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RAKSTI

SOCIOLOĢIJA

Valeriy Nikolayevskyy

SOCIAL SECURITY CONCEPT IN FUNCTIONAL AND NEOFUNCTIONAL PARADIGM

The paper proposes a systematization of the results of the review of publications on security issues in the social sciences and humanities, which allowed several major areas of research and also deals with construction of a structural-functional model of social security as an indicator of generalized social homeostasis, created as a result of balancing the functions of basic social institutions. First, the author applied structural functionalism and neofunctionalism as dominant methodology for interpretation of social security as a social institution controlling homeostasis and social sustainability of the social environment while maintaining constancy intrasystem parameters. Second, there was determined inequivalence of different types of social security in providing social homeostasis by their correlation with the four types of social subsystems (institutions): semantic, reproductive, regulatory and transmission. The paper argued that the leading role in ensuring social homeostasis plays meaning (religious, ideological, cultural) subsystems, corresponding to the value stabilization of society and to ensure the legitimacy of the social order as a whole. At the same time, the article emphasizes that meanings and values produced by these institutions' subjects (actors) initially embedded through socialization and communication (transmission) subsystems and are subject to secondary fixation at the level of social action through regulatory social institutions (politics, law). The final element of social security is to ensure the homeostasis of the lowest level of social order (institutes of economics and the family). The author justified the position on the understanding of the social security system as independent institution one within the framework of the two models of the social world: systematic and stochastic. The author's opinion that we have to say about the dependence of social security as a social institution controlling homeostasis of social actors who receive leadership mapping of social reality. It is indicated that the system map of the social world meets modernist paradigm of sociological theorizing, which is characteristic for the consideration of social security as a factor of change that promotes social cohesion, rather than its decay. Whereas stochastic map of the social world corresponds to a postmodern paradigm, main characteristic feature of which is looking at and perception of social security as part of polycentric social reality.

Key words: security, social security, social policy, social danger, functional and neo-functional paradigm.

Sociālā drošība funkcionālajā un neofunkcionālajā paradigmā

Rakstā tiek sistematizēti publikāciju apskata rezultāti par drošības problēmām sociohumanitārajās zinātnēs, kas ļauj izdalīt vairākus pētījumu pamatvirzienus, kā arī tiek piedāvāts sociālās drošības kā sociālās homeostāzes generealizētā indikatora, bāzes sociālo institūtu funkciju līdzsvarošanas strukturāli funkcionālais modelis. Balstoties uz šo mērķi, autors, pirmāmkārtām, kā metodoloģiju izmantoja strukturālo funkcionālismu un neofunkcionālismu, kas ļauj interpretēt sociālo drošību kā sociālās homeostāzes kontroles sociālo institūtu un socialās vides stabilitātes nodrošināšanu, saglabājot sociuma intrasistēmisko parametru stabilitāti. Otrkārt tiek uzsvērta dažādu sociālās drošības tipu neviennozīmīgums sociālās homeostāzes nodrošināšanā saistībā ar četriem sociālo apakšsistēmu (institūtu) tipiem: semantisko reproduktīvo, regulatīvo un transmisijas. Tiek uzsvērts, ka vadošā loma sociālās homeostāzes nodrošināšanā ir semantiskajām (reliģiskā, ideoloģiskā, kultūras) apakšsistēmām, kuras atbilst sabiedrības vērtību stabilizācijai un sociālās kārtības kā veseluma leģitimitātes nodrošināšanai. Turklāt rakstā tiek uzsvērts, ka norādīto institūtu subjektu izveidotās jēgas un vērtības tiek integrētas ar socializēto un komunikatīvo (transmisijas) apakšsistēmu starpniecību un atbilst atkārtotai nostiprināšanai sociālās darbības līmenī ar regulatīvo (politika, tiesības) sociālo institūtu starpniecību. Sociālās drošības gala posms ir zemākās sociālās drošības (ekonomikas un ģimenes institūti) līmeņa homeostāzes nodrošināšana. Autors uzskata, ka sociālās drošības kā patstāvīga institucionāla komponenta analīze var tikt realizēta divu, t.i., sistēmiskā un stohastiskā, sociālās pasaules modeļu kontekstā. Tiek uzsvērta sociālā drošības kā sociālās homeostāzes kontroles institūta atkarība no sociālajiem dalībniekiem, kuriem piemīt līdera pozīcijas kādā no vēsturiskajiem laikmetiem. Tiek atzīmēts, ka sociālās pasaules sistēmiskā karte atbilst socioloģiskās teoretizācijas modernisma paradigmai ar skatījumu uz sociālo drošību kā izmaiņu faktoru, kas sekmē sociālā veseluma nodrošināšanu, nevis tā šķelšanu. Savukārt stohastiskajam modelim atbilst postmodernisma paradigma, respektīvi, socialās drošības skatījums policentriskajā sociālajā realitātē.

Atslēgas vārdi: drošība, sociālā drošība, sociālā politika, sociālie draudi, funkcionālisms un neofunkcionālisms.

Понятие социальной безопасности в функциональной и неофункциональной парадигме

В статье предложена систематизация результатов обзора публикаций по проблемам безопасности в социогуманитарных науках, позволившая выделить несколько основных направлений исследований, а также предложена структурно-функциональная модель социальной безопасности как генерализованного индикатора социального гомеостаза, уравновешивания функций базовых социальных институтов. С этой целью автором, во-первых, применен структурный функционализм и неофункционализм как методологии, позволяющие интерпретировать социальную безопасность как социальный институт контроля социального гомеостаза и обеспечения устойчивости социальной среды при сохранении стабильности интрасистемных параметров социума. Во-вторых, подчеркивается неравнозначность различных типов социальной безопасности в обеспечении социального гомеостаза путем их соотнесения с четырьмя типами социальных подсистем (институтов): смыслообразующих, репродуктивных, регуляторных и трансмиссионных систем. Отмечается, что ведущую роль в обеспечении социального гомеостаза играют смыслообразующие (религиозная, идеологическая, культурная) подсистемы, соответствующие ценностной стабилизации общества и обеспечению легитимности социального порядка как целого. При этом, в статье подчеркивается, что созданные субъектами указанных институтов смыслы и ценности первично внедряются через социализационные и коммуникационные (трансмиссионные) подсистемы и подлежат вторичному закреплению на уровне социального действия через регуляторные социальные институты (политика, право). Конечным звеном социальной безопасности является обеспечение гомеостаза низшего уровня социального порядка (институты экономики и семьи). Автор полагает, что анализ социальной безопасности как самостоятельного институционального компонента может осуществляться в рамках двух моделей социального мира: системной и стохастической. Подчеркивается зависимость социальной безопасности как института контроля социального гомеостаза от социальных акторов, обладающих лидерскими позициями в ту или иную историческую эпоху. Отмечается, что системной карте социального мира соответствует модернистская парадигма социологического теоретизирования, и рассмотрение социальной безопасности как фактора изменения, который способствует обеспечению социальной целостности, а не ее распаду. В то время как стохастической модели соответствует постмодернистская парадигма и, следовательно, рассмотрение социальной безопасности в полицентрической социальной реальности.

Ключевые слова: безопасность, социальная безопасность, социальная политика, социальная опасность, функционализм и неофункционализм.

Introduction: approaches to the analysis of social security

At all times sustainability of security in a human society has always been imperative with security being a crucial social institution requiring substantial working resources. There is no doubt that safe (security) societies have always been marked by some specific peculiarities of their harmony, stability, and synergy and intra system order. From a sociological point of view today, a task of creating a complex theory of social security is the most difficult one; and lack of integrated sociological research makes it even more complicated.

Methodology, sociological and socio-philosophical approaches to the analysis of social security is based on a number of scientific works representing different periods of socio-political research. Provisionally they can be divided into the following main groups: classical sociological and philosophical works; works on theory and methodology of security; political science and securitological research.

The first group is represented by classical philosophical and sociological theories written by Aristotle, Plato, Grotius, Hegel, Hobbes, Kant, Locke, Montesquieu. In these theories an analysis of genesis of social dangers and threats; difficulties related to prevention of these threats to the state (state authority), threats to the society and individuals is provided. Authors analyse criteria of optimal (perfect) statehood against demands of freedom, equality and social justice.

The second group of research is represented by founders of positivism, structural functionalism and neo-functionalism (Comte 1971, 2001; Spencer 1997; Durkheim 1991, 1995; Sorokin 1992; Luhmann 1994b). We can dwell on models of social integration and a balanced structure of social medium; autopoiesis; harmony of social systems and independent social institutions; societal status and hierarchy built institutional clusters. These key ideas are still essential for the research, in which somebody improves the concept of structural functionalism and neo functionalism linked to the idea of social security as controlling method of social homeostasis and homeostatic autopoiesis status, as opposed to hetero static autopoiesis of the frame of society with its hierarchy built non integrated institutional clusters.

Among the works of the third group there is a great number of studies and articles (Arbatov 2007; Belov 2002; Bodruk 2003; Bulan 2005; Burkin, Vozzhenikov and

Sineok 2008; Furashev and Dzherdzh 2009; Lipkan 2009; Kokokshin 2014; Kulaghin 2010; Manilov 2002; Miroshnichenko 2002; Panarin, Polyvyannyy 2013; Prochozhev 2002; Sytnyk 2012; Vozzhenikov 2000; Zhurkin 2011; etc.), as well as works by American and European scientists (Allison, Zelikow 1999; Axelrod, Keohane 1986; Brauch 2008; Czaputowicz 2012; Dillon 1996; Hofmann 2013; Huntington 1996; Jordan et al. 2009; Keane 1996; Keohane, Nye 1977; Kurowska, Breuer 2011; McNamara 1968; Makstutis 2006; Mesjacz 2008; Schultz et al. 1997; Wildavsky 1990; Wolfers 1952). Most of this research is focused on issues of national security in the context of activity of national security bodies, defence and law enforcement agencies.

Our separate attention is drawn to school of critical analysis of security known as "Copenhagen School" or securitological research. Initially, the focus of their research was to overcome a traditional (largely Realist and Neorealist) concept of security originating from narrow objectiveness of a positivistic approach meaning a state centred concept of security being a significant part of military involvement. Since the 1980–1990s more social scientists, sociologists have contributed their scientific data to securitology. They focus on theories of a security model and key elements of social security (Balzacq 2009; Boin, Ekengren 2009; Booth 2005; Buzan 1984; Buzan et al. 1998; Cavelty, Mauer 2009; Eckersley 2007; Huysmans 2000; Huysmans, Squire 2009; Lipschutz 1995; Neocleous 2007, 2008; Roe 2012; Smith 2005; Stone 2009; Taureck 2006; Vaughan-Williams, Peoples 2012; Williams 2003).

Despite a high level of generalization the outcome of this scientific research shows features of a mosaic and fragmental approach. It mainly focuses on certain types of social security such as economical, political, ecological, informational, cultural and military. The research lacks systematic approach to finding solutions of technological issues of ensuring social security, which in its turn creates a certain vague impression of the whole idea.

In this context it is worth to note the importance of the human security discourse to the social security analysis. On the one hand human security study is related not only to war, terrorism and humanitarian crises, but also is a comprehension of various fields such as international relations, conflict study, development study, policy study, area study and humanities, as well as disaster management, health studies, sustainability sciences, etc. The focus of human security is the protection as well as empowerment of individuals, that thereby human security thinking includes capability, as we see in the concept of "securitability" (1). But at the same time this a relatively new area of intellectual exploration, which is rather dynamic and challenging (see, for instance numerous UNDP Human Development Reports and Human Security Reports, Burgess et al. 2007; Jolly, Basu Ray 2007; Koehler et al. 2012, etc.) and social security approach exist mostly apart.

The fourth group of studies is devoted to the concept of social security as attribute of social sphere and of system of social security (social protection). Amongst them we list works by (Beydina et al. 2001; Buryanov 1999; Hnibidenko et al. 2006; Kovalev 2003; Novikova 2012; Osadchaya 1999; Osadchaya, Roik 2006; Plotnikov 2004; Serebryannikov 1995; Yanovskiy 1999).

Taking into account all these concepts, paradigms and scientific approaches the author chooses structural functionalism and neofunctionalism represented in numerous works (Parsons 1951, 1953, 1955, 1956, 1961, 1963a, 1963b, 1966, 1968a, 1968b, 1986, 2000, 2002; Bales 1953, 1955; Shils 1951, 1953, 1960; Merton 1937, 1967, 1968; Alexander 1978, 1985, 2013, 2014; Eisenstadt 1973, 1999; Luhmann 1994a, 1994b; Smelser 1956, 1994).

We find general sociological research presented by works of Ukrainian and Russian sociologists of vital importance for this study. The focus of their research is a concept, structure and functions of culture, social institutions, technologies, which is crucial for understanding of essential, institutional and stratified determinants of social security (Arseyenko 2002; Bestuzhev-Lada 2003; Fomchenkova 2014; Holovakha, Panina 1994; Hrigoryev, Demina 2000; Khyzhnyak 1999; Kutsenko 2000, 2004; Kutuyev 2005; Liga 2006; Lukashevich, Tulenkov 2004; Mozgovaya 2001; Osipov, Kuznetsov 2005; Romanenko 2005; Sayenko 2004; Sillaste 2000; Sokuryanskaya 2006; Filippov 2008; Yanitskiy 1998, etc.).

Social security in the context of (neo)functional analysis

According to the author, social security is a variety of social status and social process in which society as integral unit and its main subsystems are balanced (or becoming or trying to become balanced) from the point of view of their structural and functional significance against the society as integral unit and against each other (subsystems). That is why the author's working definition reflects the idea that any structural or functional excessiveness as well as deficiency, which can be observed in any quantitative increase/decline of activity of any social subsystem or expansion of its functions beyond its subsystem boundaries will act as indicators of social danger in a number of deviations. The latter can be linked to politics and law (etatisation, corruption), economy (stagnation, inflation, consumer's deficit), morals (moral anomy), ideology (ideological anomy, ideological monopolisation), as well as environment which surrounds social medium and can be a source of ecological disasters.

As opposed to the above statement the author's understanding of social danger lies in socio systematic or subsystematic status of deviation, which destroys structural functional harmony of the society in separate units of social environment by breaking up semantic, regulatory, reproductive and transmission activity of the frame of society or its parts or social subsystems against the frame of society or environment.

By referring to Talcott Parsons (Parsons 1951, 1953, 1955, 1956, 1961, 1963a, 1963b, 1966, 1968a, 1968b, 1986, 2000, 2002) who studied blocks of adaptation, goal achieving, latency and integration in a social system structure and to approach by Robert Merton (Merton 1937, 1967, 1968) on the same subject, basing on Alexander Hurevitch's (Hurevitch 2001) system analysis methodology as well as on Yuriy Romanenko's (Romanenko 2005) fractal socioanalysis theory the author proposes to extend it (social system structure) by adding four more social subsystems which produce respectively four functions, such as semantic (meaning-orientation and meaning-producing), regulatory, reproductive and transmission ones to it.

While formulating main theoretical points of social security, it is important to take into consideration results achieved by Ukrainian and Russian researchers in the fields of law, public administration, economics, philosophy, political science (Bayrak et al. 2008; Chikinova 2000; Kremen, Binko, and Holovaschenko 1998; Kuznetsov 2002; Manilov 2002; Panarin, Polyvyannyy 2013; Rybalkin 2002; Yatsenko 1999 etc.). Most of them suggest that a definition of social security should be of legal nature; however referring to this can be quite beneficial for sociology from a scientific point of view.

Since Parson's definition of the social system states that it acts as part of a wider system of action (smaller parts include the cultural system, the personality system and the system of the organism), it allows us to interpret the four subsystems according to their individual functions. To enable a system of action to survive it must be flexible to adopt; flexible to attain its goal and integrity and flexible to be able to keep its image; in other words, it must satisfy the four functional imperatives.

Disadaptation (hypo adaptation), prevention of goal achieving or its loss (de-intentionalisation), disintegration and anomy (hyponomy as its primary phase) are opposite to these functions. During their systematic performance they become sources of a social danger, meanwhile realization of the four functions corresponds to social security.

The novelty of the approach is based on creating a structural functionalism model of social security as generalised indicator of social homeostasis formed as a result of balancing functions of basic social institutions. We are just about to talk more on some key statements which have been achieved in course of this research.

Firstly, we has applied structural functionalism and neo-functionalism as dominant methodology which allows to interpret social security as social institution of social homeostasis's controlling process and social sustainability of social environment. At the same time constant intersystem parameters of the society are kept intact providing dynamic response of environment, flexible restructuration and functional differentiation of the system (Giddens 2003, 2011, 2013). Secondly, we focus on <u>inequivalence</u> of various types of social security in providing social homeostasis by means of relating them to the four types of social subsystems (institutions): semantic, regulatory, reproductive and transmission systems. The semantic subsystems i.e. religious, ideological and cultural ones play a vital role in ensuring social homeostasis. They form valuable stability of the society and provide a legitimate social order as a whole.

At the same time, the ideas and values created by above mentioned institutions are initially implemented through subsystems of socialization and communication (transmission) and then undergo their secondary implementation on the level of social action with the help of regulatory social institutions (politics, law). The final link of social security is social homeostasis of the low level of a social order (economic institute and family).

It's fruitful to analyze social security as independent institutional component within the boundaries of two basic models of the social world: systematic and stochastic. Evidence supports that social security as institution of social homeostasis' control process depends on social actors who receive leading parts in creating social reality throughout history. When we say about a definition of social security in the context of a systematic map of the social world, it's evident that such a map corresponds to a modern paradigm of a sociological theory, main feature of which is social security as changing factor contributing to its preservation and not its destruction.

Maintaining of social security in a modern paradigm of a sociological theory mainly depends on presence of influential integral institutions and actors contributing to preservation of societal systems. And focus on the order and stability, and vectors of social security transformation in the context of its institutional support as well turns into final research on social security in this paradigm.

As to social security in relation to a stochastic map of the social world we guess that the stochastic map of the social world corresponds to a postmodern paradigm of a sociological theory, main characteristic feature of which is looking at and perception of social security as part of polycentric social reality, which in its turn is interpreted as something relative, something like space of fluctuations', configurations' and paths' genesis. This enables to interpret social homeostasis as artificial harmony (Beck 2000).

Stochastic and postmodern paradigms in social security research i.e. interpretive or *verstehende* sociology, symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, ethnomethodology as well known are focused on micro issues of people interaction, interpersonal communication, behaviour and motivation, but also they paying little attention to evaluative criteria of social security.

Another issue which is heuristic (and important) to analyze is the basic social security function. To my opinion we need to proceed from fact that any social organization has its own boundaries of space and time which are determined by its economics, politics, culture, ideology, education and other social institutions and so a basic social security function of the society is maintenance of social environment and prediction of social time.

Social danger and threat as dysfunction are also those issues which it's necessary to pay more attention to. Applying a structural-activity approach we can find that such a dysfunction is equal to disruption of stability and rhythmical process of a certain activity. However, it's important to mention the fact that stability or a rhythmical process can fluctuate to increase its function (hyper function), which means an increased activity of a formation (construction) or a system (subsystem). This can be caused by reaction to increased intensity of external factors or by adaptive reaction to extreme (destructive) circumstances. Another fluctuation can be a hypo function, an inadequate activity of a formation (construction) or a system (subsystem) which causes basic life and security disruption.

From the point of view of the author we have to understand social security as stability of the society in which a societal system preserves its integrity as well as its ability to self-development in spite of negative external and internal challenges (factors). In this context one can apply structural functionalism and neofunctional approach to social homeostasis as social system condition linked to institutional maintenance of its stability with social security acting as regime of social subsystems' optimal functioning, the regime contributing to maintenance of social order legitimacy. And the effectiveness of a social security system is recorded in a stability coefficient which reflects correlation of a number of factors the object is capable of coping with to a number of factors the object fails to cope with (Vozzhenikov 2000).

Rather important point is the link between social security and formation of a civil society. During recent years the subject of building a civil society, its relation with a state and individuals as well its security has become a focus of very frequent theoretical discussions in Ukraine. As to my opinion the link between vertical and horizontal mechanisms of achieving social security exists. On one hand, restructuring of socio-economical and political relations in Ukraine is aimed at building of a civil society and strengthening of its role in relation to the state (Stepanenko 2014; Voytenko et al. 2002) On the other hand, changes happening in the sphere of economy and politics lead to polarisation of the society and cause lack of interest of the significant part of population in building a civil society. Under the circumstances it becomes important to look for new means of providing social security in a contemporary society and to create conditions for expanding its social foundation (Beydina et al. 2001). In this context a social responsibility is a requirement for building a civil society and an indicator of the level of social security.

Scientific study on social security in the context of system dimension is based on two approaches. Various types of danger such as economical, demographical, political, etc. fall into the first one. The other approach focuses on hierarchy and subordination between various types of danger. In any particular case of the social system we can question the priority of a certain type of security. For instance, where should we start when it comes to demographical issues in the society? Should we revise youth families' benefit system, start promoting a healthy life style or improving employment practice? The answer to this question can be obtained as a result of analysis of leading structural and functional social subsystems forming peculiar subordinated and hierarchy based constellations which can be specific for every kind of social system.

Various kinds of social systems have been studied in available references (Beck 2000; Beck 2011; Berger, Huntington 2002; Bestuzhev-Lada 2003; Broi et al. 1999; Eisenstadt 1973, 1999; Giddens 2003, 2013; Hurevitch 2001; Kutsenko 2004). Some of them are listed here: formational (primitive communal, slave-owning, feudal, capitalist and socialist); civilisational (Anglo-Saxon, European, Euro-Asian, Far East Asian (Confucian-Taoist), Mid-East Asian (Arabian-Muslim and Jewish), Indo-Buddhist)); typology of development phases (preindustrial, industrial, post-industrial society). Based on the above classification we can point out specific constellations for every kind of social system focusing on peculiarities of strategic subsystems of the society and leading to them security sphere together with subordinate subsystems and relevant (subordinate) types of security.

If we look on social security in the context of functional approach (structural functional as well as neofunctional) we can say that a leading subsystem represented by a relevant institution forms a core of controlling of social homeostasis, on which a relevant type of society social stratification is based. The type of stratification and linked to it its leading social subsystem determines regime of social security and social technologies necessary for its maintenance. Moreover, the three types of stratification correspond to four basic types of regime of establishing and maintenance of social security, i.e. repressive, corporative, societal-etatistic and information-communicational.

From my point of view the more primitive a social structure is the more external force factors are present. In this case force factors act as main social technology of ensuring security with military and political institutions playing a leading role in the society. Social homeostasis formed within the boundaries of a caste ridden society and its security level look very unstable because its leading social party has to spend a great amount of resources to keep various social groups within their physical boundaries. On the other hand, constant decline of a security level is caused by constant lack of universal socio-normative systems which could protect the society from excessive repression. The described above regime of ensuring social security in the society with military and political institutions dominant involvement is called repressive.

As state powers evolve especially during the period of mature feudalism and absolute monarchy with relevant estate systems of the society, the repressive regime is taken over by a corporative regime of social security, when social security does not only spread on parties of military social institutions but on other social groups. Appropriate social security is guaranteed to these groups as long as they do not cross their function boundaries. Growth of the corporative security regime is mainly referred to growth of law as social institution and to transition of the society from a potestarian to corporate model of legal regulation. The latter creates conditions for ensuring social homeostasis through the system of privileges and politico-legal immunity for its feudal elite.

In a bourgeois society with its market economy, democracy and constitutionalism a new type of social stratification is formed. It is called a class social stratification. A class state with a societal-etatistic regime of social security corresponds to this stratification. This regime of ensuring social security is supported by a civil society and ability to have a social dialogue in conflict situations caused by various dysfunctions of social institutions. On the other hand, during this regime social security is ensured not only by repressive parties but by a civil society. A key function of such a society becomes social control over the state in which political parties, non-government organizations; pressure groups and local communities play a leading role. All participating parties receive carte blanch to react in time to any kind of threat (political, economic, ecological, informational, psychological) with the state itself dealing with any military threat and breach of territorial security. Also the state keeps the right to take necessary security measures in extraordinary circumstances (ecological and technogeneous disasters, terrorist acts, etc); in other words, its role is reduced to minimise risks when security environment is being formed.

The analysis of theoretical and methodological research of security in social sciences and humanities gives us the following results. Firstly, the comparative analysis of leading political-philosophical, socio-philosophical, socio-ecological, etc. concepts of security over the period of modern and postmodern time throws light on fluctuations of vectors of a definition of social security in the context of nature of power as regulating force of a social system. Secondly, a definition of security in scientific and philosophical discourse can be only revealed within individual security, group security and social security as a whole. On one hand, they act as split-level types of security, on the other hand, they are perceived as complementary and interdependent ones.

Thirdly, the concept of security is revealed through processes of globalisation which are accompanied by crashes of nation state identifications and civilization crises as well showing the necessity of handling security issues within the complex analysis of its various types (ecological, economical, informational, military, political, etc). It also makes us accept security as universal concept within the scope of social and cultural systems and persons as their micro-level representatives.

In a social and humanities discourse the concept of social security can play a leading role because it is linked to social mapping of reality, therefore to parameters of homeostasis of a social system as a whole. All concepts of security in a socio-humanistic discourse including its socio-philosophical, politically-legal and religious-soteriological branches, can be divided into three groups: a) power centred (with a focus on power), b) person centred (with a focus on persons), c) environment centred (with a focus on factors of environment).

Analysis and studies of some key ideas and theories presented by the "risk society" researchers (Bauman 2005; Beck 2000, 2011; Behman 2010; Bevzenko 2004, 2012; Chuprov et al. 2003; Giddens 2011, 2013; Zubkov 2003; Zubok 2003; Luhmann 1994a; Mozgovaya 2001; Priyatelchuk, Ischenko 2011; Sayenko 2004; Smakotina 1999; Yanitskiy 1998, 2013) allow to draw the following conclusion: in conditions of poorly predicted institutional transformation of a postmodern period the maintenance of the societal-etatistic regime of social security can be interpreted in relation to two paradigms of social environment: risk environment and security environment.

Risk environment is created within institutionalization of indefiniteness and, therefore, by delay of institutionalization processes on a macro-level compared to adequate changes on meso- and micro-levels. These risk conditions are created as a result of social projects of elite groups being separated from the society as well as other representatives of the civil society including local communities. Moreover, we can talk about relevant total ways and mechanisms of introducing various social institutions out of local experimentation with their reconstruction based on certain sociality.

Security environment is created when any kind of institutionalization is monitored and accompanied by a social dialogue with respect to relevant initiatives of the state, elite groups, leaders, and other parties (subjects) of social order with other parties (subjects) of the lifeworld according to A. Schutz. In connection with the above, local social experiments become one of the most important mechanisms of ensuring social security of political, ecological, cultural, military etc. innovations in various social institutions.

It follows thence that social security in conditions of risk social environment of a postmodern society can be only ensured by means of comprehensive communication which becomes accessible through modern informational technologies. These technologies prevent social architectonics from formation of segments of stagnation, peripherization and neglect in which processes of anomy could start resulting in non controlled risks causing threats and destroying social security.

Concept's antithesis – social danger

As was mentioned above the elucidation of the nature and role of security in a contemporary social life leads to analysing of its concept antithesis which means social danger being capable to directly or potentially influence qualitative and quantitative parameters of development of the society, its subsystems, institutions; being capable of expressing the society' social contradictions.

When analysing social events, conditions and processes, any danger is viewed as an opportunity (real or potential, objective or subjective) of negative influence of all these events, conditions and processes on the social "body" and its "organs" (subsystems). As a result of it the society can suffer losses which will not only damage its state, but also will contribute to redirection of its development towards dysfunctionalism (dysfunction condition) (character, speed, forms, etc). If security means functionalism and, therefore, functional status of a relevant social institution, then danger means dysfunctionalism, i.e. hypo functional or non-functional status of a social institution, a social subsystem or a society as a whole.

A non-functional status of a social institution (social subsystem, society) emerges when a social institution (subsystem, society as a whole) fails to meet certain demands as a result of a conflict between socio-normative basis of these demands and real demands or as a result of decline of resource potential of a social institution itself caused by some social or environmental processes.

We guess that there is enough evidence to allow us to talk about security of the society, security of its subsystems and social institutions when the latter fulfil their functions; and social danger (dangers) when the latter does not fulfil their functions or over-fulfil them. Condition of security and its dominance determines security as attribute of a stable social system and functional institutions and subsystems as well. At the same time, condition of danger determines danger as attribute of a non-stable (chaotic) social system and non functional (hypo functional) social institutions and social subsystems. Since social security is formed as complex process of protection of fundamental necessities related to relevant functions of social institutions, we would like to analyse the latter in the context of their functions, hypo functions and dysfunctions.

Technological point of view: social security and social policy

From a technological point of view one can study social security in the context of a social policy and a social state as institutions ensuring and guaranteeing social homeostasis. A social policy acts as a key factor in social function implemented by a social state because roots of latter go back to a social policy. Hence, it makes sense to state that a social state is an instrument of social policy implementation to manage social sphere of the society, to meet material and socio-cultural necessities of its members, to regulate processes of social differentiation of the society, including incomes of active population and unemployed, disability citizens. It allows every member of the society to fulfil their most important socio-economical rights, and first of all, their right to have a quality life so necessary for normal reproduction and development of a person.

Macro blocks of a social policy are social equalisation, levelling (distribution and re-distribution) and social protection (social security). Social protection is an important instrument of a social policy of a social state. It includes a social insurance (often is used identically to social security) covering individuals and their families in case of risks and unpredictable circumstances (illness, unemployment, injuries, etc); social benefits for people with low income, big families, victims of force major situations, refugees, etc; financial help for first time property buyers or scholarships for students, etc.

A peculiarity of a social policy is that it is important for its final results to reach every social party (subject). According to this a micro level turns out to be a main link of implementation of social policy measures. In a social state initiative groups of local communities are responsible for this. Implementation of social function is directly linked to an economical policy of the state which is one of the basic mechanisms of a social state' function.

Everybody's welfare as essential rule of a social state depends on how high its economical level is. It guarantees a minimum cost of living for its citizens. That is why a key social function in a social state is to create a solid economical foundation. According to existing world's models, the most effective one is the so called socio-oriented market economy. Market mechanisms provide economical effectiveness; and the state is responsible for social distribution of market economy results through taxation, banking and budgeting.

An economical policy of a social state involves the following features: strengthening of market transformation of a nation; creating of a relevant regulatory and legal framework and infrastructure; promoting equal development and cooperation between state and private sectors of economy (no discounts or privileges); encouraging of a charity activity. An economical policy of social society must be able to combine measures of state regulation and competition as well as development of individuals' initiative to provide their own welfare.

Along with that, a life in a social rule-of-law state gets disrupted by a number of threats to social security. These threats require special counterprograms on behalf of a civil society to influence the state, which is done by providing public control over government organizations, authorities as a whole; by supervising an administrative apparatus by a representative body; by involving non government organizations in law making; by creating special conditions for various social groups to participate in decision making with regards to social security. Apart from that, it is vital for a civil society to get involved in creating of concepts of security of its nation-state, creating of science based social policy of the state by attracting nongovernment foundations, scientific research centres, think tanks, whose mission is to research and analyse the status of social security of the country and to advise on best ways to improve it.

To summarise everything we can say that a modern social state in the context of social security should be interpreted as a system unity of two linked together and complementing each other directions such as social development and social protection. Theoretical assumption of the concept of protective function of a social policy should be based on a socially acceptable quality of life and adjustment of its guarantees according to its social standards and norms.

Conclusions

So, as was emphasized in the paper the author offers an attempt of construction of structural-functional model of social security as an indicator of generalized social homeostasis, created as a result of balancing the functions of basic social institutions. First, the author applied structural functionalism and neofunctionalism as dominant methodology for interpretation of social security as a social institution to control homeostasis and social sustainability of the social environment while maintaining constancy intra-system parameters, provided that the dynamic response of the medium, flexible and functional differentiation restructuration of a system. Second, we can say about inequivalence of different types of social security in providing social homeostasis by their correlation with the four types of social subsystems (institutions): semantic, reproductive, regulatory and transmission. It was underlined that the primary role in ensuring social homeostasis play a meaning- (religious, ideological, cultural) subsystem, which are corresponded to the society' values stabilization and to ensure the legitimacy of the social order as a whole.

The author proposes to understand the system of social security in the logic of the social world map also. It was displayed that the system map of the social world meets modernist paradigm of sociological theorizing, which is characteristic for the consideration of social security as a factor of change that promotes social cohesion, rather than its decay. At the same time, these institutions' created entities meanings and values which are implemented primarily through socialization and communication (transmission) subsystems and are subject to secondary consolidation at the level of social action through regulatory social institutions (politics, law). And the final link of social security is to ensure homeostasis low level of social order (institutes of economics and the family).

The reflection of social security as an independent institutional formation was carried out in two basic models of the social world: a system and stochastic. The author's opinion that we have to say about the dependence of social security as a social institution controlling homeostasis of social actors who receive leadership mapping of social reality.

Further analysis of the social security of society (in case of Ukraine, first of all) not only as theoretic concept but also as social problem even more urgent, because it is exposed to severe stress during the reform process. As a result, one can see significantly expand the range and variety of internal and external threats to the person, society, state. Experiencing a crisis of governance, the degradation of the economy, antagonizing the social structure, a sharp decline in the living standards of the majority of citizens to create an extensive source of tension in society.

Relevance of the work is also due to the conservation and, in some cases, increasing the risk for Ukrainian society trends of socio-, economic and political development: mainly raw nature of production and exports; high level of corruption, problematic return of old and new growth of external debt; instability of political power; as well as destruction of traditional values; sharp social stratification of society; low quality of life; criminalization of society; separatism and ethnic conflicts, etc.

But it seems that also no less important is the following: the lack of contemporary Ukrainian society stable social protection of the vital interests of a large part of society is due not only multifactorial and complex nature of emerging threats and challenges, but also by the nature of the subjects of social security, particularly their perception of these threats in different spheres of life.

(1) Concept "securitability" was proposed by team of Latvian scholars I. Austers, I. Bite, I. Dukats, A. Kalnina, V. Kalnins, V. Mensikovs, S. Sebre, U. Sics, I. Steinbuka, Z. Ozolina, D. Zilinska, L. Ziverte, M. Simane (Leader) (UNDP Latvia Human Development Report 2003).

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EKONOMIKA

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IMPACT OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES ON POVERTY IN PAKISTAN

This article investigates the impact of military expenditures on poverty in Pakistan (along with inflation, industrialization, service sector, and foreign direct investment) for both short-term and long-term perspectives. An effort is made to find out the role of military expenditures in poverty elimination. The question to be addressed is that whether military expenditures is pro-poverty or anti-poverty in Pakistan. A time series analysis is made for the period of 1972–2009. The problem of unit root is inspected by applying Ng–Perron (2001) test; the strength of relationship between military expenditures and poverty in the light of control variables is investigated by using Johansen and Juselius (1990), the long-term coefficients are examined by using Ordinary Least Square Method, and short-term dynamics are computed by applying Error Correction Mechanism. The results show that military expenditures and inflation are significantly elevating poverty in both short-term and long-term periods while the growth of industrial and service sectors help in reducing poverty in Pakistan. It has been diagnosed that the first period lag term of industry is significantly contributing to lowering poverty in the long-term period whereas in the short-term one industrialization does not significantly elevate poverty. It means it takes some time to bear the fruits of industrial growth in terms of reduction in poverty. Growth in the service sector does reduce poverty significantly in both short-term and long-term perspectives. Finally; foreign direct investments do not play any role in the reduction of poverty in the long-term period, but surprisingly it has some significant negative impact on poverty in the short run. From the empirical findings many policy implications can be deduced. The findings suggest that the military expenditure deteriorates the poverty situation in Pakistan. The viable policy option may be to revise the volume of military expenditures in perspective of the reallocation of resources from the defense expenditures to the expenditures on social development of the economy. The caution that requires to be considered is the proper and efficient reallocation of resources.

Key words: Pakistan, military expenditures, poverty, inflation, industrialization, service sector, foreign direct investment.

Militāro izdevumu ietekme uz nabadzību Pakistānā

Rakstā ir pētīta militāro izdevumu, kā arī inflācijas, industrializācijas, pakalpojumu sektora un tiešo ārvalstu investīciju ietekme uz nabadzību Pakistānā gan īstermiņa, gan ilgtermiņa perspektīvā. Galvenā uzmanība ir pievērsta militāro izdevumu nozīmei nabadzības līmeņa paaugstināšanā. Pētījuma jautājums bija – vai militārie izdevumi palielina vai samazina nabadzību Pakistānā? Lai rastu uz to atbildi, tika veikta laika rindu analīze ar empīriskajiem datiem par periodu no 1972. gada līdz 2009. gadam. Metodiskā problēma tika risināta, izmantojot Ng-Perrona (2001) testu. Savukārt savstarpējās saiknes spēks starp militārajiem izdevumiem un nabadzību ar kontroles mainīgo palīdzību tika mērīts, izmantojot Johansena un Juzelīna pieeju (1990). Ilgtermiņa koeficienti tika aprēķināti ar parasto vismazāko kvadrātu metodi, bet īstermiņa dinamiku mērīja ar kļūdu korekcijas mehānismu. Pētījuma rezultāti parādīja, ka militārie izdevumi un inflācija būtiski palielina nabadzību gan īstermiņa, gan ilgtermiņa periodā, tajā pašā laikā pieaugums industriālajā un pakalpojumu sektorā veicina nabadzības samazināšanos Pakistānā. Tika noskaidrots, ka industriālais pieaugums sākuma periodā sniedz būtisku ieguldījumu nabadzības samazināšanā ilgtermiņa perspektīvā, bet īstermiņa periodā netika novērota būtiska industriālā piesauguma ietekme uz nabadzības samazinājumu. Tas nozīmē, ka ir vajadzīgs noteikts laika daudzums, lai varētu "ievākt ražu" no industriālās izaugsmes kā nabadzības samazinātājas. Savukārt izaugsme pakalpojumu sektorā ievērojami samazina nabadzību gan īstermiņa, gan ilgtermiņa perspektīvā. Visbeidzot tiešajām ārvalstu investīcijām nav būtiskas nozīmes nabadzības samazinājumā, lai gan negaidīti priekš pētniekiem, tā parādīja statistiski nozīmīgu ietekmi uz nabadzības samazinājumu īstermiņā. Pamatojoties uz empīrisko datu analīzes rezultātiem, var izstrādāt rekomendācijas politikas uzlabošanai pētītajās jomās. Pētījuma dati parāda, ka militārie izdevumi palielina nabadzību Pakistānā. Tāpēc būtu jāpārskata militāro izdevumu apjoms un jāpārdala līdzekļi no aizsardzības uz sociālās jomas attīstību ekonomikā. Šādai līdzekļu pārdalei ir jābūt efektīvai un atbilstošai reālajām valsts vajadzībām.

Atslēgas vārdi: Pakistāna, militārie izdevumi, nabadzība, inflācija, industrializācija, pakalpojumu sektors, tiešās ārvalstu investīcijas.

Влияние военных расходов на бедность в Пакистане

В представленной статье изучено влияние военных расходов, а также инфляции, индустриализации, сектора услуг и прямых иностранных инвестиций на бедность в Пакистане как в краткосрочной, так и в долгосрочной перспективе. Основное внимание уделено роли военных расходов в повышении бедности. Исследовательский вопрос был поставлен следующим образом: увеличивают или уменьшают бедность в Пакистане его военные расходы? Для ответа на этот вопрос был проведён анализ временных рядов с эмпирическими данными за 1972–2009 годы. Методическая проблема единичного корня была решена при помощи теста Нг-Перрона (2001). В свою очередь, сила взаимосвязи между военными расходами и бедностью в сравнении с контрольными переменными была измерена, применив подход Йохансена и Юзелина (1990). Долгосрочные коэффициенты были рассчитаны, применив обычный метод наименьших квадратов, а краткосрочная динамика была измерена при использовании механизма корректирования ошибок. Результаты исследования показывают, что военные расходы и инфляция значительно повышают бедность как в краткосрочном, так и в долгосрочном периоде, в то время как рост в индустриальном секторе и в секторе услуг способствует снижению бедности в Пакистане. Было установлено, что индустриальный рост в начальном периоде вносит существенный вклад в снижение бедности в долгосрочной перспективе, а в краткосрочном периоде не наблюдается значительного влияния индустриального роста на уменьшение бедности. Это означает, что необходимо некоторое количество времени для того, чтобы «пожинать плоды» индустриального роста в виде снижения бедности. В свою очередь, рост в секторе услуг значительно уменьшает бедность как в краткосрочной, так и в долгосрочной перспективе. И, наконец, прямые иностранные инвестиции не играют какой-либо роли в снижении бедности, хотя неожиданно для исследователей показывают статистически значимое понижающее влияние на бедность в краткосрочном периоде. На основе результатов анализа эмпирических данных можно сделать рекомендации по улучшению политики в изучаемых сферах. Данные исследования показывают, что военные расходы ухудшают ситуацию с бедностью в Пакистане. В этой связи целесообразным представляется пересмотр объёма военных расходов в плане перемещения средств из обороны в социальное развитие экономики. Такое перераспределение ресурсов должно быть эффективным и соответсвующим реальным нуждам страны.

Ключевые слова: Пакистан, военные расходы, бедность, инфляция, индустриялизация, сектор услуг, прямые иностранные инвечтиции.

1. Introduction

The volume of military expenditure depends on the geographical, political and strategic position of the country on the map. Geopolitical hostilities and domestic violence tend to affect defense expenditure. Other factors like security, technology, political affinity and priorities, geography and history determine defense expenditure (Sahin, Murat 2010). Countries surrounded with threats cannot ignore military expenditure no matter what the stage of their development is. Collier and Hoeffler (Collier, Hoeffler 2002a, Collier, Hoeffler 2002b) find that both external and internal threats influence the volume of military expenditure. Other factors pointed out by them are the enhanced political power of the military in non-democratic regimes, and the availability of financial resources to the government.

The developing countries are rooted with poverty and heavy expenditure on military raises serious reservations in these countries. For example the South Asia is the most militarized region (Hussain 2001) despite the fact that poverty is pervasive in the region. The arm race in India and Pakistan is like a never ending struggle. India is ranked number one in the world by the World Bank in terms of arms imports while Pakistan is ranked number 10th in the world in terms of arm imports.

Pakistan had to build a strong military base since its Independence mainly due to her strategic geographical situation. The disputed territory of Kashmir led Pakistan to face three wars with India. Consequently Pakistan has to spend a larger share of GDP on defense. For example, the defense expenditure as a percentage of GDP was 18.1% and 13.0% in 2001 and 2008 respectively (Pakistan Economic Survey 2009–2010). The military expenditure is justified on the basis of providing “National Security” to the country.

From economic front Pakistan is ranked 145 out of 187 countries and territories by the UNDP (UNDP 2011) in terms of Human Development Index. The multidimensional poverty index MPI (that was introduced in 2010) indicates multiple deprivations in the same households in education, health and standard of living. According to the UNPD report (2011) 49.4% of population in Pakistan suffers multiple deprivations while an additional 11.0% is vulnerable to multiple deprivations.

One of the biggest challenges is to reallocate the resources from military expenditure to social development in order to reduce poverty, hunger and preventable diseases. An interesting question arises how a developing country like Pakistan where masses are subject to absolute poverty can afford such a heavy expenditure on defense? What impact the military expenditure exert on poverty? Is the military expenditure pro poverty or anti poverty?

The paper examines the extent to which military expenditure is linked with poverty in Pakistan for the period 1972–2009. It is hypothesized that military expenditure is positively associated with poverty.

As customary the paper is organized into difference sections. Section 2 discusses the arguments given in literature for the military expenditure. Section 3 highlights some facts related to poverty and military expenditure in Pakistan. Section 4 narrates methodology, and data selection along with the development of a model to estimate the relationship between poverty and military expenditure and some other key macro factors affecting poverty. Section 5 discusses the results. Finally, Section 6 concludes the major findings of the paper and suggests some policy implications.

2. Literature Review

The literature is enriched with studies focusing on defense expenditure from different perspectives. Two thoughts are dominant in the literature. Some believe that the military expenditure has very strong positive relationship with the growth of the economy. Others argue that military expenditure is negatively related to the growth of the economy.

Wolf (Wolf 1981) opines that the military expenditure may stimulate technological progress and transfers and enhances industrial production. Fredericksen and Looney (Fredericksen, Looney 1983) in their study show a positive relationship between defense expenditure and economic growth. Other studies suggesting a positive relationship between defense expenditure and economic growth are (Atesoglu 2002, 2004; Dunne, Freeman, Soydan 2002; Narayan, Singh 2007; Pieroni, Giorgio et al. 2008; Guillou, Lozaric et al. 2009). Aizenman and Reuven (Aizenman, Reuven 2006) estimated the growth equations for a cross-sections of countries for the period 1989–98 and identified the presence of non-linear interaction between threats and military expenditure. They argued that in the presence of threats a larger share of military expenditure to GDP increases growth (Aizenman, Reuven 2006). By taking the sample of 71 developing countries Landau (Landau 1983) tested the impact on growth of military expenditure and found a positive relationship between these two.

Some studies argue that a nonlinear relationship between military expenditure and economic growth exists and if ignored leads to misspecification of the models resulting in biased empirical results (Aiezenman, Reuven 2006; Dunne, Freeman 2003). The relationship between military expenditure and economic growth has been found negative in advanced economies through its effect on investment (Smith 1980). For developing countries the likely impact of military expenditure on economic growth is also Negative (Dunne 1996).

The military expenditure is also associated with the industrial production of the economy. The relationship between military expenditure and industrial production was tested by Sahin and Murat (Sahin, Murat 2010) in the case of Turkey. They applied econometric techniques by using monthly data for January, 2004 – December, 2008 and found a positive relationship between industrial production and defense expenditure (Sahin, Murat 2010).

The relationship between military expenditure and savings has been tested by Looney (Looney 1989) and little evidence was found that military expenditures have reduced the savings below its already low level in Pakistan.

Another very important aspect; the reallocation of the public expenditure from military to social purpose was considered in some studies. A survey by the International Monetary Fund (International Monetary Fund 1999) showed that reductions in military spending in some countries have been accompanied by increased public expenditure on health and education.

A nation with dire need to spend a higher proportion of public expenditure on education and health in fact trades off the poverty and military expenditure. The relationship between military expenditure and poverty is a complex one and other macroeconomic variables like economic growth and unemployment affect it (Henderson 1998).

Poverty is affected by many macroeconomic variables. Earlier many researches have been conducted in finding the relationship between poverty and key factors affecting it. For example, the trade is identified as an important factor reducing poverty in case of Pakistan (Winter et al. 2004; Gilbert 2008; Hassan, Wasif 2010). Kalim and Shahbaz (Kalim, Shahbaz 2009) identified remittances, trade openness, GDP growth, inflation and urbanization and FDI as important determinants of poverty in Pakistan.

The literature review suggests that no study has been done yet to explore the relationship between the military expenditure and poverty in Pakistan. The present paper touches this very important aspect to understand the nature and strength of the relationship between poverty and military expenditure in Pakistan. Further the impact of industrial and service sector growth on poverty has not been explored in any of the earlier studies and will be investigated in the present paper.

3. Pakistan Military Expenditure and Poverty: An Overview

Pakistan is ranked 9th among 117 countries in terms of military expenditure. The defense expenditure in Pakistan has remained the largest component of GDP throughout the history of Pakistan. Despite a slight decline in defense expenditure since the last decade the absolute size of the defense expenditure is still considered very high. Defense expenditure has the potential to rise sharply if tensions between the Pakistan and India are exacerbated. In FY2002, for example, defense spending was higher than anticipated (Rs. 151.6 billion as against the targeted Rs. 131.6 billion) as a result of the military standoff with India. The military expenditure as a percentage of total expenditure has been on average around the figure of 15.0. By the end of June 2010, the defense expenditure was expected to increase by Rupee 130 billion mainly because of the military operation against the militants and the increase in the salaries of military personnel.

According to the door-door survey carried out by Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP), 45.7% of the entire population is living under the poverty line. Another report suggests that every third Pakistani is caught in the "poor bracket" and some 58.7 million out of total population of 180 million falls below the poverty line (Asian Development Bank 2012).

The official records however underestimate the poverty figures. The report prepared by the Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement (PSLM) Survey 2010–2011 indicate the fall of incidence of poverty from 17.2% in 2008 to slightly over 12% in 2011. Experts however believe that a drop in poverty is impossible with the fact that there is average job growth of 2.6% for the last four years and against the requirement of 8% and inflation has stayed in double-digits for the fifth consecutive years.

Poverty in Pakistan is attributable to a number of factors like, sluggish GDP growth, low level of investment, poor governance, declining public development expenditure, debt burden etc. Other plausible reasons of Poverty are the low level of education, poor health facilities, job in informal sector, low access to infrastructure and the like. Education and health are the most neglected sectors in Pakistan. Study by Arif. et al. (Arif. et al. 2001) indicates that those households whose heads had no formal education had about three times the incidence of poverty compared to those households whose heads had completed 10 years or more of schooling

To provide a relief to the poor the development expenditure can play very important role. The development expenditure on social sector can mitigate the gap between rich and poor. The development expenditure of Pakistan as a percentage of GDP has been very low. The current development expenditure as a percentage of total expenditure has been 15.3%, 18.6% and 19.2% during 2001-02, 2007-08 and 2008-09 respectively (Pakistan Economic Survey 2009-10).

The development expenditure had restraints mainly because of the debt obligations and defense expenditure. From 1998 to 2000 the expenditure on these two heads remained over 90 percent of tax revenue. In the absence of political settlement with India, the government may have little flexibility in reducing defense expenditure. In order to maintain the fiscal deficit around 5.1% of GDP the development expenditure was readjusted downward by Rs150 billion.

Only sustainable economic growth can be helpful in poverty reduction and there are strong linkages between pro-poor growth on the one hand, and human development, good governance, and cross-cutting concerns such as private sector development and regional cooperation on the other (Asian Development Bank 2012).

4. Data Source and Methodological Framework

Data Source. The data (1) on Poverty is taken from the study done by Hassan and Siddiqi (Hassan, Siddiqi 2010) (2) and the data on Military Expenditures; Consumer Price Index, Industry Value Added, Service Sector Value Added, and Foreign Direct Investment are obtained from the World Development Indicators CD-ROM (World Bank 2010). The dataset ranges from 1972 to 2009 period.

Methodological Framework. The following log linear model is used for investigation in the present paper:

$$LPOV_t = \alpha_C + \alpha_{ME_t} LME_t + \alpha_{CPI_t} LCPI_t + \alpha_{IND_t} LIND_t + \alpha_{SER_t} LSER_t + \alpha_{FDI_t} LFDI_t + \mu_t \quad (1)$$

whereas:

$LPOV_t$ = Poverty (Head Count Ratio)
LME_t = Military Expenditure as share of gross domestic product
$LCPI_t$ = Consumer Price Index as a proxy for inflation
$LIND_t$ = Industry Value Added as share of gross domestic product
$LSER_t$ = Service Sector Value Added as share of gross domestic product
$LFDI_t$ = Foreign Direct Investment as share of gross domestic product

Literature on Log Linear Approach made by various researches such as Ehrlich (Ehrlich 1977); Layson (Layson 1983), Bowers and Pierce (Bowers, Pierce 1975), Cameron (Cameron 1994) and Ehrlich (Ehrlich 1996) validated that empirical findings computed through Log Linear Approach are more consistent than that of Functional Form Approach. A description of all the variables of the model is made below.

Variables and Hypothesis.

Head Count Ration as proxy for Poverty is obtained by taking the ratio of the total number of people who are below the poverty line to the total population.

Military Expenditures as share of GDP is obtained by dividing the Military Expenditures on the Real GDP. It is perceived that whenever any government allocates a major share of its GDP to defense/military then it will eventually add to poverty of the country. Therefore, in order to control the cancer like poverty, resources may be allocated to development and productive side rather on non-productive side.

Consumer Price Index reveals the variation in the expenditures made by the average household in order to attain the basket of goods and services which may be remained constant or may be changed at specified intervals, such as yearly. To compute Consumer Price Index; usually Laspeyres method is applied.

Industry Value Added as share of GDP comprises value added in mining; manufacturing, construction, electricity, water, and gas. Value added is the net output of a sector after adding up all outputs and subtracting intermediate inputs. It is obtained by taking the ratio of the Industry Value Added to the Real GDP. It is expected that industrialization will be helpful to bring poverty down in the country.

Service Sector Value Added as share of GDP contains value added in wholesale and retail trade (including hotels and restaurants), transport, and government, financial, professional, and personal services such as education, health care, and real estate services etc. Value added is the net output of a sector after adding up all outputs and subtracting intermediate inputs. It is gained by taking the ratio of Service Sector Value Added to the Real GDP. It is anticipated that there is a positive relationship between poverty and growth of the service sector.

Foreign Direct Investment as share of GDP is obtained by taking the ratio of foreign direct investment to the real GDP. It is anticipated that the inflows in the country will be helpful to increase the market activities and hence will increase the income of the economy. It may speed up the process of industrialization and may help in reducing poverty.

Estimation Technique. This article applies various econometric techniques to perform an analysis of the military expenditures and poverty in case of Pakistan. Initially, the stationarity of the data series has been checked and the co-integration among the variables of the study has been analyzed. Finally the estimation of long term coefficients and short term coefficients are found. The following steps are followed in the study.

Computing Stationarity. Ng–Perron (Ng, Perron 2001) applies GLS de-trending method of ERS in order to develop more consistent and proficient versions of the updated Phillip Perron tests of Perron and Ng (Perron 1996). These highly proficient and efficient modified PP tests do not reveal the severe size distortions of the PP tests for errors with large negative MA or AR roots, and also, they could have significantly high power than that of Phillip Perron tests; in particular when the value of φ approaches to one. Using the GLS de-trended data y_t^d, the efficient modified PP tests are defined as

$$\overline{MZ_a} = (T^{-1} y_T^d - \hat{\lambda}^2)\left[2T^{-2} \sum_{t=1}^{T} y_{t-1}^d\right]^{-1} \tag{2}$$

$$\overline{MSB} = \left[\frac{T^{-2} \sum_{t=1}^{T} y_{t-1}^d}{\hat{\lambda}^2}\right]^{1/2} \tag{3}$$

$$\overline{MZ_t} = \overline{MZ_a} \, x \, \overline{MSB} \tag{4}$$

The statistics like $\overline{MZ_a}$ and $\overline{MZ_t}$ are more proficient and efficient versions of the Phillip Perron tests. In case of negative moving average errors; the magnitude of distortions in Phillip Perron Z_a and Z_t tests is quite meager. Ng–Perron derive the asymptotic distributions of these statistics under the local alternative $\varphi = \frac{1-c}{T}$ for $D_t = 1$ and $D_t = (1,t)$. Specifically they demonstrate there is no difference in the asymptotic distribution of $\overline{MZ_t}$ and DF-GLS t-test. The statistic $\overline{MZ_t}$ can possibly be estimated by applying the method of function unit root which is named as "mpp".

Computation of Long Term Variance λ^2

Ng–Perron (Ng, Perron 2001) test highlight the fact that computation of the long term variance λ^2 plays a pivotal role for the implications of the proficient updated Phillip Perron test and as well as the finite sample behavior of the ERS point optimal test. The test also spotlight that the stable finite size of the sample can be obtained by using an autoregressive estimate of λ^2. Ng–Perron (Ng, Perron 2001) proposed that the variance λ^2 should be computed by using the equation of Augmented Dickey Fuller (Fuller 1981) test based on the GLS de-trended dataset:

$$\hat{\lambda}_{AR} = \frac{\hat{\sigma}_p^2}{(1 - \hat{\psi}(1))^2} \tag{5}$$

Where $\hat{\psi}(1) = \sum_{j=1}^{p} \hat{\psi}_j$ and $\hat{\sigma}_p^2 = (T-p)^{-1} \sum_{t=p+1}^{T} \hat{\varepsilon}_t^2$ are found by using the equation of Augmented Dickey Fuller test.

Finding Co-integration. To estimate the strength of relationship among the running actors we have applied Johansen and Juselius approach (Johansen, Juselius 1990).

Johansen Maximum Likelihood (ML) Approach. Johansen Maximum Likelihood Approach was developed by Johansen and Juselius (Johansen, Juselius 1990) in order to investigate the existence of long term relationship among the variables. This approach comprises of two statistics: (i) Trace Statistic and (ii) Maximum Eigen – Value Statistic. Co-integrating equations hold only if the computed values from Trace Statistic and Maximum Eigen – Value Statistic are greater than that of their Critical Values. The equations for the both tests are given below:

$$\lambda_{trace} = L_A - L_O \qquad (6)$$

The mathematical version of the Maximum Eigen Value test is given as below:

$$\lambda_{max} = -T\log(1 - \hat{\lambda}_{r+1}) \qquad (7)$$

Before to compute Co-integration among the variables; it is vital to investigate lag length for the model. In this article, we have used Unrestricted Vector Autoregressive Model (UVAR) to estimate lag length. Afterwards; the short term coefficients are computed by using Error Correction Mechanism (ECM). The equation for ECM is given as below:

$$\Delta LPOV_t = \beta_C + \beta_{ME_t} \Delta LME_t + \beta_{CPI_t} \Delta LCPI_t + \beta_{IND_t} \Delta LIND_t + \beta_{SER_t} \Delta LSER_t + \\ + \beta_{FDI_t} \Delta LFDI_t + \lambda ecm_{t-1} + \delta_t \qquad (8)$$

5. Empirical Estimation and Interpretation of Results

Initially, unit root problem is tested by using Ng–Perron (Ng, Perron 2001) test. The results are exposed into Table 1 (see Table 1).

Table 1

Unit Root Test

Ng-Perron at level with intercept $I_{(0)}$				
Variables	MZ_a	MZ_t	MSB	MPT
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
$LPOV_t$	-4.46598	-1.36953	0.30666	5.69876
LME_t	0.68788	0.43649	0.63455	30.3285
$LCPI_t$	1.87501	2.17830	1.16175	107.475
$LIND_t$	1.22432	0.96209	0.78581	47.3911
$LSER_t$	-0.02894	-0.01568	0.54183	21.0899
$LFDI_t$	-0.19124	-0.18424	0.96340	49.8779
Ng- Perron at 1st difference with intercept $I_{(1)}$				
$\Delta LPOV_t$	-13.3977**	-2.58773*	0.19315	1.83056
ΔLME_t	-8.86993**	-2.03555*	0.22949	3.02857

Sequel to Table 1 see on p. 36

Sequel to Table 1

1	2	3	4	5
ΔLCPI$_t$	-9.11421**	-2.13432*	0.23418	2.68971
ΔLIND$_t$	-24.0812*	-3.44899*	0.14322	1.08726
ΔLSER$_t$	-17.6995*	-2.92569*	0.16530	1.56228
ΔLFDI$_t$	-7.14150***	-1.86817***	0.26159	3.50713
asymptotic critical values*				
1%	-13.8000	-2.58000	0.17400	1.78000
5%	-8.10000	-1.98000	0.23300	3.17000
10%	-5.70000	-1.62000	0.27500	4.45000

Note: * & ** & *** indicate significance at1% & 5% and 10% level.

Source: authors' calculations.

The results computed into Table 1 show that there was unit root problem at level and all the variables have become stationary at first difference. It is confirmed that the order of integration is $I_{(1)}$. Besides it, maximum lag length is estimated by applying Unrestricted Vector Auto – Regressive (UVAR) method. By using Akaike information criterion (AIC), the maximum lag length is 2 (see Table 2).

Table 2

Lag Length Criteria

Var lag order selection criteria						
Lag	***LOGL***	***LR***	***FPE***	***AIC***	***SIC***	***HQ***
0	258.4955	NA	3.26e-14	-14.02753	-13.76361	-13.93541
1	511.9867	408.4024	1.90e-19	-26.11037	-24.26293*	-25.46556*
2	555.6178	55.75088*	1.48e-19*	-26.53432*	-23.10336	-25.33682

* indicates lag order selected by the criterion

LR: sequential modified LR test statistic (each test at 5% level)
FPE: Final prediction error
AIC: Akaike information criterion
SIC: Schwarz information criterion
HQ: Hannan-Quinn information criterion

Source: authors' calculations.

According to Johansen and Juselius (Johansen, Juselius 1990) approach; if it is diagnosed the same order of integration for all the variables at first difference then this approach reveals more consistent; strong and reliable results for computing the long term strength of relationship among the variables. The estimated results through Johansen and Juselius (Johansen, Juselius 1990) approach in the light of computed maximum lag length = 2 are demonstrated in Table 3 (see Table 3).

Table 3

Unrestricted Cointegration Rank Test

Hypothesized No. of CE(s)	Trace Statistic	0.05 Critical Value	Prob. ** Value	Hypothesized No. of CE(s)	Max-Eigen Statistic	0.05 Critical Value	Prob. ** Value
None *	203.2479	103.8473	0.0000	None *	58.83296	40.95680	0.0002
At most 1 *	144.4150	76.97277	0.0000	At most 1 *	52.62090	34.80587	0.0002
At most 2 *	91.79405	54.07904	0.0000	At most 2 *	36.56596	28.58808	0.0039
At most 3 *	55.22809	35.19275	0.0001	At most 3 *	28.27873	22.29962	0.0065
At most 4 *	26.94936	20.26184	0.0051	At most 4 *	19.24595	15.89210	0.0143
At most 5	7.703414	9.164546	0.0940	At most 5	7.703414	9.164546	0.0940

Trace test and Maximum Eigen Statistic indicate 5 co-integrating equations at the 0.05 level.

* denotes rejection of the hypothesis at the 0.05 level.
**MacKinnon-Haug-Michelis (1999) p-values.

Source: authors' calculations.

The empirical findings regarding the Johansen and Juselius (Johansen, Juselius 1990) Maximum Likelihood Approach are presented in Table 3. Johansen and Juselius (Johansen, Juselius 1990) maximum likelihood methodology comprises of two statistics such as: (i) Trace statistics and (ii) Maximum Eigen statistics. It has empirically found by the both statistics that there exist five co–integrating equations at 0.5 % level of significance.

The relationship between Military Expenditure and Poverty has been tested for both long term and short term time period. The long term coefficients are examined by applying Ordinary Least Square Method and the results are presented in Table 4 (see Table 4).

Table 4

Estimated long term dynamics

Dependent variable: $LPOV_t$				
Variable	**Coefficient**	**Std. Error**	**t-Statistic**	**Prob. Value**
$LPOV_{t-2}$	-0.494486	0.152808	-3.235992	0.0031
$LPOV_{t-1}$	1.076151	0.147413	7.300255	0.0000
LME_t	0.447071	0.157598	2.836771	0.0084
$LCPI_t$	0.542639	0.131745	4.118871	0.0003
$LIND_{t-1}$	-1.058072	0.534397	-1.979937	0.0576
$LSER_{t-1}$	-1.181611	0.458672	-2.576159	0.0156
$LFDI_t$	0.107271	0.259946	0.412668	0.6830
C	7.481840	2.131711	3.509782	0.0015
R-squared	0.945112	Mean dependent variable		3.233042
Adjusted R-squared	0.931390	S.D. dependent variable		0.188619
S.E. of regression	0.049406	Akaike info criterion		-2.984352
Sum squared residual	0.068347	Schwarz criterion		-2.632459
Log likelihood	61.71834	Hannan-Quinn criteria.		-2.861532
F-statistic	68.87520	Durbin-Watson statistics		2.203263
Prob. Value (F-statistic)	0.000000			

Source: authors' calculations.

The results reveal that that military expenditure exerts positive and significant impact on poverty. For example, one unit increase in military expenditure increases poverty by 0.44. The inherent justification may be that the military expenditure in Pakistan may be done at the expense of development expenditure and thus may have negative impact on economic growth in Pakistan as the studies by Smith (Smith 1980) and Dunne (Dunne 1996) have shown the negative relationship between military expenditure and economic growth for the case of developing countries. It is evident from the results that poverty lagged by one year accentuates the poverty in the current year. It is quite possible that because of military expenditures expenditure on social development is hampered thus accelerating the poverty. Results also indicate that poverty if lagged by two years helps in reducing poverty in the subsequent years. The underlying reason may be that realizing the poverty problem some measures are taken to target it that shows its positive impact in curtailing the poverty.

The empirical results show the positive and significant relationship between consumer price index a proxy for inflation and poverty in case of Pakistan. The relationship is quite obvious as inflation always erodes the standard of living of common people and increases their miseries. Poor people are more prone to inflationary pressures than the rich class. The results are supported by the earlier study by Kalim and Shahbaz (Kalim, Shahbaz 2009) where they have found a positive relationship between inflation and poverty in case of Pakistan.

The role of industrial and service sectors has been also examined to investigate their contribution to poverty reduction. The results indicate that the value added by the industrial sector and the service sector helps in reducing the poverty in Pakistan. In the present study it is found that it takes some time for the growth of the industrial sector to influence poverty. The growth of industrial and service sector lagged by one year significantly reduces poverty in the next year. The coefficient of the service sector indicates its larger impact on the reduction of poverty as compared to the industrial sector. It is obvious that industrialization and extension in the service sector boost up employment opportunities in the country resulting in more income generation.

Foreign direct investment does not have any significant impact on poverty in case of Pakistan. Earlier Kalim and Shahbaz (Kalim, Shahbaz 2009) found a positive relationship between FDI and poverty in Pakistan. They justify this positive relationship on the basis of the presumption that FDI in specific sectors like "telecommunications and financial services or services sectors" of economy may be creating skilled jobs instead of providing job opportunities to unskilled labour.

The impact of military expenditures along with other macro economic variables on poverty is also investigated for the short run by applying Error Correction Mechanism Approach (Table 5). The ECM coefficient shows the speed of adjustment of variables towards equilibrium and it should be significant with negative sign. These were Bannerjee et al. (Bannerjee et al. 1998) who argued that the negative and significant coefficient of $\boldsymbol{ECM_{t-1}}$ will indicate convergence to long term stable equilibrium.

Table 5

Estimated Short Term Results

Dependent variable: $\Delta LPOV_t$				
Variable	**Coefficient**	**Std. Error**	**t-Statistic**	**Prob. Value**
1	2	3	4	5
$\Delta LPOV_{t-1}$	0.838165	0.147991	5.663613	0.0000
ΔLME_t	0.969464	0.221043	4.385863	0.0002
$\Delta LCPI_t$	0.776497	0.266768	2.910753	0.0073
$\Delta LIND_t$	0.826851	0.401616	2.058813	0.0497
$\Delta LSER_t$	-0.127850	0.459878	-0.278009	**0.7832**
$\Delta LSER_{t-1}$	-0.972500	0.440587	-2.207282	0.0363

Sequel to Table 5 see on p. 40

Sequel to Table 5

1	2	3	4	5
ΔLFDI$_t$	-0.658241	0.375829	-1.751441	0.0917
ECM$_{t-1}$	-0.973598	0.258699	-3.763437	0.0009
C	-0.001456	0.023246	-0.062653	0.9505
R-squared	0.680946	Mean dependent variable		-0.015825
Adjusted R-squared	0.582776	S.D. dependent variable		0.075031
S.E. of regression	0.048465	Akaike info criterion		-2.998918
Sum squared residual	0.061070	Schwarz criterion		-2.598972
Log likelihood	61.48107	Hannan-Quinn criterion		-2.860857
F-statistic	6.936369	Durbin-Watson stat		2.041970
Prob. Value (F-statistic)	0.000069			

Source: authors' calculations.

It is found that the first period lag term of poverty: military expenditures, inflation, and industrialization are significantly increasing poverty in the short run for the case of Pakistan. The service sector when lagged by one year shows a significant negative relationship with poverty. The impact of foreign direct investment on poverty is negative in the short run but the relationship between the two is weak. The correction into short term fluctuations for the attainment of long term stable equilibrium is being scrutinized by inculcating the first period lag term of error correction term. Short term results reveal that indicating that the speed of adjustment in the long run is high and it takes almost 1.03 years (1.027118 = 1/0.973598) to attain the long run equilibrium.

6. Conclusions and Policy Implications

This paper investigated the impact of military expenditures, inflation, industrial sector, service sector, and foreign direct investment on poverty for both long term and short term for the dataset ranging from 1972 – 2009 periods.

The results have shown that the Military Expenditures and inflation are directly and significantly contributing to Poverty in both long run and short run and military expenditures are pro poverty in Pakistan. Empirical investigation reveals that poverty is becoming significantly severe because of its first period lag term in both long term and short term analysis. Whereas it shrinks significantly because of its second period lag term only in the long term. It has also been diagnosed that the first period lag term of industry is significantly contributing to lowering poverty in the long term whereas in the short term industrialization does significantly elevate poverty. It means it takes some time to bear the fruits of industrial growth in terms of reduction in poverty.

The service sector does reduce poverty significantly in both long term and short term. Finally, foreign direct investment does not play any role in the reduction of poverty in the long term, but surprisingly it has some significant negative impact on poverty in the short run.

From the empirical findings many policy implications can be deduced. The findings suggest that the military expenditure deteriorates the poverty situation in Pakistan.

The viable policy option may be to revise the volume of military expenditure in perspective of the reallocation of resources from the defense expenditure to the expenditure on social development of the economy. The caution that requires to be considered is the proper and efficient reallocation of resources.

Growth in industrial and service sector can be targeted to eliminate poverty. This can be done by analyzing carefully the problems related to the progress of these sectors particularly the industrial sector where the growth has been sluggish for many years mainly due to energy crises.

Inflation can be controlled via both monetary and fiscal policy measures. Fiscal deficit; another feature of Pakistan's economy plays it crucial role in high inflation and could be checked by adopting stringent measures.

(1) The data on all the variables is available on the special request from the authors.

(2) The data on Head Count Ratio (Proxy for Poverty) was taken up to the year 2007 and for remaining two years the data is extrapolated.

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Vera Boronenko, Sasa Drezgic

ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF TERRITORY COMPETITIVENESS AND DEVELOPMENT SUSTAINABILITY*

Scientific novelty of the article is the analysis of interconnection of the territory competitiveness and development sustainability in the context of national identity and territorial capacity. For researching the economical determinants of the competitiveness and development sustainability the authors used resource approach based on the following methodological path: resources available at the territory can be transformed into assets as a result of its activation that, in its turn, can give to territory socially economic benefit, i.e., it becomes a territory capital. The application of the resource-asset-capital approach can be found in studies of different social sciences, sometimes revealing innovative resources or innovative forms of its activation and capitalization. The idea of the present paper – economic determinants of the territory competitiveness and development sustainability is, firstly, resources availability at the territory, and, secondly, ability of the territorial agents to transform them into territory capital. So, those resources which are available at the territory, but have not been transformed into territory capital, are not able to determine also competitiveness and development sustainability of this territory. The authors assume that weak development of social technologies for activation and capitalization of resources is the most important reason for hindering the competitiveness and development sustainability of Latvia's regions. This hypothesis was proved by clarifying, within the limits of possibility of Latvia statistics, how much of the resources available in the regions are transformed into assets and further – into benefit carrying capital. By applying case study method in relation to the analysis of problems of sapropels resources' of the lakes of Latgale region of Latvia's activation and capitalization, the authors proved the significant role of social technologies for successful realization of material technologies and outlined the algorithm of social technologies for sapropels resource activation and capitalization.

Key words: territory competitiveness, development sustainability, resource-asset-capital approach, activation and capitalization of resources, social technologies.

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Teritorijas konkurētspējas un attīstības ilgstpējas ekonomiskie nosacījumi

Piedāvātā raksta zinātnisko novitāti veido teritorijas konkurētspējas un attīstības ilgtspējas savstarpējās sasaistes analīze nacionālās identitātes un teritorijas rīcībspējas kontekstā. Veicot teritorijas konkurētspējas un attīstības ilgtspējas ekonomisko nosacījumu izpēti, autori izmantoja resursu pieeju, kas balstās uz šādu metodoloģisko pamatnostādni: teritorijas rīcībā esošie resursi to iedarbināšanas rezultātā var tikt pārveidoti tās aktīvos, kuri, savukārt, var dot teritorijai sociāli ekonomisko atdevi, t.i. kļūst par tās kapitālu. Resursu-aktīvu-kapitāla pieejas izmantošanu var sastapt dažādos pētījumos socioloģijā, psiholoģijā, ekonomikā un citās sociālajās zinātnēs, dažreiz atklājot inovatīvus resursus vai inovatīvus to aktivācijas un kapitalizācijas veidus. Piedāvātā raksta ideja – teritorijas konkurētspējas un attīstības ilgtspējas ekonomiskie nosacījumi ir, pirmkārt, resursu esamība teritorijā, un otrkārt, teritoriālo aģentu spēja tos pārveidot teritorijas kapitālā. Tātad, teritorijas rīcībā esošie resursi, kuri netika pārveidoti teritorijas kapitālā, nevar nodrošināt arī tās konkurētspēju un attīstības ilgtspēju. Autori pieņem, ka teritoriju rīcībā esošu un potenciālo resursu aktivācijas un kapitalizācijas sociālo tehnoloģiju vājā attīstība visvairāk bremzē Latvijas reģionu konkurētspēju un attīstības ilgtspēju. Šī hipotēze tika pierādīta, empīriski noteicot Latvijas reģionu dažu resursu potenciālu un Latvijas statistikas iespēju robežās noskaidrojot, cik lielā mērā reģionu rīcībā esošie resursi tiek pārveidoti aktīvos un tālāk – labumu nesošajā kapitālā. Pielietojot gadījuma izpētes metodi uz Latgales reģiona ezeros esošajā sapropeļa resursu aktivācijas un kapitalizācijas problēmu piemēra, autori pierādīja sociālo tehnoloģiju nozīmi materiālo tehnoloģiju veiksmīgā ieviešanā, kā arī ieskicēja sociālās tehnoloģijas algoritmu Latgales reģiona sapropeļa resursa aktivācijai un kapitalizācijai.

Atslēgas vārdi: teritorijas konkurētspēja, reģiona attīstības ilgtspēja, resursu-aktīvu-kapitāla pieeja, resursu aktivācija un kapitalizācija, sociālās tehnoloģijas.

Экономические предпосылки конкурентоспособности и долгосрочности развития территории

Научная новизна предлагаемой статьи состоит в том, что взаимосвязь конкурентоспособности и долгосрочности развития территории проанализирована в контексте национальной идентичности и территориальной дееспособности. Изучая экономические предпосылки конкурентоспособности и долгосрочности развития территории, авторы применили ресурсный подход, который основан на следующей методологической предпосылке: ресурсы, имеющиеся в распоряжении территории, в результате их использования могут быть превращены в её активы, которые, в свою очередь, могут принести региону социально-экономическую отдачу, т.е. стать капиталом территории. Подход ресурсов-активов-капитала можно встретить в различных исследованиях в социологии, психологии, экономике и других социальных науках. Применение этого подхода иногда позволяет открыть инновативные ресурсы или инновативные способы их активации и капитализации. Идея предлагаемой статьи: экономические предпосылки конкурентоспособности и долгосрочности развития территории – это, во-первых, наличие ресурсов, а во-вторых, способность территориальных агентов превратить эти ресурсы в капитал территории. Таким образом, ресурсы территории, не ставшие её капиталом, не могут обеспечить конкурентоспособность и долгосрочность развития данной территории. Авторы предполагают, что слаборазвитость социальных технологий, позволяющих активировать и капитализировать существующие и потенциально возможные ресурсы территории, является тем фактором, который больше всего препятствует конкурентоспособности и долгосрочности развития регионов Латвии. Эта гипотеза доказана путём эмпирического определения ресурсного потенциала (по некоторым видам ресурсов) регионов Латвии, а также путём вычисления – в рамках возможнсотей латвийской статистики – того, в какой степени имеющиеся у регионов ресурсы превращаются в активы и далее – в капитал, приносящий отдачу. Применив метод анализа случая на примере проблем активации и капитализации ресурсов сапропеля, имеющихся в наличии в озёрах Латгальского региона Латвии, авторы доказали значимость социальных технологий для успешной реализации материальных технологий, а также обозначили алгоритм социальной технологии для активации и капитализации вышеназванных ресурсов сапропеля.

Ключевые слова: конкурентоспособность территории, долгосрочность развития региона, подход ресурсов-активов-капитала, активация и капитализация ресурсов, социальные технологии.

Introduction: research framework

For analysis of economical determinants of territory competitiveness (TC) and development sustainability (DS), the authors use resource-asset-capital approach (Tihonova 2006), which is grounded on the following theoretically methodological framework: all the resources available in a particular territory (as well as resources of any territorial agent – local municipality, company, household, personal etc.) could be transformed into territory assets as a result of effective usage; these assets, in their turn, could give the socio-economical return to the territory, i.e., become the territory capital – determinant of TC & DS. The geographic scope of the research includes all countries of the world, however the empirical part considers Latvian planning regions and the last part of the Article studies the case of a particular region of Latvia.

The basic concepts of the performed research, upon which all the further researches are based and which requires a precise characterization, are the following: territory competitiveness, territory development sustainability, resource, asset and capital.

Territory competitiveness due to empirical aim of this research is considered to be a country's resulting position within the Global Competitiveness Report of the World Economic Forum in comparison to other countries which are included into the same report (Lopez-Claros et al. 2006; Schwab 2012). Territory competitiveness is wider concept than territory economic performance, which [performance] is traditionally measured with GDP per capita (Boronenko et al. 2014).

The **development sustainability of a territory** in this research is considered to be the stability or improvement of country's position within the Global Competitiveness Report, i.e., the stability or improvement of country's competitiveness, which is indicative of sustainability of the competitive preferences of a particular country, ensuring its sustainable development instead of temporary growth (as it was during Latvian "years of great plenty" in 2006–2007). A similar interpretation of development sustainability is given also within the Global Competitiveness Report, using the concept of "sustainable competitiveness" (Bilbao-Osorio 2012).

A **resource** in this research means any material (money, estate properties, raw materials etc.) or nonmaterial (labour capacity, time, confidence, rights etc.) subject which is or tend to be available at the territory.

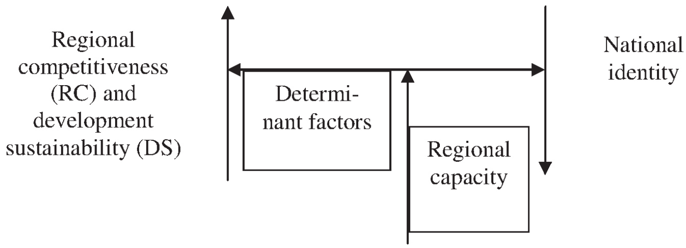
The term **asset** in this research is used to characterize used, ie., activated resource, which does not mean that it gives any benefit, but it definitely means that the territory (or territorial agents) actually uses it in order to benefit from it.

The **capital** in this research is considered to be a profitable asset.

All these basic concepts are discussed in the context of national identity and territorial capacity; which means that the authors have integrated them into one functional model (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Territory competitiveness and development sustainability in the context of national identity and territorial capacity: a functional model



Source: elaborated by the authors.

A common expression of similarities and differences of members of socio-territorial group is considered to be a one of features characterizing the national identity: "members of one separate group are similar only by those aspects by which they differ from others who are not members of this group. Members of the Group **dress similarly, eat and speak the same language**; by all these aspects they differ from others who dress, eat and speak differently" (Smits 1997, p. 28). However, within the framework of resource-asset-capital approach, economic conditions of RC and DS are considered as territory's ability to attract and to use/activate some and various recourses; it means that territorial agents **should be able to dress, eat, speak, think and act differently;** by increasing the TC and ensuring DS, it inescapably lowers or "discharges" the national identity of territorial agents. It means that the same factors which increase the TC and ensure the DS, at the same time lower the national identity of territory residents. In this case the particular territory has to find such an optimal post or economic condition of TC and DS, which would ensure the residents a sufficient level of territory development, at the same time not allowing their national identity to lower so critically that the existence of a national state could be endangered within the dimension of residents' belonging or identity. It should be taken into consideration that the factors promoting TC/DS (namely, ability "to dress, eat, speak and think differently"), which at the same time lower the national identity, if they once are increased, they cannot be decreased by objective considerations, i.e., it is impossible to take away ability of territorial agents to dress, eat, speak and think in a different manner if they have already learned it.

Application of resource-assets-capital approach is met in different social researches of sociology, psychology, economics and other social sciences, for instance, while studying the social and economical usage of morasses in Africa (Maclean et al. 2003), the catholic doctrine as resources of development of business ethics (McCann 1997), activation of human soul resources for fight with sufferings (Thibault 2010) and many other, sometimes discovering untraditional, even amazing resources, which can be and are being used to benefit; they definitely are or could be attracted and used by Latvian regions as well. There are some attempts to accommodate the concept of social capital to resource-asset-capital approach, defying the social capital as resources included within the social networks, which are available and applicable (Pelse 2007; Huber 2009; Kaufmane 2011). Professor of the Daugavpils University Vladimir Menshikov defined also other kinds of a capital – symbolic, cultural, administrative etc., which could be created at each territory on the base of according resources (Menshikov 2009).

According to the previously mentioned methodological framework, in addition to their own and other authors' previous works regarding territory competitiveness and development sustainability (Kosiedowski 2002; Menshikov 2002; Skapars Sumilo 2006; Boronenko 2007, 2009), the authors have added the resource-assets-capital approach, which allows to clarify, and what is more important – to measure – the economical determinants of TC and DS. The main idea of this Article is the following: economical determinants of TC and DS are, firstly, the existence of particular resources within the territory and secondly, ability to exploit them successfully by transforming into the territorial capital. This solution which is based upon thought of "resource-asset-capital", is useful not only for the territory in general, but also for every its agent – enterprise, household, individual, who also has some resources, and the most important task of the territorial agent is to transform these resources into the capital, ie., to exploit them effectively; however the main task of a scientist is to help the territorial agents to determine their resources and to find effective, profitable ways or technologies for their application (1).

The Article is divided into three parts. The first one offers a concept developed by the authors for application of resource-asset-capital approach in order to study the economic determinants of TC and DS. This study is based both upon authors' previous works and concepts and ideas of other scientists.

The second part considers some examples of how many external resources – natural, human, political – are there in Latvian regions and to what degree they are activated and capitalized at the present moment, ie., how effectively they are used in order to promote TC and DS.

The last part of the Article analyses processes of activation and capitalization of resources being at Latvian regions' disposal in relation to the example of studies regarding the sapropels resources of Latgale region lakes. Consequently, there are developed proposals for usage of social technologies in order to transform the resources available in Latvian regions into assets and further – into regional capital.

Application of resource-asset-capital approach for studying the economic determinants of TC and DS

Supplementing the concept of territory competitiveness with time dimension, the essence of the concept "development sustainability of a territory" can be understood from both theoretical and empirical aspects. Theoretically, DS of a territory is such a feature of development which means that the satisfaction of today's needs does not endanger the possibility of further generations to satisfy their needs. It has three dimensions – economic, social and environmental. It means that the economic development is taking place when we considerately deal with the resources of our planet and worry about preserving the biological diversity on Earth. Sustainable development promotes the general welfare of society and gives people a chance to live in healthy environment, implementing one's potential and skills. However, for empirical reasons the authors offer to call the ability to preserve or promote competitiveness during several years as development sustainability of a territory. The authors consider that such stability or development of territory competitiveness index is indicative of the fact that once reached competitiveness is based upon balanced and permanent exploitation, i.e., activation and capitalization, of resources.

In order to conquer the competition within today's circumstances of globalization, a territory has to have highly dedicated innovative production resources which could not be duplicated by other territories (Porter 1998). However, in order to make the competitiveness of this territory permanent, i.e., to reach its DS, the territory has to be able to effectively use its resources to the utmost. Are the world's most competitive territories (to which the previously mentioned thought of M. Porter does apply) able to maintain the sustainability of their development? To answer this question we should focus on the Global Competitiveness Reports in order to compare the competitiveness indices of included countries regarding years 2005 and 2012. The findings are reflected within the table below.

Table 1

Average Global Competitiveness Indices of countries divided according to country's stages of development and its changes within 2005–2012. scores from 1 (minimum) to 7 (maximum), n = 114 countries

Country's stage of development	**Average score of the Global Competitiveness Index, from 1 (min) to 7 (max)**		**Changes in average score of the Global Competitiveness Index, 2012/2005**
	Year 2012	**Year 2005**	
Factor-driven stage* (Lowest)	**3.68**	3.41	+0.27
Transition stage	**4.11**	3.85	+0.26
Efficiency-driven stage** (Average)	**4.27**	4.08	+0.19
Transition stage	4.44	**4.49**	-0.05
Innovation-driven stage*** (Highest)	5.05	**5.18**	-0.13

* Stage of development where the motive force of development is the extensive exploitation of traditional production resources (work, land, capital) (Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Kenya, Vietnam etc.)

** Stage of development, where the motive force of development is the productivity of exploited resources (Jordan, Romania, Serbia, Ukraine, South Africa etc.)

*** Stage of development, where the motive force of development is innovation (Australia, USA, UK, Finland, Switzerland etc.)

Source: data summarized by the authors according to Lopez-Claros et al. 2006; Schwab 2012.

As it is shown in the Table 1, countries – “leaders” are not able to maintain their positions of competitiveness, and countries which are in the stage of innovations and transition, have not shown the sustainability of their development within seven years. However, the countries which are in the lowest stages of development demonstrate the development of their competitiveness, ie., DS. For instance, the competitiveness score of Finland in 2012/2005 decreased from 5.73 to 5.55 (by the scale from 1 to 7, where 7 is the highest score of competitiveness), competitiveness score of Latvia decreased from 4.46 to 4.35, however, the Turkish competitiveness score increased from 3.94 to 4.45, Pakistani – from 3.51 to 3.52, Brazilian – from 4.08 to 4.40 etc. The results of this comparison make us doubt regarding the correctness of M. Porter’s idea, because hardly **everything that ensures territory competitiveness nowadays at the same time also ensures territory development sustainability.** The following table reflecting the findings of correlation analysis is also indicative of this.

Table 2

Interconnection between countries’ scores of the Global Competitiveness Index of 2012 and their development sustainability (index changes in 2012/2005), Kendall’s correlation coefficient, n = 114 countries

Correlated variables	Results of correlation analysis	Country’s scores of the Global Competitiveness Index in 2012	Country’s development sustainability (Index changes in 2012/2005)
Country’s score of the Global Competitiveness Index in 2012	Kendall’s correlation coefficient	1.000	**-0.206**(**)
	Significance	–	0.001
	Number of countries	114	114
Country’s development sustainability (Index changes in 2012/2005)	Kendall’s correlation coefficient	**-0.206**(**)	.000
	Significance	0.001	–
	Number of countries	114	114

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: correlation analysis performed by the authors using the data of Lopez-Claros et al. 2006; Schwab 2012.

While analyzing the correlation between countries’ scores of the Global Competitiveness Index of 2012 and their DS (Index changes in 2012/2005), there was noticed a very interesting and even surprising regularity – the higher is country’s Global Competitiveness Index, the lower is its development sustainability. It turned out that exactly in countries with lower level of competitiveness, which for the present moment are in the lowest stages of development, there has been noticed DS. However, today it is more difficult for the more competitive countries to ensure DS. It may be indicative of the fact that they have reached this high level of competitiveness as a result of unbalanced and excessive usage of resources.

M. Porter emphasizes that the new economical theory shall clarify why the internationally-competitive agents choose particular territories as a place of their physical location. Exactly these are the territories which create and support such an environment within their territory which allows agents to succeed on the global scale. Functioning agents can work out and implement their development strategy in these territories; most efficient production processes and high-skilled labour force are localized there (Porter 2000). In addition, the new economical theory shall also determine why the world's most competitive countries, which are also at the stage of innovations, start to lose their competitiveness, while at the same time the traditionally less competitive countries increase their competitiveness equally fast. First attempts of the new economic theory to answer this question were made in the 1970s when the first report of the Club of Rome "The Limits to Growth" was published (Meadows et al. 1972), later also the second report, which used the resource approach and developed the concept of "organic growth", considering that every region of the world as a separate cell of the living organism of the world with resources of different quiddity and own function, which have to be fulfilled instead of aspiration for universal quantitative indices of development (Mesarovic, Pestel 1974). However within the framework of this research the authors do not look into analysis of regional development concepts, but they confine themselves to determination of weak, but statistically significant tendency – today's territory competitiveness and their development sustainability are interconnected by the feedback, which could mean that the most developed countries have already reached their "limit to growth".

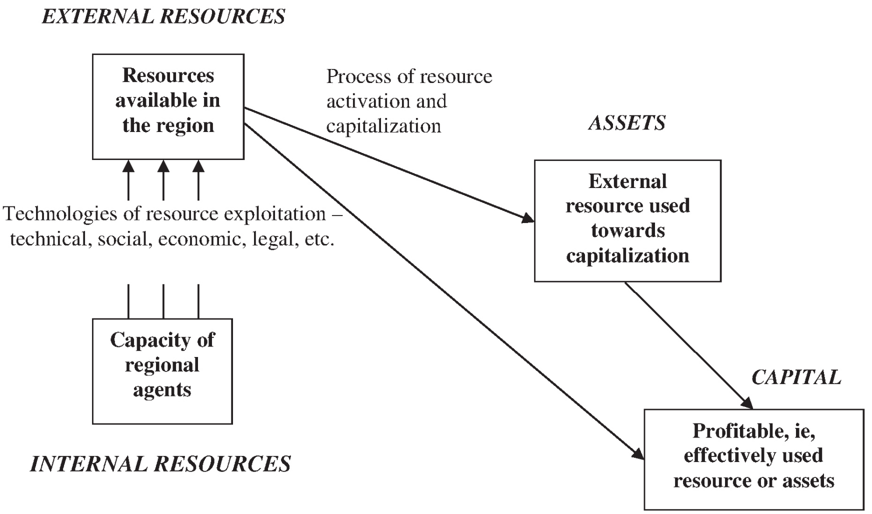
Returning to the application of resource-asset-capital approach for researching the economic determinants of TC and DS, it should be mentioned that effective usage of resources needs not only the physical presence of "external resources" within the territory, but also the ability of regional agents to "activate" and "capitalize" them – so called "internal resources" (Giller 2006). Thereby according to the point of view of resource-asset-capital approach, the policy of regional development has the following interconnected tasks:

1) increase of physical amount of territorial resources, i.e., "external resources";
2) increase of territorial agents' "internal resources", i.e., capacity;
3) development and implementation of interconnection mechanisms, i.e., exploitation technologies of "external resources" (both the engineering technologies and social technologies) on the base of "internal resources", ensuring the effective environment for resource exploitation.

The authors consider the last task to be the most important element of TC and DS, which shall be concentrated on by the institutions being responsible for the territorial development.

Figure 2

Model of activation and capitalization process of territorial resources



Source: chart worked out by the authors on the base of the ideas of Y. Giller (Giller 2006).

The authors add the following empirical interpretation to the concepts of the research performed within the framework of this Article (see Figure 2):

1) **external resource** – material (money, estate properties, raw materials etc.) or nonmaterial (labour force capacity, time, confidence, rights etc.) subject which is available within a territory;
2) **internal resource** – ability of territorial agents to deal with external resources for its activation and further capitalization, for instance, inhabitants' ability to use their political rights in order to affect government's decisions vital for a territory;
3) **assets** – external resources operating towards capitalization, for instance, a professional engaged by the labour market or exploited deposit of mineral resources;
4) **capital** – socio-economically profitable, ie., effectively exploited asset or resource, for instance, an employed professional which attracts investments for the functioning business at his territory as a result of his work;
5) **technology of resource exploitation** – algorithm of influence of internal resources on external resources, as a result they become activated (resource activation technology) and then capitalized (resource capitalization technology), for example, an algorithm of particular activities, enabling inhabitants of the territory to use their political rights in order to influence territorially important decisions of the government;
6) **resource activation** – transformation of external resources into assets by the internal resources, applying the technology of resource activation, for instance, the algorithm of particular activities, allowing the local industrialists to begin the exploitation at the deposit of mineral resources which was passive until that moment;

7) **resource capitalization** – transformation of external resource into capital by the internal resources, applying technology of resource capitalization, for example, an algorithm of particular activities, allowing professional engaged by the labour market not only to work, i.e., to be active, but also to attract investments for a functioning local business as a result of his/her work.

Additional attention should be paid to the process of resource capitalization, side-stepping the stage of resource activation, which the authors would call low-profit capitalization of resources; this is often used by underdeveloped territories, when they sell their resources abroad as raw materials, where by the use of innovative technologies, they are activated and then capitalized with much more profitableness.

The authors suppose that exactly the weak or uncoordinated development of effective exploitation technologies – technical, political, social, legal, ethical, economic, linguistic etc. – of available and potential resources impedes the process of resource activation and capitalization most of all. This is a real challenge for researchers of social sciences and administrative specialists, because sometimes people living at a particular territory do not accept and do not use some technically outstanding technology for its conflict with regional traditions or because it is economically disadvantageous.

Resources of Latvian regions, degree of its activation and capitalization

In order to achieve preferences of competitiveness and long-term development, all regions of Latvia have various resources – natural, human, managerial and other, which in accordance with resource-asset-capital approach can be exploited and transformed into regional assets (activated) and consequently – into capital (capitalized). Although the transition within these two stages of resource exploitation – from resources to assets and from assets to capital – can be impeded or motivated by various factors, when dealing with empirical material, usually it is difficult or even impossible to divide resource activation from resource capitalization, therefore usually we have to deal with resource exploitation which is methodologically closely related to its activation.

The analysis of regional resources usually starts by analysing natural resources – land, mineral resources, water, etc. The aim of this part of the Article is to reflect the amount of some resources of Latvian regions and the degree of its exploitation according to the available statistics. The data regarding the availability and exploitation of such Latvian natural resources as mineral resources is provided by the Register of Latvian Mineral Deposits. Within the framework of this research, there was used information regarding construction raw materials (see Table 3) – the number of deposits in every region and the degree of their exploitation.

Table 3

Exploitation of deposits of mineral resources – raw materials for construction – in Latvian regions, 2011

Types of raw materials	Riga region		Kurzeme region		Latgale region		Vidzeme region		Zemgale region	
	Number of deposits	Exploi-tation %	Number of deposits	Exploi-tation %	Number of deposits	Exploi-tation %	Number of deposits	Exploi-tation %	Number of deposits	Exploi-tation %
Rock gypsum	13	9%	No deposit		No deposit		3	0%	2	0%
Limestone	No deposit		13	8%	No deposit		No deposit		3	0%
Freshwater limestone	20	0%	26	0%	62	0%	24	0%	7	14%
Moss stone	1	0%	1	0%	No deposit		2	0%	1	100%
Dolomite	48	19%	8	0%	31	10%	21	19%	47	13%
Boulders	No deposit		1	0%	1	0%	No deposit		1	0%
Sand	326	24%	387	23%	442	22%	311	20%	282	27%
Sand-gravel	199	29%	356	24%	355	23%	233	22%	183	26%
Clay	19	5%	63	3%	42	98%	34	6%	72	6%
Quartz sand	4	0%	4	0%	No deposit		14	14%	1	0%
Aleirite	8	38%	3	33%	No deposit		2	50%	4	75%
Doab	7	43%	6	67%	2	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Sandy loam	6	33%	3	33%	1	0%	2	50%	4	25%
Total/on average	649	24%	871	21%	936	19%	647	19%	608	23%

Source: LR Environment, Geology, and Meteorology Agency 2011.

According to the Table 3, the average level of exploitation of available mineral resources varies from 19% in Latgale and Vidzeme regions to 24% in Riga region. It is indicative of very low resource activation of available mineral resources, not to mention the degree of capitalization at all. Natural resources which are one of the resources of Latvian RC and DS, are left unexploited at the amount of almost 80%; and this is not only the problem of traditionally underdeveloped Latvian regions – all Latvian regions exploit mineral resources insufficiently.

In addition, the issue of non-exploitation of mineral resources, ie., non-transformation of natural resources into assets and then – into capital of Latvian regions, has various nuances, which could be not understood by outsiders of geology; however, from the economical point of view, this situation could have two possible explanations: whether Latvian regions do not exploit their natural resources in full or there is no appropriate system of registration of these Latvian resources.

When studying this issue deeper, it turns out that one of the barriers of exploitation of deposits of mineral resources could be the not aligned legislation regarding the sphere of environment. The Saeima of the Republic of Latvia just on June 17, 2010 passed the draw law "Amendments of the "Law on subterranean depths", which was "opened" for almost a year (Bierande 2010). These amendments specify the exploitation techniques of the subterranean depths, determined time-limits of exploitation, as well as there are merged and facilitated competition terms for entrepreneurs, and terms of licensing and authorization receiving for landholders and municipalities. From the other side, there is also not so positive news to landowners – since there are deleted regulations from the "Law on land use and land survey" regarding indemnification of losses of landowners, such regulations are also deleted in the "Law on subterranean depths". Landowners will not receive any compensation regarding survey of plots, although the landowners have to inform public authorities about any survey. A general research on the situation by the method of analysis of documents and experts' published opinions, allowed to make a conclusion that within this legislative and administrative environment both the entrepreneurs and municipalities of Latvian regions do not have motivation to exploit and capitalize their national resources, as well as the foreign and internal investors lack stimulus to invest into trial and exploitation of deposits of mineral resources.

Another significant resource for the TC and DS is an agricultural parcel. In this case the main index analyzed by the context of resource-asset-capital approach, is the unit weight of the exploited agricultural parcels (AP) within Latvian regions.

Table 4

Exploitation of agricultural parcels within the Latvian regions, 2010

Territories	Agricultural parcel, Thousands of ha	Exploited agricultural parcel	
		Thousands of ha	%
Subriga region	241,6	226,9	**93.9**
Vidzeme region	414,1	381,4	**92.1**
Kurzeme region	366,7	348,6	**95.1**
Zemgale region	414,3	391,1	**94.4**
Latgale region	497,1	448,3	**90.2**
LATVIA	**1933,8**	**1796,3**	**92.9**

Source: authors' calculation on the base of data of the LR Central Statistical Bureau 2014a.

According to the data reflected within the Table 4, in 2010 on average 7.1% of Latvian AP was not exploited, and this rate varies from 4.9% in Kurzeme region to 9.8% in Latgale region. These seemingly insignificant numbers, at the same time the active debates in the mass media, conferences, researches and on the July 13, 2010 adopted regulations No. 635 "Procedure of survey and determination of area of uncultivated agricultural parcel and providing of information on it" by the Cabinet of Ministers, and the tax increased to 3% for the uncultivated and unused agricultural parcel make us think that the issue regarding exploitation of AP resources within Latvian regions is very urgent and there is an active search for solutions. Comparing Latvia with other European countries, the informative part of the document "Land Policy Guidelines 2008–2014" has the following statement: "If the ineffective land exploitation and surplus is considered as a problem in Latvia, other European countries speak about the lack of available land" (The Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia 2008).

From September 1, 2010 till November 1, 2010 the Rural Support Agency has performed surveys regarding all Latvian agricultural parcels. Results of this survey showed that almost 15% or 370 thousands hectares of agricultural parcels are unexploited, but 20% of them are completely overgrown (Lasmanis 2010).

Scientific researches performed in Latvia regarding the exploited land resources are indicative of the fact that the area of unexploited agricultural parcel has sharply increased by beginning and development of the agrarian reform. In 1994 the unexploited area of agricultural parcels exceeded 0.5 million hectares, but in 2002 reached almost the amount of million hectares (Dobele 2004). 36% of the total amount of Latvian agricultural parcel is used for cornfields and plantations, but together with extensively used meadows and pastures – 50% of total area of agricultural parcels. The rest area – more than million hectares – is overgrown by weeds and not valuable bushes, the part of which is burnt in spring (Dobele 2004).

A. Dobele suggests the following solution for solving of this problem: landowners in collaboration with the regional departments of Rural Support Agency should fully invest the financial support of European Union and national financial support for launching of new functions of land exploitation, for instance, recreation needs or individual construction. However, for the present moment some of the landowners have no capacity to activate and capitalize their land resources, the others are in catastrophic lack of agricultural parcels for expanding the activity; at the same time the activity of Rural Support Agency seems to have the character of monitoring and surcharging instead of supporting institution. In this case it seems logic to repeal law constraints starting from the May 1, 2011, allowing foreigners to purchase land in Latvia. This could be one of the solutions for more effective exploitation of Latvian land resources. However even now "agriculturalists are worried about the fact that in half-a-year time when foreigners will have no constraints for purchasing of land, Latvian fields, meadows and forests will be bought up by foreigners and Latvian agriculturalists will be constrained to rent land from them" (Steinfelde 2010). Although it seems to be a quite adequate and effective economic solution, because of Latvian agriculturalists' lack capacity to manage the land fully; the resistance or Latvian inhabitants towards it could be explained by the point of view of national identity: they will have to rent the native land from foreigners and Latvian agriculturalists will not be the owners of native land.

Another resource of Latvian regions which is analyzed within the framework of this research is the labour resource. These are resources which definitely could make a capitalized, i.e., material contribution into the increase of TC and DS in Latvia, producing goods and services of internal products. One of the latest reports developed by the Advanced Social and Political Research Institute of the University of Latvia regarding the national development in Latvia even within the title include the statement "my gold is my nation" (Zobena 2007). Although this statement is followed by a question mark, staggering whether it really is true in Latvia. Table 5 summarizes some statistical data on exploitation effectiveness of labour resources in Latvian regions. The authors have recalculated the data of Central Statistical Bureau of the Republic of Latvia regarding the economical activity of inhabitants, determining the percentage of employed persons within the economically active population; it reflects the degree of exploitation of potentially productive labour force, not calculating it from all population as the Central Statistical Bureau of the Republic of Latvia does when calculates the level of economic activity of the population.

Table 5

Exploitation efficiency of human resources within the labour market of Latvian regions, 2009 – 2013

Exploitation indices of human resources	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Riga region					
Economically active population, thousands of persons	362.1	353.1	344.5	338.2	329.6
Employed persons, % of economically active population	80.8	77.7	83.0	85.8	89.2
Subriga region					
Economically active population, thousands of persons	185.3	182.9	179.4	180.3	178.1
Employed persons, % of economically active population	84.8	82.0	85.2	87.5	91.2
Kurzeme region					
Economically active population, thousands of persons	135.4	131.6	124.2	124.6	123.8
Employed persons, % of economically active population	84.6	83.7	84.7	86.7	89.7
Latgale region					
Economically active population, thousands of persons	149.5	143.0	139.5	141.9	137.6
Employed persons, % of economically active population	82.0	80.5	81.0	79.1	82.7
Vidzeme region					
Economically active population, thousands of persons	105.3	98.6	95.8	96.5	93.9
Employed persons, % of economically active population	80.7	84.3	87.2	83.9	86.6
Zemgale region					
Economically active population, thousands of persons	131.2	124.4	123.3	124.6	122.9
Employed persons, % of economically active population	79.9	77.2	81.2	82.4	84.6

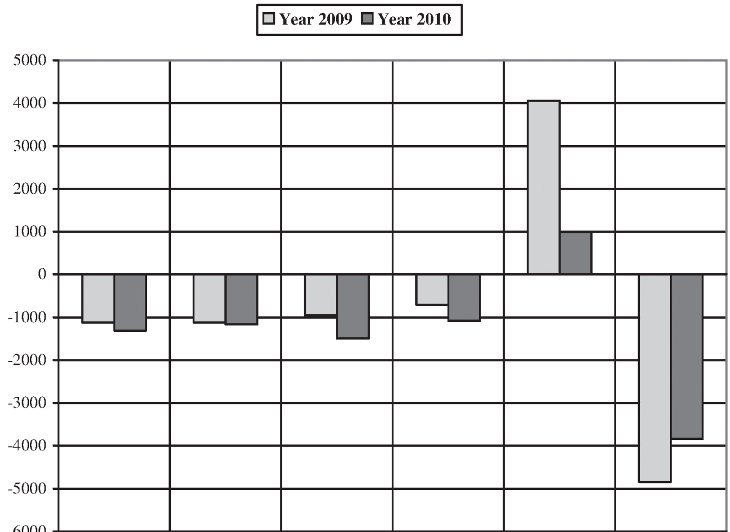
Source: authors' calculation on the base of data of the LR Central Statistical Bureau 2014b.

According to the data of 5-year period reflected within the Table 5, by the economic crisis there was significantly reduced degree of labour activity of human resources; in 2010 it constituted 77.2% in Zemgale region and 84.3% in Vidzeme region. Wherewith the revival of Latvian economy after the crisis, there is a positive tendency of the process of activation of human resources within the labour market of Latvian regions in 2013, and the leading region is Subriga region by its 91.2% activation of economically active population (see Table 5).

However there is also a negative tendency according the activation of labour resources within Latvian regions – their outflow or long-term labour migration. This is another way of losing resources, which becomes more and more actual for Latvia by every year (see Figure 3).

Figure 3

Long-term migration of the residents within Latvian regions, migration balance within 2009–2010



	Latgale Region	Zemgale Region	Kurzeme Region	Vidzeme Region	Pierīga Region	Rīga Region
Year 2009	-1126	-1121	-956	-712	4057	-4842
Year 2010	-1310	-1166	-1498	-1083	986	-3841

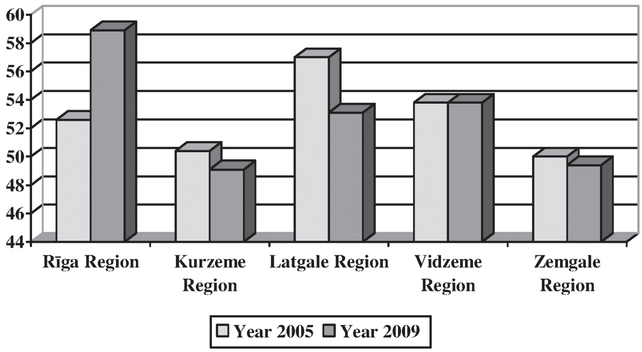
Source: authors' calculation on the base of data of the LR Central Statistical Bureau 2014c.

According to the data reflected within the Figure 3, migration balance in 2009 within all Latvian regions was negative, except of Subriga region which is the only region attracting human resources even during the economical crisis (to what degree these resources are exploited by the labour market, reflects the Table 5).

Apart from traditionally studied natural, human and other resources, there are also resources which are usually overlooked by researchers, and proprietors of these resources, for instance, political resources, meaning rights to vote for a political force which corresponds to the interests of the voter. Voter turnout, ie., degree of exploitation of own political resource, of Municipal Elections 2005 and 2009 of Latvian regions is reflected in the Figure 4.

Figure 4

Voter turnout at Municipal Elections 2005 and 2009 in Latvian regions



Source: LR State Regional Development Agency 2010.

According to the data available in Figure 4, residents of Latvian regions use their political resource inactively – 49–59% in 2009. Furthermore, if the exploitation of political resource in the Riga region during five years has increased, then in other regions, especially in Latgale region, it has decreased.

Consequently, the statistical survey on some resources of Latvian regions, performed within the framework of this part of the Article, demonstrated that they are exploited, ie., activated and capitalized, incompletely. Furthermore, there is a range of resources not covered by statistics and Latvian society hardly comprehends them as resources of development sustainability, for instance, time resource, which is one of the mostly available resources of unemployed persons for their own development. According to the investigations of the Institute of Social Research of the Daugavpils University, residents of Latgale region usually do not comprehend the time as resource which could be activated and capitalized (Gorbacevica, Boronenko 2005; Boronenko 2006).

Issues regarding activation and capitalization of sapropels resources of Latgale region's lakes: the case study

Within this part of the Article the authors use the topical and widely discussed local issue (Drezins 2010; Lacis 2011; Latgale regional television 2011; Petkevich 2011) – challenges for exploitation of sapropels resources of lakes of Latgale region – as an example of demonstrating the development condition of social technologies in Latvia in opposition to development of biotechnologies (the case of Latgale region).

Sapropels is an organic sediment of a lake, growing out of remains of water plants and aquatics dashing mineral particles into it (sand, clay, calcium carbonate and other compounds) (Lacis 2011). In other words, this is sludge, existing in majority of Latvian lakes and more than one third of morasses; this sludge is suitable for agricultural, medical, recreation, cosmetology and other purposes.

Deposits of sapropels are situated irregularly across the territory of Latvia. The majority of these deposits are located in the regions of elevated plain (especially Latgale highland). Most of all lakes with deposits of sapropels are in Kraslava, Rezekne, Daugavpils, Madona and Ludza districts (Lacis 2011) – one of the mostly underdeveloped territories. Specialists consider that, for instance, Ludza in future could become a town which would produce the "black gold" of Latgale as a product of export – sapropels-fertilizer. An entrepreneur, who has started to extract sapropels, admits that this is a prospective business, because this substance will be sufficient in Latgale lakes for at least hundred years (Latgale regional television 2011).

Information regarding the amount of available sapropels and possibilities for exploitation, allows to make sure of the socio-economical potentiality of this resource for the Latgale RC and DS – it is a product of export, extraction and processing of which will bring additional income, productive enterprises and job places for the region. The present situation of activation and capitalization of the sapropels resources is the following: the annual productiveness of the factory built in Latgale in 2009, constitute 18,000 tons of complete product named "BioDeposit" per year. The global demand of the sapropels fertilizer constitutes approximately 500 million tons per annum. However, Latvian lakes contain 2.5 billion tons of sapropels colloid, which can be used to produce up to 5 billion tons of highly qualitative product (EHT Engineering 2011).

Apart from the potentiality of the resource itself, there is also a process of its activation and capitalization; it is operated by resource exploitation technologies by the mean of internal resources of regional agents (see Figure 2).

According to the information provided by the specialist of State Geology Agency A. Lacis, in 1990, geologists started systematic exploratory work of sapropels deposits in Latvian lakes. Today there are only some explored deposits where the industrial output of sapropels could be started (Lacis 2011). Consequently, the geological technologies necessary for activation and capitalization of sapropels as a resource, are developed and approbated, but they are not widely implemented within Latvian regions; thus the industrial output of sapropels is impeded.

Biotechnology is one of resource exploitation technologies. Latvian company "EHT Engineering Ltd." has developed, patented and approbated in Latvia a biotechnology by which it outputs the sapropels colloid from ecologically disadvantaged lakes and produces "BioDeposit", which can be widely used for both agricultural purposes as fertilizer and nutritive supplement (product line AGRO), and medical purposes as SPA and healthy products ("Elixir" and SPA product lines) (EHT Engineering 2011). Consequently, there are patented biotechnologies in Latvia for activation and further capitalization of sapropels as a resource.

Further we will consider the economical technologies which are partially offered by the company "EHT Engineering" to its potential business partners. The company considers the process of activation and capitalization of sapropels resource in Latgale as construction of new factories with production capacity of 1 million tons per annum. It is possible if concluding franchise agreements on launching of completely finished factories, attracting significant investors, being able to invest approximately 50 million euro (EHT Engineering 2011). It should be remarked, that such investors still have to be found as well as authorization of lake owners shall be received. So the franchise agreement is only one chain of economic technology.

It can be established that for the successful activation and capitalization of sapropels resource in Latgale there are developed and probated geological and biological technologies, as well as some charts of economical technology. However, it is not enough for real resource transfer into regional asset and then into the capital. There is also a need for social technologies as it brightly shown within the findings of a journalist A. Drezins, published in “Latvian Newspaper” regarding the events concerning the Notra lake of Vilyani district, Latgale region, from which it is planned to output the sapropels (Drezins 2010). In this case, the old age pensioner X, living in Vilyani district, was visited by the businessman V. Podnebess and offered to purchase her land at an incredible price for the Latgale region, revealing the reason of such a high price: the adjacent lake Notra, from which it is planned to output sapropels. Pensioner’s son Y did not want to sell this land, offering to develop this sapropels business together instead and to conclude agreement of land lease. Both men established a joint venture “Eleonotra Ltd.”, asking Vilyani District Council for permission to start the output of lake Notra.

Then started a phase, proving that underdeveloped social technologies can impede implementation of all other technologies. The application of “Eleonotra Ltd.” was reviewed and rejected in two meetings of Vilyani District Council. At first – mainly because of objections of deputy of local municipality and chairman of the procurement committee, and then – due to the fact that there was another company that applied for output of lake Notra; the previously mentioned deputy of local municipality was the chief accountant of this company. V. Podnebess considers that she wants to get lease rights for exploitation of the lake which could later be sold to him: “She cannot do something else. She will not get the technology from “EHT Engineering Ltd.”, in the same way I do not think that she will get money for output of sapropels using some other technology” (Drezins 2010). It is indicative of the fact that the regional agents of Latgale lack ability to interact for the behalf of regional competitiveness and development sustainability, because as a result of this resistance, the sapropels resources of lake Notra are still standing inactivated and not capitalized.

Another case, reflecting the underdeveloped social technologies of activation and capitalization of sapropels resources, concerns lake Gubisce of Daugavpils City. There is founded an initiative group under the guidance of former principal of Daugavpils Construction Vocational School A. Beinars, the purpose of which is to save the Lake Gubisce by output of sapropels (Petkevich 2011). The same company “EHT Engineering Ltd.” could sell processing technology of sapropels output, but there is still a problem to attract investors. Due to the fact that the lake Gubisce is not a property of local municipality, Daugavpils City Council cannot attract and promote the money of EU funds for a private property. For the present moment Daugavpils initiative group is organizing meetings for residents and specialists, appealing to “save the lake Gubisce” and to search for investors.

What does really impede to use the “black gold” of Latgale – sapropels – for the sake of its development sustainability? The authors consider that it is the underdevelopment of scientifically worked out social technologies; as a result regional natural resources are not activated and capitalized for the development of Latgale region.

The authors consider that one of the most significant problems of development of social technologies in Latvia is nonbeing of profession of social technologist, wherewith also inaccessibility of social technology study programmes in faculties of social sciences of Latvian higher education institutions (2). Study of Latvian standards of professions showed that there are such professions as environmental technologist, food and beverage technologist, wood processing technologist (LR State Education Content Centre 2011), but there is no profession of a social technologist in Latvia. The authors consider that this could be explained by the fact that these social technologies in Latvia both are not sufficiently studied, nor even named and systematically recognized, although elsewhere in the world social technologies as well as all other technologies of the sciences, have the titles and fields of particular application. GIS *(geographic information system)* technology is an example, because it is applicable for administration of territorial natural resources, allowing to transfer these scientific outputs into the real practice, where there mostly work non-scientists (Wright et al. 2009), Geospatial and Social Web technologies, used to count illnesses within the territories with scanty financial resources (Cinnamon, Schuurman 2010), as well as debate moderating *DoTalk* technology, used by Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences (Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences 2011).

Wherewith it is possible to adumbrate the following general consecutive algorithm of social technologies for activation and capitalization of sapropels resources of Latgale region:

1) to ascertain and obtain the proper document regarding the particular lake's sapropels suitability for industrial output and processing (for instance, what concerns the lake Gubisce in Daugavpils, the initiative group wants to find an investor and to concuss the municipality into building a factory, although the chemical composition of the sapropels of lake Gubisce has not been analyzed, because at the period of USSR the large factories were making flow of sewages with heavy metal dashes into this lake, therefore there is doubt whether this sapropels could be exploited at all). It is possible to ascertain the quality of sapropels' chemical content by using chemical laboratory of Daugavpils University and potential of its investigators (the importance of such transfer of knowledge was successfully fortified by Latvian social scientists within the project "Research potential of higher education institutions for promotion of regional development" (Tisenkopfs et al. 2011), and in case if the sapropels turns out to be of a good quality, the regional department of natural resources;
2) to develop a business plan for the activation and capitalization of sapropels, in order to convince a potential investor that his money will produce a profit, instead of "saving the lake", because within the market economy the investor having a million euro is not particularly interested in rescue of some lake (it is wrong to think that there are no investors having such a great sum of money, because, for example, there is an investor having 8 million lats for the renovation of concert hall "Dzintari" in Jurmala, because he is certain that this is an economically

profitable project, not a "rescue of a concert hall"). The potential of economists-investigators, Master students, PhD students of Daugavpils University could be used;
3) to get the licence for output of sapropels and authorization of lake owners (the license could be acquired by the mentioned "EHT Engineering Ltd.", which has developed technologies of industrial output and processing of sapropels);
4) to offer the potential investor the business plan for sapropels' activation and capitalization, as well as all additional documents (analysis of sapropels' chemical content, licence, authorization of lake owners, etc.);
5) during all stages to collaborate and exchange experience with all three sapropels producing factories which are already functioning in Latvia, because they already have real experience of searching for investors and working within the circumstances of Latvian regions.

Still there is an open question: who shall organize and perform it? Ideally – a professional social technologist, using thorough and over the years obtained knowledge regarding stratification of Latvian society and ongoing social processes (Bela, Tisenkopfs 2006; Rozenvalds, Ijabs 2009; Tisenkopfs 2010; Muiznieks 2010). Due to the fact that Latvia does not train such professionals, any enterprising regional agent, intending to become a manager of a factory and thereby is interested in success of this process, is forming a highly specialized and qualitative job place, although he develops job places for many people and promotes TC and DS. However, according to the classical economic theory (Smith 1970), he is motivated mainly by personal achievements – profit, workplaces for his family members, future of his children, etc.

Conclusions

The analysis, performed by the authors, regarding the interconnection of terms "territory competitiveness" and "development sustainability" within the context of national identity and territorial capacity allowed to make a conclusion that those factors which increase territory competitiveness and development sustainability at the same time decrease the national identity of territorial agents, and this is an irreversible process – consequently it should be taken into consideration that Latvian regions for increasing of their competitiveness and development sustainability will have "to pay" by lowered national identity of regional agents. So the territorial capacity has a regulating function, helping to find the optimal point at which the territory reaches so high level of competitiveness which, ensuring residents' life quality, at the same time does not lower their national identity below the critical level.

However, the analysis of quantitative indices of competitiveness and development sustainability of countries, included into the Global Competitiveness Reports, enabled to reveal a weak, but statistically significant tendency, being indicative of the fact, that the world's most competitive countries, being at the stage of innovations, from 2005 to 2012 did not show development sustainability, gradually losing their positions in the Global Competitiveness Reports. At the same time, the countries which are at the lowest stages of development and are fairly uncompetitive, proved their development sustainability, ie., increase of competitiveness indices during period of seven years. It makes social scientists to consider these countries more carefully as potentially more competitive regions of the world (mostly these are countries of Asia and Africa). For Latvia, which also has decreased its competitiveness position and did not present development sustainability, it could mean that the potential of these territories should be actively used for own development by collaborating with these territories and studying its societies and economies.

For the study of conditions of Latvian TC and DS, the authors offer to use the resource-asset-capital approach. Its subjacent idea is the two main factors of sustainable development of a territory are, firstly, the existence of resources, secondly, ability of territorial agents to use them effectively, ie., to activate – to introduce added values during the process of production, – and to capitalize them – to successfully get this added value of the resource. This approach methodologically combines the competitiveness and development sustainability of both the territory and its functioning territorial agents, as well as it allows to understand the situation in Latvian regions more deeply and systemically and to search for more effective and practical solutions, studying lack of resources and their exploitation skills and technologies at Latvian regions.

Findings of empirical research showed that there are various resources within the Latvian regions – natural, human, political and other ones, which are exploited insufficiently effectively. For instance, the exploitation level of mineral resources in different Latvian regions is at range from 19% to 24%, level of exploitation of agricultural parcel– from 90.2% to 95.1%, level of exploitation of labour resources – from 82.7% to 91.2%, level of exploitation of voting rights at municipal elections – from 49.1% to 58.9%.

For studying Latvian regions and the low exploitation level, i.e., the level of activation and capitalization, of their resources, the authors have used also the case study method, taking the sapropels resources and its exploitation in Latvian regions, especially Latgale region, as an object. The findings of this study showed that whilst there are geological, biological and economic technologies of activation and capitalization of these resources, its implementation is impeded by the low level of development and application of social technologies in Latgale region and in Latvia as a whole.

Note

(1) As an example of how there was found a way for effective exploitation of resources for a whole region is the Egyptian city Sharm el-Sheikh. There has always been the sun and the sea, but only some 50 years ago after the last war with Israel, Egyptians transformed these resources into regional and national capital, developing Sharm el-Sheikh as a health resort (according to suggestions of the former enemies).

(2) Despite the fact that since 1991 there is a Higher Education Institution of Social Technologies in Latvia, it still does not train social technologists, whereas realizes usual study programs in business administration, law, economics (www.sta-edu.lv).

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SOCIĀLĀ PSIHOLOĢIJA

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ATSEVIŠĶU DZĪVESVIETU PIESAISTES UN PILSĒTAS IEDZĪVOTĀJU KOPĪBAS SAJŪTAS ASPEKTU IZPĒTE ZVIEDRIJĀ, SOMIJĀ UN LATVIJĀ

Raksts ir veltīts pilsētas iedzīvotāju dzīves aspektu izpētei saistībā ar piesaisti dzīvesvietai un kopības sajūtu. Rakstā tiek analizēti socioloģiskā pētījuma dati starp Norčēpingas (Zviedrija), Helsinku (Somija) un Rīgas (Latvija). Dažādu pilsētu respondentu atbildes salīdzina ar mērķi plānot darbības, lai paaugstinātu pilsētas iedzīvotāju apmierinātības līmeni. Turklāt pētījuma datus izmantos, veicot psiholoģisko izpēti attiecībā uz piesaisti dzīvesvietai un pilsētas iedzīvotāju kopības sajūtu. Visaktīvākie pētījuma dalībnieki visos reģionos bija sievietes ekonomiski aktīvajā vecumā (Helsinki, Rīga) vai pensionāri (Norčēpinga). Vairums iedzīvotāju, kas mitinās vienā rajonā 20, 30 un 40 gadus, ir rīdzinieki. Lielākā daļa aktīvo iedzīvotāju, kas piedalās vietējos pasākumos, dzīvo Helsinkos. Pētījuma dalībnieki visās trijās valstīs atzīmē, ka vēlas piedalīties sava rajona dzīvē, lai zinātu par sava rajona attīstības plāniem. Latvijas iedzīvotāji vēlas ietekmēt sava rajona attīstību nākotnē un apmeklēt pasākumus, lai iepazītos ar kaimiņiem. Latvijas dati netieši norāda uz zemu komunikācijas līmeni starp iedzīvotājiem, kā arī vietējiem aktīvistiem un pašvaldību oficiālajiem pārstāvjiem. Iespējams, pastāv labas tradīcijas saistībā ar piedalīšanos pētījumos, un iedzīvotāji Zviedrijā un Somijā izjūt šādas dalības rezultātus. Latvijas respondenti šajā jautājumā nav tik optimistiski noskaņoti. Neraugoties uz gatavību piedalīties pētījumos, respondenti pārlieku zemu novērtē savas iespējas ietekmēt rajona attīstību (Zviedrija, Somija). Un otrādi, 67% Latvijas respondentu novērtē savas iespējas piedalīties rajona attīstībā reālistiskāk, un tikai 10% respondentu tam nepiekrīt. Pētījuma dalībnieki galvenokārt vēlas ietekmēt, uzlabot (ja nepieciešams) un lepoties ar savu rajonu. Kā nozīmīgi rajona attīstības elementi ir minētas galvenokārt visas iespējamās organizācijas un aktīvisti. Somu respondenti augstu vērtē sabiedrisko organizāciju un vietējo pašvaldību lomu. Drošības vajadzība ir pirmajā vietā visās trijās pilsētās. Norčēpingā iedzīvotāji šķiet apmierināti ar sava rajona komforta līmeni, bet Rīgā un Helsinkos ir attīstības iespējas. Attiecībā uz pakalpojumu sfēru, vislabākā situācija ir vērojama Rīgā, kur 67% respondentu daļēji vai pilnībā piekrīt apgalvojumam. Jautājums par kopības sajūtu nav viennozīmīgs visās trijās valstīs, un ir grūti noteikt, kurš no faktoriem ir izšķirošais.

Atslēgas vārdi: sociālā identitāte, piesaiste dzīvesvietai, kopības sajūta, apmierinātība ar dzīvi, indivīds un vide.

Studying of the citizens' place attachment and sense of community different aspects in Sweden, Finland and Latvia

The present research work makes a contribution to the studying of social identity, place attachment and sense of community for citizens. The objects of investigation are practical aspects of social identity, place attachment and sense of community for citizens in Sweden, Finland and Latvia. Sociological survey had been used. The most active participants of survey in all tested regions were women at the economically active age (Helsinki, Riga) or retired (Norrkoping). The majority of those, who are living more than 20, 30 and 40 years in the

same neighbourhood, live in Riga. The most active people, who participate in local arrangements, are in majority in Helsinki. People mentioned that they participate because they want to be updated on the future plans of their neighbourhoods. Finnish people want to feel the sense of community. Latvian people want to affect the future of neighbourhood and to explore the arrangements for to get acquainted with neighbours. The data might be reflecting common situation for all countries: the economically active people are busy at work. The Latvian data indirectly indicate to low level of communication between inhabitants and local actors or official representatives of municipality. Perhaps, there is a good tradition to participate in different gallops, surveys and people feel results (effectiveness) of those activities there in Sweden and Finland. Riga respondents are not so optimistically tuned on effectiveness of those arrangements. In spite of high readiness of participation in surveys and gallops, people assess their possibilities in neighbourhood development too low (Sweden, Finland). And vice versa, 67% of Latvian respondents assess their possibilities of participating in neighbourhood development more realistic and 10% totally dissent with this. People, in general, want to influence, to improve (if is not yet excellent, suitable, safe), may be also, to be proud of their neighbourhood. In general, there are mentioned all local actors to be important and be involved in neighbourhood development. Finnish respondents of survey highly assessed the role of local associations and local policymakers. Safety was the number one issue in all three cities. It seems that in Norrkoping people are quite satisfied with the comfort of their neighbourhood, and in Riga and Helsinki there could be some room for improvement. Regarding the commercial services the present situation is viewed best in Riga, where 67% of the respondents partly or totally agree with the statement. The question about good sense of community seems to divide opinions in every city. It's difficult to say, about the underlying factors in each city or each neighbourhood.

Key words: social identity, place attachment, sense of community, satisfaction with life, person and environment.

Исследование различных аспектов привязанности к месту жительства и чувства общности у горожан в Швеции, Финляндии и Латвии

Статья посвящена изучению аспектов жизни горожан, связанных с привязанностью к месту жительства и чувством общности. В статье анализируются данные социологического опроса жителей Норчепинга (Швеция), Хельсинки (Финляндия) и Риги (Латвия). Ответы респондентов разных городов сравниваются с целью планирования конкретных шагов для повышения удовлетворенности жизнью горожан. Также данные исследования будут использованы при планировании психологического исследования привязанности к месту жительства и чувства общности. Наиболее активными участниками исследования во всех регионах были экономически активные женщины (Хельсинки, Рига) или пенсионеры (Норчепинг). Большинство проживающих более 20, 30 и 40 лет в одном районе составляют рижане. Большинство активных жителей, участвующих в местных мероприятиях проживают в Хельсинки. Участники исследования во всех трех странах отмечают, что хотят участвовать в жизни своего района, чтобы знать о планах развития своего района. Латвийские жители хотят влиять на будущее своего района и посещать общие мероприятия для знакомства с соседями. Латвийские данные косвенно указывают на низкий уровень коммуникации между жителями, а также с местными активистами и официальными представителями муниципалитетов. Возможно, существуют хорошие традиции участия в исследованиях, и жители чувствуют результат этого в Швеции и Финляндии. Латвийские респонденты не являются в этом настолько оптимистичными. Не смотря на высокую готовность принимать участие в исследованиях, респонденты оценивают свои возможности в развитии района слишком низко (Швеция, Финляндия). И наоборот, 67% Латвийских респондентов оценивают свои возможности участия в развитии района более реалистично и только 10% респондентов совершенно не согласны с этим. Участники исследования в основном хотят влиять, улучшать (если ситуация того требует) и хотят гордиться своим районом. В основном упомянуты все местные организации и активисты как важные составляющие в развитии района. Финские участники исследования высоко оценивают роль общественных организаций и местных самоуправлений. Безопасность как потребность находится на первом месте во всех трех городах. Кажется, что в Норчепинге респонденты удовлетворены комфортабельностью своего района, а в Риге и Хельсинки есть зона развития. Относительно сферы услуг наилучшим образом выглядит ситуация в Риге, где 67% респондентов частично или полностью согласны с утверждением. Вопрос о чувстве общности неоднозначен во всех трех странах, трудно сказать, какой фактор является определяющим.

Ключевые слова: социальная идентичность, привязанность к месту жительства, чувство общности, удовлетворенность жизнью, индивид и среда.

Ievads

Pētījums ir veikts Eiropas Savienības struktūrfondu programmas INTERREG IVA programmas projekta CB5 "Pievilcīgas un dinamiskas sabiedrības izveide kopīgi ar iedzīvotājiem" (CADDIES) ietvaros. Šo projektu īstenoja triju valstu – Latvijas, Zviedrijas un Somijas, pārstāvji un tā mērķis bija izstrādāt optimālas metodes Rīgas (Latvija), Helsinku (Somija) un Norčēpingas (Zviedrija) mikrorajonu iedzīvotāju iesaistīšanai savas dzīves apstākļu un sociālās vides uzlabošanā. Projekta īstenošanas gaitā atklājās tie psiholoģiskie aspekti, kas izraisīja pētniecisku interesi no psihologu puses (Ābelīte, Zagulova, Skuja, Jakuba 2013).

Rakstā aprakstītā pētījuma pamatā ir indivīda un vides mijiedarbības sociālie aspekti. Aprakstītais pētījums meklē atbildes uz jautājumu, kā var ietekmēt prasmi kopā ar apkārtējiem veidot atbilstošu vidi, lai uzlabotu konkrētās vietās dzīvojošu cilvēku pašsajūtu.

Pētījuma mērķis ir atsevišķu dzīvesvietu piesaistes un pilsētas iedzīvotāju kopības sajūtas aspektu izpēte Zviedrijā, Somijā un Latvijā

Pētījuma uzdevumi:

1. noteikt faktorus, kas var ietekmēt piesaisti dzīvesvietai un pilsētas iedzīvotāju kopības sajūtu Zviedrijā, Somijā un Latvijā;
2. noteikt raksturīgās īpatnībās attiecībā uz augstākminētajiem aspektiem Rīgas (Latvija) iedzīvotājiem.

Pētījuma hipotēze: pastāv atšķirības faktoros, kas ietekmē piesaisti dzīvesvietai un pilsētas iedzīvotāju kopības sajūtu Zviedrijā, Somijā un Latvijā;

Izpētes objekts: iedzīvotāju piesaiste dzīvesvietai un kopības sajūta.

Metodoloģija

Pilsētas iedzīvotāju piesaistes dzīvesvietai un kopības sajūtas jautājumi ir saistīti ar sociālo identitāti, kuras pamatā ir indivīda piederība konkrētai sociālai grupai un kas ir saistīta ar to, kā cilvēku raksturo saskarsme ar šīm grupām (Renge 2002). Pagājušā gadsimta 70. gados tika izstrādāta sociālās identitātes pieeja, ko interpretēja atkārtoti un dažkārt – nepareizi (Hornsey, Matthew 2008). Sociālās identitātes teorija, bet vēlāk – sociālās identitātes pieeja un sevis identificēšanas teorija izveidojās gados, kad sociālajā psiholoģijā bija raksturīga mērķu un pārliecības krīze – pagājušā gadsimta 60.–70. gados. Sociālās identitātes teorijas izprašanai ir saistoša Henrija Taifela un Džona Tērnera pieeja, kuri uzskatīja, ka cilvēku mijiedarbība atrodas diapazonā no attiecībām starp indivīdiem līdz attiecībām starp grupām. Sociālā identitāte apvieno sociālo pasauli grupās un pašu cilvēku nostāda kā konkrētās grupas dalībnieku (Taifel, Turner 1979).

Amerikāņu psihologs Dž. Džeksons uzskata, ka daudzas sociālās identitātes individuālās psiholoģiskās parādības var aplūkot šādās dimensijās:

1) grupas pievilcīguma līmeņa paaugstināšana indivīda acīs, kas atainojas viņa pozitīvās sajūtās, atrodoties šajā grupā;
2) depersonifikācija – pārdomas par sevi kā grupas neatņemamu dalībnieku "mēs" izpratnē un mazāk kā par unikālu indivīdu "es" izpratnē;
3) paša indivīda atkarības no grupas uztvere – ticība, ka paša indivīda labklājība un grupas labklājība ir saistītas, tāpat kā pienākuma sajūtas rašanās pozitīvu attiecību veidošanā ar citiem grupas dalībniekiem;
4) konkurences sajūta starp grupām – citas grupas kā konkurējoši formējumi indivīda izpratnē (Jackson 2002).

Rakstā aprakstītā pētījuma tēma ir saistīta ar sociālo identitāti, piesaisti dzīvesvietai un kopības sajūtu. Pētāmā grupa ir kaimiņi, kas dzīvo vienā namā vai blakus esošos namos. Šo tēmu ir pētījis Marko Lali, kas izstrādāja Pilsētas identitātes skalu (Lalli 1992) un veica pilsētas identitātes jautājuma teorētisku analīzi no hronoloģiskā aspekta.

Itālijā veiktie pētījumi rāda, ka pastāv savstarpēja saistība starp rajona subjektīvo tēlu un kopības sajūtu. Ar kopības sajūtu ir saistīta virkne demogrāfisku faktoru. Kopības sajūta ir spēcīgāk izteikta lauku apvidu iedzīvotājiem, nekā pilsētniekiem. Kopības sajūtu ietekmē dalība vietējās organizācijās, bērnu esamība ģimenē un plašāks priekšstats par savu rajonu – ne vien informācija par ielām un namiem (Tartaglia, Fedi, Greganti 2006).

Lielbritānijā zinātnieki ir izpētījuši kopības psiholoģiskās sajūtas struktūru (Obst, Smith, Zinkiewicz 2002). Makmilans un Čaviss (1986) izstrādāja 4 parametru teorētisko hipotēzi: piederība, vajadzību apmierināšana, ietekme un kopīgie kontakti (McMillan, Chavis 1986). Eksistē vairāki pētījumi par kopības psiholoģiskās sajūtas identificējošo lomu.

Tā kā pētījums nav eksperimentāls, tika izmantota aptauja ar skaitliski diferencētiem atbilžu vērtējumiem, lai iegūtu lietu pašreizējā stāvokļa momentuzņēmumu. Respondentiem piedāvāto aptauju sagatavoja, pamatojoties uz pilsētas iedzīvotāju piesaistes dzīvesvietai un kopības sajūtas praktiskajiem aspektiem. Indivīdiem aptauja tika izsniegta rakstiski klātienē un neklātienē (vairāk Somijā) ar interneta starpniecību, individuāli un grupveida. Aptauja iekļauj atvērtos, slēgtos un daļēji atvērtos jautājumus, lai iegūtu demogrāfisko informāciju, informāciju par Zviedrijas, Somijas un Latvijas iedzīvotāju uzvedību, attieksmēm, nolūkiem, gaidām attiecībā uz viņu dzīves vietu. Uz aptaujas jautājumiem ir atbildējuši 300 respondenti – pilsētu iedzīvotāji katrā no valstīm – Zviedrijā, Somijā un Latvijā.

1. tabula

Pētījuma atlases īpatnības:
a) aptaujas dalībnieku vecuma kategorijas

Vecuma grupa	Norčēpinga	Helsinki	Rīga
16–29	12%	13%	10%
30–49	27%	49%	41%
50–64	26%	25%	34%
>65	35%	9%	10%

Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

2. tabula

b) aptaujas dalībnieku dzimums

	Norčēpinga	Helsinki	Rīga
Respondentu sieviešu attiecība	66%	72%	61%

Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

Aktīvākie aptaujas dalībnieki izpētes reģionos bija sievietes ekonomiski aktīvajā vecumā (Helsinki, Rīga) vai pensionāri (Norčēpinga).

3. tabula

c) pavadītais laiks rajonā

<table>
<tr><th>Gadi</th><th>Norčēpinga</th><th>Helsinki</th><th>Rīga</th></tr>
<tr><td>0–5</td><td rowspan="2">56%</td><td rowspan="2">49%</td><td rowspan="2">22%</td></tr>
<tr><td>6–10</td></tr>
<tr><td>11–15</td><td rowspan="2">20%</td><td rowspan="2">20%</td><td rowspan="2">17%</td></tr>
<tr><td>16–20</td></tr>
<tr><td>21–30</td><td rowspan="3">19%</td><td rowspan="3">19%</td><td rowspan="3">46%</td></tr>
<tr><td>31–40</td></tr>
<tr><td>41–50</td></tr>
</table>

Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

Vairākums respondentu, kas nesen pārcēlušies uz dzīvesvietu izpētes rajonā, dzīvo Norčēpingā un Helsinkos (ne vairāk kā 10 gadus). Vairākums to respondentu, kuri mīt vienā rajonā (vairāk nekā 20, 30 un 40 gadus), ir rīdzinieki. Aptuveni vienāds respondentu skaits Norčēpingā, Helsinkos un Rīgā mīt vienā rajonā no 11 līdz 20 gadiem. Iespējams, Rīgā ir ievērojami mazāk izteikta tendence mainīt dzīvesvietu. Tādējādi rīdziniekiem, iespējams, aktuālāki var šķist ar kopības sajūtu, piesaisti dzīvesvietai un atsevišķiem sociālās identitātes aspektiem saistītie jautājumi.

Izpētes respondenti Zviedrijā un Latvijā pārstāvēja daudznacionālas grupas. Norčēpingā visaugstāko procentu veidoja respondenti, kas dzimuši Zviedrijā. Rīgā dzīvojošos respondentus pārstāvēja 2 tautības: latvieši un krievi. Visvairāk homogēnā atlase attiecībā uz respondentu nacionālo sastāvu bija vērojama Helsinkos.

4. tabula

Piedalīšanās biežums mikrorajona pasākumos

1. Es piedalījos mikrorajona pasākumos pagājušajā gadā	**Norčēpinga**	**Helsinki**	**Rīga**
Ne reizi	57%	29%	39%
1–3 reizes	30%	51%	48%
Vairāk nekā 4 reizes	12%	20%	12%

Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

Lielākais aktīvo dalībnieku skaits, kas piedalās vietējos pasākumos, dzīvo Helsinkos (20%). Laiku pa laikam vietējos pasākumos piedalās vairums respondentu Helsinkos (71%) un Rīgā (60%). Norčēpingā ir visaugstākais respondentu procents, kuri vispār nav piedalījušies vietējos pasākumos (57%), bet Somijā – gluži otrādi, viszemākais respondentu procents, kuri vispār nav piedalījušies vietējos pasākumos (29%).

Nosacīti var pieņemt, ka visaktīvāk pasākumos, kurus rīko rajonos, piedalās Helsinku iedzīvotāji. Iezīmējas tendence, ka vispasīvākie savu rajonu iedzīvotāji ir zviedri. Tālākajos pētījumos ir jāņem vērā šī tendence un jācenšas noskaidrot tās iemesli, tā kā to ir nepieciešams zināt, lai izmantotu konkrētas metodes un paņēmienus iedzīvotāju iesaistīšanai viņu dzīvesvietas sociālās vides uzlabošanas pasākumos. Visticamāk, iemesli meklējami šo valstu attīstības sociālpolitiskajos un vēsturiskajos aspektos.

5. tabula

Iemesli, kāpēc iedzīvotāji piedalās vietējos pasākumos

2. Ja es piedalos vietējos pasākumos, daru to, jo…	**Norčēpinga**	**Helsinki**	**Rīga**
Pirmā visbiežākā atbilde	63% – būt informētam par sava rajona nākotni	51% – tāpat	53% – tāpat
Otrā biežākā atbilde	42% – atbalstīt vietējos aktīvistus	50% – rast kopības sajūtu	35% – ietekmēt sava rajona nākotni
Trešā biežākā atbilde	39% – izteikt savas idejas un viedokli	41% – atbalstīt vietējos aktīvistus	34% – iepazīt mikrorajonu

Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

Vairums respondentu visās trijās pilsētās atbildēja, ka viņiem patīk būt informētiem par sava rajona nākotni (63% zviedru respondentu, 51% somu respondentu un 53% aptaujas dalībnieku no Rīgas). Turklāt zviedru un somu respondenti vēlas atbalstīt vietējos aktīvistus (42% un 41%).

Somu respondenti vēlas iegūt kopības sajūtu (50%). Latvijas respondenti vēlas ietekmēt mikrorajona nākotni (35%) un izmantot šīs tikšanās, lai vairāk uzzinātu par savu rajonu (34%).

Analizējot atbildes uz šo jautājumu, var pieņemt, ka pozitīvu ietekmi uz rajonu iedzīvotāju aktivitātes paaugstināšanu rada informācijas sniegšana par dzīvesvietas rajonu un tā nākotni, vēlme apvienot cilvēkus jebkāda veida kopējām darbībām, meklēšana un atbalsts, kā arī iespēja paust savu viedokli. Šos pieņēmumus ir nepieciešams pētīt padziļināti – kas katras valsts apstākļos var būt visaktuālākais un nozīmīgākais.

6. tabula

Iemesli, kāpēc iedzīvotāji nepiedalās vietējos pasākumos

3. Ja nepiedalos vietējos pasākumos, nedaru to, jo...	Norčēpinga	Helsinki	Rīga
Pirmā visbiežākā atbilde	44% – nav laika	37% – nav laika	45% – man nav informācijas par šiem pasākumiem
Otrā biežākā atbilde	37% – neesmu ieinteresēts piedalīties	29% – nesaņemu informāciju	32% – nav laika
Trešā biežākā atbilde	18% – es nevaru turp iet	11% – nav pasākumu	27% – nav pasākumu

Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

Par šo jautājumu iegūtie dati attēlo visām trim valstīm raksturīgo situāciju: ekonomiski aktīvā iedzīvotāju daļa ir aizņemti darbā. No citas puses, no psiholoģiskā viedokļa, tas var būt tieši saistīts ar motivāciju, vēlēšanos piedalīties sava rajona sabiedriskajā dzīvē. Interesanti uzzināt zemā motivācijas līmeņa iemeslus, tomēr tam ir nepieciešama padziļināta psiholoģiskā izpēte. Latvijā iegūtie dati var netieši liecināt par zemu komunikācijas līmeni starp rajona iedzīvotājiem, aktīvistiem un pašvaldības pārstāvjiem. Interesanti, kā var izskaidrot to, ka 37 % zviedru aptaujas dalībnieku nav ieinteresēti vietējos pasākumos. Vai tas ir saistīts ar kopības sajūtu, sociālo identitāti vai piesaisti dzīvesvietai?

7. tabula

Iedzīvotāju vēlmes situācijas uzlabošanai rajonā

4. Lai uzlabotu situāciju rajonā, es vēlētos...	Norčēpinga	Helsinki	Rīga
Pirmā visbiežākā atbilde	64% – izteikt savu viedokli aptaujās un anketās	86% – izteikt savu viedokli aptaujās un anketās	37% – sadarboties ar pašvaldību
Otrā biežākā atbilde	39% – būt par novērotāju, neiebilst pret pozitīvu aktivitāti	83% – dot priekšroku vietējai apkalpošanai	36% – izteikt savu viedokli aptaujās un anketās
Trešā biežākā atbilde	38% – rakstīt savu vārdu uz petīcijām	69% – rakstīt savu vārdu uz petīcijām	24% – piedalīties vietējos pasākumos, kas vērsti uz rajona attīstību

Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

Var pieņemt, ka Zviedrijā un Somijā ir izveidojusies tradīcija piedalīties dažādās aptaujās un jaunos pētījumos, un šo valstu iedzīvotāji redz rezultātus un izjūt savas dalības efektivitāti. Respondenti no Rīgas nav tik optimistiski noskaņoti attiecībā uz šādiem pasākumiem. Tā kā aptaujā piedalījās arī vecāka gadagājuma cilvēki, iespējams, rīdziniekiem nav pārliecības, ka viņi jebko spēj mainīt. Tam par iemeslu ir domāšanas veids, kas izveidojies padomju varas periodā, kad valstī valdošais režīms visu lēma cilvēku vietā. 39% zviedru respondentu atbildēja, ka ir gatavi būt vērotāji, pozitīvi novērtējot citu aktivitātes. Iespējamais pieņēmums ir, ka šie respondenti ir apmierināti ar savu dzīvi.

8. tabula

Iespējas piedalīties rajona nākotnes plānošanas procesos

5. Uzskatu, ka man ir pietiekami daudz iespēju piedalīties plānošanas procesos, kas attiecas uz konkrētā rajona nākotni…	**Norčēpinga**	**Helsinki**	**Rīga**
Pirmā visbiežākā atbilde	38% – nav viedokļa	33% – daļēji piekrīt	41% – daļēji piekrīt
Otrā biežākā atbilde	35% – daļēji piekrīt	29% – daļēji nepiekrīt	26% – pilnībā piekrīt
Trešā biežākā atbilde	13% – pilnībā piekrīt	22% – nav viedokļa	10% – pilnībā nepiekrīt

Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

Neraugoties uz iedzīvotāju samērā lielo gatavību piedalīties aptaujās un anketu aizpildīšanā, iedzīvotāji savas iespējas piedalīties rajona attīstībā novērtē salīdzinoši zemu. 48% zviedru respondentu pilnībā vai daļēji piekrīt, ka viņiem ir pietiekami daudz iespēju piedalīties plānošanas procesos, kas attiecas uz rajona nākotnes vīziju, bet 38% nav viedokļa šajā jautājumā. 33% somu respondentu daļēji piekrīt, ka viņiem ir šādas iespējas, 29% tās noliedz, bet 22% nav viedokļa šajā jautājumā.

Interesanti, ka Latvijā tieši pretēji, 67% respondentu optimistiskāk vērtē savas iespējas piedalīties rajona attīstībā, un tikai 10% pilnībā nepiekrīt tam, ka šāda iespēja pastāv. Iespējams, rīdziniekiem vēl trūkst pieredzes un iespēju piedalīties sava rajona attīstībā, tā kā viņiem pietrūkst informācijas par pasākumiem rajonā, vai to nav vispār, kā arī, jāņem vērā arī laika trūkuma faktors. Iespējams, var cerēt uz rīdzinieku vēl neizmantoto potenciālu attiecībā uz savu rajonu attīstību.

9. tabula

Piedalīšanās sava rajona attīstībā svarīgums

	Norčēpinga	Helsinki	Rīga
Visbiežākā atbilde	39% – daļēji piekrīt	41% – pilnībā piekrīt	46% – pilnībā piekrīt
	22% – pilnībā piekrīt	40% – daļēji piekrīt	31% – daļēji piekrīt
	29% – nav viedokļa	13% – nav viedokļa	8% – nav viedokļa

Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

6. Man ir svarīgi piedalīties rajona, kurā dzīvoju, attīstībā…

Visu triju valstu iedzīvotāji pilnībā vai daļēji piekrīt šim apgalvojumam. Iedzīvotāji pamatā vēlas ietekmēt, uzlabot un lepoties ar savu rajonu. 29% no zviedru respondentiem nav viedokļa par to, vai viņiem ir svarīga piedalīšanās sava rajona attīstīšanā. Iespējams, tā ir respondentu daļa, kas ir apmierināti ar saviem dzīves apstākļiem un kuri veido 37% atbilžu uz jautājumu – 4. Lai uzlabotu situāciju rajonā, es vēlētos...

10. tabula

Sadarbības partneri mikrorajona nākotnes perspektīvai

7. Man ir svarīgi, ka, lai uzlabotu konkrētā mikrorajona nākotnes perspektīvas, sadarbojas tādi partneri kā, piemēram:	Norčēpinga	Helsinki	Rīga
Vietējo aktīvistu reitings	1. Dzīvokļu īpašnieki, namīpašnieki, īrnieki 2. Pašvaldību pārstāvji 3. Policija 4. Dzīvokļu īrnieku asociācija 5. Vietējie politiķi	1. Vietējās asociācijas 2. Vietējie politiķi 3. Pašvaldību pārstāvji 4. Kooperatīvi 5. Vietējās firmas	1. Pašvaldību pārstāvji 2. Namīpašnieki 3. Policija 4. Kooperatīvi 5. Pastāvīgie iedzīvotāji

Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

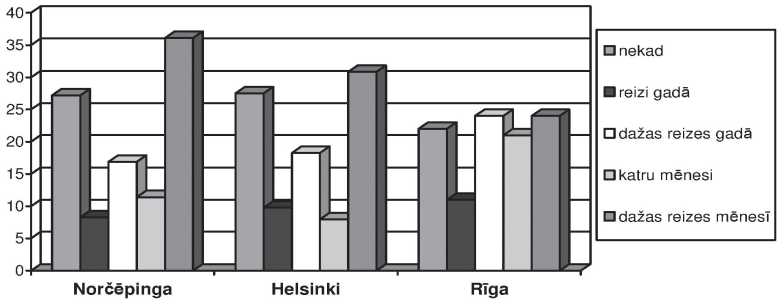
Kopumā atbildes uz jautājumiem iekļauj visus partnerus, kas piedalās rajona attīstībā. Viedoklis par to, kuriem partneriem ir visnozīmīgākā loma rajona attīstībā, Latvijas un Zviedrijas respondentu atbildēs ir līdzīgs. Pirmās trīs vietējo aktīvistu pozīcijas Zviedrijā un Latvijā aizņem dzīvokļu īpašnieki, namīpašnieki un dzīvokļu īrnieki, pašvaldību pārstāvji un policija, iedzīvotāju biedrības un kooperatīvi vai dzīvokļu īrnieku asociācijas.

Somu respondenti augstu vērtē vietējo asociāciju (sabiedrisko organizāciju) un vietējo politiķu lomu. Vietējo aktīvistu reitings trijās izpētes valstīs atšķiras. Tas ir saistīts ar šo valstu sociālekonomiskās attīstības tradīcijām un īpatnībām.

1. attēls

Sazināšanās ar citiem rajona iedzīvotājiem biežums personīgo iemeslu dēļ

8. Es sazinos ar citiem rajona iedzīvotājiem savu personīgu iemeslu dēļ…



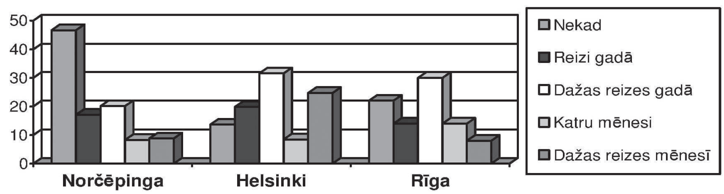
Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

Visās trijās valstīs ir samērā augsts to iedzīvotāju procents, kas nekad nav sazinājušies ar citiem mikrorajona iedzīvotājiem. Var pieņemt, ka lielai iedzīvotāju daļai piemīt zināmas bailes sazināties vai satuvināties ar citiem, šī iedzīvotāju daļa nevēlas būt ieinteresēta.

2. attēls

Sazināšanās ar citiem rajona iedzīvotājiem biežums nama apsaimniekošanas dēļ

9. Es sazinos ar citiem mikrorajona iedzīvotājiem jautājumos, kas saistīti ar nama apsaimniekošanu…



Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

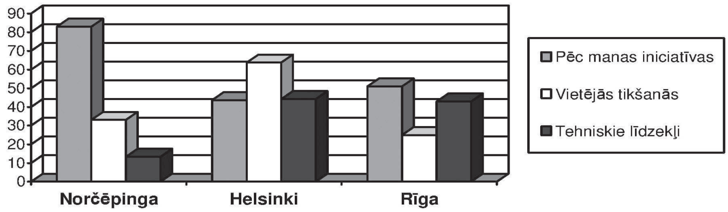
Samērā līdzīgas ir respondentu atbildes Helsinkos un Rīgā: vairums iedzīvotāju savstarpēji sazinās reizi gadā. Norčēpingā vislielākā respondentu grupa nekad nav sazinājusies ar mikrorajona iedzīvotājiem jautājumos, kas saistīti ar nama apsaimniekošanu. Iespējams, tas ir saistīts ar faktu, ka Norčēpingā iedzīvotāji īrē dzīvokļus, kuriem jau ir nodrošināti augstas kvalitātes apsaimniekošanas pakalpojumi.

Šajā pašā jautājumā respondentiem lūdza nosaukt šķēršļus šādai saziņai, un tika saņemtas šādas atbildes, kas caurmērā ir līdzīgas visās 3 valstīs: nepietiekami daudz tikšanās vietu, kultūras un valodas atšķirības, intereses trūkums, informācijas trūkums.

3. attēls

Līdzekļi biežākai sadarvošanai ar kaimiņiem Norčēpingā, Helsinkos, Rīgā

10. Ja man rastos nepieciešamība biežāk sadarboties ar saviem kaimiņiem, es to darītu:



Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

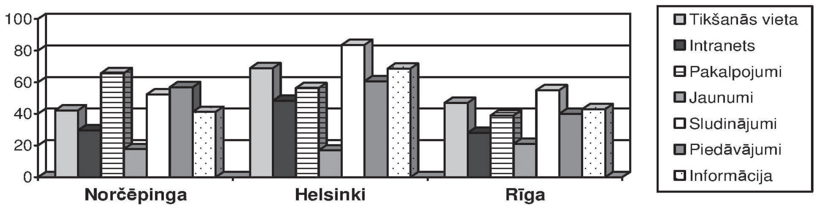
Visbiežāk sastopamās atbildes uz šo jautājumu – pēc manas paša iniciatīvas vai ar vietējās sapulces palīdzību. Šeit var pieņemt, ka būtu lietderīgi organizēt vairāk tikšanos un pasākumu, bet no otras puses, iniciatīvai attiecībā uz savas dzīvesvietas apkārtējās vides radīšanu jānāk no pašiem iedzīvotājiem.

Norčēpingā iedzīvotāji vismazāko nozīmi sadarbībā ar kaimiņiem piešķir tehniskiem līdzekļiem. Internets un tā iespējas Zviedrijā ir tik izplatīts, ka interese par tehniskiem saziņas līdzekļiem ir samazinājusies. Latvijā interese par attīstības stadijā esošajiem interneta tīkliem vēl ir ļoti augsta. Tajā pašā laika samērā augsto rādītāju Helsinkos var skaidrot ar to, ka aptaujā piedalījās gados jaunākas grupas, kā arī ar to, ka vairums respondentu atbildēja uz anketas jautājumiem tiešsaistē. Interesanti, ka somu respondenti lielu nozīmi piešķir vietējām sanākšanām, ko organizē, lai veicinātu sadarbību starp kaimiņiem. Svarīgi, ka tas, iespējams, ir sabiedriskās organizācijas "Helka" darba stratēģijas rezultāts, kuras mērķis ir organizēt pēc iespējas vairāk vietu, kas paredzētas rajona iedzīvotāju sanākšanai.

4. attēls

Pakalpojumi, kurus nepieciešams iekļaut vietējā Internet portālā Norčēpingā, Helsinkos, Rīgā

11. Ja eksistētu vietējais interneta portāls, kurā būtu viegli sazināties, piemēram, ar mikrorajona dzīvokļu īpašniekiem, dzīvokļu biedrību, administrācijas pārstāvjiem vai kaimiņiem, šim portālam vajadzētu iekļaut šādus pakalpojumus, piedāvājumus, informāciju:



Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

Vēlēšanās, lai iedzīvotājiem būtu tikšanās vietas, ir izteikta visās trijās valstīs. Viens no šī jautājuma attīstības variantiem ir regulāra sekošana informācijai mājas lapā.

Tādējādi var atzīmēt šādas mikrorajonu iedzīvotāju komunikācijas īpatnību tendences: iedzīvotāju viedoklim ir raksturīga izteikta polaritāte visās trijās valstīs. Viena iedzīvotāju daļa bieži sazinās ar mikrorajona iedzīvotājiem, cita liela daļa nesazinās vispār. Iespējams, atbildot uz šo jautājumu, vieni respondenti domāja par pazīstamiem kaimiņiem, bet citi – par nepazīstamiem. Tālākajos pētījumos šīs pozīcijas nepieciešams nošķirt.

Tēmu reitings internetā atspoguļo iedzīvotāju prioritātes trijās pilsētās. Norčēpingas iedzīvotāji vēlas saņemt informāciju par pakalpojumu un piedāvājumu klāstu, Helsinku un Rīgas iedzīvotāji vēlas iegūt informāciju par pasākumiem un iedzīvotāju tikšanās vietām.

12.1. Es uzskatu, ka pašlaik šis mikrorajons ir drošs…

Vairums respondentu Norčēpingā un Helsinkos savus rajonus uzskata par drošiem – Norčēpingā 81% respondentu, bet Helsinkos – 76% daļēji vai pilnībā iekrīt šim apgalvojumam. Tomēr Helsinkos ir mikrorajons, kurš, salīdzinot ar diviem citiem rajoniem, šķiet problemātiskāks. Rīgas izpētes reģions šķiet mazāk drošs, jo apgalvojumam piekrīt tikai 49% respondentu.

Attiecībā uz nākotnes attīstības vīziju, prognozes nav optimistiskas. Katrā pilsētā daļa iedzīvotāju piekrīt tam, ka drošība mazināsies (īpaši izteikti tas ir Norčēpingā). Helsinkos situācija ir stabilāka. Jāatzīmē, ka, izvēloties 3 svarīgākās rajona attīstības alternatīvas, drošība ir pirmajā vietā visās trijās pilsētās. Tas norāda, cik nozīmīgi ir strādāt šajā virzienā, lai nodrošinātu rajonu attīstību.

12.2. Es uzskatu savu mikrorajonu par komfortablu

Spriežot pēc atbildēm uz šo apgalvojumu, Norčēpinga šķiet viskomfortablākā – 62% respondentu pilnībā piekrīt šim apgalvojumam. Helsinkos un Rīgā atbilžu sadalījums ir ļoti līdzīgs – vairums respondentu piekrīt apgalvojumam. Tomēr nākotnes vīzija attiecībā uz rajona komfortablumu divās pilsētās ir pilnīgi dažāda – Helsinkos iedzīvotāji nesagaida lielas pārmaiņas, bet Rīgā respondentu prognozes ir pesimistiskas, t.i., respondenti nepiekrīt apgalvojumam, ka rajons kļūs komfortablāks.

Kopumā Norčēpingas iedzīvotāji šķiet vairāk apmierināti ar sava rajona komfortablumu, bet Rīgā un Helsinkos pastāv šī jautājuma attīstīšanas iespējas. Īpaši uz rīcību mudina situācija, kas vērojama Rīgā, kur vairums respondentu nākotnē paredz rajona komforta līmeņa pasliktināšanos.

12.3. Es uzskatu, ka rajonā tiek sniegti pietiekami daudz komercpakalpojumu…

Vislabākā situācija ir vērojama Rīgā, kur 67% respondentu daļēji vai pilnībā piekrīt apgalvojumam. Atbilžu sadalījums Helsinkos ir analoģisks, kur apgalvojumam piekrīt 61% iedzīvotāju. Bet Norčēpingā situācija ir atšķirīga: 44% respondentu piekrīt apgalvojumam, bet salīdzinoši liela aptaujāto iedzīvotāju daļa (25%) nebija gatavi izteikt savu viedokli attiecība uz esošo situāciju.

Nākotnes vīzija dažādās valstīs ir atšķirīga. Helsinkos nav sagaidāmas būtiskas situācijas izmaiņas. Norčēpingā respondenti nav pārliecināti par to, kas notiks nākotnē. Bet Rīgā vispār ir spēcīgi jūtams negatīvais priekšstats par situācijas attīstību.

12.4. Es uzskatu, ka rajonā ir laba kopības sajūta

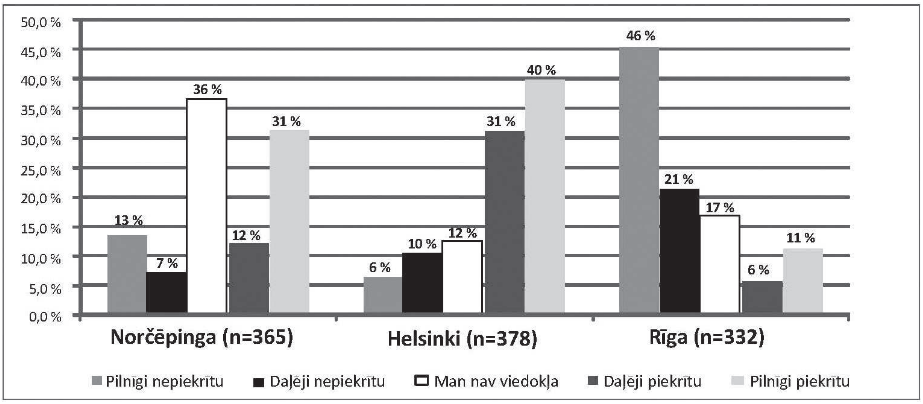
Šis jautājums/apgalvojums respondentiem, šķiet, sagādāja vislielākās grūtības, jo trešdaļai iedzīvotāju Norčēpingā un Helsinkos un ceturtdaļai respondentu Rīgā šajā jautājumā nebija sava viedokļa. Viedoklis šajā jautājumā dažādās pilsētās ir atšķirīgs. Skaidrs ir tas, ka pastāv iespēja attīstīt šo jautājumu padziļināti katrā pilsētā atsevišķi, darbs ar kopības sajūtu ir sava veida izaicinājums, tostarp arī ar projektiem saistītai darbībai. Pilsētās nedaudz atšķiras viedokļi par nākotnes vīziju: Helsinkos respondenti paredz pozitīvu jautājuma attīstību, savukārt Rīgā respondenti uzskata, ka kopības sajūta rajonos turpmāk vēl vairāk pasliktināsies. Norčēpingas respondentu atbildēs nav vērojama kopības sajūtas attīstības tendence, jo lielai daļai respondentu (43%) nav viedokļa šajā jautājumā. Tāpat atšķiras dažādu rajonu iedzīvotāju viedokļi attiecībā uz kopības sajūtu. Tas liecina par to, ka šo mainīgo ietekmē noteikti apstākļi, un ir vēlams veikt šī jautājuma padziļinātu izpēti.

Apkopojot datus par nākotnes vīziju izpētes pilsētās, ir vērojamas šādas tendences: Helsinkos iedzīvotāji nākotnē neparedz jebkādas pārmaiņas vai paredz minimālas pārmaiņas. Norčēpingā ir vērojama iedzīvotāju nenoteiktība attiecībā uz sava rajona nākotni, bet Rīgā dominē pesimistiskas prognozes. Jebkurā gadījumā šajā virzienā ir nepieciešams veikt kopības sajūtas, dzīvesvietas piesaistes, sociālās identitātes psiholoģiskos pētījumus, noteikt, ar kādiem faktoriem ir saistīti šie mainīgie lielumi un kā ietekmēt lielo pilsētu mikrorajonu iedzīvotāju sociālo labklājību.

5. attēls

Attieksme pret dzīves vietas maiņu Norčēpingā, Helsinkos, Rīgā

13. Es domāju, ka 2014. gadā dzīvošu šajā mikrorajonā…



Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

Katrā pilsētā ir iegūts visdažādākais atbilžu sadalījums uz šo jautājumu. Vērojama tendence, ka Helsinku iedzīvotāji ir piesaistīti savam mikrorajonam: tikai 16% paredz, ka viņi pārcelsies no šī rajona, bet 71% domā, ka dzīvos šajā rajonā arī 2014. gadā.

Rīgā ir vērojama pilnīgi pretēja situācija: 67% respondentu uzskata, ka 2014. gadā viņi nedzīvos konkrētajā mikrorajonā, un tikai 17% domā, ka paliks mikrorajonā.

Norčēpingā iedzīvotāji nespēj pateikt, vai viņi dzīvos konkrētajā mikrorajonā pēc 5 gadiem, turklāt 36% respondentu vispār nav viedokļa šajā jautājumā.

Situācija Rīgā atšķiras: vairums respondentu neplāno dzīvot savā rajonā 2014. gadā. No iepriekšējiem jautājumiem izriet, ka rīdzinieki pēc 5 gadiem sagaida negatīvas izmaiņas rajonā (attiecībā uz drošību, komfortu, iedzīvotāju skaitu). Ja salīdzinām jautājumu rezultātus, kļūst skaidrs, kāpēc iedzīvotāji vēlas aizbraukt. Turklāt ir skaidrs, ka Rīgas izpētes rajona iedzīvotāji uzskata par labāku aizbraukt, nekā uzlabot situāciju savā rajonā.

10. tabula

Interesantākās pārmaiņas mikrorajonu attīstībā Norčēpingā, Helsinkos, Rīgā

14. Manuprāt, interesantākās pārmaiņas mikrorajona attīstībā varētu būt...	Norčēpinga	Helsinki	Rīga
Drošība	79,6%	51,4%	87,8%
Infrastruktūras attīstība	19,9%	9,8%	39,5%
Dažādi komercpakalpojumi	33,3%	39,6%	12,7%
Funkcionālie sabiedriskie pakalpojumi	29,4%	34,4%	18,5%
Labs transporta tīkls	25,3%	36,8%	38,1%
Skaista apkārtēja vide	54,5%	50,4%	62,6%
Draudzīgie kaimiņi	45,2%	31,4%	28,7%
Piemērotu dzīvokļu pieejamība	31,3%	21,1%	19,4%

Avots: autoru izstrādāts.

Visās pilsētās respondenti, pirmkārt, atzīmē drošību un labvēlīgu apkārtējo vidi. Drošību kā pirmo prasību atzīmēja Norčēpingā un Rīgā. Helsinkos ir aktuālas abas minētās pozīcijas.

Tas norāda uz rajonu attīstības virzieniem un tēmām, kas ir labvēlīgas, lai iesaistītu iedzīvotājus darbībā. Funkcionālus sabiedriskos pakalpojumus, tostarp komercpakalpojumus, kā rajona attīstības nākotnē nozīmīgu aspektu atzīmēju vairāk respondentu Norčēpingā un Helsinkos, nekā Rīgā. Rīgā pašlaik piedāvātie komercpakalpojumi tika atzīmēti augstāk nekā abās pārējās pilsētās, tomēr ir sagaidāma to negatīva attīstība. Interesanti būtu saprast, kāpēc – iespējams, šeit atspoguļojas iedzīvotāju pesimistiskās prognozes attiecībā uz ekonomisko situāciju Latvijā.

Infrastruktūras attīstību izvēlējās mazāk respondentu Helsinkos, tas ir saprotams, jo infrastruktūra Helsinkos ir labi attīstīta. Divās pārējās pilsētās ir konkrētas iedzīvotāju vēlmes: tramvaju satiksme Norčēpingā un tilts Daugavas šķērsošanai Rīgā.

Norčēpingā kā interesantākās pozīcijas biežāk atzīmēja kopības sajūtas attīstību nākotnē un ērtu dzīvokļu pieejamību.

Secinājumi

1. Pēc respondentu atlases īpatnībām var secināt, ka aptaujas aktīvākie dalībnieki bija sievietes ekonomiski aktīvajā vecumā vai pensionāri.
2. Rīgā (Latvijā) ir mazāk izteikta dzīvesvietas maiņas tendence. Iespējams, rīdziniekiem aktuālāka ir kopības sajūta, piesaiste dzīvesvietai un atsevišķi sociālās identitātes aspekti.
3. Ievērojama respondentu daļa vēlas ne tikai būt informēta par sava rajona nākotni, bet arī ietekmēt to, piedaloties rajona iedzīvotāju sanākšanās. Šādu tikšanos organizēšana ir iedzīvotāju iesaistīšanas efektīvs faktors visās trijās valstīs un tas var kļūt par faktoru, kas ietekmē sociālo identitāti, piesaisti dzīvesvietai un pilsētas iedzīvotāju kopības sajūtu. Aktīvākie rajonu pasākumu dalībnieki dzīvo Helsinkos, un tieši somu respondenti vēlas izjust kopības sajūtu, acīmredzot viņi zina, kas tas ir un cik tas ir nozīmīgi indivīdam.
4. Latvijas atlases dati netieši liecina par zemu komunikācijas līmeni starp iedzīvotājiem, aktīvistiem un municipālās varas pārstāvjiem.
5. Rīgas iedzīvotāji ir samērā optimistiski attiecībā uz savu spēju ietekmēt sava rajona attīstību, gan Latvijas, gan Somijas respondenti vēlas ietekmēt, uzlabot un lepoties ar savu rajonu, bet vairums Zviedrijas respondentu izvēlas novērotāju pozīciju. Visticamāk, tas ir saistīts ar atšķirīgo sociālekonomisko situāciju pētāmajās valstīs.
6. Respondenti visās valstīs atzīmēja nepieciešamību uz rajona attīstību vērstajās kopējās darbībās iesaistīt dzīvokļu, māju īpašniekus, dzīvokļu īrniekus, pašvaldību pārstāvjus, policiju, politiķus, komercstruktūras, t.i., faktiski visus, kas atrodas rajonā.
7. Somu respondenti īpaši augstu novērtē vietējo sabiedrisko organizāciju un vietējo politiķu lomu, kas, iespējams, ir saistīts ar sociālekonomiskajām tradīcijām.
8. Ņemot vērā pētījuma rezultātus, var pieņemt, ka komunikācijas līmeņa paaugstināšana starp rajona iedzīvotājiem ir efektīvāka, ja tās pamatā ir viņu personiskās intereses, tieksmes un ievirzes, nevis risinot viņu īpašuma vai īrētā mājokļa pārvaldīšanas un apkalpošanas jautājumus. Tas nodrošina plašu radošu pieeju, tostarp psiholoģisku, klāstu, lai stiprinātu sociālo identitāti, piesaisti dzīvesvietai un pilsētas iedzīvotāju kopības sajūtu.
9. Par savu rajonu attīstības aktuāliem virzieniem respondenti uzskata kopības, drošības, komforta sajūtas, labvēlīgas apkārtējas vides attīstības un komercpakalpojumu tīkla paplašināšanu, tomēr respondentiem Latvijā ir pesimistiskākas prognozes šajos jautājumos. Iespējams, tieši tāpēc vairums respondentu Latvijā neplāno dzīvot savā rajonā 2014. gadā, t.i., viņi vēlas mainīt dzīvesvietu.

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JAUNO ZINĀTNIEKU TRIBĪNE

Яна Дашина

МОЛОДЁЖНЫЙ НАРКОТИЗМ В РОССИИ И ЛАТВИИ: МЕТОДОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ОСНОВЫ ЭМПИРИЧЕСКОГО ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

По официальным данным, в России и Латвии большая часть потребителей наркотиков приходится на молодёжь. Автор статьи представляет методологический подход к изучению молодёжного наркотизма на постсоветском пространстве. Употребление наркотиков в обеих странах считается правонарушением, поскольку оно противоречит норме, установленной законом. В качестве теоретического фундамента были применены социологические теории девиации Эмиля Дюркгейма, Роберта Мертона и других учёных. Переход к обществу массового потребления повлёк за собой трансформацию ценностей, норм и поведения индивидов. Проведённый историко-социологический анализ позволяет автору защищать тезис о том, что нет достаточного основания считать наркопотребление в России и Латвии криминальной деятельностью. Современные социальные установки молодёжи повлияли на её дифференцированность по отношению к употреблению наркотиков. Появились группы рекреационного наркопотребления. Это побуждает исследователей искать новые причины воспроизводства наркотизма. При общем механизме роста потребления наркотиков в постсоветских странах формальный социальный контроль наркотизма в России и Латвии различен. Для России характерна репрессивная антинаркотическая политика, для Латвии – ограничительная. Теоретическая часть статьи дополняется статистическими данными по России и Латвии и результатами социологического исследования, проведённого на юге Тюменской области в 2010–2013 годах. Результаты исследования показали, что молодёжь осознаёт проблему наркомании как социально значимую. Молодое поколение осведомленнее старшего по различным аспектам наркопотребления. С 2011 года произошло снижение в 2 раза положительной оценки деятельности местных властей по профилактике наркопотребления.

Ключевые слова: наркотизм, девиация, правонарушение, социальный контроль.

Jauniešu narkotisms Krievijā un Latvijā: empīriska pētījuma metodoloģiskais pamatojums

Saskaņā ar oficiāliem rādītājiem, jaunieši ir liela daļa no narkotiku lietotājiem Krievijā un Latvijā. Raksta autors piedāvā metodoloģisku pieeju jauniešu narkomānijas izpētei postpadomju telpā. Narkotiku lietošana abās valstīs tiek uzskatīta par likumpārkāpumu, jo ir pretrunā ar likumdošanā noteiktajām normām. Teorētiskajā pamatojumā tikušas pielietotas Emīla Djurkgeima, Roberta Mertona un citu autoru deviācijas sociālās teorijas. Sabiedrības masveida patēriņš ir radījis izmaiņas indivīdu vērtībās, normās un uzvedībā. Autors aizstāv tēzi, ka narkotiku lietošanas kriminalizācija Krievijā un Latvijā nav pamatota. Mūsdienu jauniešu sociālie ieradumi ir ietekmējuši diferenciāciju attiecībā uz narkotiku lietošanu. Parādījušās tādas lietotāju grupas, kas izmanto narkotikas rekreācijas nolūkā. Tas liek izmeklētājiem meklēt jaunus narkomānijas rašanās iemeslus. Ņemot vērā kopējo narkotiku izmantošanas pieaugumu, postpadomju valstīs ir atšķirīgi formālās sociālās kontroles veidi. Krievijā raksturīga represīva pretnarkotiku politika,

Latvijā – ierobežojoša. Raksta teorētiskā daļa ir papildināta ar Krievijas un Latvijas statistikas rādītājiem, kā arī socioloģiskā pētījuma, kas 2010.–2013. gados veikts Tjumeņas apgabala dienvidos, rezultātiem. Pētījuma rezultāti apliecina, ka jaunieši uzskata narkomānijas problēmu par sociāli nozīmīgu. Jaunā paaudze ir zinošāka par vecāko attiecībā uz dažādiem narkotiku lietošanas aspektiem. Kopš 2011. gada par 2 reizēm samazinājies vietējās varas darbības vērtējums saistībā ar pasākumiem narkotiku lietošanas ierobežošanai.

Atslēgas vārdi: narkotisms, deviācija, likumpārkāpums, sociālā kontrole.

Youth narkotism in Russia and Latvia: Methodological approach to empirical studies

According to official data, in Russia and Latvia the majority of drug users among young people. The author presents a methodological approach to study of youth narkotism in the post-Soviet space. Drug use is considered deviant behavior in both countries, since it contradicts the norms established by law. In the article as a theoretical foundation were used sociological theories about deviation of Emile Durkheim, Robert Merton and others authors. Mass consumption society entailed the transformation in values, norms and behavior of individuals. Author defends the thesis that the antinarcotic legal norm established in Russia, at odds with the social norm youth. Modern attitudes of young people influenced on their differentiation with respect to drug use. There were groups of recreational drug use. It encourages researchers to find new reasons for reproduction of narcotism. The formal social control is different from each other with the general mechanism of drug use growth in post-Soviet countries. Russia is characterized by repressive strategy to counteract drug use, in Latvia is restrictive. The theoretical part of the article is supplemented by statistical data on Russia and Latvia and the results of sociological study conducted in the south of Tyumen region in 2010, 2011, 2013. The results showed that young people recognized a problem of drug addiction as a social important. The younger generation are awareness than older on various aspects of drug use. Since 2011, there was a decrease in 2 times positive evaluation the activities of local authorities for the prevention of drug use.

Key words: narkotism, deviation, delict, social control.

Наркотизм как социальное явление: тенденции в развитии

Тема наркотизма – одна из актуальных в современном мире (UNODC 2014), в том числе в России и Латвии (EMCDDA 2014). Динамика наркотизма связана с объективными противоречиями общественного развития и социокультурными условиями, но степень воздействия факторов различна на разных территориях (Anisimova 2011). В Латвии и России употребление наркотиков – латентное социальное явление. «Благоприятным» периодом для его распространения явился переход стран к капитализму после распада СССР, который повлёк за собой трансформацию норм, ценностей и поведения населения, а также детерминировал новые тенденции в развитии наркотизма. Сегодня наркопотребление – это некая социокультурная норма преимущественно среди молодёжи, распространённая социальная практика (Moiseeva 2012). Популярно рекреационное наркопотребление, которое характеризуется самоконтролем употребления наркотиков и включённостью человека в социум. Изучением таких наркопотребителей давно занимаются исследователи (Zinberg 1984, Hess 1991, Dany 2002).

Основное отличие понятий «наркомания» и «наркотизм» состоит в том, что первое имеет медицинский контекст (наркомания – это болезнь), а второе – социальный. Под наркотизмом понимается относительно распространённое, статистически устойчивое явление, выражающееся в употреблении некоторой частью населения наркотических или токсических веществ и соответствующих последствиях (Gilinskii 2000). Понятие дополняется такими показателями, как распространенность наркопотребления, дифференцированность наркотических практик и т.д. (Gilinskii 2000). Распространённость наркопотребления среди молодёжи свидетельствует о том, что ценности современного поколения входят в противоречие с культурными устоями постсоветских обществ. Это привело к необходимости более глубокого изучения данного противоречия.

Профессор Ю.Ю. Комлев, специализирующийся в области социологии девиантного поведения и теории социального контроля, высказал следующую мысль: «было бы большим упрощением считать, что массовое наркопотребление обусловлено только заболеванием, а индивидуальный наркотический опыт неизбежно ведёт к наркомании. В большинстве своём наркопотребители не идут дальше разовых или эпизодических экспериментов с наркотиками и со временем самостоятельно или под влиянием внешних обстоятельств отказываются от них. Однако эта латентная часть молодёжи, включённая в наркотизацию, фактически остаётся вне сферы внимания и общесоциальной превенции со стороны институтов социализации и социального контроля» (Komlev 2003). Задача социального контроля состоит в поддержании порядка в обществе, регулируя поведение индивидов в соответствии с установленными нормами (в случае наркопотребления – предотвратить его или снизить). В зависимости от инструментов, применяющихся для достижения этой цели, социальный контроль делится на формальный и неформальный.

Формальный социальный контроль применяет формальные (правовые, официальные) методы регулирования, для его реализации разрабатываются правила, законы, указы и т.д., которые носят обязательный характер для всех членов общества, и их выполнение контролируется официальными структурами.

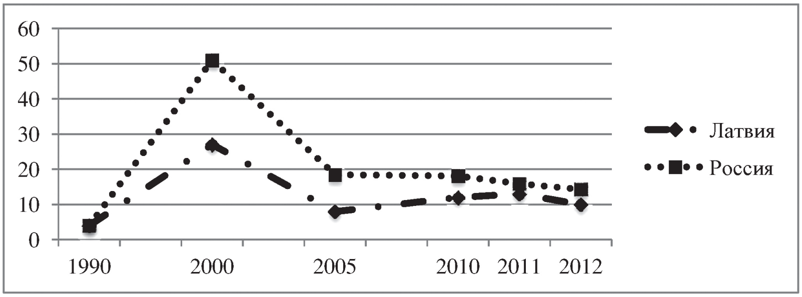
Неформальный социальный контроль использует неформальные (моральные) методы регулирования и реализуется через общественное мнение (например, одобрение или осуждение индивида со стороны семьи, друзей, коллег и т.п.), которое побуждает индивидов к принятию установленных общественных норм (например, через процесс социализации). Также человек может сам контролировать своё поведение.

После распада СССР население Латвии и России оказалось в состоянии дезорганизации (или – аномии, по Дюркгейму): устоявшиеся общественные институты, социальные нормы разрушились, новые только начинали складываться, социальный контроль ослаб. Такой переломный момент способствовал широкому распространению наркомании. В России численность пациентов, которым был впервые поставлен диагноз «наркомания» и «токсикомания», с 1990 по 2000 гг. выросла в 12 раз (Federal'naia sluzhba gosudarstvennoi statistiki 2013), в Латвии – в 6 раз (Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2013).

Хотя до 1990-х годов наркотизм как социальная проблема государством не признавался и в массовом сознании народа соотносился преимущественно с проблемой капитализма западных стран либо с военным прошлым, это не означает, что наркотики не употреблялись. Социологические исследования советского времени показали устойчивость наркотизма, который не становился пережитым и незаметным явлением, как пропагандировалось в обществе (Golant 1929, Sholomovich 1933, Gabiani 1988). Но социально-экономические изменения привели Россию и Латвию к увеличению употребления наркотиков. Ниже представлен график (см. рис. 1), где отображена динамика обеих стран по уровню зарегистрированных больных наркоманией. На конец 2012 года в Латвии зафиксировано 10 человек на 100 тысяч населения, в России – 14.

Рисунок 1

Количество пациентов, которым первый раз в жизни поставлен диагноз «наркомания» и «токсикомания», на 100 тыс. человек (Россия, Латвия)



Источник: график автора с использованием данных Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2012, Федеральная служба государственной статистики 2013.

Эти цифры, которые представляются медицинскими учреждениями, не сообщают нам полной информации о развитии наркотизма – мы имеем дело с «голыми» фактами зарегистрированных случаев лечения наркоманов, но это не отражает реальные социальные процессы.

Несмотря на общий механизм роста наркотизма, в странах действует разный способ формального социального контроля над проблемой. Это является основанием для сравнения России и Латвии.

Формальный социальный контроль над наркопотреблением в России и Латвии

Во времена СССР считалось, что к употреблению наркотиков больше всего склонны маргиналы, для которых характерно отсутствие самоконтроля, нарушение культурных норм общества, исключённость из социальной жизни. Но после распада Советского Союза в России и Латвии все больше распространяется дифференцированное наркопотребление, присущее разным группам населения, в том числе и тем, кто включён в жизнь общества. Растёт число потребителей, имеющих высокий социальный статус и материальное положение выше среднего. Наркотики распространяются в престижных учебных заведениях, в частных школах, колледжах, вузах. Данные социологического исследования, проведённого в трёх крупнейших вузах Екатеринбурга в 1999 году, свидетельствуют о том, что почти половина студентов имеет тот или иной опыт наркопотребления (Malikova 2000).

Сегодня российская наркополитика продолжает строиться на идеях прогибиционизма (системе запретительных мер), цель которого – освободить общество от наркотиков, которые провозглашены угрозой национальной безопасности, а любое наркопотребление (систематическое или эпизодическое) заведомо определяет человека как наркомана (по сути, это клеймение), который становится объектом преследования со стороны государства. По мнению автора, такая политика является односторонней и утопичной, поскольку историко-социологический анализ наркотизма продемонстрировал устойчивость данного социального явления.

Анализ нормативных документов показывает, что в мире существует три основные стратегии формального социального контроля в отношении борьбы с наркотизмом: репрессивная («война с наркотиками» – «War on Drugs»), либеральная («уменьшение вреда» – «Harm Reduction»), рестриктивная (ограничительная) (Komlev 2005).

Репрессивная стратегия рассматривает того, кто употребляет наркотики, в качестве правонарушителя, асоциального типа, который несёт ответственность за своё поведение. Исправление такого человека осуществляется с помощью наказания, изоляции, принудительного лечения. Особенных различий между наркоманом и наркопотребителем нет. Наркотизм в рамках данной стратегии выглядит как устранимое явление (собственно, такие представления существовали и во времена СССР). Данная модель применяется современной Россией, у которой в законодательстве не обозначаются понятия «наркотизм», «наркопотребитель», а используются «наркомания», «больной наркоманией». Статья 4 закона «О наркотических средствах и психотропных веществах» не содержит указания на права человека, а значит правоприменительные практики направлены на борьбу со всеми, кто употребляет наркотики как систематически, так и эпизодически. Данный закон говорит о приоритетности мер по профилактике наркомании (заболевании), но не наркотизма.

В своей книге «Церемониальная химия» американский психиатр Т. Сас доказывает, что наркоманы подвергаются тем же самым гонениям, которым подвергались ведьмы, евреи, цыгане (Szasz 2003). Он приводит в качестве примера ожирение: вместо того, чтобы обратить внимание на нездоровое питание (аналогия: вред, который могут принести наркотики), врачи винят переедание (злоупотребление). По мнению Т. Саса, социальный запрет на ожирение нужно рассматривать как моральное указание, а не как медицинскую рекомендацию.

Либеральная стратегия рассматривает наркомана как больного человека, которого нужно лечить. Употребление наркотиков – добровольный выбор человека, и его вероятность стать наркоманам такая же, как и, например, стать алкоголиком, употребляя спиртное. Употребление наркотиков вполне может не сказаться на социализации индивида: он не становится «дном» общества, не бросает семью, делает карьеру. В рамках данной стратегии наркотизм полностью не устраним, но с помощью антинаркотической политики можно снизить вред от употребления наркотиков. Либеральная модель зачастую разрешает частичную легализацию употребления наркотиков (преимущественно, марихуаны) и небольшое количество для хранения. В этом направлении развиваются многие страны Европы (Нидерланды, Швейцария, Германия и др.), некоторые штаты США. Но такая модель политики вряд ли приемлема для России, поскольку пока слишком сильны массовые установки и ожидания (которые активно устанавливаются властными структурами и средствами массовой информации) относительно эффективности репрессий.

Другой путь формального социального контроля над наркопотреблением предлагает рестриктивная модель, которая особенно удачно реализовывается в Швеции (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2007). Подход данной стратегии занимает промежуточное положение между репрессивной и либеральной моделью, поскольку включает в себя комбинацию жёстких мер с мерами дифференцированной социально-медицинской профилактики. Употребление наркотиков запрещено. С точки зрения рестриктивной стратегии наркоман – это больной человек, который нуждается в различных формах лечения и ресоциализации. Наркоман и наркопотребитель – два разных понятия. Индивиды второго типа – это объекты превентивной антинаркотической работы с целью снижения спроса на наркотики и минимизации вреда от их употребления. Наркотизм полностью не устраним, но поддаётся контролю и ограничению.

Рестриктивная стратегия социально ориентирована и её приоритетом является профилактика информационного, воспитательного, просветительского типа, мероприятия по снижению вреда при запрете легализации всех наркотиков и социальная политика, направленная на устранение социальной исключённости, безработицы, плохих условий жизни, труда, организации досуга. Данный подход более гибок, поскольку позволяет использовать программы замещающей терапии тяжёлых форм наркомании, обмен шприцев и другие социально-медицинские мероприятия по снижению вреда. Такая модель, по мнению автора, реализовывается и в Латвии. Использование подобной стратегии в России позволило бы снизить латентность наркотизма, повысить эффективность антинаркотической работы за счёт активной общесоциальной профилактики, а также позволило бы направлять финансовые вложения не столько в уголовное преследование и содержание наркопотребителей в тюрьмах, сколько на социальные и медицинские мероприятия.

Созданная в 2011 году общественная Глобальная комиссия по вопросам наркополитики, экспертная группа при ООН (Global Commission on Drug Policy), на основе всесторонней информации об эффективных способах уменьшить вред, который причиняют наркотики употребляющим их людям, предлагает изменить направление наркополитики в мире: «Стали очевидны как неэффективность существующей системы, так и необходимость – и возможность – изменений» (Global Commission on Drug Policy 2014). Государствам предлагают сконцентрировать силы на заботе о здоровье населения и перенаправить финансирование и политическую поддержку с силовых структур к разным видам научно-обоснованного лечения и профилактики наркомании. Эксперты Глобальной комиссии признают, что социальные кампании типа «Скажи НЕТ наркотикам» неэффективны: «Молодые люди просто не верят таким лозунгам, особенно если власти применяют карательные санкции» (Global Commission on Drug Policy 2014).

Страх не может искоренить наркотики из жизни общества. Их употребление не исчезает, а принимает более сложные формы: люди изобретают такие наркотики, которые состоят из компонентов, не внесённых в список запрещённых, но являющихся более опасными по своему химическому воздействию (например, «спайсы», которые потрясают своим негативным воздействием многие страны, в том числе Россию и Латвию). Жёсткие подходы в отношении наркопотребителей являются препятствием в обращении к услугам здравоохранения, приводят к стигматизации и наклеиванию «ярлыков» на них.

Взгляд на наркотизм с позиции теорий о девиантном поведении

В России и Латвии употребление запрещённых законом наркотиков определяется как административное правонарушение (КОАП РФ Статья 6,9; КОАН Латвии 46 Статья), которое влечёт за собой штраф либо арест. Социология определяет любое правонарушение как девиантное поведение (хотя не каждая девиация – это правонарушение). Научный социологический интерес к изучению наркотизма связан с теориями девиантного поведения (Merton 1992, Durkgeim 1994). Попробуем найти грань, отделяющую девиантность от преступления, чтобы понять, оправдана ли криминализация употребления наркотиков.

Французский социолог Эмиль Дюркгейм подчёркивал, что противоречивые регуляции поведения членов общества приводят общество к аномии, когда старые нормы и ценности не соответствуют реальности, а новые еще не утвердились. Социальные нормы разрушаются, люди теряют ориентиры и это способствует девиантному поведению (Durkgeim 1994). По его мнению, существовать без проявлений девиаций общество не может, так как они играют определённую роль в развитии общества и являются нормальной особенностью социальной жизни. Но аномичное состояние повышает их распространённость.

Дополнил теорию Роберт Мертон (Merton 1992), полагавший, что девиация – неизбежная реакция индивида на ситуацию, когда в обществе имеется разрыв между установленными культурой целями и социально одобряемыми средствами их достижения. На примере американского общества XX века учёный показал противоречие между принятой в культуре ценностью – достижение финансового успеха – и законными способами её достижения, что повлекло за собой всплеск девиаций.

Мертон построил типологию девиантного поведения и выделил следующие виды: бунт, инновация, ритуализм, ретретизм, последний из которых (куда учёный отнёс наркоманию) характеризуется отрицанием целей общества и способов их достижения. Данная теория применительно к анализу наркоситуации в России и Латвии имеет критически осмысленные постулаты. В контексте данной теории можно исследовать наркоманов, которые стали «заложниками» болезненной тяги к употреблению наркотиков, что повлекло за собой отвержение социальных норм, исключённость из социальной жизни, совершение уголовных преступлений, чтобы добыть деньги на наркотики. Но развитие наркотизма указывает на наличие дифференцированных наркотических практик, включающих в себя не только «социально отречённых» наркопотребителей, но и «социально интегрированных», которые совмещают и наркотики, и поставленные культурой цели.

Абсолютно типологизировать девиантное поведение трудно. Как отметил английский социолог Энтони Гидденс, «что считать отклонением, зависит от времени и места; поведение, «нормальное» при одном наборе культурных установок, будет расценено как «отклоняющееся» при другом» (Giddens 1999). Это касается, в том числе, и отношения к наркотикам: всю историю они сопровождали человечество, их употребление – устойчивое социальное явление. Еще в древних цивилизациях наркотики употребляли в ритуальных и терапевтических целях (например, листья коки, корень мандрагоры употребляли в целях проведения таинственных обрядов, снятия боли, восстановления сил и т.д.). С развитием общества наркотики стали использоваться в медицине. Глобальной социальной проблемой наркопотребление становится в конце XIX в. (ввиду опиумных войн). Но на сегодняшний день некоторые страны пересмотрели свою политику и сняли запрет с употребления марихуаны.

Долговечность наркопотребления свидетельствует о том, что оно выполняет определённые функции в жизни общества. Как и алкоголь, наркотики выполняют следующие функции: анестезирующую (снятие, уменьшение боли), седативную (успокаивающую, снижающую напряжение), психостимулирующую (как чай и кофе), интегративную (объединяющую людей, как «трубка мира»). Потребление наркотиков также может являться видом социального протеста, средством идентификации с субкультурой, социальным статусом. Современное общество породило гедонистическое потребление наркотиков, а также потребление как бегство от стандартизации жизни (Bodriiar 2006).

То, что мы называем плохим или хорошим поведением, исходит от тех, кто имеет власть устанавливать правила. Отношение к наркотикам – это результат социального конструирования: государственная политика и мнение разных общественных групп по отношению к наркотикам различаются во времени и в пространстве – от одобрения, терпимости до полного неприятия, запрета и преследования. Рассмотрим случай с марихуаной. Почему выпить бокал вина, чтобы снять чувство усталости социально допустимо, а выкурить марихуану для той же цели – нет? В Индии, где употребление алкоголя регламентируется, есть один из видов марихуаны («bhang»), который разрешён для употребления религией (Kravchenko 2005). Напротив, в России и Латвии сегодня употребление марихуаны считается незаконным, а алкоголь свободно и широко употребляется, хотя он несёт в себе не меньше опасностей для здоровья, но различия состоят не в характере воздействия, а в правовой оценке. Заметим, что численность пациентов, состоящих на учете в лечебно-профилактических организациях с диагнозом «алкоголизм» и «алкогольный психоз» в 2012 году составила: в России – 1261 человек на 100 тыс. человек (тогда как с диагнозом наркомании – 228 на 100 тыс.) (Federal'aia sluzhba gosudarstvennoi statistiki 2013), в Латвии – 1134 на 100 тыс. (наркоманов – 153 на 100 тыс.) (Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2012). Действительно, чрезмерное употребление наркотиков – равно как и алкоголя – можно считать правонарушением ввиду нарушения культурной нормы, причинения вреда физическому и психическому здоровью. Но полная криминализация дифференцированных и эпизодических наркопотребителей не оправдана. Почему индивид не считается способным сам решать: употреблять или не употреблять наркотик так же, как и законные продукты?

Конечно, законодательную границу, устанавливающую рубеж перехода допустимого наркопотребления в правонарушение, должны определить законодатели после дисскусий в обществе, комплексных научных исследований, тщательного анализа зарубежного опыта. Пока же полный запрет на употребление наркотиков основан на устоявшемся стереотипе о злонамеренности всех наркопотребителей. Нельзя оставлять без внимания факторы социокультурного характера, которые оказывают влияние на воспроизводство и тенденции в развитии наркотизма.

С помощью теорий девиантного поведения можно описать специфику наркотизма в разные периоды исторического времени в разных точках мира, раскрыть формы современного наркопотребления и т.д. Сравнив Россию и Латвию, можно сделать вывод, что социально-экономические потрясения сыграли большую роль в повышении уровня наркотизма в период 1990–2000-х гг. На сегодняшний день в изучаемых автором странах реализуется разная наркополитика и, судя по статистическим данным, в Латвии, по сравнению с Россией, она оказывается более сдерживающей по отношению к наркопотреблению. Это является предпосылкой для продолжения изучения наркотической ситуации в обеих странах с помощью социологического исследования, которое позволило бы получить более достоверную информацию по конкретным аспектам наркотизма. Например, можно выяснить и сравнить отношение латвийского и российского населения к наркопотреблению, определить информированность о наркотических средствах и т.д. На основании полученных данных можно провести сравнение «характера» наркотизма двух стран и обозначить важные моменты в противодействии ему.

Ниже представлен краткий анализ результатов исследования наркоситуации на примере юга Тюменской области, проведённого при участии автора статьи. Статистические данные соотнесены с результатами опроса местного населения.

По данным статистики, уровень преступности в сфере незаконного оборота наркотиков на юге Тюменской области – самый высокий после краж. В 2013 году он вырос на 20% по сравнению с 2012 годом и составил 7914 преступлений (561 преступление на 100 тысяч человек). Растущий уровень преступности увеличивает риск первой пробы наркотиков в регионе.

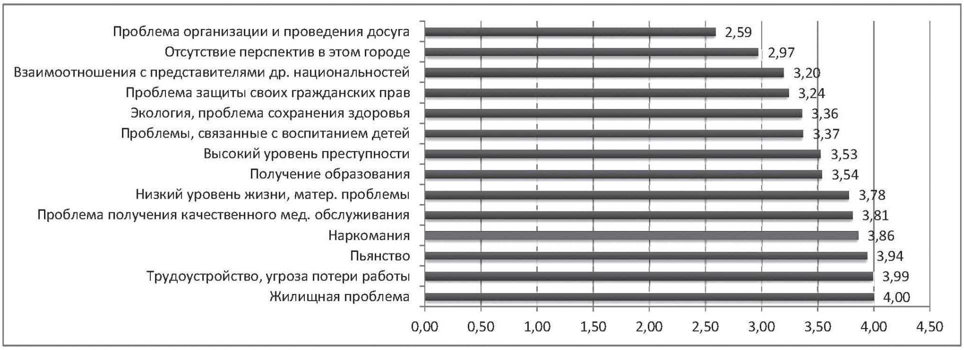
Для оценки масштаба распространённости наркотизма в Тюменской области автор использует результаты исследования, проведенного в рамках проекта «Социокультурная эволюция России и её регионов». В 2013 году опрошен 1271 человек на юге Тюменской области, выборка соответствует структуре генеральной совокупности и репрезентирует население по половозрастной, образовательной и поселенческой (городское/сельское население) структуре (Romashkina, Davydenko 2011). В целях анализа автором были выделены две подвыборки: молодёжь (18—30 лет) и взрослое поколение (31 год и старше).

Также эмпирической базой послужили мониторинги тюменской молодёжи 2010—2013 гг. Объём выборки (18—30 лет) в 2010 году составил — 927, в 2011 — 1025, в 2013 — 759 человек. Выборка квотировалась по полу, возрасту и населённому пункту, ошибка по одному признаку не превышает 4%.

Для оценки актуальности проблемы в сознании молодого поколения в исследовании задавался вопрос: «Какие проблемы Вы считаете наиболее острыми (актуальными) для современной молодёжи?» (см. рис. 2). Построение рейтинга осуществлялось на основе оценки актуальности: каждой проблеме присваивался ранг от 1 (проблема совершенно не актуальна) до 5 (максимально значима). Итоговый показатель рассчитывался как среднее значение.

Рисунок 2

Рейтинг проблем по степени актуальности для тюменской молодежи, 2013, n = 759 человек



Источник: диаграмма составлена автором на основе данных социологического исследования юга Тюменской области 2013.

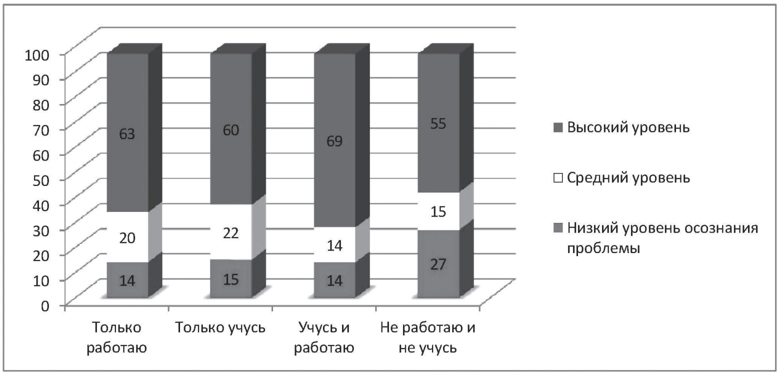
Одной из наиболее социально значимых проблем для молодёжи является наркомания — она занимает 4-е место. 63% отметили ее «высокую» и «очень высокую» актуальность. По сравнению с мониторингами прошлых лет, уровень остроты проблемы опустился на ранг ниже. 16% высказались за то, что проблема вовсе не значима либо мало значима.

Интересно заметить, что пьянство стоит выше (т.е. актуальней) наркомании как социальная проблема для молодёжи.

Значимым фактором, определяющим низкий уровень осознания проблемы, оказалась незанятость тюменской молодежи в трудовой или учебной деятельности (см. рис. 3).

Рисунок 3

Осознание актуальности проблемы наркомании в разрезе занятости тюменской молодежи, %, 2013, n = 759 человек



Источник: график составлен автором на основе данных социологического исследования юга Тюменской области 2013.

Оценивая степень включённости в проблему употребления наркотиков, выявлено, что четверть респондентов (23%) так или иначе столкнулась с проблемой (проблема коснулась семьи, друзей, знакомых или каким-либо другим образом). Наличие собственного опыта употребления отметили 2% респондентов.

Принимая в расчет латентный характер наркотизма, ожидаемо, что не все респонденты смогут ответить на прямой вопрос о столкновении с наркотиками. Для получения более точной информации используются косвенные вопросы об информированности о людях, употребляющих и/или распространяющих наркотики, о местах продажи, о разновидностях и названиях наркотиков. Уровень информированности – это первая предпосылка формирования спроса на продукт.

По всем опрашиваемым пунктам молодёжь оказалась более информированной, чем старшее поколение. Знают либо слышали: о последствиях употребления наркотиков – 89% молодых жителей и 85% старшего поколения; о разновидностях и названиях наркотиков – 73% молодежи и 54% взрослых.

Как правило, те, кто сталкивался с проблемой наркомании, больше информирован о последствиях употребления наркотиков. Выявлено, что среди молодых людей, так или иначе сталкивавшихся с проблемой наркотизма, 96% знают о последствиях, а среди тех, кто не сталкивался – 88%.

35% молодых людей отметили, что знают людей, употребляющих наркотики. 11% знают места продажи наркотиков, 8% осведомлены о тех, кто их распространяет. То есть, примерно каждый 3-й молодой тюменец знает того, кто употребляет наркотики, каждый 10-й – информирован о том, где и у кого можно приобрести наркотики. Полученные данные подтверждают гипотезу о том, что наркотизм в регионе распространён и касается преимущественно молодёжи.

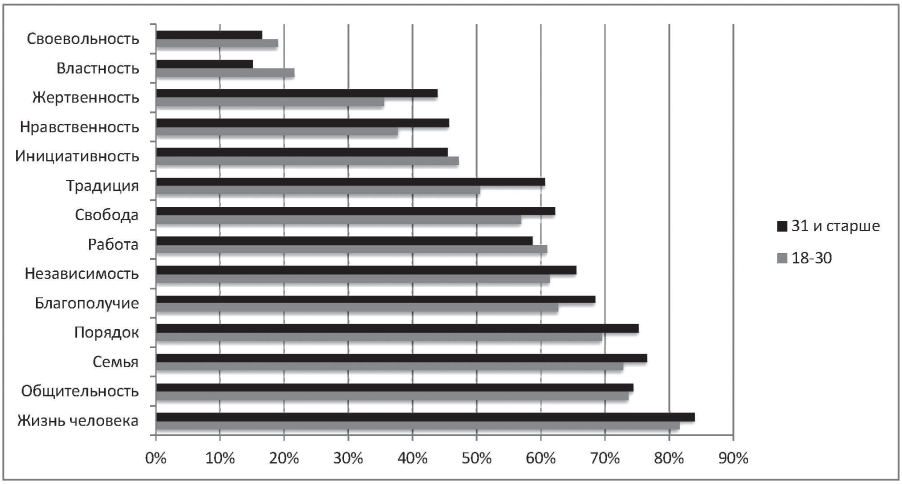
Одной из задач вышеупомянутого социологического исследовании наркотизма было определение степени актуальности наркотизма в сознании молодёжи и уровень её включённости в проблему. Также представлялось важным определить социальные ценности, нормы, позиции молодёжи, её отношение к власти, осуществляющей деятельность по профилактике наркотизма.

По данным тюменского исследования, в когорте от 18 до 30 лет наблюдается более высокая, чем у старшего поколения, поддержка такой ценности, как властность: её отметили 22% молодого поколения и 15% старшего (см. рис. 4).

При этом у молодёжи ниже, чем у взрослого поколения, поддержка таких ценностей как традиция (отметили 51% молодёжи и 61% старшего поколения), жертвенность (36% молодёжи и 44% взрослых) и нравственность (38% молодёжи и 46% старшего поколения) (Romashkina, Davydenko 2013).

Рисунок 4

Поддержка ценностей среди молодого (18–30 лет) и взрослого поколения (31 год и старше) юга Тюменской области, %, 2013 год, n = 1271 человек



Источник: диаграмма составлена автором на основе данных социологического исследования юга Тюменской области 2013.

Оценивая эффективность работы местных властей по профилактике наркомании в своем городе (районе) с позиции молодёжи, автор констатирует, что большинство молодых людей в 2013 году оценили эту работу нейтрально, хотя велика доля тех, кто оценивает деятельность властей негативно. 35% дали нейтральную оценку: работа ведётся удовлетворительно, 22% считают, что работа ведётся плохо, это разовые акции, которые не приносят должного результата, 11% отметили, что деятельность властей плоха, практически ничего не делается. 19% уверены в том, что делается много для решения проблемы, и всего лишь 5% считают, что делается всё возможное и есть конкретные результаты.

Наблюдается низкая заинтересованность молодёжи в содействии социальным проектам: 22% респондентам любопытен проект «Молодёжь против наркотиков» и всего лишь 14% хотели бы принять в нём участие. Наибольшую заинтересованность высказали молодые люди в возрасте от 18 до 22 лет – 22% молодых респондентов готовы принять участие в проекте (тогда как от 23 до 30 лет – 10%).

Получается, что при достаточном уровне осведомленности о наркотизме, молодёжь низко оценивает участие государства в противодействии наркотикам. Значит, в обществе назревает противоречие между отношением к сложившейся наркоситуации и тому, какие действия предпринимают власти.

Значит ли это, что нынешняя наркополитика России не соответствует реалиям? Каков взгляд молодёжи на существующий формальный социальный контроль? Каково вообще отношение молодого поколения к наркотикам? Ответы на эти и многие другие вопросы представляются важными для понимания тенденций современных социальных процессов. При этом опроса общественного мнения недостаточно для того, чтобы всесторонне изучить ситуацию и дать рекомендации по профилактике наркотизма. Поскольку наркотическая практика существует в социокультурном контексте, в который включены как потребители наркотиков, так и те, кто их не употребляет (Dany, Apostolidis 2002), подтверждается важность данного исследования, направленного на разработку методологии для изучения молодёжного наркотизма и выявления причин воспроизводства данного явления в современных условиях развития общества.

Краткая программа социологического изучения молодёжного наркотизма

Изучение наркотизма можно осуществить с помощью различных социологических методов: анализ макроданных государственного контроля наркотической ситуации; наблюдение (например, за молодёжью в ночных клубах), формализованное интервью, глубинные интервью с экспертами, с потребителями наркотиков и др. Методика социологического исследования применяется для изучения социальных индикаторов наркотизма (социально-демографические характеристики потребителей наркотиков, «бывших» потребителей и тех, кто не употреблял наркотики; особенности социализации; ценностные установки и пр.). Использование разных методов позволит приблизиться к реальной картине происходящих процессов, разделить наблюдаемую совокупность молодёжи на группы, упорядоченные по степени вовлечённости в употребление наркотиков. При этом те, кто попадёт в группу рекреационных потребителей, окажутся особенно важными для получения данных о природе наркотизма и понимания социальных механизмов его функционирования. Результаты такого исследования послужат основой для проведения рациональной антинаркотической политики.

Объект исследования – российская и латвийская молодежь от 18 до 30 лет, эксперты. **Предмет** – молодёжный наркотизм в России и Латвии.

Основная гипотеза исследования: неодинаковый социальный контроль в России и Латвии по-разному действует на развитие молодёжного наркотизма.

Цель исследования: изучить отношение молодёжи, а также экспертов в России и Латвии, к употреблению наркотиков и осуществляемым стратегиям формального социального контроля.

Задачи исследования:

1) оценить уровень актуальности проблемы в сознании молодёжи;
2) определить её информированность относительно названий, доступности наркотиков, последствий употребления;
3) выяснить степень включённости молодёжи в наркопотребление;
4) выявить её социальные установки к употреблению наркотиков;
5) обозначить отношение молодёжи к формальному социальному контролю над употреблением наркотиков;
6) измерить эффективность антинаркотических стратегий с точки зрения экспертов.

Факторная операционализация:

Основными детерминантами молодёжного наркотизма являются факторы внешней среды и личностные факторы (пол, возраст, образование, род занятий, материальное положение, социальные установки, социальное окружение индивида).

К факторам внешней среды относятся: культурные (идеология), экономические (цена на наркотики, доступность их приобретения), правовые (уголовные, административные законы), социальные (превентивные меры, реализуемые в регионе), медицинские (здравоохранение, профилактика).

Основные выводы

Историко-социологический анализ показывает, что наркотизм является устойчивым социальным явлением, которое существовало с начала человеческой цивилизации и включает в себя не только количество больных наркоманией, но и вид потребляемого наркотика, социально-демографический состав потребителей, отношение к наркотикам, формы социального контроля и т.д. Поэтому, исследуя наркотизм, ученым следует иметь ввиду дифференцированность наркотических практик, а также социокультурный контекст, в котором наркопотребление может быть признано не просто девиацией, но и правонарушением.

Рост девиантного поведения в обществе имеет глубинный смысл – значит, есть причина, по которой происходит его воспроизводство не столько за счет индивидуальных отклонений, сколько на социетальном уровне.

Современные социально-экономические процессы детерминировали изменения в поведении людей. В России и Латвии на смену общества дефицита пришло общество потребления, которое имеет свою специфику и в наркопотреблении. Сформировались рекреационные группы, которые контролируют потребление, остаются включёнными в общественную жизнь, но поведение которых противоречит культурным нормам.

Социальный контроль, осуществляемый на территории изучаемых автором постсоветских стран, отличается друг от друга, хотя обе приравняли наркопотребление к преступному поведению. Прогибиционизм в России ведет к тому, что любые люди, употребляющие наркотики, независимо от степени пристрастия к ним и социального включения/исключения, становятся объектом преследования и клеймения. В Латвии рестриктивная модель, занимающая промежуточное положение между репрессивной и либеральной, социально ориентирована и позволяет подходить к наркотизму адекватней, поскольку наркоман и наркопотребитель – это разные объекты, требующие дифференцированные меры различной социально-медицинской профилактики. Сегодня необходимо понимать, какая антинаркотическая политика способствует реальному сокращению потребления, какая из них эффективней реализует профилактические меры. Актуальной задачей в разработке профилактических мер является получение своевременной комплексной информации, отражающей реальные процессы, связанные с наркотизмом.

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ZINĀTNISKĀ DZĪVE

Vera Boronenko, Dora Medved, Sandro Bozanic, Vedrana Justinic

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE "CONTEMPORARY ISSUES OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT"*

International scientific Conference "Contemporary issues of local economic development" was organized by the Center for Local Economic Development; Faculty of Economics; University of Rijeka (Croatia) from September 8th – 10th, 2014., in Rijeka. Main organizer of the Conference was Saša Drezgić, Ph.D., Director of the Center for Local Economic Development, Assistant professor at the University of Rijeka; Faculty of Economics, and Vice-editor in Chief for the Proceedings of Rijeka's Faculty of Economics: Journal of Economics and Business.

The Conference aimed to contribute to the dissemination of knowledge and facilitate discussion regarding wider issues of local economic development. The need for additional efforts towards this scientific field was recognized by the Faculty of Economics, and was the reason for founding the Center for local economic development to play the role of a forerunner of modern theory and practice of local government affairs. The most important contribution of the Conference was to gather prominent scientists in the wider field of local economic development, which should provide transfer of knowledge to the young scientists but also to entrepreneurs and local government representatives. The Conference covered wider range of issues of local economic development:

- Contemporary theory of local economic development;
- Local investment climate issues;
- Investments in physical (hard) infrastructure;
- Role of clusters;
- Local government finance issues;
- Globalization and local economic development;
- Policy issues at the local government level;
- ICT at the local government level;
- Other topics related to the main theme.

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Key speakers and moderators of panel discussions of the Conference were Professor Robert Huggins (School of Planning and Geography, Cardiff University, United Kingdom) with the presentation “The Global Competitiveness of Regions”, Dr. Anwar Shah (Southwestern University of Finance and Economics, Chengdu, China; Brookings Institution Washington, DC; World Bank) with the presentation “Decentralized Provision of Public Infrastructure and Corruption”, Professor Dao-Zhi Zeng (Graduate School of Information Sciences Tohoku University, Japan) with the presentation “Capital Mobility and Spatial Inequalities”. The following project activities of the Center of Local Economic Development (CLER Ltd.) were presented within the plenary session of the Conference: EFRISTAT, EFRIGIS and BFC. EFRISTAT is a unique example of a database containing relevant, insightful and actionable data and indicators available to cities, municipalities and entrepreneurs who need information related to the local economy, budget, investment locations and information regarding social, demographic, environmental and all other parameters which characterize a specific local government unit. EFRIGIS is a platform that enables intelligent spatial planning of local government units for the purposes of facilitating sustainable growth. BFC SEE program is the first regional project encouraging competition among municipalities, geared towards acquiring new investments, strengthening economic relations within the region, and contributing to the creation of recognizable common standards for assessing the potential of doing business at the local, regional and international level.

The selected papers of the Conference were published in the special issue of the internationally acclaimed Proceedings of Rijeka Faculty of Economics: Journal of Economics and Business.

The author of this informative material in cooperation with co-authors from Daugavpils University Professor Vladimirs Mensikovs and Dr. Olga Lavrinenko contributed to the Conference and the Proceedings with the research “The Impact of EU Accession on the Economic Performance of the Countries’ Internal (NUTS 3) Regions”. The research objective of the presented study was to find out the consequences of the EU accession on internal regions in terms of regional convergence or divergence. The conception of analysis is based on the convergence theory which states that all industrial systems would converge because of the determinant effects of technological development. The samples for empirical analysis include NUTS 3 regions within the “new” EU countries (the countries of the former socialist bloc that entered the EU in 2004. and 2007.) and Croatia as a “control country”, the economic performance of which is measured by real GDP per capita for 2000 – 2011, the applied method is – basic panel data analysis. The main findings of the research allow to argue that positively perceived trend of actual declining of economic performance’s interregional variation within the “new” EU countries is not the consequence of joining the EU. The basic conclusion with regard to the results of the research is that the “new” EU countries are undergoing a natural inverted U-shaped trend of changes of their economic performance’s interregional variation that depends both on the country average GDP’s per capita growth and on the length of the period of self-development under the conditions of market economy rather than on the factor of unionization as such within the EU.

All presentations from the Conference were presented within two main topics: *Contemporary local economic development issues* and *Political economy aspects of local economic development*. This Conference has created a great platform for sharing actual research findings, methodologies and research techniques with scientists from very different countries of the world.

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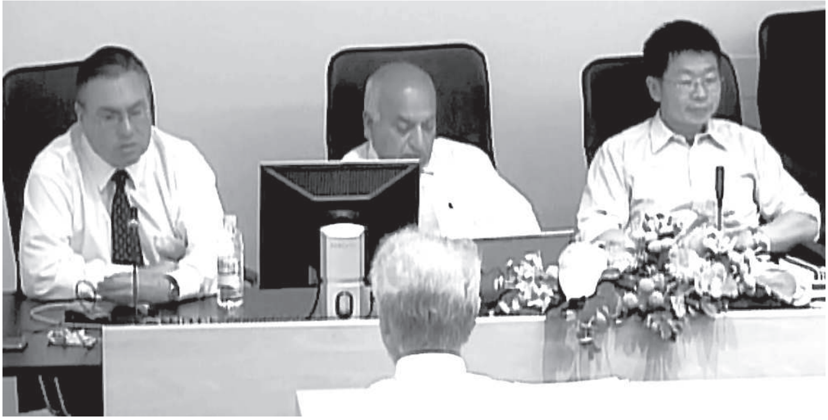
Dr. Saša Drezgić opens the Conference



Key speakers of the Conference: Professor Robert Huggins (Cardiff University, United Kingdom), Dr. Anwar Shah (Southwestern University of Finance and Economics, China; Brookings Institution Washington, DC; World Bank), Professor Dao-Zhi Zeng (Tohoku University, Japan)

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Articles in collections:

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

Articles in magazines:

Bela B. (1997) 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)

Articles in newspapers:

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Materials from the Internet:

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

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