phenomenon of alcoholism, favored by a particular attitude and habit of inhabitants towards wine.

Conclusions

Large-scale investigations on social dynamics of cities require a challenging endeavor, since they need a long work and many levels of analysis. Interviews can be a good technique for gathering primary data, but ought to be integrated by additional documents and more data, including blogs, social forum and social networks. This creates more difficulties for data collection and data analysis.

Many large-scale researches offer only a partial picture of reality, since the forces that shape the dynamics of a city are really multifarious and complex, so multifarious and complex should be the source of information to be considered.

Nevertheless, cultural perceptions and people's opinions can help to penetrate inside the texture of local urban life and inspire new descriptive frameworks or descriptive/interpretative models.

This article has presented only a part of the research findings. Data analysis has been particularly complex and led us to deepen numerous aspects that were not contemplated at the beginning. Moreover, as in our case, when one collects a large amount of data:

> It is essential, if one is to arrive to any clarity of view as to the nature of things, to make reasonably precise and theoretically interesting analytical distinctions – categorization – lest all things be muddled indiscriminately and subtleties of differentiated process or meaning be lost (Leeds 1994).

The creation of categories and themes from qualitative data is not easy and often subject to biases, while the analysis of the Web contents, very important in large-scale studies, needs the support of specific methodologies and tecniques.

Our research represents only a starting point for a more extensive and thorough investigation, that should take into account the various components of the population, particularly the second-generation immigrants and other types of immigrants. However, it represents an attempt of reviving the large-scale urban research, and the approach we followed has allowed us to achieve some interesting results which encourage us to continue.

Finally, from the theoretical point of view, the metaphor of Udine as a *bubbles city* suggests, from one hand, to reconsider the issue of the analysis of complex societies, and on the other hand, to reinterpret in an anthropological view the social-ecological

theory of Bronfenbrenner (Bronfenbrenner 1979). This theory could offer many elements for attempting the developement of a new descriptive model for the city of Udine. But most of all, it prompts us to reflect on the possibility of integrating subjective components into the social-ecological model.

(1) Sharing the claim of Denzin and Lincoln that "The evidence-based research movement, with its fixed standards and guidelines for conducting and evaluating qualitative inquiry, sought total domination: one shoe fits all" (Denzin, Lincoln 2011), we attempted to carry out our investigation putting on a suitable pair of shoes. Furthermore, about the debate between the adherents of quantitative and qualitative research's methods, we agree with Alan Bryman (also Kohlbacher 2006; Klenke 2008), this is: "One main characteristic of this dispute seems to be the dichotomous way in which qualitative and quantitative research (methods) were presented as well as the resulting strict contraposition of the two" (Bryman 1992).

(2) For at least ten years, this article has been included in the program of study of Urban and Rural Sociology at the University of Trieste.

(3) Udine has one official theater and many other structures where shows take place.

(4) The regional government improved the Friulian language, spending a large amount of money for spectacles and literature productions in Friulian. There were also translated in Friulian the works of Shakespeare, the Homer's poems and the Dante's *Divina Commedia* and has been financed a scientific journal in Friulian.

(5) Social identity is one's sense of self, based on the group membership. Tajfel and Turner (1979) introduced the idea that the groups (e.g. social class, family, football team etc.) which people belonged to were an important source of pride and self-esteem.

(6) We are very grateful to Vera Boronenko who, after a first reading of our article, suggested us the work of Peter Sloterdijk, demonstrating how the circulation of ideas and collaboration is an importan factor in research progress. Altough philosophical theories are out of our horizon of research, Sloterdijk methapor is really faschinating and rich of (useful) hints.

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Ieva Kārkliņa

LATVIJAS TRŪCĪGO ĢIMEŅU SKOLĒNU SOCIĀLO ELASTĪGUMU VEICINOŠO FAKTORU SOCIOLOĢISKA ANALĪZE

Latvijā ir vieni no augstākiem nabadzības un sociālās atstumtības rādītājiem visā Eiropas Savienībā. Līdz ar to visai liels ir arī to skolēnu īpatsvars, kuriem provizoriski pastāv augsts akadēmiskās neveiksmes risks, jo starp skolēnu sociālekonomisko izcelsmi un izglītības sasniegumiem pastāv tieša saistība – visbiežāk skolēniem no labāk sociālekonomiski nodrošinātām ģimenēm ir augstāki izglītības sasniegumi nekā tiem, kuri nāk no trūcīgām ģimenēm. Vienlaikus pētījumi atklāj, ka ir noteikts skaits skolēnu, kuri, neskatoties uz visām grūtībām un problēmām, ko radījusi ekonomiskā deprivācija ģimenē, kritiskajai situācijai spēj pielāgoties pozitīvi un gūt augstus izglītības sasniegumus. Raksts veltīts Latvijas trūcīgo ģimeņu bērnu izglītības sasniegumus veicinošo faktoru izpētei ar mērķi analizēt iespējas izglītības rezultātu uzlabot. Darba teorētisko bāzi veido autores izstrādātais modelis, kas ietver P. Burdjē, Dž.S. Kolmena un K. Bačmenas uzskatus par ģimenes un skolas kapitāla ietekmi uz skolēnu sasniegumiem, B. Bernstaina un A. Lerau pieeju kultūras kapitāla interpretācijā, kā arī individuālā sociālā kapitāla teorētiķu – N. Lina un H. Flapa, kā arī R. Bārta un H. S. Brigsa idejas. Veiktā pētījuma ietvaros, analizējot intervijās ar trūcīgo ģimeņu pārstāvjiem iegūto informāciju, atspoguļota Latvijas trūcīgo ģimeņu situācija un materiālās deprivācijas radītie ierobežojumi bērnu izglītības pieejamībā. Izmantojot starptautiski salīdzinošā izglītības pētījuma OECD PISA 2006 datus, izvērtēti Latvijas trūcīgo skolēnu augstus izglītības sasniegumu veicinošie faktori un šo faktoru mijiedarbības rezultāts – sociālais elastīgums. Sociālā elastīguma interpretācijai izvēlēta M. Angera koncepcija par sociālo elastīgumu kā noteiktā sabiedrībā un kultūrā konstruētu jēdzienu. Izmantojot kopkapitāla teorijas pamatnostādnes, ko Latvijas jauniešu socioloģiskā analīzē izmantojis arī V. Meņšikovs, un operacionalizējot sociālā elastīguma jēdzienu, secināts, ka trūcīgās ģimenes nav homogēna grupa – tās vieno līdzīgais sociālekonomiskais stāvoklis, bet atšķir citi ģimenes kapitāla veidi – ģimenes cilvēkkapitāls, kultūras un sociālais kapitāls, ko līdz ar skolas kapitālu un personības kapitālu sociāli elastīgie trūcīgo ģimeņu skolēni izmanto augstu rezultātu gūšanā izglītībā.

Atslēgas vārdi: skolēni, trūcīgās ģimenes, izglītības sasniegumus ietekmējošie faktori, sociālais elastīgums izglītībā, OECD PISA 2006, Latvija.

Социологический анализ факторов, способствующих социальной эластичности школьников из нуждающихся семей в Латвии

В Латвии одни из самых высоких в Европейском Союзе показатели бедности и социальной отчуждённости. В связи с этим ожидается и довольно высокий удельный вес тех школьников, у которых существует высокий риск неуспеваемости. В зарубежных исследованиях уже отмечалось, что имеется прямая связь между уровнем социально-экономического положения семьи школьника и его успехами в учебе — чаще всего у школьников из более экономически обеспеченных семей констатируются и более высокие достижения в учебе. Зарубежные исследования показывают также, что есть определенное число школьников, которые, несмотря на все трудности и проблемы, созданные экономической депривацией в семье, способны успешно приспосабливаться к критической ситуации и достигать больших успехов в учёбе. Статья посвящена изучению факторов, способствующих успехам в учёбе детей из малоимущих семей в Латвии. Теоретическая база ис-

следования основана на разработанной автором модели, которая содержит взгляды П. Бурдье, Дж.С. Колемана и К. Бучманн о влиянии семейного и школьного капитала на учебные достижения школьников, теории культурного капитала Б. Бернстайна и А. Леруа, а также теории социального капитала Н. Лин и Х. Флапа, идеи Р. Барта и Х.С. Бригса. В рамках проведённого исследования, анализируя информацию, полученную в интервью с респондентами из нуждающихся семей, описано социально-экономическое положение таких семей в Латвии и созданные материальной депривацией ограничения в сфере доступности образования детей. Используя данные международного сравнительного исследования образования OECD PISA 2006, были оценены факторы, способствующие высоким достижениям в учёбе нуждающихся школьников Латвии и результат взаимодействия этих факторов — социальная эластичность школьников. Для интерпретации социальной эластичности была выбрана концепция М. Ангера о социальной эластичности как феномене, сконструированном в определённом обществе и культуре. Используя основные установки теории совокупного капитала, которые предложил профессор В. Меньшиков в социологическом анализе жизненных стратегий молодежи Латвии, а также операционализируя понятие социальной эластичности, были сделаны выводы, что нуждающиеся семьи — это не гомогенная группа. Такие семьи объединяет одинаковое социально-экономическое положение, но отличают другие виды семейного капитала, которые вместе с капиталом школы и капиталом личности социально эластичные школьники из нуждающихся семей используют для получения высоких результатов в своем образовании.

Ключевые слова: школьники, нуждающиеся семьи, факторы достижений в учёбе, социальная эластичность в образовании, OECD PISA 2006, Латвия.

Sociological analysis of factors contributing to social resilience of students from economically disadvantaged families in Latvia

Latvia has some of the highest poverty and social exclusion rates in the European Union. Consequently, also the proportion of secondary school students with high risk of academic failure is high. There exists a direct relationship between students' socioeconomic background and educational achievements: on the whole, students from well-off background shave higher educational performance than pupils coming from economically disadvantaged families. At the same time, studies have shown that a certain number of economically disadvantaged students are capable to positively adapt to critical situation and to earn high educational achievements despite all difficulties and problems caused by material deprivation. The article deals with the factors contributing educational achievements of children from economically disadvantaged families in Latvia and focuses on the aim to find out the possibilities for improving school performance of children from such families. The theoretical framework is constructed according to author's model that includes P. Bourdieu, J. S. Coleman and C. Buchmann views on family and school capital effect on students' achievements, B. Bernstein and A. Lareau approach to the interpretation of cultural capital, and ideas of individual social capital theorists' – H. Flap and N. Lin –, as well as R. Burtand and X.S. Briggs. The research project includes analysis of information gathered from interviews with members of economically disadvantaged families, reflects on the circumstances of those families, and characterizes restrictions in provision of education caused by economic deprivation. Factors contributing to high educational achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families in Latvia as well as social resilience – result of interaction among those factors – have been assessed based on data from the internationally comparative education study OECD PISA2006. M. Ungar approach to social resilience as the concept construed in certain society and culture as result of interaction between positive changes contributing factors – is implemented. Using the guidelines of capital theory, imple-

mented by V. Meņšikovs within the sociological analysis of Latvian Youth, and the concept of social resilience, it is concluded that economically disadvantaged families do not form a homogenous group – although they share a similar socio-economic status, they are different with regards to other forms of family capital: human, cultural and social capital. Socially resilient students from economically disadvantaged families use these other forms of family capital along with school-level capital and personal capital to reach high educational achievements.

Key words: students, economically disadvantaged families, factors affecting educational achievement, OECD PISA 2006, social resilience in education, Latvia.

Introduction (1)

Nowadays one of the main challenges for national educational systems in improving students' educational achievements is the necessity to reduce the gap between those students with high educational achievements and those who are academically less successful. Therefore, one of the main priorities is to increase the level of educational achievement, especially for those students who are at high risk of education failure that can be caused by health issues, poverty, and other social problems. The inability to provide the possibilities for all students to fully realize their educational potential within the basic education level could leave a critical impact on the future economic development of the country and create an unsurpassable circle of low educational achievements and deprivation for the coming decades.

Fewer than 15% of students who have low educational achievements in reading, mathematics, and the sciences in the last grade of basic education (at the age of 15), and fewer than 10% of students who prematurely drop out of education: these are among the European Union's (further in the text – also EU) targets for education for the year 2020. These targets have been chosen in the process of planning of how to achieve one of the main priorities in education within Europe – smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. For Latvia, as a member state of the EU, these targets are binding and included within the higher level national medium-term planning document "National Development Plan of Latvia for years 2014–2020". The "development of competencies" is set as one of the objectives for activities that should be effectively implemented to provide qualitative and competitive basic and secondary education for all children and youth, as well as to provide access to trainings and activities outside of the scope of formal education" (Parresoru koordinacijas centrs 2012). In this way it is planned to reduce the number of those students who have low basic educational skills and, at the same time, to increase the number of those students who show a high level of competencies.

As it is shown by research results, there is a direct correlation between the educational achievements of students and their socioeconomic background – students from families that are more socially and economically stable are more successful in school than those students who come from economically disadvantaged families (Coleman 1966; Baker et al. 2002; OECD 2007, 2011 etc.). This linkage was proved in the 1960ties of the last century in the work of James Samuel Coleman "*Equality of Educational Opportunity*", also known as the "Coleman report" (Coleman et. al. 1966),

that received wide international recognition. Many similar contemporary studies at both international and national levels confirm this half century old presumption and highlight the social and economic situation as one of the most accurate indicators that predict educational achievements of students (OECD 2010, 2011 etc.).

Students from families that are economically better-situated possess more economic resources and, accordingly, can acquire better educational and cultural resources (e.g., buy books, computers, and other communication technologies). Compared to students who come from families with a lower level of socioeconomic status, students from well-off families more often have a wider circle of non-formal ties with friends and relatives (Coleman et al. 1966; Coleman 1988). Thus, these students are more likely to attain a better education and higher qualifications which provide the basis for upward social mobility and prestigious professional positions in the future (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu, Passeron 1977; Coleman 1988).

Contrary, students from economically disadvantaged families with limited financial well-being have a reduced access to resources necessary for education, accompanied by poor living conditions and some individual risk factors developed during the socialization of the personality (Evans 2004).

Statistics show that Latvia has one of the highest rates of material deprivation and the highest proportion of children living on the threshold of poverty and social exclusion in the EU (CSP 2010; Frazer, Marlier 2012). As indicated in the Latvian Sustainable Development Strategy for 2030, the high level of children and youth poverty shows that poverty and social exclusion have a highly structural nature in Latvia: they are not dependent on the individual abilities or skills of those in poverty but rather on the different life opportunities available for them (Latvija2030, 2010: 25). Research results reveal Latvia as a country of sharp contrasts: in the last decade Latvia has always been among the EU countries with the widest income gap between the poor and the wealthy part of the society – if the total household income is for a significant majority (90%) of Latvian families is 425 LVL, the 1% of wealthiest families can spend seven times more – 3 018 LVL per month (Springe 2012). And, if in the region near to the capital city Riga the rate of poor people does not exceed 2%, then in several districts of Latgale almost every fourth person lives in poverty.

Currently, the participation of Latvian schools in internationally comparative educational research (hereinafter – ICER) shows that achievements of students who come from the economically more developed areas are significantly higher than of those who come from less developed geographical units. Significant differences in students' achievements were found comparing results from the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), conducted in 1995 and 1999: "the achievements of the best schools in Latvia are equal to or even higher than in countries take the highest positions in the rating. The lowest achievements are at the level of African and poorest Asian countries" (Geske 2000). Although results of ICERs conducted in more recent years did not show such wide differences of achievements, a high degree of segregation of students' achievements according to the urbanization factor can be observed (Geske et al. 2007). In addition, as pointed out by the researchers, this discrepancy is most directly related to the fact that rural schools have a higher proportion

of students who come from families with a relatively lower socioeconomic status. These figures indicate that the establishment of a school system that is able to provide equally high quality education for all groups of students, independent of the school which provides the educational activities, has to be among the major challenges for Latvian politicians and educators (OECD 2000).

At the same time, studies have shown that a certain number of economically disadvantaged students are capable to positively adapt to critical situations and to earn high educational achievements despite all difficulties and problems caused by material deprivation (Rutter 1990; Masten, Coatsworth 1998; Murray 2003). As students' educational achievements are not produced in a vacuum and do not depend only on educational policies and activities in the school, also a multi-dimensional analysis of the influence of family is important. Furthermore, ways of improving school-level factors to further equally high achievements for students from families with different socioeconomic status, and thus minimizing inequalities in the education system should be looked at (OECD 2010). ICER has played an important role in the consolidation of this information and, most likely, ICER will continue to be one of the major "players", offering nationally standardized and internationally comparable data that is very important for educational researchers and policymakers (OECD 2010).

Within the article "social resilience" is interpreted as a result of interaction among factors that facilitate high educational achievements for students from economically disadvantaged families in Latvia. In turn, "socially resilient students" means students at the basic level of education in Latvia who have gained the relatively highest achievements in the Sciences – the main content area of cognitive tests – in the Programme for International Student Assessment by the Economic Co-operation and Development (hereafter–the OECD PISA). At the same time this group of students is characterized by the lowest scores in the OECDPISA 2006 family socioeconomic status and cultural index.

Within the strategic development documents of Latvia an educated person is named as the main driver of development and growth of the country. However, due to the fact that a large part of the students, especially in rural areas, come from families whose economic resources are very limited and the state is unable to provide all families with the necessary resources for free-of-charge basic and secondary education, the success of sustainable development for Latvia is questionable. Identification of the factors that contribute to the opportunities of students from economically disadvantaged families and help them to overcome the negative impact of insufficient family economic capital and to reach high achievements could help pedagogical staff to better understand the situation and achieve a higher quality of education. Many large and single parent families would benefit from targeted support for students from economically disadvantaged families; it would increase the opportunities for economically disadvantaged low-achievers, improve their educational performance, prevent them from dropping out of the educational system, as well as promote further education that could provide a higher quality of life in the long term.

Target and Tasks of the Research

The target of the study: to investigate family, school and individual level factors that affect educational achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families with the aim to strengthen the improvement of this group of students' educational performance.

Research tasks set for achieving the main research target are the following:

1. To develop the theoretical model for the understanding of factors that contribute to high education achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families, and interaction among these factors – social resilience.
2. To elaborate empirical research methodology for secondary data analysis from interviews with representatives of economically disadvantaged families and – from internationally comparative education study OECD PISA 2006.
3. Using information obtained from interviews with economically disadvantaged family representatives to characterize the life situation of such families in Latvia and to gain understanding of conversions of various forms of family capital that are used by the family members to improve their quality of life and to provide their children with resources necessary for education.
4. Using the data base of the OECD PISA 2006 to establish social resilience indicators for students from economically disadvantaged families in Latvia.
5. To compare the elements of family, school, and individual capital between groups of socially resilient and socially non-resilient students.
6. To identify the opportunities for improving the educational achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families in Latvia.

The object of this study is the educational achievements of economically disadvantaged students.

The research question put forward in the article: which factors need to change for Latvia's socially non-resilient students (low-achievers from economically disadvantaged families) to improve their educational achievements and to enter the group of socially resilient students (high-achievers from economically disadvantaged families)?

The Main Hypothetical Assumptions

The study tests several hypothetical assumptions:

1. Economically disadvantaged families in Latvia are not a homogeneous group – they are united by a similar family economic situation, but divergent by their human, social and cultural capital, as well as by their abilities to implement forms of non-economic capital to compensate for insufficient economic capital.
2. The educational achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families in Latvia are different and there is a certain proportion of students with high potential of social resilience – those whose high achievements provide evidence for withstanding the negative impact of critical family economic situation on educational outcomes.
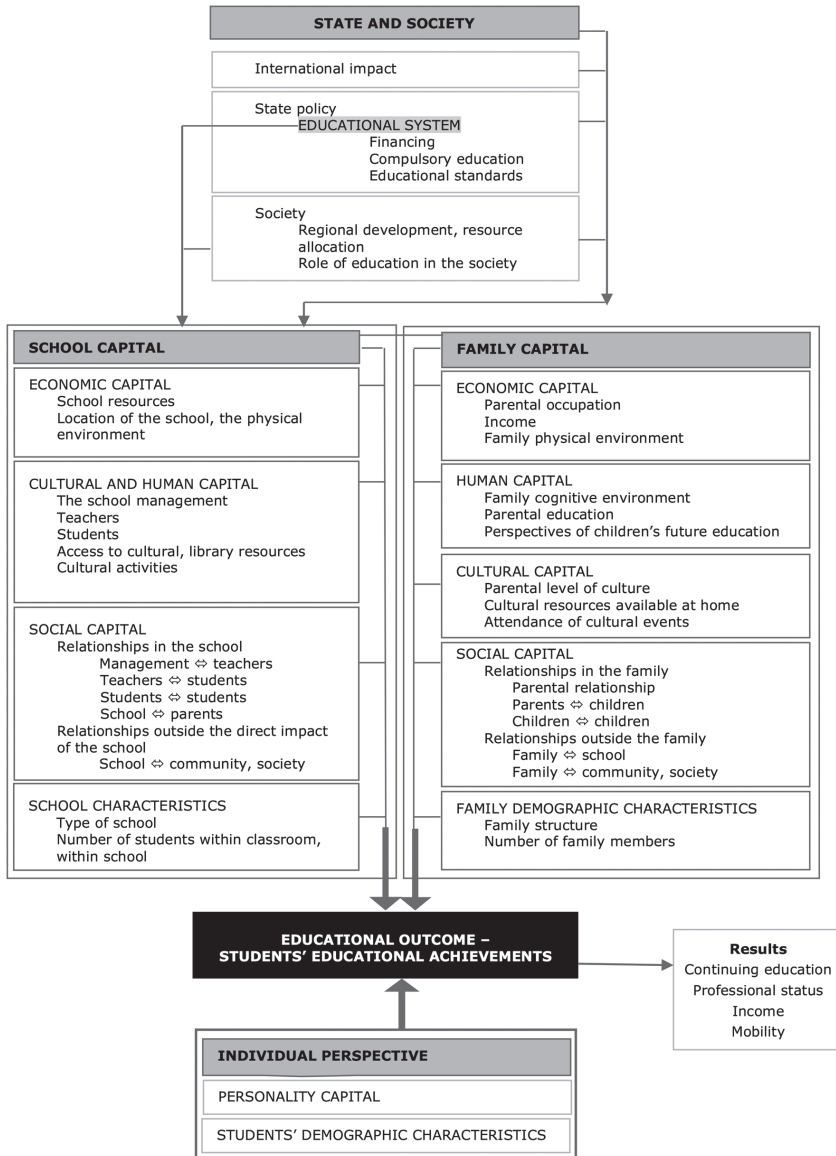
3. Higher family human capital (the educational level of parents and the educational resources available at home) and cultural capital (the cultural resources available at home) has a positive impact on Latvia's economically disadvantaged students whose performance is poor to reach high educational achievements.
4. The acquisition of theoretical knowledge, linking it with practical life situations, discussions, and awareness-raising in the learning process are aspects that affirm teachers' professionalism, as well as important elements of a higher school social, cultural and human capital that strengthen the opportunities for socially non-resilient students to improve their educational performance.
5. Interest in the learning subject, a higher self-confidence about individual capabilities, and linking the future career to Science studies are factors of individual capital that have a positive impact on socially non-resilient students' opportunities to improve their performance and to enter the group of economically disadvantaged but academically successful students.

Factors Affecting Educational Achievements of Students from Economically Disadvantaged Families: The Theoretical Framework

The 1960s of the 20th century are characterized by a paradigm shift in the sociology of education. If before educational researchers had focused on the innate cognitive capabilities of students as the major determinant of educational outcomes, now they began paying more attention to the impact of interactions between a range of micro and macro level factors on the educational performance (Coleman et al. 1966; Geske et al. 1997, 2001; OECD 2007). The article follows this approach and the theoretical focus is directed to an evaluation of the multi-dimensional impact of different level factors on the achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families. Based on a summary of the knowledge from theoretical literature as well as results obtained in international and national-level studies, within the article a research model of factors affecting educational achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families has been constructed. It outlines the institutional, macro-level of the educational system (state level), the meso-level (regional – local), as well as the micro-level perspectives of family, school and the individual (Karklina 2013) (see Fig. 1).

Research in the sociology of education convincingly reveals pronounced differences in the achievements of students according to their family socio-economic status, and the fact that students from economically disadvantaged families are more likely to fail academically than their peers from economically better-off backgrounds, has been confirmed in many studies over the past fifty years (e.g., Coleman et al. 1966; Barton 2004; Geske et al. 2007; OECD 2007, 2011). However, the fact that not all economically disadvantaged students are also academically unsuccessful points to the necessity to research the factors that have helped the successful students to overcome the constraints imposed by their economic deprivation and, by the means of analysing this group of students, to identify ways of helping as many economically deprived students as possible to overcome the restrictions created by the socio-economic conditions in the family (OECD 2010, 2011).

Figure 1

Factors affecting educational achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families, a research model

STATE AND SOCIETY

International impact

State policy
    EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
        Financing
        Compulsory education
        Educational standards

Society
    Regional development, resource allocation
    Role of education in the society

SCHOOL CAPITAL

ECONOMIC CAPITAL
    School resources
    Location of the school, the physical environment

CULTURAL AND HUMAN CAPITAL
    The school management
    Teachers
    Students
    Access to cultural, library resources
    Cultural activities

SOCIAL CAPITAL
    Relationships in the school
        Management ⇔ teachers
        Teachers ⇔ students
        Students ⇔ students
        School ⇔ parents
    Relationships outside the direct impact of the school
        School ⇔ community, society

SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS
    Type of school
    Number of students within classroom, within school

FAMILY CAPITAL

ECONOMIC CAPITAL
    Parental occupation
    Income
    Family physical environment

HUMAN CAPITAL
    Family cognitive environment
    Parental education
    Perspectives of children's future education

CULTURAL CAPITAL
    Parental level of culture
    Cultural resources available at home
    Attendance of cultural events

SOCIAL CAPITAL
    Relationships in the family
        Parental relationship
        Parents ⇔ children
        Children ⇔ children
    Relationships outside the family
        Family ⇔ school
        Family ⇔ community, society

FAMILY DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
    Family structure
    Number of family members

EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME – STUDENTS' EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Results
Continuing education
Professional status
Income
Mobility

INDIVIDUAL PERSPECTIVE

PERSONALITY CAPITAL

STUDENTS' DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Source: scheme developed by the author, based on Buchmann, Hannum, 2001; Geske et al. 2001; Zepa et al. 2007; Mensikovs 2009.

The theoretical perspective of the article is based on the framework of the capital theory and the fact that both family and school – the two social systems nearest to the

student – have a certain capital that is not limited to the economic capital, but also includes other resources – human capital, social capital, and cultural capital – which can be used for reaching different goals, including higher educational achievements and a better quality of life.

Family capital, including its interaction with school capital and the impact of individual level factors, has been interpreted through the perspective of capital theories by Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 1986) and Coleman (Coleman 1988), along with the approaches to interpreting cultural capital by British sociologist Basil Bernstein (Bernstein 1977) and Anette Lareau, a researcher of French origin (Lareau 1997, 2003).

A significant contribution to empirical implementation of the capital theory in Latvia has been provided by professor V. Meņšikovs who has adapted Bourdieu's approach to studying young people's life strategies in Latvia. According to his observations, the conversion of different types of capital is carried out with the support of a special exchange rate that depends on the culture of the society, conditions of the market, and the demand of certain types of capital within it (Meņšikovs 2009). Within the article social capital is approached less as a collective benefit but rather as an individual benefit more precisely, as a benefit of families as small groups, with a greater focus on family social networks and their size. This approach follows the views of such social capital theorists as Nan Lin, Ronald Burt, Alejandro Portes, Xavier de Souza Briggs, and Wendy Stone among others (Bourdieu, Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988; Erickson 1996; Briggs 1998; Flap 1999, 2004; Portes 2000; Stone 2001; Dominguez, Watkins 2003).

In line with the insights mentioned above, it can be assumed that all families have a family capital, the only question is the awareness of this capital and the family's willingness and ability to use it (i.e., family capacity) (Tisenkopfs 2005; Boronenko 2008; Gofen 2009). In the context of this study, capital is seen as a contribution that can be made for future benefit – parents can influence their children's human capital, social capital and economic capital in the future by making present-day investments in their skills, health, education, motivation, and many other aspects of their life (Becker, Tomes 1986; Lin 2001).

The main topic of the article is an analysis of the group of students who overcome negative expectations regarding their education and are able to become academically successful despite a relatively low family socioeconomic status which has traditionally been associated with a low level of educational achievement. Students whose families are in a similar socioeconomic situation and who confirm the negative expectations regarding their educational achievement – are academically unsuccessful – serve as a reference group.

Theoretical framework of the social resilience concept has been analyzed, linking it with the interactions between state, schools, family capital, and individual factors which contribute to the opportunities of students from economically disadvantaged families to reach high educational outcomes.

Social resilience was initially considered as a distinctly individual characteristic, the ability to positively adapt to the critical circumstances and to succeed (Werner et al. 1971; Masten, Coatsworth 1998). In forty years of research the concept of social

resilience has evolved into a model characteristic to the constructivist approach, which explains social resilience as the result of interaction between micro-level (individual abilities) and macro-level (processes) factors (Luthar et al. 2000; Bronfenbrenner 2005; Masten 2011) in a specific context and subject to individual interpretations (Ungar et al. 2007; Ungar 2008). What has remained unchanged during this time is the understanding of social resilience as a phenomenon with two dimensions: on the one hand, it is connected to a highly critical situation, on the other – with the ability to positively adapt to this situation despite the high risk. Thus, the potential for social resilience can be identified only by measuring both dimensions. This two-dimensional approach within the social resilience research has been supported by all of the most prominent researchers who use the concept, including prof. Jelena Obradovic (Masten, Obradovic 2006), prof. Ann S. Masten (Masten, Coatsworth 1998; Masten 2011), and prof. Suniya S. Luthar (Luthar 1991). The author finds the view of prof. Michael Rutter, who outlines the high risk situation as the aspect that distinguishes the potential of social resilience from the normal or normative development, the most engaging (Rutter 1990). The dominant theoretical perspective chosen for the interpretation of social resilience is the approach of prof. Michael Ungar that explains social resilience as a concept construed in a certain society and culture – a result of interaction between factors facilitating positive changes (Ungar et al. 2007; Ungar 2004, 2008).
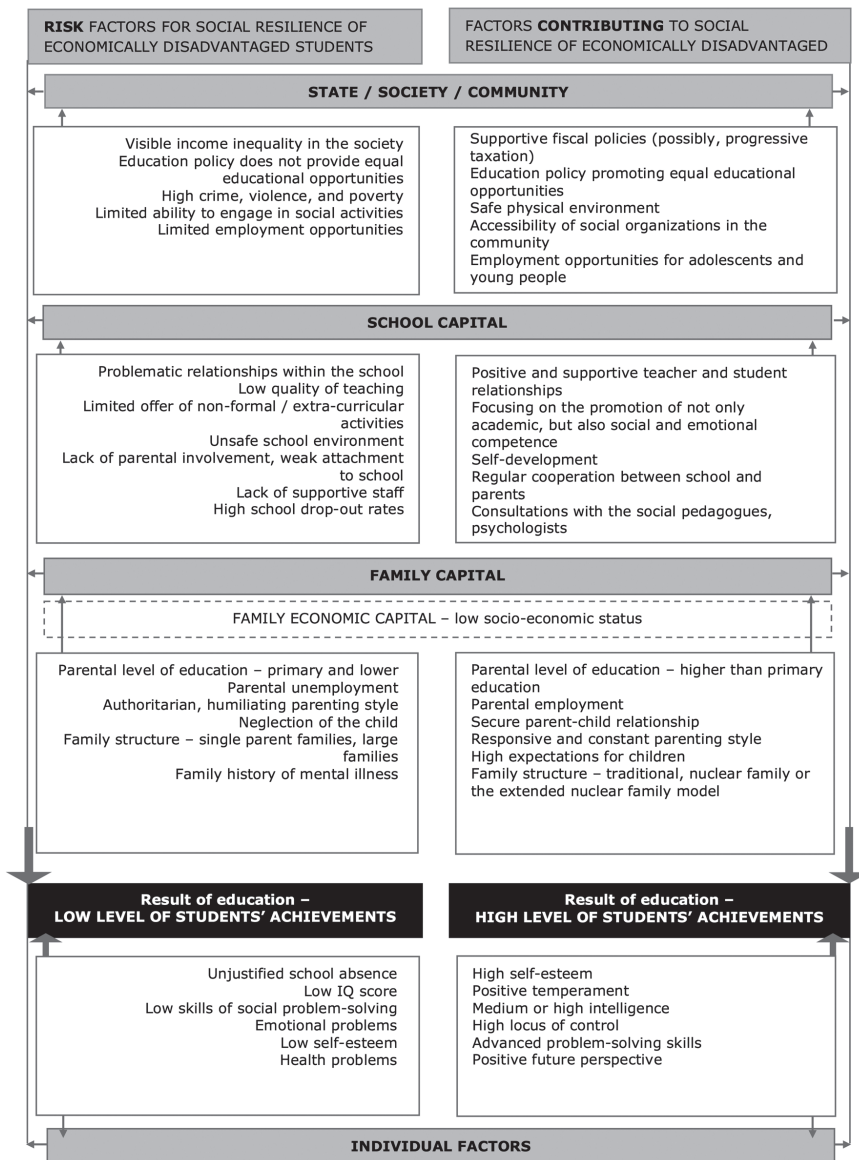
Studies have shown that the factors that have a positive impact on students' educational outcomes could also increase the educational achievements of economically disadvantaged students, promoting their social resilience in education (Angelocci 2007). Consequently, the research model developed by the author that defines the factors affecting educational achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families can be successfully applied for the exploration of determinants of social resilience; identifying factors that influence social resilience in each group of capital (see Fig. 2).

The factors affecting the educational achievements of economically disadvantaged students, in other words the determinants of social resilience, can be divided into two opposite groups: contributing factors and risk factors. This division illuminates how some characteristics and practices within the same domain – community, family, school, or the individual – can develop the potential of social resilience, while others – reduce it significantly, increasing the level of economically disadvantaged low-achievers and the proportion of students dropping out from the education system (McMillan, Reed 1994; Bernard 1995, 1999; Masten 2011).

In line with the aim of the article to study opportunities for improving the educational achievements of economically disadvantaged students, an in-depth analysis of the factors contributing to social resilience has been carried out. Through this analysis the article follows the currently most frequently implemented approach in social resilience research: the so-called solution directed approach, that pays greater attention to social factors promoting resilience research than the so-called pathological approach that was more popular in the early research on social resilience when the majority of the studies were focused on the risk or hindering factors of social resilience (Ungar 2004).

Figure 2

Factors affecting the social resilience of children from economically disadvantaged families

RISK FACTORS FOR SOCIAL RESILIENCE OF ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS	FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO SOCIAL RESILIENCE OF ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED
STATE / SOCIETY / COMMUNITY	
Visible income inequality in the society Education policy does not provide equal educational opportunities High crime, violence, and poverty Limited ability to engage in social activities Limited employment opportunities	Supportive fiscal policies (possibly, progressive taxation) Education policy promoting equal educational opportunities Safe physical environment Accessibility of social organizations in the community Employment opportunities for adolescents and young people
SCHOOL CAPITAL	
Problematic relationships within the school Low quality of teaching Limited offer of non-formal / extra-curricular activities Unsafe school environment Lack of parental involvement, weak attachment to school Lack of supportive staff High school drop-out rates	Positive and supportive teacher and student relationships Focusing on the promotion of not only academic, but also social and emotional competence Self-development Regular cooperation between school and parents Consultations with the social pedagogues, psychologists
FAMILY CAPITAL	
FAMILY ECONOMIC CAPITAL – low socio-economic status	
Parental level of education – primary and lower Parental unemployment Authoritarian, humiliating parenting style Neglection of the child Family structure – single parent families, large families Family history of mental illness	Parental level of education – higher than primary education Parental employment Secure parent-child relationship Responsive and constant parenting style High expectations for children Family structure – traditional, nuclear family or the extended nuclear family model
Result of education – LOW LEVEL OF STUDENTS' ACHIEVEMENTS	**Result of education – HIGH LEVEL OF STUDENTS' ACHIEVEMENTS**
Unjustified school absence Low IQ score Low skills of social problem-solving Emotional problems Low self-esteem Health problems	High self-esteem Positive temperament Medium or high intelligence High locus of control Advanced problem-solving skills Positive future perspective
INDIVIDUAL FACTORS	

Source: scheme developed by the author of the dissertation, adapting McMillan, Reed 1994; Murray, 2003; Masten 2011.

As mentioned above, the family has an extremely important role in the lives of those students who have achieved high results in education despite a low family socio-

economic status. At the same time, the education system (and the school as a key element of it) can contribute to the social resilience of economically disadvantaged students both by providing materials and technical resources required for learning and thus compensating for the lack of family economic capital, and by giving opportunities not only for cognitive, but also for social and emotional development through active interaction and thus to reducing the impact of undeveloped social and human capital of the family.

As a result, the school is becoming a public instrument through which it is possible to reach children from economically disadvantaged families and to compensate for the negative impact of critical family socio-economic situation. Initially high educational achievements are an individual achievement of each child, but in the long term they result in a precondition necessary for a sustainable development of the society – an education person. The attainment of education promotes social mobility (Hout, Beller 2006), reduces poverty and social exclusion (Trapenciere 2006), therefore education can serve as a very important tool for breaking the cycle of poverty and providing a positive impact not only on the individual, but also on the quality of life of the next generation (OECD 2011).

Data Sources and Methodology of Empirical Analysis

In-depth analysis of secondary data from two research projects was carried out to achieve the objective of the article – to analyse family, school and individual-level factors affecting educational achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families in Latvia with the aim to improve the educational performance of this group of students.

Data from the following research projects have been used:
1. Information from semi-structured interviews with representatives of economically disadvantaged families from the European Union Structural Fund National Programme Research "Causes and Duration of Unemployment and Social Exclusion" (Rungule et al. 2007);
2. Data from the OECD PISA 2006: results of student cognitive tests and surveys of students and school management.

Secondary Analysis of Information Obtained in Interviews with Representatives from Economically Disadvantaged Families

The primary research aim of the interview analysis is to highlight the situation of economically disadvantaged families – the context that influences the formation of children's educational achievements. At the same time, the qualitative data analysis was focused on the examination of the hypothetical assumption stated at the beginning of the study that economically disadvantaged families in Latvia are not a homogenous group – they share a similar economic situation, but are differentiated by the diverse human capital, social and cultural capital as well as by the ability to use it.

The total number of interviews included in the analysis: n = 35. The target group of the interviews: persons whose families corresponded to the following criteria: (1) at least one of the parents is unemployed, it is a single and/or large family (with at least three children); (2) the family has at least one school age child (6–18 years), (3) isolated families who do not receive any support from relatives or friends, who have insufficient accessibility to electricity, telephone connections, or transportation that substantially limits their access to information and services, and impede their integration into society.

The qualitative data analysis was carried out on the basis of the Research model of factors affecting educational achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families that was developed by the author of the article. The analysis of information obtained in the interviews with economically disadvantaged, single-parent families and large families were carried out according to the principles of qualitative content analysis (Miles, Huberman 1994; Berg 2001), and following the approach to qualitative data analysis developed by Anselm Strauss' and Juliet Corbin' (Strauss, Corbin 2008).

The so-called approach of "content-driven analysis" was chosen within the framework of analysis realising the initial coding on the basis of a pre-developed theoretical framework and adding new themes to the established coding scheme during the further analysis of the data with the aim to verify and to expand on the conceptual framework of the research (Zhang, Wildemuth 2009).

Secondary Analysis of OECD PISA 2006 Data

The secondary analysis of the OECD PISA 2006 quantitative survey of students and schools gives numerically accurate indicators on the educational achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families and on the differences between the two groups of economically disadvantaged students – the socially resilient and the socially non-resilient students – as well as provides with information about opportunities to improve the educational achievements.

The quantitative analysis was carried out following the approach of Suniya S. Luthar, who emphasizes two dimensions of the social resilience concept: the highly critical situation on the one hand, and the positive adaptation on the other According to Luthar, it is necessary to realise measurements on both dimensions to fully evaluate the potential of social resilience (Luthar 1991; Masten 2011). In order to avoid the common criticism about a lack of exact criteria for measuring the concept of social resilience, two PISA measurements were used for determining the level of social resilience in line with the developed theoretical framework for data analysis: (1) PISA 2006 ESCS index (ESCS – index of economic, social and cultural status)that defines family economic, social and cultural status and includes measures of durable items and books in the family, parental occupation, and parental highest level of education, and (2) PISA 2006 science achievement scale that provides information about students achievements in Science.

In order to assess the indicators of students' social resilience, calculations were done in two stages: (1) educational achievements of students for each country were

broken down into three equal groups – low, average, and high achievements; (2) the index of economic, social and cultural status of students' families for each country was broken down into three equal groups – low, average and high. Thus, proportion of resilient students for each country is composed of the one third of students who have the relatively lowest scores in the index of family economic, social and cultural status and have the highest achievements. To achieve a more detailed comparison, the group of non–resilient students was characterized as the ones who share the same socioeconomic background, but do not have high educational achievements. This group was composed of the one third of students who have the relatively lowest scores in the index of family economic, social and cultural status and have the lowest achievements.

The approach used for calculating social resilience in this article has been derived from the PISA methodology experts (OECD 2011), but adapted for national-level analysis. The method chosen for calculation of social resilience (dividing the index of family social, economic and cultural status and the scores of students' achievements in three equal parts) can be evaluated as optimal, as it corresponds both to the theoretical framework (i.e., that determination of strict borders of measurement are critical for calculations of such groups) and to the requirement of having a sufficiently large sample size for reliable statistical analysis. Furthermore, it is associated and fully compatible with the first scientific findings on social resilience, arrived to by the development psychologist Emily Werner, who concluded that one third of all children from disadvantaged backgrounds who have undergone multiple challenges within the family and the community were able to break away from the track of negative development (Werner et al. 1971; Werner et al. 2001).

The comparative analysis of the two groups of students was begun with the help of descriptive statistical methods. Further analysis implemented the method of binomial logistic regression to predict the possibility of non–resilient students to enter the group of socially resilient students.

The method was chosen according to the specifics of the dependent variable and the need to compare the two opposing groups. Binomial logistic regression modelling has been used in cases where the dependent variable is dichotomous – both when the variable is dichotomous originally, and when a nominal or ordinal measurement categories are recoded as dichotomous variables (Kleinbaum 1994; Hosmer, Lemeshow 2000; Garson 2011). In total, 25 complex features – PISA 2006 indices that characterize a student's family, school, and their individual characteristics – were selected for creating a regression model with the goal of determining the extent to which each independent variable affects the belonging to one the two groups, as well as which changes in variables can lead to switching between the groups.

Results of the Empirical Research

Information obtained in the interviews confirms the multidimensional impact of a limited family economic capital on the economically disadvantaged families in Latvia, and reveals risk factors that influence low educational achievements for children from

such families, e.g., limited opportunities for parents to meet the basic needs of them and their children, to purchase all the necessary items for school, to bring their children to school, or to pay for their children's school lunch. Through an in-depth analysis of the information obtained for the article, the author has concluded that economically disadvantaged families in Latvia cannot be considered a unified, homogenous group. In accordance to the theoretical and methodological perspective, it is possible to distinguish between two types of economically disadvantaged families who share a similar economic situation, but whose family social, cultural and human capital, as well as the ability to convert them is completely different.

First, economically disadvantaged families who enhance children's social resilience – families with low economic capital, but high capacity – representatives from these families have significant non-economic resources and different manifestations of social, cultural and human capital; the interaction of these qualities significantly compensates for the restrictions of the economic capital.

Second, the economically disadvantaged families who do not enhance children's social resilience – families with low economic capital and low capacity – representatives of these families are characterized by lower human capital, they do not have the ability, interest and/or motivation to use family non-material capital to improve the quality of life and the development of social, cultural and human capital to compensate for the lack of economic capital.

Information obtained in the study shows that the ability of individuals to fulfil their goals increases with a broader awareness of and interaction between various types of family capital. Thus it can be considered that socially resilient students mostly come from socially resilient families that are characterized by the following qualities.

First, context – a short history of limited family economic capital (the status of poverty is relatively recent), a higher level of parental education.

Second, investments in cultural and human capital:

- Search of free-of-charge opportunities to attend cultural events and educational activities

> Children have very good days at Philharmonic…when there is an opportunity to visit it, to introduce children to the symphonic music, to get to opera without buying expensive tickets. [..] These possibilities are… if you are looking for them, they would come somehow…. I like to look at the posters, where there are some kinds of activities… exactly for the soul (Zaiga, mother of 4).

- Dedication of finances to educational purposes (e.g., purchasing a computer with the help of a consumer credit)
- High expectations for children's education, an active involvement in children's continuing education planning, and the strengthening of children's self-esteem despite the limited financial resources:

> Serious plans, very serious plans I want…I think everyone is interested in child's education, that he will get the higher education, well-paid job, education, which is indeed required in the job market… to give the best to your child (Sandis, person with special needs, father of 1).

- And investments in social capital – strengthening of the children's sense of national belonging, the attendance of religious activities, as well as an active interest in networking not only within the community and with families who are at the same level of economic capital and provide horizontal mobility, but also the formation of so-called bridging social capital that encourages the vertical mobility of young people and the opportunity to get out of the poverty trap:

> All of children are come to school together – everyone is very friendly and at the end car is so stuffed, that kids are sitting in two floors (Selga, mother of 4).

According to the information obtained in the interviews, children are thinking about opportunities of continuing education, are motivated and interested in learning and social life despite the low level of family economic capital and constrains that arise from it:

> If a student or a child is vital and poverty is not so great that freezing feet in winter and not dressed that others show with fingers, then a lot of depends on human nature – as he perceives situations, as he is a vital or not (Velga, mother of 1, single family).

A strong correlation exists also between factors that negatively affect student achievements. One of the most important is families with both low economic capital and low capacity, even passivity, to use non-economic family capital to compensate for insufficient economic capital. Thus, it can be concluded that a large proportion of socially non-resilient students come from socially non-resilient families characterized by a passivity and inability to use the non-economic family capital to improve the quality of life (and indirectly – to improve the children's educational achievements).

Context of these families – along-term experience of poverty, often accompanied by alcohol abuse, and a lower education level of the parents;

Second, lack of investment, which is highlighted in two spheres:

- In cultural and human capital – a low self-esteem, pessimistic predictions for the future:

> We are a large family – we are not rich, disadvantaged – right?! Almost auctioned, dropped out from the life. Everyone tries not looking to us... Similarly for children, they shall be graded. Oh, you are… you are not as rich as I am – not come with me! (Rasma, mother of 8).

- As well as a lack of expectations and distancing oneself from the planning of children's future education:

> Of course I would like that children will learn much more …and I'm talking with them about consequences if they will not [..] I do not know, what they are thinking [..] they really do not get what they should get at home, they do not have the father's help and advice... there are a lot of that who hinder it all (Maira, mother of 3).

- Insufficient investments in social capital – a lack of interest in societal and cultural novelties:

   In principle… for me I do not visit any theatres, cinemas, all sorts of events, and concerts – they are completely eliminated. [..] I cannot afford at least for now, maybe when they finish school, they will have more autonomy… then maybe (Silva, mother of 3*)*

- Networking limited only to the nearest neighbours, who are in a similar socio-economic situation and which are sometimes related to excessive alcohol use:

   I have five children and I cannot go anywhere. [..] Because I cannot afford. [..] But I do have neighbours who sometime like to take my two daughters and drive to the city centre. There was a children's festival and the girls loved it (Nadīne, mother of 5).

As shown by the analysis of information obtained through the interviews, children of these families are often characterized by behavioural problems, as well as a lack of interest and motivation to continue learning.

Thus, the first of five hypotheses has proven to be true: economically disadvantaged families in Latvia are not a homogeneous group – they are united by similar family economic situation, but are differentiated by diverse human, social and cultural capital, and by their abilities to implement forms of non-economic capital to compensate for insufficient economic capital.

More precisely, the first argument is supported by data obtained through the quantitative data analysis of the OECD PISA 2006 study. The study reveals that there is a limited number of students who could positively adapt to the critical situation created by the economic deprivation in their family and were able to reach high educational achievements in spite of the difficulties and challenges related to insufficient family economic capital. In the article these students are described through the conceptual framework of social resilience and they confirm that a certain proportion of economically disadvantaged families are able to convert non-economic resources to compensate for insufficient economic capital.

According to the methodology for calculating students' social resilience index implemented in this article, the author has found that 23% of economically disadvantaged students, or 7.4% of all students in Latvia at the age of 15, can be defined as socially resilient – these are the students who come from economically disadvantaged families but have been able to reach educational achievement equivalent to the average of OECD PISA 2006 study leaders (see Table 1).

There are twice as many socially non-resilient students who have been unable to cope with the impact of a critical economic situation in the family and who have the lowest ratings within the PISA 2006 tests – nearly half (47%) of economically disadvantaged students, or 15.6% of all students in Latvia at the age of 15. Achievements of socially non-resilient students are significantly lower statistically than the OECD PISA 2006 average figures and they show that at least half of the economically disadvantaged students in Latvia have got insufficient level of knowledge at the point of graduating from basic education that limits their opportunities to continue education

and successfully integrate in the labour market, creating a high level of reproduction of social exclusion and poverty and, consequently, impede the fulfilment of at least one of the Europe2020 targets for Latvia: the reduction of the proportion of 15-year-olds with low achievements in Science below 15 percentage points.

<div align="right">Table 1</div>

Achievements of students in Latvia in PISA 2006 within different family socio-economic and cultural status index groups

		Students' achievements in Sciences, PISA 2006					
		The lowest achievements		Average achievements		The highest achievements	
		Students, %	Achievements, points	Students, %	Achievements, points	Students, %	Achievements, points
ESCS – index of economic, social and cultural status	The lowest	**15.6%**	395	10.3%	489	**7.4%**	567
	Average	11.1%	404	12.4%	492	9.9%	574
	The highest	6.3%	407	10.7%	494	16.3%	584

Source: estimations realised by the author

More than a half of the economically disadvantaged students who had reached relatively high achievements in Science were also academically outstanding in the other two of PISA 2006 study domains – Reading and Mathematics; the vast majority of economically disadvantaged students who had demonstrated high achievements in Science demonstrated social resilience in two of the three subjects. From those economically disadvantaged students in Latvia who received relatively lower assessments in the PISA 2006 Science test, three fourths showed low results in Mathematics and Reading and the significantly largest part of economically disadvantaged low achievers had low results in two out of three subjects. These high rates of interdependence – the overlap of social resilience and, in particular, social non-resilience in different subjects – allow generalizing from the measurements of social resilience determined on the basis of achievements in Science.

Thus, the second of five hypotheses has proven to be true: achievements of students from economically disadvantaged families in Latvia are different and there is a certain proportion of students with high potential for social resilience – those whose high achievements provides evidence that one can withstand the negative impact of a critical family economic situation on educational outcomes.

The results of the study show that there are no significant differences between the parental educational level of socially resilient and socially non-resilient students in the country as a whole, but noticeable differences between these two groups of students can be observed in rural areas. Consequently, the educational level of parents is a crucial factor for the improvement of performance of students from the rural schools in Latvia. If it is higher than primary education, the probability of socially non-resilient students to enter in the group of socially resilient students increases five times. This

fact confirms that a higher family human capital for those living in rural areas can help economically disadvantaged students to overcome the critical situation caused by low economic capital and to obtain high educational achievements.

Family factors have a much weaker impact on economically disadvantaged students from schools in Riga and other cities; this shows the ability of schools from these territorial entities to better compensate for the impact of low family capital. Economically disadvantaged high achievers have a statistically significantly more frequent access to cultural and educational resources at home than low-achievers; these resources can make the learning process easier and more attractive: they have their own room, a desk for studying, a calculator, a dictionary and a larger number of books – not only ones that are directly provided for learning but also classic literature and poetry collections.

A significant difference between the two groups of students has also been found with regards to the responses on information and communication technologies at home. Among the socially resilient students the majority has a computer at home, nearly half – software useful for learning, and one of the three – the internet. In the group of socially non-resilient students the access to information and communication technologies at home is lower by half.

According to the calculations of the binomial logistic regression, the availability of educational resources at home could increase the probability of socially non-resilient students to improve their educational achievements and to enter the group of socially resilient students by 80%. Having access to cultural resources at home could improve their performance by about 40% (see Table 2).

Table 2

Binomial logistic regression model on the impact of family, school, and individual factors on social resilience in Latvia

	Latvia Exp(B)	Riga Exp(B)	Cities Exp(B)	Rural area Exp(B)
1	2	3	4	5
FAMILY FACTORS				
Economic capital:				
Resources characterising household welfare				
Human capital:				
Higher reached educational level of student's parents				5.287*
Parents' professional carrier related to science				
Educational resources available in the household	1.766	1.790*		2.405
Cultural capital:				
Cultural resources available in the household	1.380		1.577*	
SCHOOL FACTORS				
Economic capital:				
Quality of educational resources in the school				
Shortage of teachers(negative score)		0.506*		

Sequel to Table 2

Number of PC for learning in relation to school size			1.285*	
Cultural and human capital:				
Preparation in the school for science-related careers				
Science teaching with a focus on daily life				
School activities that contribute to Science learning				
Proportion (%) of students in basic education who have repeated a school year	0.911	0.911*		
Social capital:				
Communication, discussions in class during science lessons	0.718			
School characteristics				
School location				
School size			1.002*	
INDIVIDUAL FACTORS				
Personality capital:				
The desire to pursue a profession related to science	3.007		4.408	3.174
Joy to learn science	1.466*			1.762*
The value of science in personal life				
Activities for acquisition of Science outside of the school			0.479	
Instrumental motivation for science learning	0.654			0.504
Awareness of science-oriented careers	0.404	0.376	0.449	0.354
Self-efficacy of science learning	3.143	3.395	3.018	3.403
Time devoted to learning sciences in the school	1.448	1.48	1.468	1.395
Time spent on learning sciences individually				
Student's demographic characteristics:				
Gender	1.444*		2.143*	
Constant	0.264	0.495	0.011	0.052
Cox & Snell R²	0.334	0.357	0.327	0.368
NagelkerkeR²	0.467	0.494	0.454	0.519
Prognosis accuracy	79.9%	81.6%	76.9%	81.8%

Statistical significance: * p <0.05 for all other measurements of p <0.001

Source: scheme developed by the author, adapting McMillan, Reed 1994; Murray, 2003; Masten 2011

Thus, the third of five theses has proven to be true: a higher family human capital (the educational level of parents and the educational resources available at home) and cultural capital (the cultural resources available at home) have a positive impact on the opportunities of Latvia's economically disadvantaged students whose performance is poor to reach high educational achievements.

Comparing data on the availability and quality of educational resources as an indicator of the economic capital of schools, it can be concluded that the schools where the socially resilient students learn are not so much different from those where

the socially non-resilient students receive their education. According to the opinion of school management, the overall material and technical resources are very low and there is lack of qualified teachers to provide a qualitative training process (2).

Despite an insufficient material and technical base, the vast majority of socially resilient and socially non-resilient students positively evaluate the work of teachers, noting that they help to learn the basic skills and knowledge that will be needed both in Science-related work and in many other professions. The vast majority of schools in Latvia with economically disadvantaged students organize a variety of activities to promote Science learning and in this respect the two groups of economically disadvantaged students differ only slightly.

The results of the study confirm the relationship – higher educational attainments are gained by those students for whom school knowledge is related to daily live experiences. Economically disadvantaged students with high achievements are statistically significantly more likely than students with low achievements to note that science education explains the context of various phenomena, that science concepts are analysed in the context of everyday life, and that their science teacher uses science concepts to help students understand the world outside of the school. According to the calculations of the binomial logistic regression, it was concluded that, in general, none of the ten elements of school capital that were included in the regression model showed any significant impact on the opportunities for rising the achievements of socially non-resilient students. Analysing the results in more detail, it was found that the socially resilient students who attend city schools (with the exception of Riga), have more possibilities to enter the group of socially resilient students if the school has a better provision of information and communication technologies. Meanwhile, the insufficient number of qualified teachers may be the cause that impedes the socially non-resilient students from Riga to raise their educational outcomes.

Thus, the fourth of five theses has proven to be partly true: the acquisition of theoretical knowledge by linking it with practical life situations, discussions, and awareness-raising in the learning process are aspects that affirm teachers' professionalism, as well as important elements of a higher school social, cultural and human capital: factors that strengthen the opportunities for socially non-resilient students to improve their educational performance. However, according to the research findings, these aspects are not important enough to have a significant impact on the opportunities of the economically disadvantaged low achievers to raise their performance. Also, debates and class discussions that focus on Science learning do not have such impact either.

According to the research results about the differences in individual social capital, at first, socially resilient students were more confident about their knowledge of science and indicated statistically significantly more frequently than socially non-resilient students that they could easy or with little effort explain why earthquakes occur in some places more than others, to predict how environmental changes may affect animal survival, as well as to identify a specific scientific question related to a health problem or the issues of waste disposal described in a newspaper article. Secondly, socially resilient students enjoy learning the Sciences more frequently than socially non-resilient students; the vast majority of the economically disadvantaged high-

achievers admitted that they like to read about science, and that they are interesting to study. Therefore, the socially resilient students have a greater desire to link their professional careers with science, a higher interest and awareness of their abilities, and they spend more time learning Science.

In the binomial logistic regression calculations it was found that five out of ten individual capital elements included in the regression model could increase the probability of socially non-resilient students to enter the group of socially resilient students, at first, the interest in science (especially astronomy) and the desire to associate it with professional development (3 times), secondly, the awareness one's abilities, a perception that they can answer the test questions on science topics well (3 times), thirdly, the joy to learn science and time dedicated to learning science (by 40%).

Thus, the fifth of five theses has proven to be true: an interest in the learning subject, a higher self-confidence about individual capability and binding the future career to science studies are all factors of individual capital that have a positive impact on the socially non-resilient students' opportunities to improve their performance and to enter the group of economically disadvantaged, academically successful students.

Conclusions

The study answers the initially raised research question: "Which factors need to change for Latvia's socially non-resilient students to improve their educational achievements and to enter the group of socially resilient students?"

According to the results, opportunities for socially non resilient students to improve their educational achievements and to enter the group of socially resilient student can be increased by:

- Elements of family capital – higher parental education level (especially – for rural students), availability of educational and cultural resources at the student's home, as well as family's social capital. The exchange of the latter improves the overall quality of life of the family, provides positive impact on the access to qualitative education, and promotes the improvement of educational achievements;

- Various aspects of personality capital – the achievements of students improve with a greater interest in learning, desire to associate professional development with specific subjects, a higher self-efficacy and awareness of personal ability, and a joy to learn, which result in devoting more time for learning;

- Elements of school capital– in an urban environment (Riga) a sufficient provision of qualified teachers is an important indicator for improving the achievements of non-resilient students, whereas access to modern information and communication technologies is significant for schools in other cities. At the same time, it has to be taken into account that the school has a high impact on the formation of students' learning motivation.

The fact that social resilience research is a new paradigm in the sociology of education in the world, as well as in Latvia outlines the novelty of the article, based on research elaborated in Doctoral Thesis.

The analysis of the research results that was carried out in accordance to the framework of capital theory, reveals the possibilities to segment economically disadvantaged families and confirms the hypothetical assumption that these families are not a homogenous group. The article demonstrates examples of families who are facilitating their children's social resilience – these are families whose parents actively use family non-economic resources and positively impact the achievements of their children despite limited economic capital.

Novelty of research is based on the in-depth sociological analysis that was conducted using data from one of the most comprehensive international comparative education studies – OECD PISA. Up until now sociologists in Latvia have not used internationally comparative education research projects for a detailed sociological analysis, instead they have largely relied on the primary results about students' achievement in Latvia in comparison with other countries.

Thinking about further research perspectives, it has to be taken into account that social resilience is not a fixed indicator: the capacity and potential of social resilience may be reduced if the number of risk factors increases. According to research, even if at a given point in time children from economically disadvantaged families are able to overcome the constraints created by the insufficient economic capital and be successful, many of them can still fail later in life. Because of this, long-term longitudinal studies are often conducted to study social resilience in education, providing evidence on the dynamics of social resilience in young people's lives.

By measuring the achievements of 15-year-old students, OECD PISA could not provide a complete answer to the question of effectiveness and sustainability of educational policy. The results of the study do not give answers about that how successfully the education system prepares young people for a purposeful transition into adulthood – integration in the higher education and the labour market, and does not explain which factors have the most significant impact on long-term positive achievements in education and employment throughout their lives. To obtain such information it would be advisable to continue regular research the life paths of PISA participants. It should be noted that such studies have already been conducted for several years in Canada, Australia and Switzerland (3).

(1) This article is based on Authors' Doctoral dissertation "Factors Affecting Educational Achievements of Students from Economically Disadvantaged Families in Latvia" that was defended at 22nd of November, 2013 in Rīga Stradiņš University.

(2) It should be noted that from beginning of the 2011./2012. school year electronic and printed educational materials in biology, physics, chemistry and mathematics for grades seven and nine that significantly improves teaching and learning quality are available for more than 750 educational institutions, prepared by the project "Science and Mathematics".

(3) OECD (2010). Pathways to Success – How knowledge and skills at age 15 shape future lives in Canada. Available: http://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisaproducts/pisa2006/44574748.pdf (accessed 01.09.2013.). Australian Concil for Educational Research (2013). Skills for Life The link between PISA and LSAY Available: http://www.acer.edu.au/ozpisa/pisa-lsay (accessed 01.09.2013.). TREE (ed.) (2013). TREE Project Documentation 2000–2012. Basel: TREE. Available: http://tree.unibas.ch/en/the-project/ (accessed 01.09.2013.)

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TOPICALITY OF CYBERBULLYING AMONG TEENAGERS IN RUSSIA AND LATVIA

Cyberbullying can be defined as an aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself. A similar definition is worked out by the Information Technologies Group of the Center for International Development at the Harvard University and, in virtue of its generality, it complies with the notion of cyberbullying used by many researchers in Europe, Australia and the USA. The geographic scope of the present article is focused on Russia and Latvia, with some references to East Europe countries. An intriguing indication arises from our investigation: in spite of the daily topicality of cyberbullying among teenagers of Russia and Latvia, in these countries are not any or just few significant scientific researches on cyberbullying and cyber violence. Starting from the above observation, this article presents some reflections on the topicality of cyberbullying and on the absence of adequate scientific and practical feedback in Russia and Latvia. The article is divided into two main parts: the first part is devoted to the cyberbullying context in Russia and Latvia, while in the second one the authors provide some considerations about a possible relationship between cyberbullying and culturally historical heritage in post-communist countries. The methods used in the research: analysis of scientific literature and media materials from English, Russian and Latvian scientific and media space, secondary analysis of sociological surveys' data, cluster analysis and correlation analysis. The results of the research show that the main reasons of cyberbullying paradox in the teenager population of Russia and Latvia are the following: historical heritage of violence from totalitarian political regimes when state powerful persons were cruel and boorish in their daily practice; collective – even "herd" – societal culture where people are divided on "ours" and "non-ours". The solutions of the problem suggested by the authors are the following: 1) conceptual and complex understanding of current situation; 2) taking into consideration cultural context; 3) target managing of social networks in schools; 4) non-using of cruel and terror methods. The core idea of the paper – the main premise of the success of anti-bullying policy is that non-bullying behavior has to be psychologically, socially and economically beneficial in the society as a whole.

Key words: cyberbullying, violence, teenagers, Russia, Latvia.

Kiberpazemojuma aktualitāte pusaudžu vidū Krievijā un Latvijā

Šajā pētījumā kiberpazemojuma jēdziens tiek interpretēts kā apzināti un atkārtoti apvaino-jumi, kas tiek nodoti ar datora, mobilā telefona vai cita elektroniskās ierīces starpniecību. Šo definējumu izstrādāja Hārvardas universitātes Starptautiskā attīstības centra informācijas tehno-loģiju grupa, atbilstoši interpretācijai, kuru izmanto kiberpazemojuma pētnieki Eiropā, Austrā-lijā un ASV. Ģeogrāfiski šis pētījums aprobežojas ar Krievijas un Latvijas teritorijām, ar atsauci uz Austrumeiropas valstīm. Īpašu uzmanību pelnošs autora pētījuma rezultāts ir tas, ka, neskatoties uz ikdienas kiberpazemojumu aktualitāti pusaudžu vidū Krievijā un Latvijā, par šo tēmu nopietnu zinātnisku pētījumu praktiski nav (ja arī ir, tad tikai daži). Izejot no šī priekš-noteikuma, rakstā tiek diskutēts par kibepazemojuma aktualitāti adekvātās zinātniskās un praktiskas reakcijas prombūtnes kontekstā par šo problēmu gan Krievijā, gan arī Latvijā. Rak-stam ir divas daļas: pirmā daļa tiek veltīta kiberpazemojuma fenomena konteksta analīzei Krievijā un Latvijā, bet otrajā daļā autori diskutē par iespējamām savstarpējām sakarībām

starp kiberpazemojumu un post-komunistisko valstu kulturāli vēsturisko mantojumu. Pētījumā izmantotās metodes: zinātniskās literatūras un angļu, latviešu un krievu valodīgo mēdiju avotu analīze, atkārtota socioloģisko pētījumu datu analīze, kā arī klasteru un korelāciju analīze. Pētījuma rezultāti parādīja, ka vadošie "kiberpazemojuma paradoksa" iemesli Austrumeiropas un Krievijas pusaudžu vidū ir šādi: vardarbība kā vēsturisks totalitāro politisko režīmu mantojums, kuros valsts varas struktūru pārstāvji izmantoja cietsirdību un rupjību savā ikdienas praksē; kolektīvā, pat "bara" societālā kultūra, kurā cilvēki tiek iedalīti "savējos" un "svešajos". Autori piedāvā šādus problēmas risinājumus: 1) konceptuāla un kompleksa situācijas izpratne; 2) kultūras konteksta ievērošana; 3) mērķtiecīga sociālo tīklu pārvaldīšana skolās; 4) atteikšanās no rupjām problēmas risināšanas metodēm. Raksta pamatideja balstās uz to, ka vadošais veiksmīgas politikas, kas virzīta pret pazemojumiem, priekšnosacījums ir psiholoģiskā, sociālā un ekonomiskā pazemojošas uzvedības neizdevīguma aktualizācija sabiedrībā kopumā.

Atslēgas vārdi: kiberpazemojums, vardarbība, pusaudži, Krievija, Latvija.

Актуальность киберунижения в среде подростков России и Латвии

Киберунижение может быть определено как агрессивный преднамеренный акт, совершаемый группой лиц или индивидуально посредством электронных средств коммуникации; данный акт совершается неоднократно и направлен против жертвы, которой очень сложно себя защитить. Схожее определение киберунижения, разработанное группой информационных технологий Центра международного развития Гарвардского Университета созвучно формулировке, которую используют исследователи киберунижения в Европе, Австралии и США. Географический охват представленного исследования ограничен Россией и Латвией, хотя оно актуально и для стран Восточной Европы. Заслуживающим внимания результатом авторского исследования является то, что несмотря на повседневную актуальность киберунижения среди подростков России и Латвии, практически нет (если есть, то лишь несколько) серьёзных научных исследований по этой теме. Исходя из этой предпосылки, в данной статье обсуждается актуальность киберунижения в контексте отсутствия адекватной научной и практической реакции на эту проблему в России и в Латвии. Статья разделена на две части: первая часть посвящена анализу контекста феномена киберунижения в России и в Латвии, а во второй части авторы обсуждают возможные причинно-следственные связи между киберунижением и культурно-историческим наследием пост-коммунистических стран. Методы, применённые в исследовании: анализ научной литературы и медиа-источников из англо-, латышско- и русскоязычного научного и медиа-пространства, вторичный анализ данных социологических исследований, а также кластерный и корреляционный анализ. Результаты исследования показали, что основными причинами «парадокса киберунижения» среди подростков России и Латвии являются следующие: насилие как историческое наследие тоталитарных политических режимов, при которых представители государственных властных структур применяли жестокость и грубость в их повседневной практике; коллективная, даже «стадная», социетальная культура, при которой люди делятся на «своих» и «чужих». Решения проблемы, предлагаемые авторами, могут быть следующими: 1) концептуальное и комплексное понимание ситуации; 2) учитывание культурного контекста; 3) целевое управление социальными сетями в школах; 4) отказ от грубых методов решения проблемы. Центральная идея статьи состоит в том, что ключевым условием успешной политики, направленной против унижений, является психологическая, социальная и экономическая невыгодность унижающего поведения в обществе в целом.

Ключевые слова: киберунижение, насилие, подростки, Россия, Латвия.

Cyberbullying: a global problem for the always on-line generation

Many researchers claim cyberbullying is worldwide in growth as a consequence of the spread of new technologies, and many on-line sites and associations have been created to contrast this phenomenon, while several public initiatives have been promoted to diffuse on-line safety. Literature offers a wide variety of cyberbullying definitions (Smith et al. 2002; Hinduja, Patchin 2006, 2007, 2008; Ybarra et al. 2006; Ybarra, Mitchell 2007; Lenhart 2010; Ortega-Ruiz, Nunez 2012; Heirman, Walrave 2012; Wachs et al. 2012; Palladino et al. 2012; Paul et al. 2012; Vandebosch et al. 2012; Franco et al. 2012). However, following Kowalski and Limber (Kowalski, Limber 2007) cyberbullying is often considered a particular form of bullying, and is described as bullying that occurs through media and communication devices such as mobile phones, email, and the Internet (e.g. social networking sites, web pages, and blogs). Cyberbullies threat, scare, libel, humiliate, and offend their victims from far away. They use pictures, movies, e-mails, messages and comments to harass and pick on their targets on the Internet.

Some of the most cited definition of cyberbullying are (1):

- "An aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself" (Smith et al. 2008);
- "[cyberbullying is when someone] repeatedly makes fun of another person online or repeatedly picks on another person through e-mail or text messages or when someone posts something online about another person that they don't like" (Hinduja, Patchin 2012a);
- "Cyberbullying involves the use of information and communication technologies to support deliberate, repeated, and hostile behaviour by an individual or group, that is intended to harm others" (Belsey 2013).

Unlike other forms of bullying where there has been a long-standing general agreement among researchers about the repeated nature of the behavior, studies of cyberbullying have been less restrictive in applying a definition that requires a persistent and meaningful interaction between the perpetrator and the victim, primarily as a result of the anonymity that cyberbullying affords the perpetrator (Wolak et al. 2007).

Some year ago Vandebosch and Van Cleemput (Vandebosch, Van Cleemput 2008) claimed that the literature about cyberbullying was still relatively scarce and characterized by a lack of conceptual clarity. They argued that the cyberbullying phenomenon was defined in different ways, but very often starting from the definition of "traditional" bullying, and comparing it with the various forms of "deviant" cyber activities, such as cyber harassment, flaming, and cyberstalking. The authors also observed that existing studies about cyberbullying did not produced consistent results, and underlined that the estimations for the prevalence of cyberbullying vary in different researches as a consequence, at least in part, of the definitions and operationalizations of cyberbullying which are used.

Despite of endeavours made by researchers and practitioners in the last years, the general situation is not changed. It is confirmed by the really different researchers'

estimation about cyberbullying diffusion. Olweus (Olweus 2012a, 2012b), Smith and Slonje (Smith, Slonje 2010), as well as Hinduja and Patchin (Hinduja, Patchin 2012b) claim that the rate of cyberbullying has not increased since it first emerged as a problem in the second half of the last decade, while other researchers (e.g. Cassidy et al. 2011; Kowalski et al. 2012; Rivers, Noret 2010) argue an increase over the past five years.

Furthermore, in our opinion, two issues, which are specific of cyberbullying, continue to create many theoretical and practical difficulties. The first of them is related to the lack of complete control due to the technology used. For example, a harmful digital content (sms, text, picture or video) that is sent or uploaded on the Internet, can be downloaded, forwarded and diffused by any other persons, not necessarily by the initial perpetrator, and the flux cannot be stopped. But also the victim can experience an aggression many times, accessing and running the same toxic digital item repeatedly. The Internet memory is out of the perpetrators and victims' control, and cyberbullies take advantage from the features of online communication (anonymity, asynchronicity, and accessibility) to torment their targets (Valkenburg, Peter 2011).

The second issue is related to the notion of *power imbalance*, which can involve different spheres of domination and weakness (Law et al. 2012). In fact one can imagine that cyberbullies have a very deep knowledge of technologies and profit of their anonymity. But things can go in a different way: cyberbullies can be less technologically skilled than their victims and use the technologies only as an extension of their face to face aggression or *to document* it. Conversely, it has also been observed that the hidden nature of electronic communication can offer to victims, or self-presumed victims, of traditional bullying the opportunity to retaliate on line or to attack their real-world perpetrators (Kowalski et al. 2008).

Furthermore, in western countries, real and virtual realities, especially for young people, seem to form an indistinct continuum and the virtual relationships of on-line generation largely exceed the Dunbar's number (2). The new on-line attitudes open to an intriguing question: is really cyber bullying an alarming issue across various age groups regardless of cultural background (Mura et al. 2011)? Does cyberbullying depend only on the spread of new technologies or some factors, such as culture and historical heritage, can influence it or at least its perception?

In this regard, it seems fitting the following suggestion: important consideration to keep in mind when comparing studies are cultural similarities and differences in both the prevalence of research on the topic of cyberbullying and the prevalence of cyberbullying itself within a particular culture (Kowalsky et al. 2012).

Current literature shows that the problems of safe Internet, safe cyberspace, as well as the ones of cyberbullying, online bullying, cyber harassment, cyberstalking, cyber grooming and other similar activities are capturing the interest of an increasing multitude of subjects, especially researchers and practitioners operating in psychology and social psychology fields (recently also in sociology and social-pedagogy) and public, private and NGO institutions (Li et al. 2011; von Marées, Petermann 2012; Englander 2012) (3).

The analysis of statistics and studies for the recent ten years shows that, in Eastern Europe and Russia, the level of Internet use among teenagers is rising very quickly (Soldatova et al. 2013). In September 2011, Russia overtook Germany as the market with the highest number of unique visitors online, and, in 2012, Internet audience in Italy and Russia grow the faster, respectively 17% and 15% (4). This tendency was already evident some years ago both in Russia and in Latvia (Elhova 2009; Boronenko 2009a).

A consequence of the Internet growth in Russia and Eastern European countries is the increasing of computer crimes which appear to be perpetrated by computer hackers in that geographic area (Chu 2005). Also the problems of cyber addiction and cyberbullying are becoming topical (5). The number of hours young people pass on the Internet is growing day by day, and the same happens for the cyber violence episodes. In Russia, RUNET is full of offensive messages, pictures and videos against classmates and teachers, while it is well known in western countries the case of the Russian guy Vladimir Golubov, who, in 2012, hanged himself after his former lover used a social network to spread rumours that he was homosexual (6). Some cases of cyberbullying have been documented in Latvia too (Boronenko 2009b).

However, till now, in Russia and in Eastern Europe countries, there have not been carried out any significant scientific research on the topic of cyberbullying, although local media claim the daily topicality of cyberbullying among teenagers and worldwide the exploits of the Russian Maxim Martsinkevich, known by the nickname "Tesak" and founder of Occupy-Pedofilyay, are spreading.

It is also noteworthy the case of Ask. fm. (7) It is a Latvian site available in 31 different languages which allows users to log in through accounts on Facebook, Twitter, or Russian social network Vk.com. Ask. fm is very popular with teens in Latvia, but also many other countries worldwide. In 2012, in Ireland, two young teenagers' suicides over the past two months have been attributed to stress over cyber-bullying on Ask. fm. (8).

In the following, the authors outline the general situation on cyberbullying in Russia and Latvia, doing some considerations about the scarcity of significant scientific researches in these countries and speculating that some reasons could be found in their communist past.

The paper is divided into two main parts: the first part is devoted to the cyber-bullying context in Russia and Latvia, while in the second one authors provide some considerations about the possible relationship between cyberbullying and cultural heritage in post-communist countries.

The methods used in the research are: analysis of scientific literature and media materials from English, Russian and Latvian scientific and media space, secondary analysis of sociological surveys' data, cluster analysis and correlation analysis.

Using these methods as well as the methodology of structural functionalism (Spencer 1891, 1896; Merton 1938, 1957; Parsons 1951, 1961; Parsons, Shils 1976), neofunctionalism (Alexander 1985, 1998) and sociology of deviance (Bekker 1963) the authors discuss the hypothesis that cyberbullying (and bullying) can find fertile humus in some cultural habits historically rooted in East Europe countries and Russia.

Cyberbullying in Russia and Latvia

Data about the current state of research on cyberbullying in Russia and Latvia was gathered by means of the method of media materials' monograph analysis. Technical materials, scientific researches, blogs and other information available on the Internet and published in English, Latvian and Russian languages have been gathered and analysed.

We found that Russia, Latvia and other East European countries, have dealt with cyberbullying thank to EU co-funded projects and initiatives by non-governmental organizations some of which published studies and technical reports on their activities (FID 2012a; Beger et al. 2011; LSIC 2006, 2008, 2010). In Russian Federation, the principal project is Insafe (2009-2013), a European network constituted by 30 national Safer Internet Centres in EU member states and in Iceland, Norway and Russia. Every national Centre implements awareness and educational campaigns, runs a helpline, and works closely with youth to ensure an evidence-based, multi-stakeholder approach to creating a better internet. Other important initiatives are t*he Foundation of Internet Development in Russia (FID 2012b), The Digital Citizenship and Safety Project by the Young Section at UNICEF carried out both in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and in the Commonwealth of Independent States* (UNICEF 2012). In Latvia, the most famous project is "Net-Safe Latvia" (9), which started in 2006 and became an INHOPE member on May 2008 (10). This project, co-funded by EU, is now supported by the State Inspectorate for Protection of Children's Rights of the Ministry of Welfare of the republic of Latvia. The Safer Internet Centre's activities are strongly supported by stakeholders from government institutions, NGOs and the internet industry. The Centre privides practical advices and materials on the Internet online safety for teachers, parents, guardians and educators.

The topicality of cyberbullying in Latvia and Russia is confirmed by reports and various local internet materials, especially blogs and on-line newspapers.

In particular, the sociological quantitative survey "Modern Technology Usage and Internet Safety" (2010), carried out by the Latvian *Safer Internet Center,* provides information on the knowledge of the Internet safety issues, and illustrates the habits of using new electronic technologies by children, adolescents, their parents and teachers. The research was conducted using quantitative research method – indirect computerized interview – and was based on the results of 2017 respondents. The research's *results show that* 22–31% of children (n=495) and adolescents (n=1272) claim that they have been bullied online; 19% say that they have received unpleasant calls and SMS to their mobile phones (LSIC 2010). Another sociological research, Survey on Internet Safety 2010, was carried out by the Latvian State Inspectorate for Protection of Children's Rights (SIPCR) launched on Internet safety with the aim to increase the awareness of helpline and to find out children's attitude and their perception of internet safety related questions. On the whole, 597 children (303 girls and 294 boys) from different educational institutions covering all regions of Latvia participated in the survey. Some of the children mention threats to personal safety, internet addiction, other technical problems and possibility of financial fraud. Boys consider technical

threats (viruses, phishing, etc.) as the most evil ones, while girls acknowledge more importance to threats which are related to their personal safety. **32% of the respondents** say that they have experienced online bullying; **23%** have their profiles "hacked", and **19%** point out that they have received threats or insulting materials online (SIPCR 2010). The results of a research carried out in 2010 at Rezeknes secondary schools are similar (11). This research was based on a questionnaire submitted to 107 individuals, among 6–8 years old pupils and adolescents, and integrated by interviews with 5 teachers. The 56% of adolescents admitted that they are often bystanders of online harassments; the 39% received unpleasant messages, while the 20% gave personal information to unknowns, such as their family name, phone number, address, etc.

In Russia, at an international level, the most accredited researcher on cyberbullying is the psychologist Galina Soldatova. She is the Director of the Foundation for Internet Development in Russia (12), and agrees with the general definition of bullying as an "intentional aggressive behaviour, both physical and verbal, directed against someone who is for some reason considered weaker in order to humiliate them" (Soldatova 2010). She argues that, although bullying existed before the creation of the Internet, new technologies have amplified the problem by creating new ways for bullying.

A survey conducted by the Foundation for Internet Development reveals that 11% of 9-to 16-year-old Russian respondents have reported they have been bullied on the Internet, 6% through mobile phones, and 13% face-to-face. Social networking sites emerged as the most common place for cyberbullying to occur: "the main platforms for cyberbullying in Russia are social networking sites. Usually cyberbullying occurs in forms of nasty or hurtful messages sent to a child, or such messages made public on the internet" (Soldatova et al. 2013).

Many respondents reported that they have been offended and harassed by posts, as well that pages were created using an another person profile to spread insults around (Beger et al. 2011).

The literature review provides scarce information about who cyberbullies are. The Foundation's for Internet Development study only shows that 6% of Russia's children aged 9–16 admitted to bullying other people on the Internet (Soldatova 2010).

Data from the research by EU Kids Online (Livingstone et al. 2011) shows that Estonia and Romania are the "leaders" both in bullying – by a big margin – and cyberbullying: in Estonia 43% being bullied at all, online and offline, and 14% being bullied only on the Internet, while Romania respectively 41% and 13%.

A recent study commissioned by Microsoft (Microsoft 2012) to understand the global pervasiveness of online bullying shows that Russia has the fifth highest cyberbullying rate among the twenty-five countries surveyed (Figure 1). The number of children that report they've bullying someone else online or offline is significantly above average. Nearly half report knowing a lot or something about online bullying and almost seven in ten are very or somewhat concerned about it. Parents take an average number of steps to protect their children from online bullying (3.8 vs. 3.3). Russia is significantly below the worldwide average in providing formal school policies and educating teachers, parents and students about online bullying.

Figure 1

Online bullying in Russia vs. Worldwide
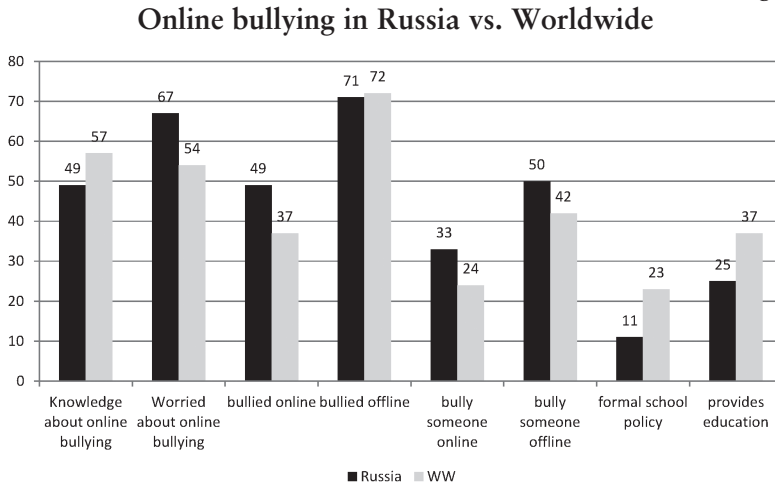
Source: Microsoft 2012.

Searching about the topicality of bullying and cyberbullying in Eastern Europe and Russia, the authors have performed a wide analysis of RuNet contents (13). From the analysis, it appeared evident the topicality of boorishness and rudeness of Russian people. This is an issue largely discussed both in the Russian-language Internet space and in Russian media. Many popular blogs which have analyzed describe Russians attitudes and conduct as rude, not polite and violent. Three blogs have been deeply surveyed and some effective expressions that well depict the state of things are reported from them:

- "Boorishness and crudity become almost a norm of life in Russia" (Ivanov 2009).
- "Russian (Soviet) cruelty and boorishness are the brightest national/cultural features […] we are ashamed of politeness and infirmity, we say some rude things to become stronger in our own eyes" (Orlow 2012).
- "The level of boorishness in Russia is very high – much higher than the level of life quality and economic development" (Iurkevich 2008).

In the Internet one can find also anecdotes about Western tourists who stop their holiday asking travel agencies to pay them their money back because of drunk Russian people who were in the same hotel spoilt their vacation: "the Russian tourist is arrogant. If you are a foreigner and have lived in Russia or Ukraine for a while, you probably noticed that people never say "sorry" when they step on your foot. They also never apologize when they push you on the street or in public transport. You are lucky if you are not yelled at instead. This attitude doesn't change when these people go abroad either" (Rudya 2009). So there are tourist agencies which offer a new service: "vacation without Russians". One can search on Google "no Russian tours" and see posts as the following: "the phenomenon even led to the development of a new trend in tourism, known as "tours without Russians". It does look like national discrimination. However, there is a certain demand on such tours in Europe. […] Many Russians coming to

Turkey or Egypt do not know English or speak it poorly. Many of them are simply unable to communicate with either other vacationers or hotel personnel. In addition, the Russian style of body language differs greatly from that of the West. For example, Russians hardly ever smile. They smile when they hear or see something funny or when they communicate with their friends. However, they consider it weird to smile to strangers in the street. However, a smile is considered a token of friendliness with many foreigners (14).

Few persons know that the buyers of these packages are mainly Russians. It turns out that Russians are ashamed *of* their compatriots (or they just want to have a little rest from the Russians) (Obraztsova 2010). "Russian tourists!" is a reproachful recurring exclamation. Indeed, Russians have earned a bad reputation for being rude, crazy, always drunk, without any knowledge of etiquette. Recently, participants to an opinion poll conducted among people from Europeans countries declared that Russian tourists bother a lot their holiday companions, behaving like a peasant, loudly speaking, and generally being heavily unpleasant (Obraztsova 2010).

For some reasons, boorishness and rudeness are not just "Russian diseases", but also – more or less – are a common trait of all Eastern European countries.

As Dzintra Kohva, Director of the Nordic Gymnasium in Riga, said: "As long as ministers publicly insult each other, as long as television and Internet are full of negative information, nothing will change" (Ancane 2008).

Some researches in Latvia (Kudrenicka, Muzis 2008) show that schoolchildren often do not notice some forms of behaviour theoretically considered violent and aggressive, since they are usual for them. In its turn, Russians are shocking that one criticizes them for boorishness, but do not notice any boorishness in themselves (Ivanov 2009).

Of course, the above claims express subjective perceptions that should be verified through a more systematic analysis. However, the stereotype of Russian people – as it emerges from the blogs, and also from Russian TV fictions, as well as confirmed by the comments that one hears in the seaside resorts of Eastern Europe – give us the opportunity to make some hypothetical assumptions on cyberbullying in Russia and in the post-communist countries.

Hypothesis discussion

The aim of this paragraph is to suggest some hypothetical answers to the following questions: why are widespread bullying and cyberbullying in Russia, Latvia and in general in Eastern European countries, and why is little attention paid to these phenomena in these same countries?

It has been noted that in the history and culture heritage of people one can found many reasons for their behaviour and especially for their current attitudes (Hofstede 2001). This perspective could be helpful in understanding social present phenomena, for example, the high rate of bullying and cyberbullying in Estonia and Sweden, two countries seemingly very different in their recent history, but with some cultural similarities and a common historic past, since Northern parts of Estonia and its islands

have been part of the Swedish Empire even longer, and still continue to speak Swedish and a Swedish dialect.

Finally, it must to be remark that the great part of researchers who are studying cyberbullying are psychologists, but a sociological or a social-anthropological point of view could offer new perspectives of investigation, since the perception of bullying and cyberbullying as a problem could vary within the different social systems.

Cultural-historical hypothesis. The historical hypothesis can be founded on the idea that Russia and post-communist countries suffered a long repressive period which made violent habits as normal. So, the historical heritage of violence from the totalitarian Soviet regimes could be at the root of the scarce consideration towards bullying offline and online in post-communist countries: people have become accustomed to violence.

In Soviet time, Eastern European countries experimented the power of state authorities whose conduct was cruel and boorish in their daily practice. It is well-known that the former Soviet Union experienced the ugly regime of Stalin during many decades of the 20th century. Moreover, soviet education model reinforced the repressive condition. It was designed to prepare the youth for conscious participation in world revolution, following a conservative and authoritarian approach. In Russia, although the Communist revolution had been moved by libertarian values, within few years was realized an oppressive regime also in education. After the first official decree (1918), school reverted to a form of conservatism more rigid than that of pre-revolutionary Russia: "[…] only a few teachers were able to make this radical shift from conservative to liberal reaching methods. Others tried but were quite unsuccessful, nor were the teacher-training institutes geared to liberal pedagogy. The students themselves were not prepared for so much freedom and activity. Apparently not much was accomplished. Stalin corrected this situation by the decree of 1931 ordering the destruction of textbook on pedagogy which advocated liberal theories and practices and called for a strengthening of teacher control and school discipline" (Dupuis, Gordon 1985, p. 215).

Communist countries experienced decades of physical and psychological violence; people at any moment run the risk of being arrested and never to return home. In that period, it was very dangerous to say something "wrong" even in daily life, since everyone could be called "enemy of the people" and arrested. The roots of such violence could be found deeper in the Russian history – starting from Ivan IV times in the 16th century (Vernadsky 1969) (15). But after 1917, when the Socialist Revolution drove the last Russian emperor down, a new era of terror arose. In 1940, about 8 million people's profiles were entered into the centralized card-catalogue of GULAG (the Soviet Union government agency that administered the main Soviet forced labour camp systems during the Stalin period) including: 1) restraint persons; 2) free persons after restraint; 3) persons died in the camps (Poliakov et al. 1990). But in general, by the archive materials of GULAG, about 10 million people have been deported during the period of 1921–1953 (Rogovin 1997).

However, what about the post-Stalin times? And how can be these facts related with cyberbullying in modern times?

The Russian blogger Yerofeyev offers an interesting hint: "all the structure of political power in Russia was really founded on the basis of fear and indignity of people. And such a structure became customary (it became second nature) being passed from generation to generation. Indeed, we have many of so-called "small Stalins" at all levels: they are in the police, in the government, in the shops" (Eerofeev 2012).

The same situation was at Soviet schools, where both teachers and students ought to follow the collective and rigid educational philosophy of Makarenko (Makarenko 1955) (16). However, the deterioration of Soviet school in the md-1960's is reported by Russian periodicals: "the young people working in the factories, on construction projects, and on the farms were learning more bad habits than technical skills from the older workers. Excessive drinking, cursing, and "hooliganism" on the part of youth were causing problems. Further, youngsters lost interest in their subjects and failed to study in school or at home" (Dupuis, Gordon 1985).

From these premises, one can well image what happened after the 1990s, when the communist countries proceeded to democracy and discovered the freedom of speaking. All repressed habits – including the rude ones – came out. Post-communist people enjoyed freedom, losing any brake and restriction. Internet quickly became the ideal place where one could express his/herself opinions and emotions completely unrestricted. It is also reasonable that after a long period of psychological and physical custom to violence, bullying and cyberbullying seem not to be big problems and are not perceived so evil by those adults who grew in Soviet times.

Cultural-psychological hypothesis. The second hypothesis about cyberbullying in Russia, Latvia and in post-communist countries tries to correlate it to the concepts of *collective* and *collectivism*: "communist thinkers seem to subscribe the traditional notion that happiness is the summon bonum for man. But personal happiness can be achieved only in unity with and in service to the collective" (Dupuis, Gordon 1985).

In collectivist societies, each individual must be an active player in his/her community, and do the best for the good of society rather than for the good of him/herself. Schwartz (Schwartz 1990) underlined that collectivist societies are communal societies characterized by diffuse and mutual obligations and expectations based on ascribed statuses. Collectivism as a social way of being is oriented toward in-groups and away from out-groups (Oyserman 1993). Collectivism implies that group membership is the central aspect of people's identity. The emotional expression sphere's is closed to personal feelings, and the boundaries between in-groups and out-groups are stable, and relatively impermeable. Consequently, people are divided into "one's own" and "the others" (Oyserman et al. 2002).

The authors use the system of four cultural dimensions of societies – Power Distance Index (PDI), Individualism Index (IDV), Masculinity Index (MAS) and Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI), worked out by Geert Hofstede (Hofstede G., Hofstede G.J. 2005) for supporting a cultural-psychological hypothesis about cyberbullying based on the opposition between individualism and collectivism. In individualistic societies the social ties among individuals are week: everyone is expected to look after him/herself and his/her restricted family. Conversely, in collectivist societies people from their birth are putted into strong, cohesive in-groups (often composed by extended families) which protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (Hofstede G.,

Hofstede G.J. 2005). G. Hofstede measured the Individualism Index (IDV) of societies by the scale from 0 (minimum individualism/ maximum collectivism) till 100 (maximum individualism/minimum collectivism). For example, the Individualism Index (IDV) for Bulgaria and Romania was scored at just 30. By comparison, the USA score for IDV is 91 (see Figure 2).

Figure 2

The Individualism Index (IDV) in some countries, scores by the scale from 0 (min) to 100 (max)
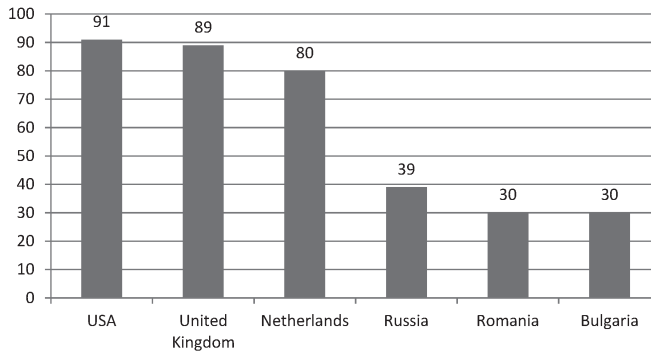
Source: authors' elaboration from Hofstede's data (2012).

As it can be seen from Figure 2, the level of individualism is very high in those countries where a greater attention is paid to the problem of cyberbulling.

The authors are convinced that the dimension of individualism is very important to understand the nature of social relationships in Eastern Europe and Russia, and that the antithesis between "one's own" and "the others" can justify many aggressive and violent behaviors in these countries. In addition, the authors carried out a supplementary cluster analysis on the 68 countries surveyed by Hofstede, finding that there are other social components that determine the division of the countries into two clusters (see Table 1).

Table 1

Average values of four G. Hofstede's cultural dimensions (scale from 0 (min) to 100 (max))

Cultural dimensions of societies	1st cluster	2nd cluster
Power Distance (PDI)	71	34
Individualism (IDV)	31	70
Masculinity (MAS)	50	51
Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI)	73	52

Source: authors' elaboration from Hofstede 2012 data (method: cluster analysis)

Post-communist countries belong to the first cluster, where Individualism is relatively low, but Power Distance and Uncertainty Avoidance are relatively high.

The main traits of these societies, such as the low level of free discussions or the pretention to play a role into the group, can favour a scarce emphatic behaviours and the growth of bullying and cyberbullying.

Cross-disciplinarial hypothesis. Returning to the first possible reason of the "cyberbullying paradox" in Eastern Europe and Russia – a historical heritage of violence from totalitarian political regimes – it would be very useful to search intercorrelation between Power Distance and Individualism. The dimension of Power Distance expresses the degree to which the less powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. The fundamental issue here is how a society handles inequalities among people. People in societies exhibiting a large degree of power distance accept a hierarchical order in which everybody has a place and which needs no further justification (Hofstede 2012). As the results of correlation analysis of 68 countries searched by G.. Hofstede show the intercorrelation of these dimensions is strong, inverse and statistically significant (the score of Pearson correlation coefficient is -0.611, p-score is 0.000). It means the significantly highest Power Distance Index for societies with lower Individualism, i.e. for collective societies. There is not such interconnection between Individualism and Uncertainty Avoidance (the score of Pearson correlation coefficient is 0.195, p-score is 0.112). The results of the correlation analysis show that two possible reasons of the "cyberbullying paradox" in Eastern Europe and Russia suggested by the authors – historical heritage of violence in political power and "herd" culture – are coexisting supporting each other. It can be even argued that collective "herd" cultures create the ideal framework for totalitarian and violent political regimes and for bullying in all levels of society's life.

Why cyberbullying is not perceived as a serious problem in such societies? The perception of normal and deviant behaviour is in line with the social context and varies between countries because of their cultural, contextual and economic differences. "Western culture [with high IDV and low PDI – *remark of the authors*] has moral norms of unacceptability of bullying towards the members of your social group" (Vaillancourt et al. 2010). In its turn, cruelty and boorishness are some kinds of historically created "marks of a leader" in social stratification of societies in Eastern European countries and Russia, which are characterized by relatively high Power Distance Index and low Individualism Index – "herd" eastern culture versus western "initiative culture".

And here the last explanatory step – methodological basis of "cyberbullying paradox" in Eastern Europe and Russia from the point of view of functionalism – starts. From a position of Robert Merton's deviance typology, cyberbullying is innovation, and it occurs "when the individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis upon the goal without equally internalizing the institutional norms governing ways and means for its attainment" (Merton 1938).

From a position of sociology, the growth of individual liberty, caused by the appearance and the spread of new media, is the main factor of the wide spread of cyberbullying (Menshikov 2009; Boronenko, Menshikov 2009). Cyberbullying, as well as any deviation, is an inevitable pay for development, for the broadening of the freedom of one's space. According to the opinion of E. Goffman, all social actors are deviates as such, because nobody complies absolutely with the rules of social behaviour (Goffman 1967). "Deviation is not a kind of action, but rather the result of using sanctions and

rules by others" (Bekker 1963). So, the question "who and how defines the deviation" is methodologically important explaining the "cyberbullying paradox", and the answer to it becomes the core element in cyberbulluing explanation and coping with it.

The paradox: bullying and cyberbullyng are not negative. The authors argue also that cyberbullying cannot be perceived absolutely in a negative way, because – by the methodology of functionalism and neofunctionalism – any kind of social behaviour has its own socially useful function. Some interviews with ordinary people made by the authors in Latvia show that there is an opinion that bullying and cyberbullying is some kind of inter-group control for the persons, who differ from others, and this difference is the danger for a victim her/himself, first of all, for her/his successful life in this society. And, being bullied, a victim receives some kind of social signal for minimizing her/his difference due to be more successful in her/his further life. For instance, a person is obese. Being bullied for it, she/he has a strong motivation to change her/himself, and it is finally useful and positive for this victim. Intervention in such a situation by saving the victim from bullies means that an obese person will not receive social signals about the danger of her/his obesity for the further successful social and even physical life. In this case, intervention is allowed only, when bullying becomes more dangerous for the victim than her/his obesity. Such a way of understanding bullying and cyberbullying is more close to so-called "social Darwinism" with its ideas of social "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest" (Spencer 1891, 1896). "Social Darwinism" seemed to show the natural roots of the free competition of individuals favoured by libertarian conservatives, which suggested that laissez-faire economics was dictated by natural law" (Arnhart 2010). Recently, some conservatives have adopted sociobiology (Wilson 1975, 1979) or biosociology (Walsh 1995; Mazur 2006) as a new form of social Darwinism. Other conservatives, however, scorn Darwinian social theory as dangerous because of its association with a deterministic materialism that denies human freedom and dignity.

In order to cope with bullying and cyberbullying, non-bullying behaviour has to be really beneficial in the whole society – psychologically, socially and economically. At present, it does not happen in Eastern Europe and Russia, and more over – it does not happen in the human society as a whole (especially there, where the natural selection is not blocked by the inadequate attention to human rights – at least, in comparison with attention to human obligations). Bullying and cyberbullying have vitally important social function for society's long-term stability – the function of inter-group social control, which allow people to understand just in time that their social behaviour or social state is dangerous for themselves acting within this group and living in a specific society. Bullying and cyberbullying save people from social passivity directed towards themselves and their place in social stratification, stimulating them to change themselves for more successful socialization in a particular society. Without any kind of bullying from the side of classmates, the teenagers, who, for instance, wear non-modern cloth or are very feminine (in case of boys), will not receive any signals that it is dangerous for their success in this society. If, receiving such signals, i.e. being bullied off-line or on-line, they stay the same and continue acting in the same way, or they even "take a win" over the bullies – it means that former victims create a social innovation and change the society, becoming stronger and making the society more progressive.

Conclusions and recommendations

First of all, the authors have to conclude that the "cyberbullying paradox" in Eastern Europe and Russia – defined as cyberbullying's specific topicality without adequate feedback from science and policy – really exists and can be proved on the basis of both scientific and non-scientific arguments.

The authors have found two main possible reasons of "cyberbullying paradox" in Eastern Europe and Russia: 1) historical heritage of violence from the era of totalitarian political regimes which cause boorishness and cruelty in daily communication at all the levels of social and political life in the countries surveyed; 2) dominance of collective – even "herd" – societal culture in Eastern European countries and Russia with "non-ours" phenomenon in their social networks (it is very difficult to become "own's own", if a teenager differs from the members of the group). Both these interconnected ("herd" culture is ideal social environment for totalitarian violent regimes) specifics of Eastern Europe and Russia could explain both the topicality of cyberbullying in these countries and non-perception of it as a serious problem in scientific and political space.

Based on the methodology of functionalism and neo-functionalism as well as on the theories of biosociology it can be argued that cyberbullying has a socially useful notion of saving stability of societies and people in its. An emerging paradigm of biosociology could be useful for understanding how the biological factors interact with other ones "producing" violent behaviour - both off-line and on-line - among teenagers.

Thus, the first recommendation of the authors is addressed to scientist: it is crucial to investigate the content of cyberbulling as a phenomenon, taking into account both its causes and consequences for the bullies and their victims in different cultures and societies more thoroughly (and not just calculating the indicators that show the relevance of cyberbulling as there are enough of them) and the relationship between the traditional forms of humiliation and cyberbulling, between different forms of cyberbulling (it is clear that they are well correlated with each other). We need to study deeper: why does this phenomenon exist? what is the nature of this phenomenon nowadays? what social spillovers does it have for modern societies? In other words, we need to investigate the philosophy of cyberbulling based on the empirical evidence of it, but not to carry out empirical surveys as a goal in itself.

But school experts and policy-makers have to act coping with cyberbullying (due to specifics of their mission) while scientists are thinking about the nature and philosophy of it. The authors could strongly recommend here to use "Guidelines for preventing cyberbullying in the school environment: a review and recommendations" (COST IS0801 2012). And some general recommendations especially for Eastern Europe and Russia: 1) school experts and policy makers themselves have to avoid bullying and cyberbullying in their daily practice – it will be a good model of behaviour for other people; 2) to cultivate anti-bullying culture inside the educational and other units; 3) to stimulate the democratic co-existence of different social networks in schools, avoiding the principle of "one's own" versus "alien"; 4) to block the possibilities of social and material benefits for bullies in the educational institutions.

(1) See also Tokunaga (2010, p. 278) for conceptual definitions of cyberbullying used in research. Note that Ortega, Mora-Merchịn and Jäger (2007) recommend the categorization by type of action, such as the taxonomy by Willard (2006), who defines eight subcategories of cyber-bullying, although herself acknowledges that some of the phenomena she lists should rather be called "online social cruelty". But one of the most cited expression is "New bottle but old wine" which has been used by Li (2007) to claim that cyberbullying is a bullying problem occurring in a new territory.

(2) The British anthropologist Robin Dunbar (1992) formed the theory that 150 is the maximum number of individuals with whom a set of people can maintain a social relationship. The author argues that beyond a group size of 150, civil society breaks down because individuals no longer feel a connection with other members of the group.

(3) One of the authors of this article, Vera Boronenko, has taken part in four years' long scientific collaboration Action of the ESF COST programme "Cyberbullying: coping with negative and enhancing positive uses of new technologies in relationships in educational settings" which aims at sharing expertise on cyberbullying among teenagers. The Action has been implemented across a wide range of European countries, stimulating the collaboration between scientists and practitioners in this area (COST IS0801 2012). Another author, Gilberto Marzano, collaborates as an expert in the European project "PI-PWP Threats of cyberspace – New qualification of a social worker".

(4) Source: ComScore MMX, Overview of European Internet Usage by Country Ranked by Total Unique Visitors (000), September 2011, Total Europe Audience, Age 15+, Home and Work Locations, <http://www.comscore.com/content/search?SearchText=Overview+of+European+Internet+Usage++2011&searchSubmit=Search>, Retrieved: 2013.12.10; ComScore MMX, December 2012, Europe + 15 <http://www.comscore.com/Insights/Presentations_and_Whitepapers/2013/Europe_Digital_Future_in_Focus_2013_Russia>, Retrieved: 2013.12.10.

(5) The results of the survey "Russian Kids Online. Key findings of the EU Kids Online II survey in Russia" (Soldatova et al. 2013) are very interesting. The project, developed by the Foundation for Internet Development and the Lomonosov Moscow State University, Department of Psychology, was aimed to enhance knowledge about children's and parents'experiences and practices regarding risky and safer use of the Internet and new online technologies in Russia and other countries.

(6) < http://rt.com/news/social-networks-bullying-russia-695/>; retrieved: 2013.11.27.

(7) Ask. fm is a social networking site that describes itself as "ask and answer": people ask questions on another user's profile, and the user replies.

(8) <http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/32099/#.UrBwbdLuLSc>; retrieved: 2013.12.17

(9) <http://insafecommunity.saferinternet.org/web/guest/home>; Retrieved: 2013.12.18.

(10) INHOPE is the International Association of Internet Hotlines founded in 1999, which coordinates a network of 44 Internet Hotlines in 38 countries all over the world, supporting them in responding to reports of illegal content to make the Internet safer. INHOPE was founded in 1999 and has grown to a network of 44 Hotlines in 38 countries across the globe (<http://www.inhope.org/gns/home.aspx>; Retrieved: 2013.12.18).

(11) The author of research was Julija Drebeinika, a student of the 4th study year at the faculty of Education and design of Rezeknes Augstskola.

(12) The Foundation for Internet Development was organized by the initiative of "Relcom. BN" and "Demos-Internet" companies (<http://www.fid.su/english/>, retrieved: 2013.12.18.)

(13) Runet is is a summation of Russian-language Internet, Internet in Russia and other countries of the world where there is a significant portion of Russian-language citizens.

(14) < http://www.happierabroad.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=9393>; retrieved: 2013.12.19.

(15) Ivan IV, named *the Terrible*, was the first emperor – tsar – of Russia and killed his own son and thousands of Russian people.

(16) Anton Makarenko died in 1939, but in the mid-1950's over 1.200.000 copies of his famous book *The Road of Life* (Makarenko 1955) were in use.

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Michal Skrzypek

CENTRAL ANALYTICAL CATEGORY OF CONTEMPORARY MEDICAL SOCIOLOGY: LAYMEN'S ACTIONS IN ILLNESS AND HEALTH

The aim of this study is to present the scientific identity of medical sociology as a sociological subdiscipline from the perspective of the characteristics of its leading analytical trend focused on the actions and interpretations of 'ordinary people' in health and illness. This trend has given rise to the model of lay empowerment in the issues of health and illness. The empowerment of lay people manifests itself inter alia in their role of consultants in illness (Eliot Freidson's concept of the '*lay referral system*'), and in taking active measures in the context of daily life, intended to cope with consequences of chronic diseases (Anselm Strauss's activist concept of illness trajectory). It results in the change in the distribution of power in doctor-patient relationship: patients play an active role in the process of clinical decision making and medical treatment (the model of doctor-patient partnership). Sociomedical analyses point out that the growing empowerment of ordinary people in health and illness is connected inter alia with the specificity of the health situation in civilized developed countries, consisting in the prevalence of chronic non-infectious diseases and in the erosion of dominance and authority of institutional medicine. The elements of the social reality of health and illness discussed in this article were originally described in the American realities by F. Davis, E. Freidson, A. Strauss, K. Charmaz, and by other representatives of the theoretical tradition of symbolic interactionism. The problems in question have been investigated in Polish medical sociology (this issue requires a separate study). What is still a challenge is to undertake investigations that will verify the theses presented here in Latvian society.

Key words: medical sociology, sociology of illness experience, humanistic sociology.

Центральная аналитическая категория современной социологии медицины: действия некомпетентных людей в болезни и здоровье

Целью данного исследования является научная идентификация социологии медицины как социологической субдисциплины сквозь призму характеристики преобладающего аналитического тренда, сфокусированного на действиях и суждениях "обычных людей" в болезни и здоровье. В рамках этой тенденции была создана модель социального поведения человека, некомпетентного в вопросах здоровья и болезни. Субъективность некомпетентных людей в вопросах здоровья проявляется, в частности, в попытках выступать в роли консультанта по болезни (Элиот Фрейдсон, концепция «системы некомпетентных советов»), предпринимать активные меры в повседневной жизни для того, чтобы справиться с последствиями хронических заболеваний (Ансельм Стросс, активистская концепция болезни как траектории). Это приводит также к попыткам изменить пропорции власти в отношениях врач-пациент, что заключается в стремлении пациента играть активную роль в процессе принятия клинических решений и в процессе самого лечения (партнерская модель отношений врач-пациент). Социально-медицинский анализ показывает, что увеличение роли субъективности "обычных людей" в болезни и здоровье связано со спецификой ситуации, создавшейся в области здравоохранения развитых стран. Суть этой специфики состоит в преобладании неинфекционных хронических заболеваний, а также эрозии господства и власти институциональной медицины. Рассмотренные в статье элементы социальной реальности в области здоровья и болезни уже изучались в

США Ф. Дейвисом, Э. Фрейдсоном, А. Строссом, К. Хармазом и другими представителями теоретической традиции символического интеракционизма. Эти вопросы были объектом исследования также и польской социологии медицины (этот вопрос требует отдельного рассмотрения). Сложной задачей остается проведение исследований с целью проверки тезисов, представленных в данной статье, в условиях латвийской общественной среды.

Ключевые слова: социология медицины, социология опыта болезни, гуманистическая социология.

Mūsdienu medicīnas socioloģijas vadošā analītiskā kategorija: nekompetentu cilvēku darbības veselības un slimības jomā

Šī pētījuma mērķis ir medicīnas socioloģijas kā socioloģijas apakšnozares zinātniskā identifikācija dominējošā analītiskā trenda kontekstā, kurš fokusējas uz "vienkāršo cilvēku" spriedumiem un darbībām par slimību un veselību. Šīs tendences ietvaros tika izveidots cilvēka, bez kompetences veselības un slimības jautājumos, sociālās uzvedības modelis. Nekompetentu cilvēku veselības un slimības jautājumos subjektivitāte daļēji izpaužas mēģinājumos izpausties konsultanta lomā par slimību (Eliots Freidsons, "nekompetentu padomu sistēmas" koncepcija), aktīvi darboties ikdienas dzīvē, lai tiktu galā ar hronisko slimību sekām (Anseļm Stross, aktīvistiskā slimības kā trajektorijas koncepcija). Tas noved arī pie mēģinājumiem izmainīt varas proporcijas attiecībās ārsts-pacients, kas izpaužas pacienta centienos spēlēt aktīvu lomu klīnisko lēmumu pieņemšanas un ārstēšanas procesā (ārsts – pacients attiecību partnerības modelis). Sociāli – medicīniskā analīze rāda, ka "parasto cilvēku" subjektivitātes lomas veselības un slimības jautājumos palielināšanās saistīta ar situācijas specifiku, kura radusies attīstīto valstu veselības aizsardzības nozarē. Šīs specifikas būtība izpaužas bezinfekcijas hronisko slimību pārsvarā, kā arī institucionālās medicīnas varas erozijā. Rakstā izskatītos sociālās realitātes elementus veselības un slimības jomā iepriekš jau apskatīja tādi ASV autori kā F. Deivis, E. Freidsons, A. Stross, K. Harmazoms, kā arī citi simboliskā interakcionisma teorētiskās tradīcijas pārstāvji. Šis jautājums bija arī poļu medicīnas socioloģijas izpētes objekts (tas būtu izskatāms atsevišķi). Par sarežģītu uzdevumu izvirzās pētījumu veikšana šajā rakstā noteikto tēžu pārbaudei Latvijas apstākļos.

Atslēgas vārdi: medicīnas socioloģija, slimības pieredzes socioloģija, humānistiskā socioloģija.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present, on the basis of Latvian sociology, leading determinants of cognitive identity of medical sociology as sociological subdiscipline in 21st century (1). This purpose will be achieved by means of presenting analytical trend, which is leading tendency both in Western and in Polish sociomedical research, focused on actions of 'ordinary people' in health and illness. This article is aimed at outlining the origins and historical development of this trend; in addition, major research problems currently taken up as its part will be identified herein as well. This specific research task arose from proposals formulated in Western literature to replace the original name of the subdiscipline ('*medical sociology*') with the terms '*sociology of healt*'' (Twaddle, Hessler 1977; Twaddle 1982) or '*sociology of health and illness*' (Nettleton 2006). When analyzing fundamental sense of these proposals, one might notice that they indicate significant shift of emphasis in sociomedical studies, meaning that the focus on issues of institutional medicine was given up in favour of research

on the phenomena of health and illness carried out from non-medicocentric perspective. This new formula of sociomedical research in Western medical sociology is promoted by a number of researchers, including Sarah Nettleton (Nettleton 2006) and Andrew C. Twaddle. The latter treats 'sociology of health' as the crowning of historical evolution of the subdiscipline (Twaddle 1982). He made an in-depth analysis of cognitive identity of the new formula of sociomedical research, noting that its leading indicator constitutes pluralistic presentation of resources used by 'ordinary people' in the processes of staying healthy / regaining health / living with disease, including both medical and non-medical options, and he suggested that significance attached to each of them should be proportional to their actual role in the processes of staying healthy / healing / being ill (Twaddle 1982). In the interpretation of the A. C. Twaddle, the sociology of health covers the studies of all social roles connected with treatment, undertaken both by representatives of institutional medicine as well as by laymen (ibid.). Thus, as defined by this sociologist, new formula of sociomedical research is non-medicocentric and it considerably raises the status of actions taken by laymen in the context of health and illness. This issue shall be given more attention in this article. Medical sociologists, for over 60 years of this subdiscipline existence, have documented that ordinary people, meaning people who are not medical professionals, take active actions aimed at dealing with illness and its multiple consequences (when living with a chronic illness; these issues are subject to the *sociology of illness experience*) (Skrzypek 2011). They also take up social roles of healers (this happens in self-healing situations as well as in the case of other forms of non-medical treatment; these issues are subject to the *sociology of non-medical treatme*nt) (Piatkowski 2012; Piatkowski, Skrzypek 2012), and in the state of health, they take up actions that create conditions for staying healthy */health behaviors/* or generate health risk */health-risk behaviors/* (these issues are subject to the *sociology of health*) (Piatkowski, Titkow eds. 2002). It was also demonstrated that these lay activities in health and illness are closely connected with (1) laymen's interpretations of such phenomena as 'health' and 'illness' (the meanings of thereof), which are embedded in cultural interpretative resources available to individuals, and with (2) position of individuals in social structure. One can propose a thesis that medical sociology has created a model of layman in health and illness equipped with the '*agency*' prerogative in relation to those problems (Szacki 2002). Naturally, the fact that this approach, extremely activist one, is present in the field of sociomedical studies does not mean that medical sociology excluded institutional medicine and formal medical care-related issues from the scope of its research interests (the importance of them in the subdiscipline's research field indicates the original name of discipline, namely *medical sociology*). The role of medicine in the processes of staying healthy / regaining health still remains the subject of sociomedical studies but it should be stresses that contemporary analyses of this problem take into account complex interdependencies of lay social networks and systems of professional help in illness, and direct our attention to the fact that both these types of influences interpenetrate in the processes of staying healthy / being ill. In that case, the 'lay system' is seen as an important health resource (social support as health protection factor), and as a frame in which decisions are made whether given health problem is going to be (or not) reported to formal medical care (Alegria, Pescosolido, Williams, Canino, 2011).

The important reason of sociomedical, layman-oriented research on illness and being ill constitute the consequences of 'epidemiologic transition' which took place in the mid-20th century. Non-infectious chronic illnesses tightly related to people's life styles gained dominance in the structure of the health threats in Western societies then. The effects of this change regarded, among other things, alteration of the methods of medical treatment, in which patients had to be more involved than they used to be (medical practitioner started to assist the patient in order for the latter to be able to perform self-care). They also inspired the formation of partnership model of practitioner-patient relationship and made people become aware of chronic illness consequences in the context of everyday life. It turned out that patients, thanks to growing competence of biomedicine, have the opportunity to 'live with their illness' or 'in spite of their illness' to a much greater extent. The effects of epidemiologic transition are evident in data regarding health situation in the United States, where in 2004, approx. 133 million people suffered from at least one chronic illness, and it is expected that by 2020 this number will increase to 157 million (Larsen 2006). Thus, sociomedical studies of social behaviors related to health and illness unravel social consequences of the major social change indicated above.

According to some scientists, academic analyses of laymen's role in health and illness are due to ever-rising costs of health care systems caused by chronic illnesses, the number of which has been growing since the 1930's – 1940's, thereby implying a long-term medical care. For example Joan Anderson implies that the concept of '*empowered layman*' was inspired by the desire to reduce high cost of health care in Western countries, caused by the process described herein above (Anderson 1996: 702). Also in Polish medical sociology, as early as in 1981, Antonina Ostrowska suggested that lay movement of self-care can be regarded as a '*response to the rising costs of medical care*', as it involves shifting some responsibility for health to laymen. At the same time Ostrowska reserved that it is possible provided that laymen are equipped with '*appropriate culture and medical knowledg*' (Ostrowska 1981). Let's give our attention to this suggestion. We have no doubt that the conditions of factual empowerment of laymen in terms of health- and disease-related matters cannot be met by people representing lowest social classes for a number of reasons. They include for instance the phenomenon of '*digital divide'* that limits this group's access to internet health resources and the specific health culture of these groups, which is manifested in the acceptance of fatalistic interpretation of health. In the context of this interpretation it is not activity or self-creation that seems rational but rather passivity and health-neglect (Ostrowska 2011; 2012). It is also known that 'empowerment' of the patients, that is, providing the sick with knowledge allowing them to deal with illness, does not obligatory lead to reduction of medical services abuse and cost cuts, because empowered patients are more aware of benefits arising from the use of biomedicine offer, which leads to greater consumption of health services (Lindsay, Vrijhoef 2009). As a result, medicine offers are either *overutilized* or *underutilized* by social groups located in the highest and the lowest segments of social structure, respectively (Rosich, Hankin 2010).

Development of non-medicocentric research trend in medical sociology with the consideration of R. Straus', E. Freidson's and A. Strauss' contribution

In historical perspective, medical sociology was developing in the context of specific, double reference system. On the one hand, it was determined by medicine indicating practical, clinical problems to be solved with the help of sociologists, while on the other hand – by general sociology, being the conceptual, methodological and theoretical base for medical sociology. In an attempt to define cognitive identity of this subdiscipline, it is necessary to consider its relationship between both areas of knowledge mentioned herein (namely medicine and general sociology). Let's now consider relationships between medical sociology and medicine. The classic analysis of this issue was carried out by an American medical sociologist, Robert Straus, in 1957. When summarizing the first years of formal existence of the subdiscipline, he pointed out that medical sociologists conducted research aimed at solving practical problems indicated by physicians, yet at the same time they took a critical and hard-hitting stand on medicine. In the context of the resulting conflict of attitudes, Straus asked about the consequences of such situation for the scientific identity of medical sociology. When considering this issue, he introduced a dichotomy that distinguishes *sociology in medicine*, which is application-oriented and closer to medical sciences, and *sociology of medicine*, which is closer to general sociology, with critical tinge (Straus 1957). The crucial point of Robert Straus' analysis is the observation he made about incompatibility of the two research approaches (Straus described them as '*types of medical sociology*' and suggested that they '*tend to be incompatible with each other*'). This researcher noted that a sociologist carrying out studies 'of medicine' tinged with criticism may lose the necessary objectivity if he is strongly engaged with sociological teaching at medical university or with clinical research. On the other hand, a sociologist adhering to the *sociology in medicine* trend might jeopardize his relations with medical partners in research if he makes their professional activity the subject of his critical analyses (Straus 1957). When commenting on the importance of Straus' dichotomy, Frederick W. Hafferty and Brian Castellani pointed out that it introduces a sharp distinction between sociology and medicine, stressing that these areas represent '*<incompatible> cultural traditions, each with a distinctive language, associated concepts, methods, intellectual traditions, and authoritative literature*' (Hafferty, Castellani, 2011). Both these areas are thus separated by specific '*cultural divide*', whereby this division also covers sociomedical environment, in which one can distinguish the *<'sociology in medicine' community>* inclusive of '*those sociologists whose ideas worked in the service of medicine*', and the *<'sociology of medicine' community>* inclusive of sociologists who '*remained within the culture of sociology and studied medicine as anthropologically strange*' (Hafferty, Castellani 2011). In summary, Straus' division was not only an accurate synthesis of research activities undertaken within the then young medical sociology, but it also helped to define its cognitive identity through clarification of its relationships with medicine.

It is worth noting that at the time when Robert Straus formulated his dichotomy, the research trend defined as the *sociology of medicine* had already been clearly marked in American sociology mainly thanks to Talcott Parsons. This outstanding theorist in his work entitled *The social system* (Parsons 1st edition 1951) for the first time described the role of medicine in a society from a sociological perspective. Medicine was defined therein as an institution of social control over disease, which in turn was defined in terms of deviant social role that is *the sick role*. Paradoxically, Parsons' concept was extremely medicocentric, as it described the process of seeking medical help, and granted institutional medicine full exclusivity in matters of health and illness (Parsons 1966). Great emphasis should be paid to the fact that Talcott Parsons legitimized sociological research 'on medicine' in a situation when the "fathers" of sociology did not take these issues.

The '*sociology of medicine*' trend has become a link between medical sociology and general sociology. This trend was a source of knowledge of social functions of medicine and the ways medicine affects social life (Usher 2007), thereby enriching sociological knowledge of social structures and social processes (Twaddle 1982). Substantial part of sociomedical research 'of medicine' was critical, and its purpose was to disclose disfunctionalities of formal medical institutions (Piatkowski, Skrzypek 2013). The work of Erving Goffman entitled *Asylums* (Goffman 1st ed. 1961; Polish ed. Goffman 2011) exemplifies reflection of this kind. The work is based on qualitative research in the federal St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, DC, in which mental hospital was defined as a 'total institution' with emphasis put on both anti-therapeutic deformation of practitioner-patient relationship likely to happen in this context, and negative effects of hospital psychiatric treatment, involving degradation of personal identity of patients ('*institutionalism*') (Goffman 2011).

Within this research trend, critical towards medicine, limited impact of medicine on health condition of the society was also shown and researchers pointed out that social factors going beyond biomedicine competences are more important here (Mc Kinlay, McKinlay 2001). It led to conclusion that the medicine is, as pointed out by Andrew C. Twaddle, '*one element associated with the health of both individuals and populations, the relevance and salience of which needs to be empirically established*' (Twaddle 1982). Criticism of medicine created a context favouring the emergence of non-medicocentric research trend in medical sociology, focused on the non-medical aspects of health, illness, and treatment. But it was not the only inspiration for development of such research trend. Strong incentives enhancing development thereof originated from sociological theory within which structural-functional theory was given up in favour of humanistic sociology. A post-war interactionist tradition of the University of Chicago played a special role in fostering changes in medical sociology, where research on illness and being ill from the perspective of 'ordinary people' was initiated and developed (Conrad 2007; Skrzypek 2011). This tradition contains important examples of analytical approaches dealing with lay activities in health and illness. Researchers developing this trend initially pointed out to a clash of medical and lay perspectives in the process of medical treatment, accentuating the resulting conflict (Roth 1963; Davis 1991, 1st edition: 1963; Freidson 1970), but in subsequent stages of the evolution of this research approach, they put greater emphasis on lay perspective.

It should be noted that the significance of lay perspective was in fact relatively little in early stage of development of the trend in question. This is evident in the pioneering work of Fred Davis describing the 'anatomy' of a family crisis connected with a child having *poliomyelitis* (Davis 1991). Davis gives a comprehensive study of the clash and conflict of medical and lay interpretative perspectives (parents of sick children do interpretative work by seeking explanations of their child health problems, inspired by the experience of uncertainty). He also shows mechanisms of medical interpretative perspective gaining finally dominance, which is expressed in the form of medical diagnosis. Although lay interpretative perspective is clearly present in Fred Davis' analyses, layman's position is still too weak compared to institutional medicine to negotiate (or co-create) medical care from equal positions.

The lay perspective assumed greater importance in medical sociology thanks to Eliot Freidson, an outstanding representative of the post-war interactionist 'Chicago school'. His analyses were mainly focused upon the processes of social construction of illness within the '*lay system*', therefore outside institutional medicine. This issue is presented in the concept of *'lay referral system'*, well established in health sciences since the '70, which draws our attention to social determinants of presenting non-health problems (or not) to professional medical care (Freidson 1970; 1980, 1st ed.: 1961). Freidson was interested in references to the '*lay system*' during '*the history of a complaint*', including, among other things, using help (or advice) of another layman. He stressed the fact that '*the doctor is but one consultant of many, and the patients often arrives at his office only after having exhausted a whole network of less formal consultants*' (Freidson 1980). Consultation with another layman offers interpretations of non-health problems, which lead people to taking up certain actions, including (or not) looking for medical assistance. According to Freidson, the '*lay system*' '*imposes form on the process of seeking help'* (ibid). We see clearly that Eliot Freidson treated illness as a phenomenon constructed in the course of social interpretation and social activities that are occurring not only within institutional medicine (which – as he has suggested elsewhere – is '*the authority on what illness <really> is*') (Freidson 1970), but also within the '*lay system*'. According to Eliot Freidson, illness is therefore not only a 'professional construct', but also a 'social construct'. Let's also pay here attention to 'revolutionary' change in thinking about the mechanisms of illness behaviors, propagated by Eliot Freidson. In his opinion, they are not affected by social norms internalized in the process of socialization (as suggested by T. Parsons as part of the concept of *the sick role*) as much as by '*more immediate source of reference*', that is, the patient's social network (Bloom, Wilson 1979).

When analysing Eliot Freidson's contribution to development of non-medicocentric research trend in medical sociology, one should emphasize that this researcher analysed the role of laymen in processes of being ill in the context of reflection on the sociological features of medical profession. Freidson's most famous work thereon is *Profession of medicine* (Freidson 1970). It contains important theses regarding medical dominance in health- and disease-related issues. In Freidson's view such dominance is manifested in medicine privilege to determine which condition can be considered illness (Freidson 1970), but discussing the social construction of illness within the '*lay system*' he also

indicates social processes that, in view of upcoming decades, will contribute to challenging this dominance.

When analysing the importance of American interactionist tradition for development of layman-oriented research trend in medical sociology, we must also pay attention to analytical approach initiated by Anselm Strauss and his associates. In their studies, the category of '*work*' taken up by the sick in order to cope with multiple consequences of being chronically ill, including social and identity-related consequences, was made central analytical category. Let's note that we are dealing here with sociological understanding of the concept of *illness experience* in a sense of individual actions inspired by chronic illness (Strauss, Glaser 1975; Corbin, Strauss 1985; Corbin, Strauss 1988; Strauss, Corbin and others 1984). It is noted here that the process of being chronically ill, considered in socio-temporal perspective ('*a trajectory of illness*'), is comprised of active efforts made by the sick ('*wor*'), which are aimed at dealing with the consequences of illness in daily life as well as at re-designing one's own <self> and personal biography (Charmaz 1987). Within this approach, strong emphasis was put on chronically ill person, suggesting that he/she has the prerogative of '*agency*' in relation to illness and being ill.

The authors of theoretical approaches referred herein, inspiring development of non-medicocentric research trend in medical sociology, point out that the sick person negotiates his social status with other laymen (seeking guidance and assistance within the '*lay system*' – see Eliot Freidson's concepts), and that he also legitimizes his social status as the patient (or not) by taking certain actions in the context of everyday life (Anselm Strauss' concepts). This activistic vision of the chronically ill person, being the central feature of the interactionist model of illness, is expressed in Kathy Charmaz' concept. She cast a chronically ill person in the role of an '*innovator*' ('*chronically ill people are innovators*') actively seeking new ways of living in spite of illness, and creating new personal identity (Charmaz 1987).

Establishing in 1979 the journal *Sociology of Health and Illness* formally institutionalized layman-oriented sociomedical research trend, initiated within the American interactionist tradition. This journal is believed to play an important role in establishing and developing research approach which is aimed at describing lay experience of health and illness based on qualitative research methods (Seale 2008; Armstrong 1999). A number of works dealing with this question were published in its pages since the 1980's. These works laid scientific foundation of contemporary sociology of illness experience (Bury 1982; Charmaz 1983; Williams et al. 1984).

Agency of a layman in health and illness versus erosion of dominance and authority of contemporary medicine

Eliot Freidson put great emphasis on 'the voice of layman' in medical sociology and he did that in the context of his sociological analysis of the specificity of medical profession. This context is evident especially in his work entitled *Profession of medicine* (Freidson 1970), in which attention was paid to the issues of medical autonomy and dominance. Also nowadays, analyses of agency of laymen in health and illness are

not only limited to the context of everyday life, but they also take into account medical context. Anselm Strauss and others suggested that studies of illness experience be profiled this way (Strauss, Glaser 1975). In this kind of analyses, attention is paid to the erosion of dominance of medicine in health- and illness-related issues regarding '*its cultural authority to determine /…/ what is to be counted as sickness*', the distribution of power in the relationship between medical practitioners and patients as well as medical influence on shaping health policy (Elston 2006). Changes that have been made in all these areas justify the thesis that medicine has lost its dominance and exclusivity in health- and illness-related matters. Let's dwell on these issues. In studies regarding the sociology of medical diagnosis it was documented that the creation of new disease entities is the outcome of social interactions that go beyond medicine, and cover increasingly diverse pressure groups, including '*health social movements*'. Such movements demand that certain health problems be medicalized and included in medical nosological systems (or the contrary) (Brown, Morello-Frosch, Zavestoski, Senier, Gasior Altman, Hoover, McCormick, Mayer, Adams 2011; Jutel 2009). Also consumerist tendencies in health care, which appeared in American realities in the 1960's, and significantly intensified in the 1980's, can be regarded as the manifestation (but also the cause) of questioning the dominance and authority of medicine in practitioner-patient relationships (Timmermans, Oh 2010). As part of these tendencies, intensive actions were taken in favor of '*availability of medical knowledge to patients and their motivation to be more active in relationships with doctors*' (Ostrowska 2009). According to Mary Ann Elston, consumerist tendencies in health care led to the questioning of '*passive trust in medical expertis*'', which was manifested in (1) growing number of complaints and court trials relating to medical malpractice, (2) greater involvement of patients in clinical decision-making process, and (3) increasingly common use of alternative treatments (Elston 2006). Widespread availability of medical expertise to be found in internet resources should be regarded an important factor that particularly accelerated patients' agency in medical care (Hardey 1999). This led also to '*democratization*' of medical knowledge and to its '*deprofessionalisation*' (Freidson 1984). The resulting outcomes of this process are: the reduction of the 'knowledge gap' between medical profession and society (Elston 2006), and laymen's empowerment in health- and illness-related matters.

For several reasons, the model of layman actively participating in medical care cannot be unquestioningly generalized. Researchers dealing with medical sociology initiated the discussion about social situations in which active participation of the sick in medical care is possible. Let's note that contextual approach to health- and illness-related issues, which is typical for sociomedical analyzes, is manifested here. In the course of this discussion, it was pointed out that patients' preferences in this matter are highly diverse, which depends on a number of social and clinical determinants (Gabe 2006). Contextual, sociomedical considerations also determine whether and to what extent declared and desired by the patients' active participation in medical care, can be realized in practice. They point to the importance of, among other things, personal and social situation of the sick, including their social position, level of education, health culture, level of medical knowledge, availability of economic resources, as well as medical specificity of illness, stage of illness trajectory, or finally institutional

context of the physician-patient interaction (public, private entity etc.) in this regard (Ostrowska 2006, 2011, 2012). In the light of several studies, social situation of the sick seems to be the key factor affecting declarations and possibility of partnership in the physician-patient relationship. Joan M. Anderson implies that the concept of empowered layman actively involved in medical care, in practice almost exclusively applies to people of high socioeconomic position, and remains an empty slogan for those patients coming from lower classes and the excluded ones (Anderson 1996). An analogous thesis in Polish medical sociology was proposed by Antonina Ostrowska as early as in the 1980's. She pointed that '*although people's level of medical knowledge is much higher than it was a few dozen years ago, it is [...] unevenly distributed throughout the society*' (Ostrowska 1981).

Layman as an expert in health- and illness-related matters?

In the connection with the above described tendencies in the 1990's the '*lay expert*' as well as the '*patient expert*' concepts appeared in sociomedical literature. As a result, as suggested by D. Tuckett, the practitioner-patient interaction gained new formula, namely it became '*meeting between experts*' (Nettleton 2006). This was believed to be caused by 'empowerment' of laymen in health- and illness-related matters, which makes ordinary people actively participate in processes of medical treatment. According to Lindsay Prior, another consequence of this trend was the modification of the '*lay health beliefs*' analytical category in medical sociology's research field: medical sociologists started to analyse this issue in terms of '*lay knowledge*' of health and illness (Prior 2003; Williams 2006). In this case, the change in terminology has shown that layman position gained particular significance in the field of sociomedical research. However, the hybrid term '*the lay expert*' raises serious concerns and forces questions to be asked, namely whether and how a layman can indeed be an expert? Lindsay Prior took on critical reflection on this issue. He believes that '*people are experts by virtue of having experiential knowledge of a condition*' and agrees that '*patients can have extensive knowledge of their own lives and the conditions in which they live*' (Prior 2003). He also emphasizes that '*they have knowledge about their own bodies and its pains*' etc. and suggests on this basis that '*they are experts by virtue of <having experience>*' (Prior 2003). Thus Prior consequently defends the thesis placed in the cited article that '*for the most part, lay people are not experts*' (Prior 2003). One can, however, question such approach as incomplete, mainly because illness experience inspires laymen to accumulate medical knowledge of the aetiology, course and treatment of particular illness, and as a result a specific synthesis is formed. It combines social and clinical aspects of the given illness and – what should be stressed here – it becomes a basis for the sick to adopt activist attitudes by becoming involved for example in educational and supportive activities addressed to other patients etc. (Martin 2008). It should be stressed that a distinguishing feature of lay knowledge of illnesses is placing these phenomena in a broad social and political context (Williams 2006). Let's note that this feature is coincident with claims formulated by medical sociologists concerning the need for sociocultural contextualisation of health and illness. The

problem under discussion is covered by the '*lay epidemiology*' concept (according to Phil Brown – '*popular epidemiology*'). It includes the results of information work done by laymen to understand the causes of particular illness taking into account its specific context / place. Such work includes collecting data from multiple sources (with the consideration of medical knowledge). It should be emphasized that knowledge accumulated this way constitutes specific 'hybrid' of common-sense interpretations and scientific data and – as it was stressed above – it functions as a basis for active actions to be taken by 'ordinary people' who take intensive efforts to modify health risks, obtain compensation for incurred health losses etc. (Brown 2000; Williams 2006). Phil Brown gives an example of such situation. He describes actions taken by local community inspired by high rates of leukaemia in children from chemically contaminated area of Woburn, Massachusetts, USA (Brown 2000). Several studies have also shown that lay information work, inspired by health problems difficult for unambiguous interpretation (for example so-called functional health disorders, early stage of chronic diseases like multiple sclerosis etc.), makes laymen capable of actively participating in the diagnostic process. Furthermore, such work significantly contributes to reduction of asymmetry of power in the physician-patient relationship (Stewart, Sullivan 1994).

Summary and some practical implications

Sociomedical analyses of laymen's activities and interpretations in health and illness can be regarded as a result of a move away from structural-functional model of health and illness in medical sociology towards approaches referring to different versions of humanistic sociology, where emphasis is put on the agency of layman co-creating social reality of illness and being ill. Researchers carrying out sociomedical studies documented gradual reduction of asymmetry of power in relations between laymen and institutional medicine. At the same time, they indicated under what social circumstances the layman can become a doctor's partner co-creating medical care (the model of the physician-patient relationship based on partnership). However, empowerment of laymen in health- and illness-related matters manifests itself not only in health care, but primarily in the area of everyday life, in which people take actions connected with staying health (it is commonly known that people's lifestyles best explain the proportion of variability of death rate caused by civilization diseases) (Lalonde 1974) and with dealing with consequences of chronic illnesses (see quoted above works of Anselm Strauss and his colleagues).

When summarizing this analysis, it is reasonable to ask a question about possibility of practical application of sociomedical knowledge regarding activities and experiences of laymen in health and illness. First of all, this knowledge complements the biomedical model of health and illness, making medical professionals sensitive to non-medical problems of the sick (Martin 2008; Skrzypek 2013c). This should have consequences in medical care regarding chronically ill patients, where it is reasonable to move away from 'top-down' directives, formulated by medical professionals, towards solutions which are based on knowledge of the sick problems and of how they themselves per-

ceive such problems and interpret them ('*what is really going on with patients*') (Strauss, Corbin 1988). In order to disseminate humanistic look at the sick in medical practice, it is necessary to introduce courses from the field of humanities into medical schools' curriculum to be run by teachers / researchers dealing with social sciences. The purpose of such courses would be to develop behavioral competences of medical professionals allowing the development of optimal communication with their patients. Dialogue of the medical professionals with the patient is in fact a key condition for having access to his/her illness experience (this applies not only to medical practice, but also to nursing or pharmacy one etc.).

(1) In this article the author refers to the results of his previous research published in Polish on the subject and cognitive identity of medical sociology (Skrzypek 2012a, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b).

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ZINĀTNISKĀ DZĪVE

IZDOTĀS MONOGRĀFIJAS

Margarita Ņesterova

IESLODZĪTO SOCIĀLIE PRIEKŠSATI PAR TAISNĪGUMU UN TICĪBA TAISNĪGAI PASAULEI

Viens no prioritāras nozīmes jautājumiem Latvijā ir noziedzības problemātika un ieslodzīto resocializācijas pasākumu efektivitātes nodrošināšana. Pēc autores uzskatiem, lai panāktu noziedzības līmeņa samazināšanos, jānodrošina efektīva ieslodzīto resocializācija un rehabilitācija, bet šīs stratēģijas īstenošanai nepieciešama kompleksa dažādu nozaru speciālistu darbība, kurā jāiesaistās gan tiesību institūciju darbiniekiem, gan psihologiem, gan sociālajiem darbiniekiem, tomēr Latvijā pagaidām trūkst šādu starpdisciplināru pētījumu, kā arī ir samērā maz pētījumu, kas orientējas uz likumpārkāpēja morālās un tiesiskās apziņas veidojošo sastāvdaļu analīzi, kas vecinātu praktisku priekšlikumu izstrādi ieslodzīto psiholoģiskās resocializācijas un integrācijas sabiedrībā pasākumu efektivitātes nodrošināšanai.

Tiesiskie un morālie priekšstati veido nozīmīgu indivīda pasaules koptēla daļu, no to īpatnībām ir atkarīgs adaptācijas līmenis pastāvošajai sociālajai realitātei. Sociālie priekšstati par taisnīgumu atspoguļo indivīdu uztveri un zināšanas par morālajām un tiesiskajām vērtībām un normām, savukārt individuālie priekšstati par taisnīgumu, kas izpaužas ticībā taisnīgai pasaulei, nosaka attieksmi pret sociālajām normām, ietekmējot taisnīgas uzvedības izvēles kritērijus, veicina sociāli atbalstāmas vai nosodāmas uzvedības veidu izvēli ikdienā, respektīvi, deformēti priekšstati par taisnīgumu var novest indivīdu sociālās atstumtības riska grupā, kas veicina asociālas uzvedības normu izvēli kā elementāras pašsaglabāšanās veidu. Tādējādi pētījuma mērķis bija izpētīt ieslodzīto sociālos priekšstatus par taisnīgumu un ticību taisnīgai pasaulei. Jāuzsver, ka Latvijā sociālie priekšstati par taisnīgumu un ticība taisnīgai pasaulei iepriekš nebija pētīti, pie tam tēmas aktualitāti pastiprina pētījuma veikšana ieslodzīto vīriešu un sieviešu grupās, tādēļ tas var kļūt par pamatu turpmākajiem

tiesisko un morālo priekšstatu pētījumiem ieslodzīto un citās specifiskās sociālā riska grupās.

Šajā monogrāfijā tika veikts mēģinājums sociālo un individuālo priekšstatu par taisnīgumu kompleksai izpētei, kas attīsta jaunas robežas taisnīguma fenomena interpretācijai. Apvienojot vairākas taisnīguma izpētes pieejas, tiek atklāta šīs parādības sociālā būtība, veidojot vienotu taisnīguma jēdziena psiholoģisko skaidrojumu. Taisnīguma interpretācija morālās un tiesiski politiskās kategorijās ļāva izstrādāt priekšstatu par taisnīgumu trīs faktoru modeli, kas ietver tiesiskā, morālā un starppersoniskā taisnīguma raksturojošos elementus, kas savstarpējā mijiedarbībā atklāj taisnīguma fenomena būtību, piešķirot abstraktai kategorijai saturisko jēgu.

Šī pētījuma vajadzībām pirmo reizi Latvijā tika iztulkota un veikta vispārējās ticības taisnīgai pasaulei (General Belief in a Just World (GBJW), Dalbert,Montada, Schmitt, 1987) un personīgās ticības taisnīgai pasaulei (Personal Belief in a Just World (PBJW), Dalbert, 1999) aptauju adaptācija Latvijā, kuru oriģinālajai versijai ir augsti ticamības rādītāji.
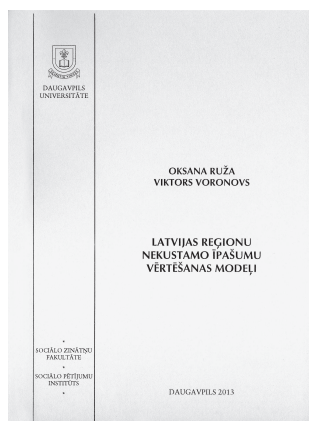
Monogrāfijas teorētiskajā daļā tiek aplūkoti sociālo priekšstatu teorētiskie aspekti, taisnīguma fenomena un taisnīgas pasaules izpētes pieejas, kā arī veikta literatūras teorētiskā analīze par noziedzības sociāli psiholoģiskās teorijām, ieslodzīto personības īpatnībām un likumpārkāpēju īpatnībām genderatšķirību kontekstā.

Monogrāfijas otrajā daļā aprakstīts ieslodzīto sociālo priekšstatu un ticības taisnīgai pasaulei empīrisks pētījums. Pētījuma empīriskajā daļā atspoguļots pētījuma dizains, pamatotas pētījumā izmantotās metodes, sniegts pētījuma izlašu raksturojums, izanalizēti un interpretēti iegūtie pētījuma rezultāti.

Pamatojoties uz pētījuma teorētisko analīzi un iegūtajiem empīriskajiem rezultātiem ir secināts, ka gan ieslodzīto, gan likumpaklausīgo respondentu sociālā priekšstata par taisnīgumu kodolu veido starppersoniskā taisnīguma indikatori, tomēr kontrolgrupā jeb respondentiem, kas nav saukti pie kriminālatbildības, taisnīgums arī tiek interpretēts, balstoties uz tiesiskajiem taisnīgas pasaules indikatoriem, sevišķi atzīmējot likuma ievērošanas nozīmi, kas liecina par augstāku likumpaklausīgo respondentu tiesiskās un morālās apziņas līmeni. Atšķirības ieslodzīto sociālajā priekšstatā pastāv arī pēc dzimuma kritērija, vīriešiem augstākā mērā raksturīgs skatīt taisnīgu pasauli starppersoniskā taisnīguma kontekstā, savukārt sievietes nedaudz augstāk vērtē tiesisko taisnīgumu. Konstatēts arī, ka pastāv dzimuma atšķirības ticībā taisnīgai pasaulei, tiesas taisnīguma uztverē, cietuma darbinieku attieksmes un personīgās rīcības novērtējumā, respektīvi, sievietes kopumā parāda augstākus rezultātus visos šajos parametros, turklāt sievietes asāk uztver cietuma radīto diskomfortu. Vīriešu izlasē, atšķirībā no sieviešu respondentēm, arī pastāv saistība starp vispārējo un personīgo ticību taisnīgai pasaulei un tiesas taisnīguma novērtējumu, kā arī likumpārkāpuma nožēlu, kas norāda uz to, ka ticība taisnīgai pasaulei pozitīvi ietekmē vainas apziņu, bet šāda saistība vairāk raksturīga vīriešu respondentu vidū, kuru kriminalitātes līmenis kopumā ir augstāks nekā sievietēm, tomēr tas ļauj secināt, ka augsta ticība taisnīgai pasaulei, adekvāta tiesas sprieduma uztvere un vainas apziņa par izdarīto potenciāli rada pamatu likumu ievērošanai nākotnē un izvairīšanos no kriminālās karjeras turpinājuma.

Oksana Ruža, Viktors Voronovs

LATVIJAS REĢIONU NEKUSTAMO ĪPAŠUMU VĒRTĒŠANAS MODEĻI

DAUGAVPILS UNIVERSITĀTE

OKSANA RUŽA
VIKTORS VORONOVS

LATVIJAS REĢIONU
NEKUSTAMO ĪPAŠUMU
VĒRTĒŠANAS MODEĻI

SOCIĀLO ZINĀTŅU
FAKULTĀTE

SOCIĀLO PĒTĪJUMU
INSTITŪTS

DAUGAVPILS 2013

Kopš Latvijas neatkarības atgūšanas valstī notiek intensīva valsts ekonomiskās sistēmas pārkārtošana atbilstoši demokrātiskas valsts uzbūves principiem. Latvija pāriet no totalitāras valsts pārvaldes sistēmas un centralizēti plānotas tautsaimniecības uz demokrātisku valsts pārvaldi un tirgus ekonomiku, šajā laikā arī iestājoties Eiropas Savienībā un lielā mērā integrējoties tās ekonomiskajā un politiskajā vidē. Būtiskas izmaiņas ir piedzīvojusi valsts mājokļu politika un ar to saistītie procesi – dzīvojamo māju privatizācija un nekustamā īpašuma tirgus attīstība. Līdz Latvijas valsts neatkarības atjaunošanai Latvijā nekustamais īpašums piederēja valstij, un indivīda izpratnē tas nebija tik nozīmīgs kā mūsdienās. Sabiedrības attieksme būtiski mainījās, sākoties dzīvojamo māju privatizācijas procesam. Iedzīvotāji sāka aktīvi piedalīties ekonomiskās politikas veidošanā, būvējot, pērkot nekustamos īpašumus, izmantojot savus uzkrājumus, kā arī izmantojot kreditēšanas iespējas. Darījumu pieaugums ar nekustamajiem īpašumiem savukārt noteica vajadzību meklēt jaunas pārvaldības un maksimāli precīzas vērtēšanas iespējas, kas būtu visvairāk tuvinātas jaunuzceltu un jau eksistējošu māju tirgus vērtībai.

Valsts ekonomikas efektīva funkcionēšana lielā mērā ir atkarīga no nekustamā īpašuma tirgus attīstības līmeņa. Nekustamais īpašums ietilpst ne tikai ražošanas resursu sastāvā kā visa veida uzņēmumu privātīpašuma saimnieciskās darbības pamats, bet arī kā pamats pilnvērtīgas sabiedrības dzīves nodrošināšanai. Līdz ar to pieaug aktualitāte un nepieciešamība pēc neatkarīgas nekustamā īpašuma vērtības noteikšanas, jo tikai neatkarīgs vērtējums nodrošina īpašniekam īpašuma tiesību aizsardzību. Absolūti lielākajam vairumam Latvijas iedzīvotāju dzīvojamais nekustamais īpašums mūsdienu apstākļos veido vienīgo reālo aktīvu. Tāpēc katra dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma novērtējums ir jāuzskata par vienu no valsts iedzīvotāju sociāli ekonomiskās drošības stūrakmeņiem tirgus apstākļos. Latvijas nekustamā īpašuma tirgus veidošanās notiek situācijā, kad praktiski nepastāv vienota un Latvijas apstākļiem adaptēta nekustamā īpašuma tirgus vērtības masveida vērtēšanas metodoloģisko pieeju sistēma. Latvijas nekustamā īpašuma tirgus organizatoriski metodoloģisko struktūru efektīvi var veidot, tikai nodrošinot kvalitatīvu informatīvo bāzi visiem profesionālajiem tirgus dalībniekiem. Informatīvā nodrošinājuma pamatkomponents ir datu vākšanas un analītiskās apstrādes metodika par nekustamā īpašuma objektiem, kā arī unificētas informācijas tehnoloģijas, kas ļauj automatizēt visu nekustamā īpašuma tirgus dalībnieku darbību, ieskaitot valsti. Tādējādi izvēlētās tēmas aktualitāti nosaka augstākminētā nekustamā īpašuma novērtējuma būtiskā loma veiksmīgai valsts sociāli ekonomiskajai

attīstībai. Turklāt Latvijā ekonomisko formāciju nomaiņas periodā praktiski nepastāv nekustamā īpašuma tirgus vērtības masveida vērtēšanas metodoloģija un adaptēta metodika, tāpēc ir nepieciešams izveidot un īstenot to, izmantojot mūsdienu informatīvā nodrošinājuma iespējas.

Latvijā praktiski ir 2 ekonomiskie reģioni – Rīga un visa pārējā Latvijas teritorija, kas atspoguļojas visos makroekonomiskajos rādītājos šajos reģionos (Boroņenko, 2007; Āišīķīā, 2012).

Autori pētījumā analizē divas Latvijas lielākās pilsētas – Rīgu un Daugavpili, kas atrodas divos reģionos: Rīgas un Latgales reģionā. Tā kā 48% valsts iedzīvotāju dzīvo Rīgas reģionā un 45% no tiem dzīvo Rīgas pilsētā, tāpēc var apgalvot, ka lielākā daļa no dzīvojamā NĪ pirkšanas-pārdošanas darījumiem notiek tieši Rīgā. Autori izvēlējās Rīgu kā vislielāko darījumu objektu šajā reģionā, kurā tiek veikti darījumi ar dzīvojamo NĪ (skat. 1. pielikumu). Turklāt Rīgā ir arī vislielākās cenas nekustamā īpašuma tirgū, salīdzinot ar citiem Latvijas reģioniem.

No visas pārējās Latvijas teritorijas autori izvēlējas Latgales reģionu kā vislielāko valsts reģionu pēc iedzīvotāju skaita, kurā dzīvo 15,2% Latvijas iedzīvotāju, no tiem 5% dzīvo lielākajā reģiona pilsētā Daugavpilī. Tāpēc autori izvēlējās Daugavpili par dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma tirgus analīzes objektu, jo tajā notiek reģionā lielākais darījumu skaits ar dzīvojamo nekustamo īpašumu.

Visi autoru izstrādātie modeļi tika iegūti, izmantojot Valsts Zemes dienesta Nekustamā īpašuma tirgus datu bāzi par laika periodu 2010. g. – 2011. g., taču tos var adaptēt arī citam laika periodam. Adaptācijas procesa piemērs ir parādīts 2012. gadam. No 2010. g. – 2011. g. datu bāzes tika iegūta izlase par veiktajiem darījumiem ar dzīvojamo nekustamo īpašumu: 1, 2, 3-istabu 350 dzīvokļi visos Daugavpils pilsētas rajonos un 162 – Rīgas pilsētā. No datu bāzes tika izņemta informācija par elitāriem mājokļiem un vecām koka mājām.

Autoru izveidotā modeļa galvenais ierobežojums: modeli var izmantot vidēja termiņa perspektīvā (līdz 5 gadiem), bet, lai modeli lietotu ilgtermiņā, periodiski ir jāveic koeficientu korelācija.

Ārzemju un Latvijas autori ir pētījuši nekustamo īpašumu kopumā un arī ar nekustamo īpašumu saistītos teorētiskos un metodiskos aspektus.

Piemēram, nekustamā īpašuma cenu veidošanās teorētiskie jautājumi ir risināti dažādu zinātnisko ekonomisko virzienu fundamentālo pētījumu ietvaros: klasiskais, marginālais un neoklasiskais. Šo pētījumu galvenās atziņas turpina attīstīt arī mūsdienu zinātnieki, t. sk. arī Latvijas ekonomikas zinātnes pārstāvji: A. Medne, V. Zariņa (Medne, Zariņa, 2006), H. Kanaviņš (Kanaviņš, 2000), M. Lazdovskis (Lazdovskis, 2006), L. Rasnača (Rasnača, 2006), J. Vanags (Vanags, 2010), V.Paršova (Paršova, 2007), K. Vītola, V. Ajevskis (Vītola, 2011), J. Zvanītājs, D.Ādmīdiņš (2010), kā arī Valsts Zemes dienesta (VZD, 2012), Latvijas Īpašumu vērtētāju asociācijas (LĪVA, 2012), banku, citu valsts iestāžu un arī privātkompāniju pārstāvji (SIA Arco Real Estate (SIA Arco.., 2012), SIA Latio (SIA Latio, 2012), SIA Ober-Haus (City, 2012), DTZ Latvia (DTZ, 2012) u.c.), kuri nodarbojas ar Latvijas nekustamā īpašuma tirgus izpēti. Izmantojot šos pētījumus, kuru dati pēc būtības ir apkopojoši, var raksturot dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma problēmas, akcentējot metodoloģiskos un metodiskos aspektus.

Nekustamā īpašuma vērtēšanas teorētiskie jautājumi ir risināti V. Baumanes (Baumane, 1999), D. Baltrumas, J. Freiberga darbos (Baltruma, Freibergs, 1999). Tajos ir izklāstītas atziņas par trim vispāratzītajām pieejām dažādu nekustamā īpašuma veidu kadastrālajā un individuālajā vērtēšanā. Dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma tirgus vērtības masveida vērtēšanai tajos nav pievērsta īpaša uzmanība.

Praktiski visi nekustamā īpašuma vērtējuma analīzes jautājumi ir atspoguļoti pazīstamu ārzemju pētnieku darbos: N. Orduejs, Dž. Frīdmans (Фридман, Ордуэй, 1997), S.H. Harisons (Харрисон, 1994), Dž.K. Ekerts (Эккерт, 1997). Piemēram, S.H. Harisona darbā vienotā detalizācijas līmenī tiek izskatītas visas trīs vērtēšanas pieejas. Pie tam, darbs tiek orientēts uz vērtēšanas praksi, uz uzkrātās pieredzes analīzi un praktisko rekomendāciju izstrādi. Dž. Frīdmana un N. Ordueja pētījumi tiek orientēti uz nekustamo komercīpašumu, tāpēc detalizētāk tiek izskatītas ienākuma pieejas metodes. Dž.K. Ekerta pētījumos, atšķirībā no citiem pētījumiem, nekustamā īpašuma vērtējuma process tiek parādīts lietišķās ekonomiskās analīzes veidā. Tiek sniegts tradicionālās vērtēšanas modeļa ekonomiskais pamats kā individuālai, tā arī masveida vērtēšanai: piemēram, šo modeļu ekonomiskās struktūras analīze (modeļu specifikācija) un modeļu komponentu (modeļu kalibrēšana) algoritmu apraksts, izmantojot datorizētās procedūras pieprasījuma un piedāvājuma faktoru darbībai nekustamā īpašuma tirgū. Šie pētījumi ir orientēti uz vērtēšanu saistībā ar aplikšanu ar nodokļiem un nevis darījumu veikšanai.

Cenu veidošanās hedonistiskā modeļa īpatnību dažādi aspekti ir izklāstīti vairāku ārzemju autoru darbos: A. Dins, M. Hoeslijs, A. Benders (Din, Hoesli, Bender, 2000), M.K. Franckejs, G.A. Voss, Dž.E. Jensens (Francke, Vos, Janssen, 2008). Šo autoru darbos tiek analizēti cenu veidošanās jautājumi vietējos mājokļu tirgos, kuriem ir sava specifika. Tāpēc, lai tos izmantotu citās valstīs vai reģionos, ir jāveic speciāla adaptācija saistībā ar konkrētā mājokļu tirgus īpatnībām.

Autori secināja, ka sekundārā mājokļu tirgus objektu masveida novērtēšana nav pietiekami izstrādāta un zinātniski pamatota, kas kopumā noteica pētījuma aktualitāti.

Pētījuma teorētisko un metodoloģisko bāzi veido darba vērtības teorija, neoklasiskā teorija, marginālisma teorija, kā arī vietējo un ārvalstu zinātnieku darbu izpēte un analīze, kuri ir saistīti ar nekustamā īpašuma vērtēšanas problēmām.

Pētījums tika veikts divos savstarpēji papildinošos virzienos: dedukcija – virzība no kopējā uz atsevišķo, indukcija – virzība no atsevišķā uz kopējo. Par kopējo deduktīvo pamatelementu tika pieņemtas esošās ekonometriskās pieejas objekta vērtības masveida noteikšanai. Par atsevišķo pamatelementu – apkopotās dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma vērtības noteikšanas individuālās metodes.

Darba izpildes gaitā tika izmatotas vispārzinātniskās metodes – analīze un sintēze, kā arī ekspertu vērtējumu metode un matemātiskās modelēšanas metode. Izlūkanalīzes veikšanai tika izmantota aprakstošās statistikas un datu vizualizācijas metode. Datu apstrādē tika izmantotas korelācijas, regresiju un klasteru analīzes metodes. Modeļu veidošanas procesā tika izmantotas intelektuālās analīzes metodes – neironu tīkli un risinājumu koki. Lai pierādītu hipotēzi un novērtētu iegūto rezultātu nozīmību, tika izmantoti statistiskie kritēriji: Stjudenta, Manna – Vitneja, Vilkoksona kritēriji, viena faktora un daudzfaktoru dispersiju analīze. Sākotnējo datu un iegūto rezultātu vizuali-

zācijai tika izmantota dažāda veida stabiņu, lineārās un apļa diagrammas, kā arī izkliedes diagrammas un dendrogrammas.

Pētījuma normatīvi tiesisko, institucionālo ietvaru veido LR likumdošana, Latvijas nekustamā īpašuma vērtēšanas metodisko norādījumu, instrukciju un materiālu kopums, Starptautiskie un Eiropas Vērtēšanas standarti, kā arī vērtēšanas kompāniju standarti un citi dokumenti.

Pētījuma informatīvo bāzi veido to VZD un vērtēšanas kompāniju dati par darījumiem ar dzīvojamo NĪ, kuras strādā Daugavpils un Rīgas nekustamā īpašuma tirgū.

Monogrāfijas teorētiskajā daļā ir analizētas dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma dažādu lietošanas veidu specifiskās īpatnības, kā arī ar tām saistītās dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma vērtības noteikšanas teorētiskās īpatnības.

Monogrāfijas otrajā nodaļā ir analizētas dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma tirgus vērtības individuālās un masveida noteikšanas galvenās pieejas un metodes. Ir izskatīti masveida novērtējuma modeļu veidošanas pamatprincipi, kā arī piedāvātas dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma tirgus vērtības masveida noteikšanas metodoloģiskās pieejas, kuru pamatā ir ekonometriskie modeļi.

Monogrāfijas trešajā nodaļā ir izvērtēti faktori, kas ietekmē Rīgas un Daugavpils pilsētas dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma novērtēšanu. Ir izstrādāti dažādi modeļi nekustamā īpašuma vērtības masveida noteikšanai Daugavpilī un Rīgā. To pamatā ir regresijas un klasteru metodes, kā arī tika izmantoti neironu tīkli un risinājumu koki. Ir novērtēta to kvalitāte un sniegtas lietošanas rekomendācijas.

Pētījuma zinātnisko novitāti nosaka metodoloģiskās pieejas izveide dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma tirgus vērtības masveida noteikšanai, ņemot vērā dzīvojamā fonda sastāva specifiku. Pētījuma svarīgākie ar zinātnisko novitāti saistītie rezultāti:

- sistematizēts priekšstats par dzīvojamo nekustamo īpašumu kā ekonomiskās vērtēšanas objektu un dota definīcija jēdzienam "dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma tirgus vērtības masveida noteikšana";
- Latvijas apstākļiem adaptēta dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma vērtības noteikšanas metodoloģiskā pieeja, kurā ir apvienotas individuālās un masveida vērtēšanas pieejas;
- izveidotie hedonistiskā tipa ekonometriskie modeļi dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma tirgus vērtības masveida noteikšanai, kuru pamatā ir statistiskā (regresijas un klasteru) analīze;
- ekonometriskie modeļi, kuru izveides pamatā ir datu intelektuālās analīzes metodes: neironu tīkli un risinājumu koki.

Veiktā pētījuma **praktiskais pielietojums** ir saistīts ar iespēju izveidoto instrumentāriju izmantot dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma tirgus vērtības masveida novērtēšanā. Priekšlikumus var praktiski izmantot speciālisti, kuri nodarbojas ar nekustamā īpašuma objektu pārvaldi, novērtēšanu un pētīšanu:

- valsts pārvaldes institūcijas, lai veidotu dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma nodokļu sistēmu;
- banku analītiķi, specializētās firmas, lai varētu ticami prognozēt dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma tirgus dinamiku;

- vērtēšanas firmas un mākleru kompānijas, lai novērtētu sekundārā mājokļu tirgus stāvokli un prognozētu mājokļu cenas;
- dzīvojamā nekustamā īpašuma īpašnieki, lai noteiktu pārdošanai izlikto dzīvokļu vērtību;
- zinātnieki, kuri nodarbojas ar nekustamā īpašuma vērtības izpēti.

Pētījuma praktisko daļu var izmantot arī kā metodiskos materiālus studiju procesā, augstākās izglītības iestādēs bakalaura, maģistra, doktora studiju programmu ekonomikas, juridisko un būvniecības specialitāšu studenti.

AIZSTĀVĒTIE PROMOCIJAS DARBI

Inese Haite

POLICENTRISKA ATTĪSTĪBA LATVIJĀ UN TĀS NOVĒRTĒŠANA

Promocijas darba tēmas izvēles motivācija un pamatojums

Promocijas darbs veltīts policentriskas attīstības izpētei Latvijā, pieņemot, ka policentriksuma telpiskā koncepcija ir būtiska valsts teritorijas attīstības veicināšanā. Pētījuma problemātiku atklāj nepieciešamība analizēt reģionālās ekonomikas norises, ar mērķi raksturot faktiskos reģionālās politikas procesus Latvijā. Jēdzieni "reģionālā politika", "reģionālā attīstība" un "policentriska attīstība" ir cieši saistīti ar reģionālās attīstības teoriju, kuras galvenais uzdevums ir skaidrot reģionu ekonomiskās izaugsmes un konkurētspējas atšķirību cēloņus un likumsakarības. Darbā apkopotas teorētiskās zinātniskās atziņas, tās papildina autores izvērtējums un empīriskais pētījums.

Ekonomiskās attīstības jautājumi ir cieši saistīti ar reģionu un pilsētu tīklu attīstību. Policentrisma sākotnējie formulējumi izteikti XX gadsimta 30. gados, kad attīstījās centrālās vietas teorija (Vācijas autori V. Kristālers (*Christaller*) un A. Lošs (*Losch*)), mezgla vietas teorija (ASV autori E. M. Hūvere (*Hoover*) un F. Džiaratani (*Giarratani*)) un endogenās attīstības teorija (ASV autori P. Agjons (*Aghion*) un P. Hovits (*Howitt*), Dž. M. Grosmens (*Grossman*) un E. Helpmens (*Helpman*), R. Dž. Barro (*Barro*) un Ks. Sala-i-Martins (*Sala-i-Martin*), E. Dinopouloss (*Dinopoulos*), Dž. A. Sterns (*Stern*)).

Pamatojoties uz minēto teoriju pieņēmumiem, mūsdienās reģionālās ekonomikas zinātniskajos pētījumos policentriskuma pieeja tiek atjaunota telpisko struktūru, modeļu, reģionu un pilsētu pētījumu virzienā no policentriskas attīstības skatupunkta. Dažādu valstu autoru – (K. Majers (*Maier*), L. Sikora (*Sýkora*), N. Beilijs (*Bailey*),

I. Turoks (*Turok*), R. Klūstermens (*Kloosterman*), B. Lambregts (*Lambregts*), A. G. Čempions (*Champion*), M. Burgers (*Burger*) un E. Maijerss (*Meijers*), D. Burgalasi (*Burgalassi*) un P. Veneri (*Veneri*), R. D. Džeikobss (*Jacobs*), N. Grīns (*Green*), E. V. Soja (*Soja*), Ž. Džuljāno (*Giuliano*) un K. Smols (*Small*), F. M. Dīlmens (*Dieleman*) un A. Faludi (*Faludi*), P. Gordons (*Gordon*) un H. V. Ričardsons (*Richardson*), R. Klūstermens (*Kloosterman*) un S. Musterds (*Musterd*), B. Lambregts (*Lambregts*), Eiropas Telpiskās attīstības perspektīva, *ESPON* projekti) – darbos pausts uzskats, ka valstīm ar policentrisku attīstības modeli ir labākas attīstības iespējas, salīdzinot ar monocentriskas virzības valstīm.

Promocijas darba autore – Dr.oec. Inese Haite

Vienmērīgi izvietotais pilsētu tīkls ir labvēlīgs policentriskai un līdzsvarotai valsts attīstībai, monocentrisku valstu virzību uz policentrisku attīstību kavē zema konkurēt-spēja, nepietiekama attīstība pilsētās un vāja saikne ar apkārtējām teritorijām. Mūs-dienās pilsētu teritorijas aptver lielāko daļu iedzīvotāju, ražošanas un patēriņa, tādēļ tās ir svarīgas vienības ekonomiskās, sociālās un vides analīzei, kā arī pamats attīstības politikas stratēģijām. Pilsētas rada dažādas ietekmes – ekonomisko, sociālo, politisko utt. – uz pietiekami lielu telpu, veidojot savstarpējas saites. Šādu ietekmju teritoriju var noteikt tikai nosacīti, izmantojot tehniskas pieejas (piemēram, attālumu no centra, centra sasniedzamību, ko nosaka pārvietošanās ilgums, u. c.), lietojot statistiskās analīzes metodes – iespējamo ietekmju identificēšanai izmantojot teritorijas, par kurām pieejami statistikas dati, vai lietojot dažādas kvalitatīvās vērtēšanas metodes. Ap pilsē-tām veidojas tiešās ietekmes areāli, kuru aptvertā teritorija atkarīga no pilsētas lieluma, saiknēm ar kaimiņu pilsētām, sasniedzamības, specializācijas un citiem rādītājiem. Iedzīvotāju darba un pakalpojumu svārstveida migrācijas, lauku apdzīvojums, kas cieši saistīts ar pilsētu (piepilsētas apbūve, vasarnīcu ciemi) ir šādas ietekmes piemēri. Pilsētas tiešās ietekmes areāla lielums katrā gadījumā ir nosakāms individuāli ar kvali-tatīviem izpētes datiem. Lai gan administratīvā pieeja nepietiekami identificē saim-nieciski un sociāli integrētas pilsētu teritorijas, morfoloģiskā pieeja rada papildu prob-lēmu, lai spētu identificēt pārāk mazas pilsētas, kuras nevar nosaukt par lielpilsētu teritorijām.

Lai būtu iespējams veikt praktisko policentriskā līmeņa novērtēšanu dažāda līmeņa teritorijās, nepieciešams rast priekšstatu par galvenās funkcijas policentrisko reģionu noteikšanu, koncentrējoties uz šādu aspektu – policentriskajā reģionā esošo pilsētu izmēru un izkliedi jeb morfoloģisko perspektīvu. Papildus policentriskā līmeņa novēr-tēšanā pastāv un ir jāņem vērā otrs aspekts – funkcionālā perspektīva, kur hierarhiskā ranžēšana starp pilsētām tiek vērtēta ar mijiedarbības metodēm, kas balstītas uz cilvēku, preču vai informācijas plūsmu.

Lai gan policentriska attīstība ir izvirzīta kā viena no reģionālās politikas stratē-ģiskajām prioritātēm ES valstīs, tai skaitā arī Latvijā, tomēr policentriskas koncepcijas jomā (reģionu līmenī) nav vienotas novērtēšana metodikas. Viena no galvenajām prob-lēmām, kas rodas, veicot policentrisko reģionu un ierosināto reģionālo attīstības politiku analīzi, ir tā, ka Eiropas valstīs nav plaši atzītu standartu, lai identificētu pil-sētu teritoriju vienības viendabīgai analīzei. Vienota pieeja ir nepieciešama, lai analīzes dati un plānošanas rezultāti būtu izmantojami visās Eiropas valstīs, neatkarīgi no valsts izmēriem un iedzīvotāju skaita. Līdz ar to rodas iespējas salīdzinošai valstu no-vērtēšanai policentriskas attīstības kontekstā, lietoto reģionālās attīstības atbalsta instrumentu efektivitātes un atbilstības teritoriju vajadzībām noteikšanā, kā arī izvirzīto prioritāšu izvērtējumā. Unificētam standartam ir jābūt pietiekami elastīgam, lai tas būtu piemērojams dažādās administratīvi teritoriālās struktūrās dažādās valstīs. Izstrā-dātai metodikai jāpilda trīs noteikumi: pirmkārt, tai ir jābūt noderīgai analīzei un plānošanai, kas nepieciešama, lai novērtētu patiesās ekonomikas, sociālās un vides parādībās. Otrkārt, tai ir jābūt tādai, lai varētu veikt aprobāciju visās Eiropas valstīs. Treškārt, tai ir jābūt pietiekami elastīgai, lai izmantotu dažādas administratīvi terito-riālās struktūras Eiropas valstīs.

Pētījumi par Latvijas pilsētu raksturojumiem un novērtējumiem, t.sk. policentriskas attīstības skatupunktā, ir atspoguļoti dažādu autoru zinātniskajos darbos (A. Vītola un Z. Hermansons, B. Rivža un V. Zaļūksne, Ž. Krūzmētra, Z. Krišāne un M. Bērziņš, J. Grizāns un J. Vanags, D. Bite u.c.) un institūciju (VRAA, VARAM) pētījumos.

Promocijas darbā lietoti divi termini "metode" un "metodika". Termins "zinātnes metode" visplašākajā izpratnē ir sava priekšmeta izpētes paņēmiens (Didenko, Sundukova, 2003). Policentriskas attīstības procesu novērtēšanai un pētīšanai lietotas metodes jeb priekšmeta izpētes paņēmieni, kas izriet no vispārējiem teorētiskiem priekšstatiem par pētāmās parādības būtību un balstītas uz divām dažādām perspektīvām: morfoloģisko un funkcionālo, iekļaujot vispārzināmās matemātiskās metodes. Ar jēdzienu "zinātnes metodika" saprot paņēmienu un noteikumu kopumu, kas palīdz mērķtiecīgi veikt kādu noteiktu darbu (Didenko, Sundukova, 2003).

Promocijas darbā izveidotā metodika ir pētījuma paņēmienu (metožu) sistēma, kuru izmanto atbilstoši noteiktam darba mērķim un konkrētam izpētes objektam. Latvijas policentriskas attīstības novērtēšana izstrādātās metodikas izpratnē ir ar nozari saistītās informācijas ieguve, apkopošana un analīze, izmantojot atbilstošas pētniecības metodes, ar nolūku sagatavot Latvijas policentriskas attīstības aprakstu reģionālās ekonomikas procesu novērtēšanas vajadzībām. Latvijas policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodika ir metodisks materiāls, kurš ir paredzēts tautsaimniecības reģionālās ekonomikas nozares pamatotai izpētei un kurš iesaka vienotu, sistēmisku metožu lietojumu izpētes veikšanā. Metodikā ir paredzēta sistēma, kā policentriskas attīstības procesu novērtēšanu pētīt vienoti visā valstī kopumā (*valsts mērogs*) un katrā no valstī ietilpstošajiem reģioniem (*reģionu mērogs*), tādā veidā panākot, ka iegūtie izpētes rezultāti ir ticami un izmantojami valsts rīcībpolitikas veidošanā. Latvijas policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodikas mērķis ir sniegt metodisku atbalstu reģionālās ekonomikas nozares izpētes veikšanai. Izmantojot šo metodiku, izstrādāts Latvijas policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas apraksts un raksturojošo rādītāju struktūra.

Pētījuma hipotēze, objekts, priekšmets, mērķis un uzdevumi

Autore darbā izvirza šādu **hipotēzi** – izveidotās Latvijas policentriskas attīstības līmeņa novērtēšanas metodikas ietvaros iekļauto metožu aprēķini uzrāda līdzvērtīgus rezultātus un apstiprina Latvijas monocentriskas attīstības tendenci valsts un reģionu mērogā.

Promocijas darba pētījumu **objekts** – policentriska attīstība, bet **priekšmets –** policentriskas attīstības novērtēšana Latvijā.

No hipotēzes izrietošais pētījuma **mērķis** ir, pamatojoties uz teorētiskajām pamatnostādnēm un praktiskajām atziņām, izveidot Latvijas policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodiku kā priekšlikumu Latvijas valsts un reģionu attīstības novērtēšanai. Promocijas darba empīriskās izpētes daļas izstrādes mērķis ir noteikt Latvijas valsts un reģionu policentriskas attīstības līmeni, izmantojot matemātiskās metodes.

Izvirzīto mērķu sasniegšanai risināti šādi promocijas darba **uzdevumi:**

1. apkopot un teorētiski pamatot lietojamās definīcijas (policentriskums, policentrisms un policentriska attīstība, policentrisks), monocentrisma/policentrisma

telpiskās attīstības modeļus, policentriskas sistēmas modeļus, kā arī izvērtēt pasaules un ES policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodikas un metodes;

2. izvērtēt policentriskuma normatīvo dimensiju Latvijā un ES ilgtspējīgas izaugsmes un kohēzijas kontekstā, kā arī analizēt Latvijas pilsētu sistēmas struktūru un tās pārvaldības aspektus;

3. izstrādāt Latvijas policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodiku, kas ietver policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodes, balstītas uz divām dažādām perspektīvām: morfoloģisko un funkcionālo, veikt Latvijas policentriskas attīstības līmeņa novērtējumu saskaņā ar izveidoto metodiku, kā arī interpretēt iegūtos praktiskā pētījuma empīrisko rezultātus.

Promocijas darba pētījuma uzdevumu realizēšanai izmantotās zinātniskās metodes un materiāli

1) lietojamo definīciju, monocentrisma/policentrisma telpiskās attīstības modeļu, policentriskas sistēmas modeļu, policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodiku un metožu teorētisko pamatojumu izvērtējumam izmantota monogrāfiskā metode. Policentriskas attīstības ES un Latvijas tiesiskās un institucionālās bāzes (normatīvie akti un plānošanas dokumenti), kā arī nozīmīgāko zinātnisko pētījumu un publikāciju policentriskas attīstības jomā analīzei izmantotas loģiskās analīzes un sintēzes metodes, teorētisko un empīrisko avotu izpētes monogrāfiskā un analītiskā metode, loģiski-konstruktīvā metode, zinātniskās indukcijas un dedukcijas metode, grafiskā metode, kā arī salīdzinājumu metode;

2) policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodikas izveidei un empīriskajam policentriskas attīstības līmeņa novērtējumam izmantota datu apstrādes statistiskā metode, aprakstošā statistika, grafiskā metode, kartogrāfiskā metode, vispārējās matemātiskās metodes – grupēšana, salīdzināšana, ranžēšana, regresijas analīze, datu apstrādē izmantota SPSS (*Statistical Package for the Social Sciences*) programmpaketes 19.0 *Windows* versija.

Promocijas darbs ir izstrādāts zinātnes apakšnozarē "Reģionālā ekonomika", policentriskas attīstības jautājumu analīzei un risināšanai izmantota ģeogrāfijas un demogrāfijas zinātņu nozaru informācijas, datu un pieeju integrācija.

Pētījuma veikšanai izmantoti ārvalstu un Latvijas zinātnieku publikācijas par promocijas darba tēmu, VRAA ziņojumi, LR CSP publicētie dati un datu bāzes informācija, VAS "Latvijas valsts ceļi" publicētie dati, ES vienotās sistēmas statistikas dati.

Promocijas darba zinātniskās novitātes

1. Sistematizējot lietojamos teorētiskos jēdzienus, noteikta to apjoma un satura daļu likumsakarība. Izveidotā lietojamo jēdzienu saistības un apjoma sistēmātikas shēma sniedz izpratni par terminu izmantošanu teorētiskajā un normatīvajā vidē.

2. Izpētītas un sistematizētas pastāvošās policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodikas un metodes, identificējot to piederību morfoloģiskai/funkcinālai perspektīvai.

3. Aprakstītas mūsdienās Latvijas reģionālās politikas pamatnostādnes policentriskas attīstības kontekstā un, pamatojoties uz pilsētu sistēmu policentrisma teorētisko bāzi, identificētas Latvijas pilsētu tipoloģijas policentrisma aspektā.

4. Izveidota Latvijas policentriskas attīstības novērtējuma metodika, kas ietver divas novērtēšanas metodes morfoloģiskās un funkcionālās perspektīvas kontekstā. Izveidotā metodika lietojama valsts un reģionu analīzē valstīm (Latvijas piemērs), kurās ir mazs populācijas skaits, salīdzinoši liela teritorija, pastāv pilsētu sistēma, bet nav izteiktas vairākas megapoles. Autores veiktais pētījums ir teorētiski un praktiski nozīmīgs, jo iegūtie rezultāti attīsta un papildina reģionālās ekonomikas teorētisko bāzi valsts un reģionu policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas jomā.

5. Policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodes morfoloģiskās perspektīvas kontekstā ietvaros izstrādāts algoritms Latvijas valsts mērogā – valsts telpiskās formas, un reģionu mēroga situācijas novērtējumam. "Lielākās/galvenās pilsētas pārākuma" metode ir papildināta un veikta valsts reģionu novērtēšanas aprēķinu sistematizācija, izmantojot ne tikai iedzīvotāju skaita kritēriju, bet arī papildu novērtēšanas kritēriju – pilsētu platību, pakārtoti ir izveidotas novatoriskas formulas matemātisko aprēķinu veikšanai.

6. Policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodes funkcionālās perspektīvas konteksta ietvaros izstrādāts algoritms reģionu mēroga situācijas novērtējumam, lietojot matemātiskos aprēķinus. Metodes ietvaros identificētas funkcionālās saites starp Latvijas pilsētām un izstrādāts kartogrāfiskais materiāls.

7. Pētījuma rezultātā ir novērtēta valsts telpiskā struktūra kopš 1897. gada līdz mūsdienām un izteikti policentriskas attīstības līmeņa rādītāji koeficientu izteiksmē valsts un reģionu mērogā bāzes 2012. gadā un ilgstošā definētā laika periodā (morfoloģiskās perspektīvas kontekstā 1989.–2012. gads, funkcionālās perspektīvas kontekstā 2000.–2012. gads). Promocijas darba ietvaros, izmantojot izveidoto metodisko platformu, veikta statistikas datu apstrāde un analīze, kas stimulē zinātnisku diskusiju un turpmāku šīs tēmas izpēti.

Promocijas darba praktiskās novitātes un pielietojums tautsaimniecībā

1. Pētījuma rezultāti sniedz iespēju novērtēt valsts reģionālās attīstības procesus ilgtermiņā policentriskas attīstības jomā. Promocijas darbā atspoguļotā metodika var tikt izmantota kā instruments reģionālās attīstības politikas lēmumu pieņemšanā un stratēģiskajā plānošanā, tā sniedz iespēju veikt Latvijas policentriskas attīstības un reģionālās ekonomikas procesu monitoringu nākotnē.

2. Izmantojot pētījumā konstatētās likumsakarības, iespējams nodrošināt efektīvāku valsts rīcībā esošo finanšu resursu pārdali un ES struktūrfondu finansējuma izmantošanu, sekojot ES un Latvijas normatīvās bāzes uzstādījumiem policentriskuma īstenošanā.

Mērķa sasniegšanai pētījuma izklāsts ir strukturēts trijās nodaļās ar apakšnodaļām.

Darba **pirmajā nodaļā** iztirzāti policentriskas attīstības teorētiskie aspekti. Tiek pētītas un analizētas policentriskuma, policentrisma un policentriskas attīstības teorētiskās pamatnostādnes, kā arī monocentrisma un policentrisma telpiskie attīstības modeļi, policentriskas sistēmas modeļi. Nodaļā pētītas pasaules un ES policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodikas un metodes.

Otrajā nodaļā analizēti ES un Latvijas policentriskuma un policentriskas attīstības aspekti reģionālās politikas kontekstā. Tiek pētīti un analizēti ES ilgtspējīgas izaugsmes, Kohēzijas politikas un policentrskuma normatīvās dimensijas pamatprincipi, Latvijas reģionālās politikas pamatnostādnes policentriskuma virzībā un iedzīvotāju skaita tendences valstī, akcentējot situāciju starptautiskas, nacionālas un reģionālas nozīmes attīstības centros. Nodaļā izstrādāts Latvijas teritorijas attīstības centru raksturojums policentriskas sistēmas pārvaldības aspektā.

Trešajā nodaļā autore piedāvā jaunu Latvijas policentriskas attīstības novērtēšanas metodiku, kas ietver divas metodes, balstītas uz morfoloģisko un funkcionālo perspektīvu. Saskaņā ar izveidoto metodiku nodaļā ir izklāstīti Latvijas policentriskas attīstības līmeņa novērtējuma empīriskās izpētes aprēķina rezultāti un sniegta to interpretācija.

Aizstāvēšanai izvirzītās tēzes

1. "Policentriska attīstība" ir komplicēts jēdziens, kuram nav izstrādātas vienotas metodikas un kopīgu mērījumu jeb novērtēšanas metodes, kas sniegtu iespēju veikt ierosināto reģionālo attīstības politiku analīzi dažādām valstīm un reģioniem.

2. ES Kohēzijas politika ietver policentriskas attīstības konceptu kā līdzekli reģionālo sociālekonomisko atšķirību mazināšanai, tomēr policentriskuma pozitīvās ietekmes novērtēšanai trūkst gan teorētisko pamatojumu, gan empīriskās analīzes.

3. Latvijas teritorijas attīstības centru raksturojums policentriskas sistēmas pārvaldības aspektā sniedz izpratni par morfoloģiskajiem, funkcionālajiem un pārvaldības aspektiem.

4. Pētījumā izstrādātā metodika nodrošina valsts un reģionu policentriskas attīstības procesu novērtējumu morfoloģiskās un funkcionālās perspektīvas kontekstā.

Eduards Vanags

LATVIJAS DARBASPĒKA STARPTAUTISKĀS MIGRĀCIJAS IEMESLI UN EKONOMISKĀS SEKAS: LATGALES REĢIONA PIEMĒRS

Tēmas aktualitāte un izpētes stāvoklis. Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskā migrācija ir viena no visaktuālākajām Latvijas ekonomikas problēmām. Saskaņā ar 2005.–2007. gadā veiktā pētījuma "Darbaspēka ģeogrāfiskā mobilitāte" autoru prognozēm tika paredzēts, ka līdz 2010. gadam no Latvijas emigrēs aptuveni 40 000 ekonomiski aktīvo iedzīvotāju (Krišjāne Z. u.c., 2007). Savukārt, pēc Latvijas Universitātes profesora Mihaila Hazana veiktās Eurostat, OECD un atsevišķu valstu statistikas pārvalžu un citu institūciju datu izpētes par Eiropas Savienības un citu valstu pastāvīgajiem iedzīvotājiem, Latviju kopš 2000. gada pametuši vismaz 200 000 iedzīvotāju, taču viņš pieļāva, ka šis skaitlis varētu sasniegt pat 250 000 (Hazans M., 2011a). Ekonomiskos zaudējumus Latvijai no darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas profesors M. Hazans novērtē ap 100 miljardiem LVL, neskaitot zaudējumus no Latvijā nepiedzimušajiem bērniem (Hazans M., 2011a). Lai gan Centrālā statistikas pārvalde iebilst pret šādiem iedzīvotāju migrācijas datiem un kritiski vērtē M. Hazana augstākminētā pētījuma rezultātus (BNS, 2011), promocijas darba autors uzskata, ka diskusijas par aizbraukušo aprēķināšanas metodoloģiju un konkrētajiem skaitļiem tikai daļēji palīdz izskaidrot Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas problēmu un atrast šīs problēmas risinājumus. Promocijas darba autors uzskata, ka saistībā ar starptautisko migrāciju ir jūtama jaunu konceptuālu zinātnisko pētījumu nepieciešamība, kas veicinātu Latvijas migrācijas politikas dinamisko evolūciju, ļautu izskaidrot un prognozēt starptautiskās migrācijas daudzveidīgas sekas un veiksmīgi izmantotu potenciālu, kurš slēpjas darbaspēka starptautiskajā migrācijā, Latvijas tautsaimniecības attīstībai.

Promocijas darba autors Dr.oec. Eduards Vanags

Ar starptautiskās migrācijas izpēti pasaulē aktīvi nodarbojas daudzas starptautiskās organizācijas: Apvienoto Nāciju Organizācija *(United Nations Development Programme)*, Starptautiskā Darba Organizācija *(International Labour Organization)* – tās Starptautiskās migrācijas programmas *(International Migration Programme)* ietvaros. Šo pētījumu rezultāti, kuriem biežāk ir gadījumu izpētes, nevis fundamentāls raksturs, regulāri tiek publicēti starptautiskās migrācijas rakstu sērijā *(International Migration Papers)* (ILO, 2012). Starptautiskās migrācijas izpētes jomā darbojas arī Starptautiskā organizācija migrācijai *(International Organization for Migration)*, kura regulāri veic migrācijas globālo tendenču izpēti un publicē analītiskus Pasaules migrācijas pārskatus *(World Migration Report)*. Lielu uzmanību starptautiskās migrācijas problēmu un izaicinājumu izpētei Eiropā pievērš ESPON 2013 pētnieciskā programma, kuras ietvaros īpaši jāatzīmē DEMIFER projekts – "Demographic and Mig-

ratory Flows Affecting European Regions and Cities". DEMIFER projekts tika realizēts 2008.-2010.gadā Nīderlandes, Austrijas, Polijas, Zviedrijas, Itālijas un Lielbritānijas zinātniski pētnieciskajos institūtos (ESPON, 2012).

Savukārt Latvijas zinātniskajā telpā izveidojusies interesanta un pat pārsteidzoša situācija ar Latvijas darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas izpēti. No vienas puses, ir Latvijas darbaspēka starptautiskās un iekšējās migrācijas tēmas Latvijas vadošā eksperta LU profesora M.Hazana nopietnas sistemātiskās zinātniskās izstrādes (Hazans M., 2003, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011a. 2011b, 2011c). 2011.gadā profesors M.Hazans ieguva Spīdolas balvu ekonomikā par saviem pētījumiem emigrācijas jomā. Arī jau minētais 2005.–2007. gadā realizētais ar ESF atbalstu projekts "Darbaspēka ģeogrāfiskā mobilitāte" LR Labklājības minis-trijas programmas "Darba tirgus pētījumi" ietvaros (Krišjāne Z. u.c., 2007), kas tika realizēts galvenokārt ar LU Ģeogrāfijas un Zemes zinātņu fakultātes zinātnieku un pētnieku spēkiem ģeogrāfijas doktores, LU profesores Zaigas Krišjānes vadībā. No otras puses, autoram izdevās atrast tikai vienu (pēdējo 5 gadu laikā) Latvijā (Latvijas Universitātē) aizstāvēto promocijas darbu par Latvijas darba tirgu un tā attīstības perspektīvām – Kārļa Purmaļa darbs "Latvijas darba tirgus analīze un tā attīstības perspektīvas" LU profesora R. Škapara vadībā, kurā galvenokārt tika analizēts darba-spēka piedāvājums un pieprasījums Latvijas darba tirgū, kā arī tika skarts jautājums par Latvijas darba emigrantu skaitu (Purmalis K., 2011).

Latvijā norit dažādi darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas pētījumi (galvenokārt sociologu un ģeogrāfu spēkiem) – piemēram, tādu zinātnieku kā I. Indāns ar līdz-autoriem (Indāns I., Roze M., 2005a, 2005b; Indāns I., Lulle A., 2006), A. Bartuša (Bartuša A., 2006), R. Karnīte, K. Karnītis (Karnīte R., Karnītis K., 2009), V. Meņši-kovs (Meņšikovs V., 2004), I. Pavlina (Pavlina I., 2006), Z. Krišjāne, A. Bauls (Kriš-jāne Z., Bauls A., 2007, 2011), M. Bērziņš (Bērziņš M., 2011). Tomēr fakts, ka Latvijā nav promocijas darbu tieši darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas jomā, pēc autora

domām, liecina par to, ka Latvijas so-ciālo zinātņu, tai skaitā ekonomikas zinātnes, pārstāvji joprojām nav gatavi konceptuāli un sistēmiski saprast un izskaidrot Latvijas valdībai un sabied-rībai darbaspēka starptautiskās mig-rācijas problēmu, aprobežojoties tikai ar operatīvu reaģēšanu uz situācijas straujām izmaiņām, galvenokārt ar aiz-braukušo skaita aprēķiniem un prog-nozēm.

Promocijas darbā autors dod savu ieguldījumu tieši konceptuālajā un sis-tēmiskajā Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas parādības izpētē globālā darba tirgus kontekstā un zinātniski pamatotu rekomendā-ciju izstrādē Latvijas darbaspēka starp-

Kopā ar zinātnisko vadītāju DU profesoru Vladimiru Meņšikovu

tautiskās migrācijas ekonomiskajai regulēšanai. Savā pētījumā autors metodoloģiski balstās galvenokārt uz "Čikāgas skolas" cilvēkkapitāla teoriju (Mincer J., 1958; Becker G., 1964; Shultz T., 1972), kuras ietvaros migrācija tiek uzskatīta par iespējamo investīciju cilvēkkapitālā nākotnes ienākumu palielināšanas nolūkos. Promocijas darba hipotēzes 1. daļu autors izvirzīja, metodoloģiski pamatojoties uz darbaspēka migrācijas duālisma koncepciju (Глущенко Г.И., Пономарёв В.А., 2009), kuras ietvaros tiek izdalīta "reālā" un "virtuālā" migrācija (jeb darbaspēka autsorsings), kas mūsdienās veido lielāku pievienoto vērtību nekā darbaspēka fiziskā pārvietošana (emigrācija tradicionālajā izpratnē). Savukārt, promocijas darba 2. daļa metodoloģiski balstās uz cilvēkkapitāla teorijas postulātiem. Latvijā lielu ieguldījumu cilvēkkapitāla teorijas attīstībā ar savām teorētiskām un empīriskām izstrādēm ir devis Daugavpils Universitātes profesors Vladimirs Meņšikovs (Meņšikovs V., 2001, 2009; Menshikov V., 2010, 2011), kura atklājumus autors izmantoja savā promocijas darbā.

Promocijas darba pētījuma hipotēze: Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskā migrācija ir eksports ar zemu pievienoto vērtību (makrolīmenī un mezolīmenī) un privātā investēšana personības kopkapitālā (mikrolīmenī).

Promocijas darba pētījuma objekts: Latvijas un tās reģionu darbaspēks.

Promocijas darba pētījuma priekšmets: Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskā migrācija, tās iemesli un ekonomiskās sekas.

Promocijas darba mērķis: noteikt Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas iemeslus un ekonomiskās sekas pašiem migrantiem, viņu ģimenēm un Latvijas reģionu ekonomikai, kā arī izstrādāt rekomendācijas darbaspēka migrācijas procesa regulēšanai.

Promocijas darba uzdevumi mērķa sasniegšanai:
1) izpētīt darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas teorētiskos aspektus;
2) izpētīt Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas tendences un problēmas globālā un ES darba tirgus kontekstā, akcentējot migrāciju determinējošus faktorus un ekonomiskās sekas, kā arī migrācijas uzskaites un regulēšanas izaicinājumus augstākminētajos mērogos;
3) izveidot metodoloģisko bāzi migrācijas iemeslu un ekonomisko seku empīriskajai izpētei un izpētīt Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas specifiku salīdzinājumā ar citu valstu reģioniem, tās iemeslus un ekonomiskās sekas, empīriski pārbaudot promocijas darba hipotēzi;
4) izstrādāt rekomendācijas darbaspēka migrācijas procesa ekonomiskajai regulēšanai.

Promocijas darb izmantotās metodes uzdevumu risināšanai:
1) monogrāfiskā metode jeb zinātniskās literatūras analīze – darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas izpētes teorētiskās un metodoloģiskās bāzes izveidei;
2) loģiskās analīzes un sintēzes metode – darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas parādības konceptuālajai izskaidrošanai;

3) statistikas analīze un sociālo pētījumu datu sekundārā analīze – Latvijas un citu pasaules valstu reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas tendenču raksturojumam un aprakstam;

4) regresijas analīze – pasaules valstu "smadzeņu piesaistes" spējas analīzei atkarībā no izglītības sistēmas attīstības un valsts tehnoloģiskās attīstības līmeņiem;

5) korelācijas analīze – iespējamās korelācijas izpētei starp pasaules valstu spējas "piesaistīt smadzenes" rādītāju un to izglītības sistēmas attīstības un valsts tehnoloģiskās attīstības rādītājiem;

6) socioloģiskā aptauja – Latvijas reģionu iedzīvotāju kopējā kapitāla (jeb kopkapitāla) apjoma un struktūras noskaidrošanai, ņemot vērā iedzīvotāju gatavību starptautiskajai darba migrācijai;

7) daļējas korelācijas metode *(Partial Corellation)* – respondentu vecuma faktora bloķēšanai Latvijas reģionu iedzīvotāju aptaujas datu analīzes gaitā.

Izmantotie materiāli darba uzdevumu risināšanai:

- *ekonomiskās teorijas un koncepcijas, kas ir saistītas ar darbaspēka migrāciju:* ekonomistu-klasiķu – pirmkārt, Ā. Smita – izstrādes, Dž.M. Keinsa un viņa ekonomiskās teorijas atbalstītāju – Dž. Poļaka, S. Kuzneca – darbi, neoklasiskās skolas pārstāvju – M.P. Todaro, P.A. Samuelsona, Dž. Hiksa – darbi; jaunākās ekonomiskās pieejas – B. Tomasa ekonomisko ciklu atgriezeniskās saiknes teorija, cilvēkkapitāla teorijas izstrādātāju darbi – G. Bekers, T.Šulcs, L.A. Sjastads, kā arī I. Valeršteina globālās migrācijas sistēmas koncepcija;

- *globālo analītisko pētījumu dati:* Pasaules ekonomikas foruma *(World Economic Forum)* publicētie Globālie konkurētspējas pārskati *(Global Competitiveness Report)*, kuri sniedz informāciju par vairāk nekā 140 pasaules valstu spēju "piesaistīt smadzenes", kā arī to izglītības sistēmas un tehnoloģiskās attīstības līmeni; Pasaules Banka *(The World Bank)* izdotais analītiskais pārskats *"Migration and Remittances Factbook"* par migrantu naudas pārvedumiem uz dzimteni (migrantu donorvalstīm); Starptautiskās darba organizācijas *(International Labour Organization)* publicētie analītiskie raksti par darbaspēka starptautisko migrāciju *(International Migration Papers)*;

- *Eiropas un Latvijas oficiālā statistika par darbaspēka starptautisko migrāciju:* LR Centrālās statistiskās pārvaldes publicētā reģionālā statistika par darbaspēka starptautisko migrāciju, Eurostat statistika, Somijas statistiskās pārvaldes *(Statistics Finland)* publicētā oficiālā statistika;

- *ESPON 2013 pētnieciskās programmas projekti:* DEMIFER projekts – "Demogrāfiskās un migrācijas plūsmas, kas ietekmē Eiropas reģionus un pilsētas" *(Demographic and Migratory Flows Affecting European Regions and Cities)*, kas tika realizēts 2008.–2010. gadā;

- *Latvijā veikto pētījumu dati par darbaspēka starptautisko migrāciju:* 2004. gadā realizētais DU Sociālo pētījumu institūta pētījums "Daugavpils izglītotā jaunatne vietējā un Eiropas darba tirgū" (vad. V. Meņšikovs); 2006. gadā realizētais Hansabankas analītiskais pētījums "Vai Latvijai nepieciešama darbaspēka imigrācija?"; 2007. gadā realizētais pētnieciskais projekts ar ESF līdzfinansējumu "Darbaspēka

ģeogrāfiskā mobilitāte" (vad. Z. Krišjāne) LR Labklājības ministrijas programmas "Darba tirgus pētījumi" ietvaros; Latvijas zinātnieku – I. Indāna, M. Hazana, R. Karnītes – pētījumi par darbaspēka starptautisko migrāciju; DU profesora V. Meņšikova izstrādes Latgales reģiona iedzīvotāju kopkapitāla noteikšanā un analīzē;

- ***Promocijas darba autora realizētās Latvijas reģionu iedzīvotāju socioloģiskās aptaujas dati:*** Latvijas iedzīvotāju aptauja (800 respondenti no Latgales reģiona) tika realizēta 2012. gada aprīlī – maijā, lai noskaidrotu, kādi resursi pieder Latvijas reģionu iedzīvotājiem, kāds labums cilvēkiem ir no šiem resursiem, kāda ir Latvijas reģionu iedzīvotāju pieredze saistībā ar darbu ārzemēs.

Promocijas darbs strukturēts trijās nodaļās:
- darba pirmajā nodaļā izanalizēti darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas teorētiskie aspekti, t.sk. darbaspēka migrācijas vieta un nozīme globālajā ekonomikā un migrācijas konceptuālā būtība ekonomikas teoriju skatījumā;
- darba otrajā nodaļā izpētītas Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas tendences globālajā un ES darba tirgus kontekstā salīdzinājumā ar citu pasaules valstu reģioniem, kā arī nākotnes izaicinājumi Latvijas reģionu darba tirgum saistībā ar globālajām un ES darbaspēka migrācijas aktualitātēm;
- darba trešajā nodaļā izanalizēti darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas metodoloģiskie aspekti, izveidota metodoloģiskā bāze darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas izpētei makro- un mikrolīmenī, empīriski izpētīti Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas iemesli un ekonomiskās sekas mikro- un makrolīmenī;
- darba nobeigumā noformulēti galvenie promocijas darba atzinumi, secinājumi, problēmas un priekšlikumi to risināšanai.

Promocijas darba zinātniskās novitātes:
- Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas būtības konceptuālā analīze;
- darbaspēka migrāciju skaidrojošo ekonomisko teoriju un izpētes pieeju analīze Latvijas situācijas kontekstā;
- personības kopkapitāla koncepcijas izmantošana Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas iemeslu empīriskajai noskaidrošanai un interpretācijai;
- darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas kompleksā izpēte, ņemot vērā gan emigrāciju (ar tās iemesliem un sekām), gan arī iespējamos labumus Latvijai no darbaspēka imigrācijas.

Tautsaimniecībā pielietojamās praktiskās novitātes:
- atklātā korelācija starp valsts spēju "piesaistīt smadzenes" un tās izglītības sistēmas attīstības un biznesa tehnoloģiskās attīstības līmeņiem;
- empīriski noteikti Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas iemesli kopkapitāla jēdziena kontekstā, kā arī migrācijas ekonomiskās sekas;
- izstrādātās rekomendācijas kontrolējamās darbaspēka imigrācijas politikas ieviešanai Latvijā.

Aizstāvamās tēzes:

1) Latvijas nacionālās ekonomikas attīstība ir iespējama, aktīvi izmantojot globālā darba sadalījuma un brīvās darbaspēka pārvietošanas (t.sk. imigrācijas) priekšrocības;

2) vislielāko problēmu saistībā ar darbaspēka starptautisko migrāciju Latvijā veido nevis vietējā darbaspēka emigrācija pati par sevi, bet darbaspēka imigrācijas kompensējošās plūsmas trūkums;

3) mūsdienu ekonomikā vislielāko pievienoto vērtību rada talantīgi cilvēki un zināšanas, kas pārvietojas no valstīm ar augstu izglītības sistēmas attīstības līmeni uz valstīm ar augstu uzņēmumu tehnoloģiskās attīstības līmeni, lai tur realizētos pilnā mērā;

4) kontrolējamā migrācijas politika, kura atbalsta termiņmigrāciju (cirkulāro migrāciju) un darbaspēka autsorsingu (jeb smadzeņu nomu"), ir ekonomiski izdevīgs risinājums Latvijas reģionu darbaspēka starptautiskās migrācijas problēmai.

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

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

Редакция гонорары не выплачивает, рукописи и дискеты (или CD) не возвращает.

Оформление рукописи статьи

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

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

Рукопись статьи должна быть представлена по электронной почте. Текст набирается шрифтом *Times New Roman* (*Win Word 2000/XP*); размер букв − 12, межстрочный интервал − 1. Поля слева − 3,5 см, справа − 2,5 см, сверху и снизу − 2,5 см. Если в наборе статьи использовались специальные компьютерные программы, то они должны быть представлены в редакцию.

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

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

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

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

Монографии (книги и брошюры):

Mills Ch. R. (1998) *Sociologicheskoje voobrazhenie.* Moskva: Strategiya. (In Russian)

Turner J. H. (1974) *The Structure of Sociological Theory.* Homewood (Illinois): The Dorsey Press.

Статьи в сборниках:

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

Статьи в журналах:

Bela B. (1997) Identitates daudzbalsiba Zviedrijas latviesu dzivesstastos. *Latvijas Zinatnu Akademijas Vestis, A,* 51, Nr. 5/6, 112.–129. lpp. (In Latvian)

Shmitt K. (1992) Ponyatie politicheskogo. *Voprosi sociologii*, № 1, str. 37–67. (In Russian)

Статьи в газетах:

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

Материалы в Интернете:

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

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