

UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

ADVANCED SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE RIGA READINGS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES



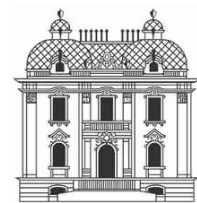
Riga Readings in Social Sciences



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Civil Society, Inequality, and Post-Crisis Transformations, November 23, 2017

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RIGA READINGS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

ADVANCED SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
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FROM THE EDITOR

Dear Reader,

The Advanced Social and Political Research Institute, Faculty of Social sciences, University of Latvia annually organizes the international scientific conference Riga Readings in Social Sciences.

The 1st RRSS conference (November 23, 2017) explored different transformations of civic society and various dimensions of inequality in contemporary Europe. Key-note speeches were devoted to the different aspects of social inequality. Prof. Triin Vihalemm (University of Tartu, Estonia) analyzed *Media discourses during economic crisis 2008 in the context of lifestyle politics of East-European transformation societies*. Prof. Paweł Starosta (University of Lodz, Poland) highlighted *Civic participation across Europe in the second decade of XXI century*. Prof. Robert van Voren (Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania) reflected on *The influence of financial crisis and migration on Europe's society, economics, politics, media and culture*. Assoc. Prof. Baiba Bela (University of Latvia) in her presentation *Vulnerability of Voice: Construction of Adversity in Women's Stories in Latvia* looked at social inequality from the gender perspective.

The 2nd RRSS conference (November 22-23, 2018) Baltic Sea Region: Hundred Years On. Contributions from interdisciplinary areas of studies (regional development, human development, memory studies, gender studies, social anthropology etc.) were accepted from researchers not only from the Baltic region, but also from University of Oxford (UK), Yale University (USA), University of Hamburg (Germany), Nazarbayev University (Kazakhstan), University of California, Berkeley (USA). As key note speakers to the 2nd RRSS were invited high-level academics such as Dr. Corneliu Bjola (Oxford University), Dr. Daunis Auers (University of Latvia), Dr. Tom Schumacher (University of Kiel), Dr. Kazimierz Musiał (University of Gdańsk).

Dr. Corneliu Bjola's (University of Oxford) presented his reflections on *The digital transformation of diplomacy/social sciences*. Digital diplomacy, the use of digital technologies in support of diplomatic objectives, is no longer an inchoate field of expertise trying to find its balance in a world challenged and disrupted by the advance of social media technologies. However, as we are about to enter a new stage of digital transformation enabled by the 5G technology, it is important to take stock of the contributions that digital technologies have made to the practice of diplomacy, to examine their limitations and to explore the trends and counter-trends that have the strongest potential to shape its development in the next decade.

Corneliu Bjola is Associate Professor in Diplomatic Studies at the University of Oxford and Chair of the Oxford Digital Diplomacy Research Group. He is the author or co-editor of six books, including the forthcoming volume on *Countering Online Propaganda and Violent Extremism: The Dark Side of Digital Diplomacy* (2018) and *Digital Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* (2015). His work has been published in the *European Journal of International Relations*, *Review of International Studies*, *International Negotiation*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *Global Policy*, *Journal of Global Ethics* and the *Hague Journal of Diplomacy*. His current research interests relate to the impact of digital technology on the conduct of diplomacy with a

focus on strategic communication & digital influence as well as on theories and methods for countering disinformation and propaganda.

Dr. Daunis Auers (University of Latvia) presentation *The Baltic states at 100... How about the next 100?* highlighted 2018 as year-long festivities of the Baltic states' centenary of sovereignty. However, as these celebrations gradually come to an end, it is time to look forward to the next 100 years. What key economic, political and social challenges will the Baltic states face in the medium- and long-term? And how might they look in 2118?

Daunis Auers is Associate Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Latvia. He studied at the London School of Economics and defended his PhD at SSEES, University College London and has been a Fulbright Scholar at the University of California-Berkeley (2005-2006) and a Baltic-American Freedom Foundation Scholar at Wayne State University in Detroit (2014). He has published widely on political parties, elections and referendums as well as populism and the radical right in the Baltic states. His book – *The Comparative Government and Politics of the Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the 21st Century* – was published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2015. His recent research in the *Certus* think-tank, where he is research director, has been policy-oriented, focusing on the growth and economic impact of international students in Latvia, projecting of Latvia's demographic future as well as research the competitiveness of the city of Riga.

Articles of several early career researchers and doctoral students are represented in the Proceedings of the 1st and the 2nd RRSS .

On behalf of the Conference Organizing Committee
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Abstract: An informed and creative person is considered to be a value, a basic capital in the information society, so every person regardless of their location has the right to meet their information needs. Contributing to meeting the needs of each person develops local communities and the society at large. The main objects of discussion in this article are municipal public libraries in Latvia. Most of them have one-staff or solo librarian. Small rural libraries have all the conditions to work in close personal relationships with anyone who needs help, and should be studied in detail. This article discusses the relationship between the needs-based library service model of a library theorist and practitioner, John Pateman, an idea of a local community's support and an express survey of librarians working in Latvian public libraries, conducted in 2018. The librarians' responses in the survey show that needs-based library service is not an innovation in Latvia, but a tradition and librarians do not perform their duties formally, but with great responsibility for the development of both individuals and the local community.

Keywords: public library, local community, needs-based library service

Introduction

There are a few reasons to choose this topic: social issues have been highlighted in the sustainable development documents of the European Union and Latvia. Majority of the municipalities in Latvia consists of small rural communities, thus the large number of small rural libraries. The model of the needs-based library service then becomes topical.

In the latest documents of European Union and Latvia we can find a return to the social issues: social inequality, social inclusion, the digital divide, stratification of society, need for social and territorial cohesion, development of local communities, including support for inhabitants of rural areas. Following documents highlight the social dimension, social and territorial cohesion, and support for rural populations:

- Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (United Nations General Assembly)
- Europe 2020: A European strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth
- Territorial Agenda 2020: Encouraging integrated development in cities, rural and specific regions
- Latvian Sustainable Development Strategy 2030.

The information society and technology are no longer new, the world has been changing. However, the social problems that have not been resolved are even more apparent in this new world, especially if the individual becomes a value, a basic capital. How to help certain people in a particular place and time? In Latvia, rural libraries are among the institutions that have all the conditions to work in close personal relationships with anyone in needs of help with information, lifelong learning and personal development.

The network of municipal public libraries in Latvia is optimal from the point of view of service and covers the whole territory. At the beginning of 2018, there were 788 municipal public libraries operating in Latvia, of which about 80% operated in rural areas in communities with a relatively small population (Latvijas bibliotēkas, 2018).

What is a small community in Latvia? Considering the scale of Latvia, a small community is a populated area (villages and nearby homesteads) with about 200 to 600 inhabitants. The smaller the community, the more distinct it is, and librarians have to work in a close personal relationship with almost every member of the community.

One of the theoretical models of librarianship, which has the most direct connection with what small rural libraries in Latvia do, was created and described by the author and librarian John Pateman from Great Britain. He is interested in social inclusion and the library's role as an agent of social change and community development. In 2010 he published a book 'Public Libraries and Social Justice'. In the book he presents a needs-based library service model in the context of social equality and local community development. He admits: 'The language of needs has become a dominant concept in the contemporary discourse on public libraries' (Pateman, 2010, p. 117).

His needs-based library service model includes several important key features that can be applied to the situation in Latvia:

- needs-based library service is predicated on the assumption that everyone has needs and everyone has different needs;
- needs-based library service has the appropriate strategy, structure, systems and culture which enable it to identify, prioritise and meet community needs;
- a needs-based library service engages the whole of the local community in the planning, design, delivery and evaluation of library services;
- a needs-based library service does not have customers, but stakeholders;
- stakeholders include staff, partners, suppliers, library service users and non- users;
- developing a needs-based library service is primarily about social change – enabling, facilitating and empowering individuals and communities; giving them the information they need and helping to level the economic, social and political fields of life;
- a needs-based library service can be summed up in the phrase "From each according to their ability (staff), to each according to their needs (community);
- needs-based library service is a return to historical tradition and values of self-help and self-improvement for those who need us the most but use us the least (Pateman, 2010, pp. 118-119).

In J. Pateman's model we can see a reminder that the different expectations of people should be taken into account, the right strategy should be chosen and the local society should be involved in the process. J. Pateman points out that needs-based library services are tools of social changes, so it have not customers, but stakeholders; and each of community members can be a stakeholder: and it does not matter whether they use the library or not. Seeing the traditional Marxist slogan in the context of libraries is unusual, but it really describes the essentials of library activity today.

Why is the community so important? Globalization has affected many countries and nations and has changed society's habits and lifestyle. Latvia is one of the countries where the local community still retains most of its traditional values and features. In Latvia, the concept of local community has a deep cultural and historical background and creates a national and personal identity.

Already in the late 19th century, German sociologist F. Tönnies (1855-1936) described rural (*Gemeinschaft*/community) and urban (*Gesellschaft*/society) societies as conceptual categories with their inherent differences and impact on social changes. He pointed out that urban industrialism led to a loss of community, creating an individual's vulnerability and, as a result, a destabilization of society (Tönnies, 2002).

The social meaning of the community is a group of people united by common features, based on the place of residence and accompanied by other signs: inner norms and traditions, organic co-dependence, language, kindred, needs, personal relationships, problems. Communities are closely linked to the various institutes providing the services, necessary for the existence of these communities as a social-economic unit. The library also claims to be one of these institutes unifying the community.

These features have a deep influence on the content and style of the library's work: on its strategy, structure, system and culture. These categories automatically adapt to the local community needs and situation. Also, theorists and practitioners of library science emphasize that 'different social and material contexts give rise to different information needs' (O'Brien, 2018, p. 43) and 'through collections, programs, and services, information organizations contribute to the community, and with these contributions have opportunities to serve and support diverse communities' (Wong, 2018, p. 61).

In the daily work of the library, signs such as the feeling of community as home, support, emotional attraction, appear brightly. This makes the work very personal and responsible in contrast to formal duties. In context of J. Pateman's need-based library service model they are made in accordance with the different needs of people with the hope, that those 'who need us the most but use us the least' (Pateman, 2010, p. 119), will come and the library will be ready. If the library works in such concentrated social conditions, involving members of the community in the planning, delivery and evaluation of the library services are unavoidable, and that meets the principle of stakeholders.

In the light of all the above, it must be concluded that maintenance of communities could make us feel more stable, more peaceful and more productive. So the story of the community is not just a nostalgic desire, basically it is a story of maintenance and support at level of the national state.

How do librarians of small rural communities feel working in such intense concentration on community needs, especially – if they mostly work in one-staff libraries?

Methodology

In 2018, an express survey of librarians as conducted in 4 counties (Bauska, Iecava, Vecumnieki, Rundale) to get an initial idea of employee's vision and attitude in rural public libraries in Latvia as to the work of information specialist in small local communities. There were 38 respondents, 90% of them working in the one-staff library. Their answers are particularly important because in this case one employee performs all duties in response to the specific needs in their local communities.

Respondents were asked to express their opinion on the main differences between work in urban and rural libraries. All respondents work in libraries serving local communities with 200-600 inhabitants.

The questionnaires were received in e-mail, open question are used. The answers are translated from Latvian by author this topic.

Results and Discussion

Responses of librarians can be divided into 5 groups that reflect a particular aspect of working with local people. Analysing responses, most aspects are related to social attitudes or cooperation. Quotes from survey materials are used in quotation marks to illustrate the text.

Aspect 1: 'The light in the window'

Some respondents have named the relationship with the local library and its users poetically. Compliance with formal working hours is rare. As soon as the light is lit in the library window, someone enters and says: 'I saw the light, I thought - I'd come in. Don't I bother you?' And taking care of keeping library users and maintaining a pleasant relationship, the employee will most likely answer: 'no, you don't bother me'.

The library is mostly perceived as the 'house where the librarian lives', not an informational institution, and people mostly come to visit. They come to talk, they come with their problems and informational needs, they come with a family, with friends or neighbours to sit and spend time ('Let's go to the library?'), they often take along snacks. ('I cannot come to visit with empty hands'). Personal conversation works as the best publicity event, in contrast to expensive souvenirs or coloured posters. Even social networking in a virtual environment is largely personal.

Aspect 2: 'You already know what I need'

Usually, the relationship between the librarian and members of community is informal. Users trust the librarian as a specialist and as a person. It is especially important because the librarian works with sensitive user data and life information. There must be no mistake or violation of an employee's ethics in this area. ('Any ethical mistake has far-reaching consequences'; 'Like doctors or policemen, I must keep a vow of silence, but whether a person believes in me depends on themselves').

Buying books or media, planning and organizing events, the librarian acts in the interest of the particular groups and individuals in the community, and that allows to use the resources optimally. There are 2 myths: ‘the librarian has read everything’ and ‘the librarian knows what the user needs’. The long-term employees really know it in most cases (‘While working in this library, I already serve the third generation’).

Aspect 3: ‘Solo librarian (one-staff library) as a one man-orchestra’

During the survey, librarians noted their responsibilities and concluded that rural librarians should have different bits of knowledge, skills and abilities, but the main thing is the attitude to what they are doing.

Librarians named the following duties in the survey:

- Head of the library - planning, reports, material values
- Librarian – services for users, stock, information services
- Cultural worker – management of events
- Teacher – life-long education for all, educational information
- Additional responsibilities – social worker, cleaner, builder, stoker, designer, driver, security guard, accountant, babysitter, psychologist, specialist of public relations and computers, journalist.

The extent to which a librarian has to perform ancillary duties depends on the potential of each local municipality and the personal interest of the librarian. Some of them emphasize: ‘I’m not just a librarian’, by contrast, others: ‘In the countryside, the librarian, coming out of the library, does not stop to be a librarian.’

Aspect 4: ‘As for my own’

Respondents in the survey put forward a few key conditions, to be met to working in a small community. Ethics, personal responsibility (‘Personal responsibility for the reader's satisfaction’) and quality (‘I cannot afford bad suggestions’) were named as the 3 most important factors. Violation of these principles reduces trust to the librarian, undermines the public image of the library, damages statistics, and limits the ability to work for the public.

Other 3 factors are honesty, tradition, helpfulness. The community expects the librarian respects the common traditions, maintain honesty and integrate into everyday processes of the local community: from information services to food delivery to a single pensioner or umbrella lending to a child when it rains. The real value of these principles is reinforced by the quotation of a respondent: ‘They are my people and I am responsible for them.’

Aspect 5: Top six activities

Respondents put forward 6 activities that help them to reach publicity, feedback and mutual satisfaction in their work: ‘listening’; ‘go into the matter’; ‘try to understand’; ‘get involved’;

‘collaborate’; ‘help’. To make library activities more resonant, it is good if the employee can find the local leader and come to an agreement with them. In the ideal case the librarian is one of the leaders. In order to become a leader, you have to follow the main activities mentioned before.

J. Pateman writes about ‘a shift from libraries that are based in communities to community-based libraries’ (Pateman, 2010, p. 121). Inspired by J. Pateman's word game, are used words *attendance*, *assistance* in title of this topic, not simply *help*, *support* or *serve* to highlight the special role of small rural libraries in Latvia – a close, uninterrupted presence naturally integrated in their environment attending to the needs of their people and the community and participate in its life.

J. Pateman offers their model as a ‘new way of working’ (Pateman, 2010, p.119). Example of a survey shows that this model is traditional in Latvia. The top goals of the librarianship create the form, the content is created by the daily work with certain people in a particular place. This is well illustrated by another quotation from the respondent: ‘We have libraries, we have books and technologies, but people need more than that.’

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VOICE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION: BIO-CULTURAL RIGHTS IN GOVERNING COMMON RESOURCES

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Abstract: Long lasting history of private property regimes on natural resources via enclosures of commons in Western societies has been deeply rooted in various scopes ranging from social sciences to resource management laws and policy. Hegemony of private property regimes thus leaves no many alternatives for regimes of common governance of natural resources. These establishments have downplayed the role of local communities in governance of natural resources in Latvia as well, where owners of natural resources and users of natural resources interact in grassroots level. The aim of the paper is to assemble attitudes, beliefs and especially practices of governance of natural resources in the case of grassroots management of natural resources. Research question can be formulated accordingly: what are the ways of multi-functional actors (owners and users of forests, waters etc.) in this process and what are the possibilities to rediscover and reintroduce “biocultural rights” in governing common resources? Empowerment of small owners and users of natural resources, who do not have sufficient possibilities of insisting on rights of self-determination would benefit not only individuals, but rather various local communities and restore negative implications of socio-environmental metabolic rifts.

Keywords: natural resource management; commons; biocultural rights; multi-functional actors

Introduction

These establishments have downplayed the role of local communities in governance of natural resources in Latvia as well, where owners of natural resources and users of natural resources interact in grassroots level. Recent national level surveys in Latvia confirm that widespread reliance on technocratic governance legitimizing their role and duties in governance of natural resources has few negative implications.

The case of self-determination characterizes the research necessity in three main points:

1. History of private property regimes on natural resources, including
 - a. Enclosures of commons;
 - b. Rootedness in social sciences, resource management laws and resource management policy;
2. Governance of natural resources, among that the role of local communities and role of owners and users;
3. Legitimizing the role of state in natural resource governance.

The **aim** of the paper is to assemble (concept from actor-network theory, Bruno Latour, John Law and others, see, for example, Latour, 2005) attitudes, beliefs and practices of governance of natural resources.

“Owners” of natural resources, particularly, multi-role actors and their agency; stewards and stewardship are in the centre of assemblage. Owners might play an important role to mitigate negative implications of socio-environmental metabolic rifts (Foster, York, & Clark, 2010).

Conceptual approach put the concept of “biocultural rights” in front. “The importance of a community’s stewardship over lands and waters” are the main focus in the concept according to David Bollier (Bollier, 2015). Thus the mixture of natural and cultural or nature and culture “hybrids” (borrowing the concept from actor-network theory) (see for example, Latour, 1993; or application of “hybrids” to organisation theories, for example, Menard, 2007; Williamson, 1985; Karantininis & Nilsson, (Eds.), 2007).

However as long lasting history of private property regimes on natural resources via enclosures of commons in Western (see for example, Wagner, 1995; Linebaugh, 2014), we can analyse and discuss about rediscovering and reintroducing the concept of “biocultural rights” as it may be out of radars of management regimes of private properties. Studies of commons proved the variety of applications of notion “commons” starting from knowledge till practice in both constructed and physical reality (Bollier & Helfrich (eds.), 2015; Bollier, 2003; Bollier, 2014; Conaty & Bollier, 2014; Offe, 2012) and the importance of acknowledging that in the 21st Century (Dolšak & Ostrom (Eds.), 2003).

Another reason for reintroduction of concept “biocultural rights” lies in the fact that these are collective rights of communities to carry out traditional stewardship roles vis-à-vis Nature (Bavikatte & Bennett, 2015).

Considering the reasoning above, **research questions** can be formulated:

1. What are the ways of multi-role actors (owners and users of natural resources) express the voice in the governance of resources?
2. What are the possibilities to rediscover and reintroduce biocultural rights in governing common resources?

Methodology

The material of the paper denotes the track from the attitudes on macro-level tendencies to grassroots’ level management of natural resources. Thus in order to reveal that path, few methods has been used:

1. Secondary data from national representative survey, analysing co-operation factors from national representative surveys longitudinally starting from 2000, continuing with 2010 and 2017 respectively (ISSP Research Group, 2003; ISSP Research Group, 2012; SUSTINNO, 2017);
2. Interviews with multi-role actors in the privately owned forest management in Latvia.

Questions from ISSP Environment and population survey within SUSTINNO project in 2017 conceptualize the society’s perceived role of state and role of resource owners’ / users in natural

resource governance. Following questions from national population surveys have been chosen for the operationalization of controlled vs. liberal environmental protection policy and state controlled vs. common governance of natural resources:

Which one of the following would be closest to your views: government should let ordinary people decide for themselves how to protect the environment, even if it means they don't always do the right thing (*Liberal policy*) OR government should pass laws to make ordinary people protect the environment, even if it interferes with people's rights to make their own decisions (*State controlled policy*) (ISSP Research Group, 2003; ISSP Research Group, 2012; SUSTINNO, 2017);

Which one of the following would be closest to your views: The compliance with regulations and laws should be monitored and controlled only by the responsible public institutions and their representatives (e.g. foresters, fishing inspectors, etc.) (*State controlled resource governance*) OR the compliance with regulations and laws is also monitored and controlled by compliants of these regulations (e.g. forest owners, fishermen) (*Common governance of natural resources*) (SUSTINNO, 2017).

Hypothetically higher trust in others would lead to higher reliance of co-decision making in governing natural resources thus fostering optimal application of biocultural rights in natural resource management and allowing rediscovering full benefits of biocultural rights.

Material from 7 to 10 interviews with multi-role actors and document analysis has been used to answer the research questions.

Results and Discussion

The main results can be summarized in four points, answering to research questions about the ways how the voice is expressed in governance of natural resources.

1. First, there is the question of intrinsic value of natural resources and that is an important factor to rediscover biocultural rights in governing common resources;
2. Secondly, we can talk about shared rights as well as shared responsibilities for the natural resource owners;
3. Thirdly, the voice is expressed in practical cooperation of private forest owners, that empower fare balance of material and non-material investments and benefits;
4. Last, but not the least, there is insufficient advocacy for the small scale natural resources owners in order to empower their action for the common good of communities and society.

Secondary data analysis shows that 62% of Latvia population in year 2017 agree on common governance of natural resources, although it does not correlate with trust in others. Surprisingly though it positively correlates with state controlled environmental protection policy, suggesting that attitudes of co-constructing laws and norms of natural resource governance can be compatible with even stronger wish for state controlled environmental protection policy. Attitudes about state controlled vs. liberal environmental protection policy have been slightly changing over time. 55%

of Latvia population were in favour of state controlled environmental protection policy in 2000, 58% in 2010, but even 66% in 2017.

Empirical material suggests that the question of **intrinsic value of natural resources** appears analysing cooperation of private forest owners in forest management and nature conservation. The case of nature conservation is one of the ways, where biocultural rights can be exposed in a certain way.

Representatives of the Latvian wildlife fund tell about broad-ranging scenarios for forest owners' interactions in the implementation of forest policy, in the management of protected areas, forests as actors of birds and animals, and other human and non-human actors. The attitudes of private forest owners' on nature conservation varies across a wide spectrum where, at one end of the spectrum, there are actions that are deliberately harmful to forest ecosystems (e.g. felling trees, knowing that there are breeding birds) and, at the other end of the spectrum, proactive action on what can be done to protect biodiversity.

A fundamental problem in co-operation between private forest owners' and environmental protection is communication problems, which take the form of unforeseeable translations, due to different reasons re-interpreting, for example, the impact of a nature census on economic activity and closures for certain economy activities there.

Multi-role actors highlight the way how translations are changing within cooperation of to private forest owners' and other actors in environmental protection. There are no right or wrong action, but it is about evaluating the appropriate behaviour of the situation, taking into account both the considerations of human systems (economic benefits and expenditure; social considerations on who and how to do) and the dynamics of human systems and natural systems (the relevance of natural processes to socio-economic realities).

“Bracketing of connections” (applying the term from actor-network theory) between social actors practically means the will of cooperation by revealing their beliefs, experiences, knowledge, while assessing other arguments, other considerations that are both politically legal as well as practically and ethically can be successful in ensuring sustainable forest management.

Conceptually I support the concept of property as a social relation (according to Becky Mansfield “property is not a thing (the object being controlled) but a social relation (2008, p. 7). Moreover property is “social arrangement that allows one certain rights to certain objects, and these social arrangements can change” (Mansfield, 2008). Rephrasing Becky Mansfield, the freedom is not to act with property as one please, but the freedom is designed by interests of other actors. In this light, we need to talk about shared rights as well as shared responsibilities for the natural resource owners (see, for example, ideas from environmental ethics, Frese, 2003; Leopold, 1986). Carol Rose stress it is not so much the declaration of property (“this is mine”) that matters, but the decision by other people to acknowledge that declaration (“I agree to act as though that is yours”) (Rose, 1994). Private property rights do not mean primarily protection against others' freedoms, but primarily accounting for other people's freedoms and property.

Non-interference policy in forest management in Soviet times according to interviews with multi-role actors gives current generation the possibility for effective forest management in the economic terms, but on the other hand, it to put pressure on the **responsibility** to manage them as resilient forest ecosystems. However, it is a forestry science tradition that forests can be cultivated and managed in the same way as agriculture, systematically working and protecting the necessary involvement of people.

In forest management, not only harvest life cycles, but also the results of cooperation can be seen over a long period. In this respect, cooperation in forest management shows good potential for the development of organisations, where participants would respect a number of **practical cooperation principles** – planning; sharing technical tools, experience, knowledge and work. The successful functioning of the form of collective action requires harmonised principles and action by actors involved.

There are few reasons for possibilities to rediscover and reintroduce biocultural rights in governing common resources. Firstly, locally-scale (i.e. non-scaled-up) forestry activities, on the one hand, are similar in scale (local), similar to the level at which they take place (upside-down, bottom-up), similar to the benefits for actors themselves, while on the other, they take place in different ways – territorially adjusted to certain species of trees, related to membership of a particular institution (church), etc. Secondly, such diverse practices can be better performed by co-operation, thus raising voice for self-determination. Thirdly, in these situations, “external” socio-economic events can more or less alter the common benefits for private forest owners by being in the same “circulation” and “competition” with international and local logging companies operating in the form of a “market economy” logic. Empirical material suggest that there is **insufficient advocacy** for “external” risk for underpowered forest owners as central NGO of private forest owners’ in Latvia has many influential “big players” in the forestry market in Latvia.

The case of private forest owners’ is just one of the examples of governing common resources, where voice for self-determination can be analysed. That is the reason for next research steps - formulating interview guidelines with other managers of natural resources – waters, land, irrigations.

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NGO'S ROLE IN THE DEMOCRATIC, DECISION-MAKING: AN EMPIRICAL OVERVIEW OF THE LITHUANIAN CASE

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Abstract: NGOs are considered valuable for democracy mainly because they can make public governance more effective, better monitored and reflective of citizens' priorities. However, NGOs' inclusion in the public-policy making may not necessarily improve civil society representation and democracy. Thus the author is interested in the role NGOs play in the democratic decision-making and therefore empirically overviews the Lithuanian case in her analysis how the structure of the NGO sector affects the role NGOs play in democracy. Covering the period from the end of XX century until today, the author maps mushrooming Lithuanian NGO sector characterized by the low citizen engagement, sector's reliance on foreign donor funding and with largely undiversified income, therefore detached from the citizens and hardly representative of the citizens in the democratic decision making.

Keywords: non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Lithuania, civil society, public policy

Introduction

Following social capital based research tradition non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are considered valuable for democracy mainly because they can provide citizens with the access to the policy making process thus making the governance more effective, better monitored and reflective of citizens' priorities (Van Deth, Maloney, 2008, p. 6). Secondly, NGOs serving as "*schools of democracy that produce better democrats via in-group pro-democratic and pro-civic experiences*" (Maloney, 2009, p. 278) can enhance mutual trust and social capital among the citizens. Yet, there is an observable shift in research questioning automatic links assuming that NGOs' inclusion in the political system can improve civil society representation and democracy (Saurugger, 2012, p. 69), especially given the increasing general trend of citizens avoiding direct and active political involvement and the surge of supporter based, member-less and highly professionalized organizations (Maloney, 2012, p. 85).

Howard (2003) has established the relative weakness of the civil society organizations (CSOs) in the East and Central Europe (ECE) in comparison to their Western counterparts measuring it through the low levels of population involvement in NGOs and attributing it to the post-communist legacies. Thus, little of the NGOs' political influence is assumed, however, the role of NGOs in the democratic decision-making in the ECE remains clearly under-researched (Cox, 2012).

So in the light of increased NGO professionalization and individualized modes of citizen participation one can ask how NGOs contribute to democratic decision-making? As NGO sector is the result of diverse cultural, economic, social and political contexts and their related transformations (Cox, 2012, p. 2; Maloney, van Deth, 2008, p. 46), the answer is embedded in empirical case studies, with this paper, therefore offering an empirical overview of the Lithuanian NGOs inquiring how the structure of the sector shape it as an arena for democratic civic

participation.

Methodology

Beyers et al (2008, p. 1109 – 1111) argues that scholarship is divided in approaching similar groups as NGOs, CSOs, social movements, etc. despite all referring to the same generic phenomena of an interest group. NGOs due to their advocacy and government lobbying efforts to influence state policies are considered interest groups, thus to understand their contribution to representative democracy as such are conceptualized here with the terms NGO and interest group used interchangeably. Analytically, the discussion is structured around Maloney's (2012, p. 84 – 96) framework of 3 main interrelated factors that could help explain decreasing citizen participation in NGOs and changing NGOs role as public interest groups, i.e. group push and supporter pull effects, patronage and the increasing professionalization of the policy-making process. Here the author uses statistical data; overviews the existing research and conducts document analysis covering the period from the end of the XX century until today. The term 'NGO' applied refers to "*an independent organization that is neither run by the government nor driven by the profit motive like private sector business*" (Lewis, Kanji, 2009, p. 2).

Results and Discussion

Group and Individual Characteristics of the Lithuanian NGO sector

Maloney (2012, p. 86 – 87) argues that NGOs' potential to enhance citizen participation in the democratic decision-making is constrained by a combination of group push and supporter pull effects. Firstly, it is believed that policy influence can be easier exerted without the involvement of supporters/ members who are political amateurs and better left to be dealt with for the professionals working at the NGOs. NGO organizational aspects also affect citizen involvement in the public interest groups. Secondly, because citizens supporting NGOs are content with the chequebook activism and do not want to be involved more actively in politics. Though the assessment of such effects in the Lithuanian case would require an in-depth case-by-case analysis or large quantitative data, the characteristics of the officially registered NGOs' and citizen participation therein are pretty revealing in sketching out the general trends.

Growth of the Number of NGOs, Yet Low Citizen Engagement

As Soviet communism has virtually eliminated the entire NGO sector (Palubinskas, 2003), since Lithuania's independence it had to be created from the scratch. Since the 90ies it quickly grew from around 1.300 organizations registered at the Centre of Registers in 1994 (Žiliukaitė, 2012, p. 243) to 29.000 in 2017. Considering all 29.000 registered legal persons as functioning NGOs is misleading because at least 15% of them haven't been active for five years (Petronytė-Urbonavičienė, 2017, p. 57). Moreover, the same legal status can be used by the organizations established by the state and municipalities (e.g. hospitals), which by definition are not NGOs. Other estimates indicate around 10.000 – 14.000 active NGOs (Žiliukaitė, 2012, p. 245; USAID, 2015, p. 140). Nonetheless, as to date the official databases do not provide more specific data, more precise number of functioning NGOs is unknown.

Though number of NGOs in Lithuania as in other post Soviet countries is high, it does not reflect real citizen participation or their influence to the democratic decision-making (Howard, 2003, p. 52). Thus it is important to look at the data describing civic participation and volunteering in NGOs.

Rates of volunteering as unpaid work for public benefit according to the data from the representative surveys haven't significantly changed since 2012: 1 out of 10 respondents volunteers, whereas at least half doesn't (Vilmorus, 2012, 2018). Moreover, Civic Empowerment Index (PVI) data collected since 2008 through the representative surveys indicates that from among 16 listed civic activities, environment cleaning activities, donation of money and things and participation in the local community activities are the most popular across the years and in 2016 engaged respectively 37%, 42% and 27% of the respondents.

According to Van Deth and Maloney (2012, p. 4) citizens increasingly prefer donating therefore enabling professional NGOs to influence policy on their behalf and opt out for individualized actions such as petitions, boycotting, ethical shopping instead of collective action through the institutionalized organizations. Civic Empowerment Index (PVI) data indicates that across the years boycotting, information dissemination and signing of e-petitions is slightly becoming more popular thus to certain extent confirming the trend. However, participation in the activities of NGOs or other CSOs remains low – around 7% engagement was recorded in 2016 – indicating that civic participation through institutionalized structures in Lithuania have actually never took off. CAF World Giving Index (2010 – 2018) despite unexplained significant increases in 2011 and 2017 does not show any clear trends of increased money donations to the Lithuanian NGOs either. Finally, across the years approximately a third of the respondents do not participate in any of the surveyed civic activities (PVI). Thus the available data confirms the continuation of the trend (Žiliukaitė, 2006, 2012) that despite the growing numbers of NGOs in Lithuania, it does not result in significant increase of citizen participation – be it collective or individual forms.

Reasons for Low Citizen Engagement

Such low citizen engagement could be explained through individual and societal characteristics namely lack of interest, competences and/ or opportunities, as well as specifics of the Lithuanian NGOs (Žiliukaitė, 2012).

Firstly, the lack of meaning and interest in the activities of NGOs is related to the negative attitudes towards NGOs formed during the Soviet occupation and the absence of associational involvement in the agrarian Lithuanian society predating the Soviet occupation. Additionally, low generalized trust, and in particular in CSOs and voluntary activities contributes (Žiliukaitė, 2012, p. 247 – 248). Moreover, the main reasons for participation in NGOs vary between personal and altruism related motives, which also depend on the type of organization that the person is engaged at. Interest representation as an individual motivation for participation in the NGOs and other CSOs is important to less than 40% of the respondents – contrary to personal and altruism related motives which are important to over 70% - 80% of respondents (Žiliukaitė, 2006). Indeed, in Lithuania the association of NGOs with charitable work is the most popular, whereas interest representation is named by significantly fewer people (Vilmorus, 2012), thus reaffirming that if compared with developed democracies Lithuanian citizens lack understanding of the political value of interest groups in democracy (Thomas, Hrebendar, 2008, p. 7).

Secondly, according to the survey conducted in 2005, lack of possibilities to participate in NGOs is closely related to constraints caused by poverty, health, age, family or work situation (Žiliukaitė, 2006). Though such survey hasn't been repeated, one could assume that with the economic growth observed in Lithuania since the 1990s, poverty as the underlying cause for non-participation would diminish. Yet stable and low civic engagement in NGOs as well as surveys on volunteering indicating that the lack of time is among the most pertinent reasons for non-engagement (Vilmorus, 2012; EKT, 2017, p. 64) demonstrate that despite more wealthy society the necessary value change which could result in investment of more available free time into civic activities (Žiliukaitė, 2006) haven't occurred.

Finally, citizen non-participation in NGOs is also constrained by *“their limited access to recruitment networks which is determined to a large extent by sparse non-governmental organizations' networks in the country and the small number of people taking part in the activities of these organizations”* (Žiliukaitė, 2006, p. 37, cited in Žiliukaitė, 2012, p. 248), indicating the Lithuanian NGOs' characteristics as yet another factor constraining citizen engagement.

It must be acknowledged that since independence Lithuanian NGOs have certainly qualitatively transformed: they became more professional and visible in the policy-making; networking was enhanced (Žiliukaitė, 2012, p. 250). Nevertheless, such NGOs' characteristics as *“<...> poor efforts in attracting new members, their low visibility in society, inadequate attention to enhancing the public image of the NGOs, and low financial capacities and human capital of NGOs”* (Ibid.) continue constraining citizen engagement in NGOs. Whereas research reports and NGO sector representatives (Petronytė-Urbonavičienė, 2017; Murauskas, Lukšaitė, 2016, p. 39) indicate that unstable funding is the underlying cause crippling the sector.

Indeed, approximately 40% of NGOs are micro enterprises with lesser than 3.000 EUR annual budgets, almost a half doesn't have any employees (Murauskas, Lukšaitė, 2016, p. 9, 14), income is fluctuating and is mostly from project grants. Relying on undiversified income NGOs remain vulnerable as witnessed during public spending austerity periods or with pull out or pause of foreign donors (Ibid, p. 8 – 9; USAID, 2014, 2015). Consequently, financially unstable NGOs are trapped in a vicious circle where they have hardships attracting professionals, volunteers, meaningfully engaging citizens, actively monitoring and otherwise participating in the democratic decision-making processes.

Patronage

Patronage and its effects on citizen participation through NGOs is especially important given low levels of citizen engagement in Lithuania. As professionalized interest representation is expensive, many public interest groups rely heavily on grants from governments, corporate sponsors and other foundations for their financial survival. Indeed, government funding to public interest groups can help ensure their participation in the public processes, therefore, higher legitimacy. Yet the downsides on democratic participation are obvious – organizations relying on donor funding are relieved from pressure to engage with the grassroots, they could become more responsive to the donors' priorities (Maloney, 2012, p. 88 – 90).

Foreign patronage has significantly contributed to the development of the Lithuanian NGO sector: after the collapse of the Soviet Union, foreign donors rushed to the ECE to help build civil societies having chosen the establishment of NGOs as a main strategy. Narozhna (2007, p. 247 – 253) argues that such focus resulted in growing animosity between the local populations and the donors, duplication of reform efforts, mushrooming numbers of NGOs, perpetuation of corrupt practices, strong dependency on donor funding, therefore, little connection and representation of the grassroots. Indeed, Beresnevičiūtė (2006) observed that the establishment of the Lithuanian NGOs has been largely driven by the external factors and foreign donor priorities instead of genuine needs and interests of the NGOs' members. It has been further sustained by the lack of funding sources to NGOs, therefore resulting in the choice of themes or means that are funded by the donors. The dependency on donors' priorities was further aggravated – especially to NGOs engaged in public policy – by the significant pull out of international donors after the accession to the EU and the severe diminish of available funds because of financial crisis in 2008 (Beresnevičiūtė, 2006; Kavoliūnaitė-Ragauskienė, 2012, p. 234 – 247).

Since the turn of the century the EU has been a significant donor of the civil society (Stewart, 2008, p. 224), however, literature indicates the ambiguous effects of the EU pre-accession measures in the ECE (Kutter, Trappmann, 2010). In the Baltic states specifically, these measures have prioritized service provision over advocacy, strengthened a few large NGOs whose agenda were aligned with EU priorities, therefore sidelining smaller NGOs as well as hampered the overall financial sustainability of the NGO sector by orienting NGOs towards the EU priorities and failing to stress the diversity of funding sources (Stewart, 2008, p. 224 – 229). After the accession, the EU funding has again mostly benefitted few NGOs, mostly large national organizations (NIPC, 2014). Besides, with some exceptions of foreign donor and a couple of recent government programs, funding for NGOs' activities related to participation in the public policy processes is largely unavailable to the Lithuanian NGOs (NVO TI, 2017) leaving it mostly to *ad hoc* and voluntary actions.

Conclusions

Remarks: Public Participation in the Decision Making

Therefore, given high reliance of the Lithuanian NGO sector on donor (especially foreign) funding, largely undiversified income and low citizen engagement in NGOs, they are considered detached from the citizens. Thus coupled with the historic lack of public consultation tradition little of citizen participation in the public policy processes through NGOs could be expected.

Across the ECE chronologically changes for the increased public participation in the policy making could be especially noted during the accession to EU, when EU pushed national governments for a more open public policy making by informing and involving NGOs. Yet Kutter and Trappmann (2010, p. 56 – 58) doubted their meaningful involvement given the overall weakness of NGOs, speedy *acquis* adoption process, national governments effective gate keeping and the lack of institutionalized tradition of decentralized planning. In Lithuania, the passivity to participate in open consultations regarding was strongly felt from the NGOs (Vilcinskas, Vijeikis, 2007, p. 109 – 110).

Thus unsurprisingly research reports (PVI, 2015) indicate current low Lithuanian citizen and NGOs participation in a public decision-making. Less than a third of respondents sought for information about public decision making and aimed at influencing it. Though means for public participation in a policy-making and their legal regulation in Lithuania is considered adequate, their implementation, however, is sparse and not obligatory, and hence NGOs' engagement in the policy process rests upon motivation and initiative of the public sector employees also undermined by the lack of consultation tradition. Mutual mistrust between NGOs and public institutions, disagreement over the roles in a public decision-making, NGOs' financial instability thwarts the process too.

To conclude, in Lithuania few NGOs and citizens participate in the democratic decision-making owing it to the inherent characteristics of the Lithuanian society and the NGO sector in particular. Should this be considered a danger for democracy? According to Maloney (2012, p. 95) professional and member-less public interest groups (characterizing well the Lithuanian NGOs) shouldn't even be expected to be major contributors to participatory democracy but rather additional voices of the policy expertise in the public policy process. However, what if the key characteristics of the Lithuanian NGO sector provide the citizens with little alternatives for more participatory democracy?

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INTERDISCIPLINARITY OF ACADEMIC LIBRARY: PHRONESIS & PRAXIS & PAIDEIA

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Abstract: The current study views interdisciplinarity of academic library from a multidimensional perspective considering the collection of library; integration in actual research; collaboration; substantiation of the most appropriate research methods. The main objective of the study is to show how interdisciplinarity of library can be implemented in practice. The study is divided into sections: The first section clarifies the objective and crucial concepts of the study, views an innovative approach to materials of cultural heritage which includes actual research tendencies on the one hand, and the meaning of philosophical concepts of Western thinking on the other hand. In this case, concepts of ancient philosophy are explored: *phronesis* – practical wisdom, *praxis* – implementation of theory, *paideia* – education, all in connection with *multidisciplinarity*, *interdisciplinarity* and *transdisciplinarity*. The second section shows multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary praxis of libraries viewing different types of libraries: historical libraries, established several centuries ago, and research libraries, created some decades ago. The third section maps the potential model of interdisciplinary development in historical library and analyses examples of possible interdisciplinary models of library. Conclusions accentuate that interdisciplinarity and synergy of disciplines not only need research qualities and practical implementation of projects but also moral attention and responsibility.

Key words: *library, research, interdisciplinarity, education*

Introduction

Interdisciplinarity is important from the practical point of view because many research problems go beyond concrete disciplines and require efforts of researchers reflecting different perspectives. The position that interdisciplinarity as the future of knowledge unites not only different experiences and researchers but also multiform institutions, has been discussed since the first part of 20th century. Initially, interdisciplinarity gives a common contribution to two or more disciplines and argues that we must be receptive to new challenges. Library is a successful platform for development of innovative studies with high potentiality of discovering new horizons for knowledge due to rarity of collections, digital experience, technological solutions, specificity of maintenance of materials of cultural memory and other particularities of library that give a real starting point for practical interdisciplinarity. Integration of library in academic projects and study courses as an equal partner of academic departments respects global tendencies that focus on practical implementation of interdisciplinarity.

Methodology

Objective and Concepts

The objective of the study is to show how interdisciplinarity of library can be implemented in collaboration with academic departments in accordance with actual research tendencies. Library as one of the most primordial establishment of education alongside teaching institutions (schools and universities) unites acquisition of written materials and effective exploitation of them.

Interdisciplinarity includes long-standing principles created many centuries before, at the beginning of ancient culture, as well as actual research tendencies that stimulate activity to seek more proper ways of development. In comparison to such concepts as *multidisciplinarity*, *interdisciplinarity* and *transdisciplinarity* and concepts coming from ancient culture, such as *Phronesis* – practical wisdom, *Praxis* – implementation of theory, *Paideia* – education, this article assesses how historical libraries of valuable collections of rarities make a common hermeneutical circle with virtual realities of digital elements. The concepts of ancient philosophy embrace a deep stratum through centuries showing a general and universal way of activities concerning education, research and practical wisdom. Concepts of networking and synergy indicate how practical wisdom, innovative methods of education and research develop interdisciplinarity of library. There is a difference between *multi -*, *inter -*, *trans - disciplinarity*.

Multidisciplinarity refers to situations where separate disciplines are utilized around a common research interest, but the approaches remain distinct and disciplinary boundaries are not intersected. In such a direction libraries have developed from the time of their origin.

Interdisciplinarity integrates the different approaches to solve a common problem forming their own interdisciplinary fields and bodies of knowledge. In this case, library, as well as other elements of a common interdisciplinary project, is engaged as an equal partner.

Transdisciplinarity is a sort of bridging that “transcends the narrow scope of disciplinary worldviews” and gives broad fields of study.

In contrast to synergy of disciplines ancient concepts show the essence of interdisciplinarity in the field of education, research and library. For a contemporary situation *Phronesis*, *Praxis* and *Paideia* explicate interdisciplinarity in practical collaboration among long-standing libraries containing authentic collections of cultural heritage, academic departments and research institutions. In ancient philosophy these concepts signify human relations to knowledge, virtue of character and moral responsibility of knowledge use. Knowledge has an ethical dimension that requires a dialogical form of communication, equal relations between all the parties involved in the discussion; such an attention is urgent for any form of integration of knowledge, particularly for interdisciplinarity. Unification of different competences in one field of knowledge characterizes the interdisciplinary approach to research as well as ancient thinking:

Phronesis – practical wisdom, based on a concrete action and experience, gives an impulse to think that for a sustainable development of library it is necessary to have professional knowledge as well as empathy and moral attitude. Libraries of collection of cultural heritage in addition to respect to open data, citation indexes, flows of information, databases, digitization and other information activities, have an exclusive possibility to seek their own unique ways of interdisciplinary research.

Praxis is involved in proper capacity for implementation of ideas. Capacity of flexibility of thinking, mutual understanding, resources of educated and interdisciplinary oriented researchers and students, rare and exclusive collections, modern infrastructure, appropriate technological solutions and other factors ensure successful realization of original ideas.

Paideia shows a possibility to develop new forms of education showing students' creativity and exactness. Alongside theoretical studies their skills are developed in such fields of activities as source analysis and elaboration of interdisciplinary thematic concepts.

Results and Discussion

Multidisciplinary and Transdisciplinary Experience of Library

Libraries are multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary by their organization. An example of multidisciplinary experience of library is seen in the process of cataloguing. From the time of their origin libraries have developed in the realm of multidisciplinary – collections of libraries consist of materials of different disciplines. Precise cataloguing and classification is one of the basic functions of library. Today, discussion about “universal” classification system includes problems concerning cataloguing of interdisciplinary materials that do not provide precise definitions of subjects but rather concentrate on functions, correlations, integrative methods. How to provide findability of interdisciplinary materials if classification vocabularies do not give guarantee for adding correct subject indexes, descriptive terms and keywords? It is a problem that libraries and other memory institutions face in everyday process of organization of collections. In this situation librarians can play the central role as “transdisciplinary mediators” by offering services in preparing bibliography for research projects and creating a cross-disciplinary vocabulary.

Interdisciplinary Examples of Library

Interdisciplinarity, in contrast to transition of knowledge, forms its own field of research. Any library has an exclusive possibility to seek its own ways of interdisciplinary research not only uniting innovative technological solutions and cultural heritage but also creating a new platform of knowledge and scientific interpretations of different disciplines. There is a difference between historical libraries, established several centuries ago, containing valuable collections of cultural heritage, and innovative research libraries created in the last decades with respect to open data, citation indexes, flows of information, databases, digitization and other information activities. Comparing these two types of libraries, it is seen that the content of interdisciplinarity differs by general principles of the new platform of knowledge of the concrete project. However, it does not mean that academic libraries of cultural heritage do not explore digital services and other technological solutions.

Implementation of interdisciplinary research is more comfortable for academic libraries than for other library types – national and municipality libraries. To be included in regular processes of academic work requires persistent guarantees for development of research in accordance with actual tendencies and research programmes. Co-operation of different faculties and departments gives a chance to realize activities concerning not only discipline but uniting different theoretical and practical experiences. In such a way it is possible to realize interactive exhibitions, thematic catalogues with interdisciplinary annotations, workshops, discussions, conferences, vocabularies of interdisciplinary research where both notable collections and competent experts and researchers are very important factors for the implementation of new projects and interdisciplinary solutions.

To mention a few examples, such titles of activities as “Apple in Library”, “Truth of Marginalia”, “Signs and Colours of Books” are interesting for students and researchers of several disciplines – librarians, artists, biologists, litterateurs, philosophers, etc. For instance, the interactive conceptual exposition “Apple in Library” is intriguing for different disciplines: How is an apple seen in Library? The apple is investigated as an object of botanic texts, a word with a secondary meaning in literary works; a surname; a term that can be investigated from the point of view of digital humanities; an apple as a picture of covers and illustrations of printed materials; a symbol of seals, etc. The second question is: Why are such expositions necessary? In the process of realization of interdisciplinary projects we understand each other better, acquire new terminology and research methods, learn to express complicated scientific problems in a manner understandable for all interested people, strengthen understanding between students and university lecturers; we develop communication based on real conversations and discussions, not on virtual activities. The exposition will not give fundamental discoveries in one or another discipline, but it develops functionality between researchers and students and creates a common interdisciplinary space, in such a way, comprehending fundamental problems of human communication – solitude, autism, exclusion, inadmissibility, anger and impatience. Conversely, implementation of interdisciplinary projects and study courses require tolerance, empathy and mutual understanding.

Integrated study courses strengthen synergy inside the university, develop notable attention to cultural heritage and provide a direct contact with authentic materials exploring original resources, not secondary literature. Creation of conceptual expositions composed of authentic materials promoted by innovative technical solutions, interactive and modern design would be a new experience for practical implementation of interdisciplinarity. It would be a new platform for research determined not by connection of different disciplines, but directed by new functionality of different disciplines implemented by students and researches – art students and students of information technologies, history, philosophy, literature etc. They are all included in the realization of the project on equal representations – no single discipline is dominating. Authentic collections are investigated both from the point of view of historical facts and cultural value and also for innovative and attractive promotion of materials and scientific interdisciplinary interpretations. In the research process integrated research methods are developed: hermeneutics, critical thinking and comparative analysis. Hermeneutical approach – methodology of understanding and interpretation has a practical orientation determined by the contemporary situation. Critical thinking gives clear, rational, open-minded, evident and self-disciplined reasoning. Comparative analysis deals with selection and choice of materials, facts and texts.

For realization of such interdisciplinary projects the collection of the Academic Library of the University of Latvia (established in the time of the Reformation in 1524.) guarantees access to materials of cultural heritage containing two exclusive collections: the *Misiņš Library* – a collection for the Baltic studies, the most valuable and most complete collection of Latvian printed matter in the World; *Bibliotheca Rigensis* – a collection of rarities: medieval manuscripts, incunabulum, early print, authentic materials started from 10th-11th century. In the year of 2017, the Academic Library of the University of Latvia created the Interdisciplinary Research Centre. Its aim is to carry out research of the library’s collection from the point of view of interdisciplinary aspect and to take an active part in the research work and academic processes. The main research topics of the centre are dedicated to investigation of: a) constitutive elements of culture – rhythm, number, sound, colour – in interdisciplinary approach including philosophy, art, social processes, libraries, written cultural heritage; b) 13th- 19th century library’s collections in the context of the Baltic German history and

culture; c) intercultural dialogue in the context of the Baltic Studies. These topics are interesting not only for humanities but also for other branches of knowledge – social sciences and life sciences.

Conclusions

Successful realization of interdisciplinary courses and projects demands both integrative methodology and understanding of interdisciplinary terminology on the one hand, and empathic relations between researchers and tolerant attention to different experiences on the other hand. Both demands are working inseparably through various activities: elaboration of integrative research methods and their adaptation to implementation of projects and practical research activities; collaboration between librarians, researchers and students; development of new study courses and practical training.

Interdisciplinary forms of education show how students from different faculties combine knowledge, creativity and precision on the basis of practical research; how alongside theoretical studies their skills are developed in such fields of activities as source analysis, elaboration of interdisciplinary thematic concepts, application of methodology and creation of original design and performance of interactive exhibitions; how promotion of values of cultural heritage is realized successfully in forms acceptable in the 20th century.

Interdisciplinary research of the XXI century resonates with the age before division of knowledge in different disciplines that later came with the origin of Western thinking. Ancient approach concentrates more on the value of knowledge, practical implementation of knowledge and less on new scientific discoveries. Therefore, the current study explores such ancient concepts as *phronesis*, *praxis*, *paideia* that go beyond concrete disciplines and shows more practical implementation of knowledge and competences, accentuates responsibility and value of knowledge in human life. It requires a dialogue and mutual understanding among all interested parties, empathic communication and tolerance, and education based on competences and practical wisdom.

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THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN RUSSIAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: THE CASE OF ANNEXATION OF CRIMEA AND WAR IN DONBASS

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Abstract: This paper is focusing on Russian Orthodox Church activities and messages as a part of Russian public diplomacy toward Ukraine. The role of the Moscow Patriarchate in Russian aggression against Ukraine cannot be seen just in black and white. The leaders of both the Russian Orthodox Church and the Moscow Patriarchate Ukrainian Orthodox Church have appealed for peace in Ukraine, but many local Orthodox pastors have expressed their support for both the annexation of the Crimea and the hostilities in Donbass. Some Russian Orthodox Church representatives had justified the Russian involvement in undeclared war against Ukraine with a spiritual mission to stop the ‘global evil’. The sacralisation of the war leads to certain consequences – the opponents are demonised and labelled as the ‘absolute evil’. The Moscow Patriarchate does not appeal for the war directly but furnishes the separatists in Ukraine with an ideological backing.

Keywords: Orthodoxy, public diplomacy, Russian World, annexation

Introduction

The role of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) in Russia’s politics has grown particularly during Vladimir Putin’s third presidential term, which is described as a ‘conservative turn’ in public discourse and ‘patriotic mobilization’ of society. The culmination of this process was the illegal annexation of Crimea in 2014. As ROC represents traditional and conservative viewpoint, it is provided by Russian authorities with a favourable environment for expressing its views within and beyond national borders. The support of the Moscow Patriarchate for Russia’s policies in Ukraine, in the context of the annexation of Crimea and the subsequent war, gives topicality to the subject of this study.

ROC’s involvement in Russian public diplomacy has attracted significant, but not yet sufficient attention from the part of researchers. Foreign policy experts’ understanding of the importance of faith diplomacy at the beginning of the 21st century has increased significantly. Jack Snyder writes that religion has always been present in international politics, but it has only recently become difficult to keep ignoring it (Snyder, 2011, p. 1). Irina Papkova points to various factions within ROC (Papkova, 2011, p. 17), there are also divergent views within the Church on the Crimea and the war in Donbass issues. ROC’s attitude to the war as such is better understood if we take into account the securitisation of orthodoxy in Russia and the close relationship between the ROC and the Russian military. The Moscow Patriarchate and the Russian army are unanimous in a nationalistic vision of Russia’s role in the world (Rihters, 2013, p. 57-74).

The link between Russian public diplomacy and the security sphere is also pointed out by Agnia Grigas, who writes in her book *Beyond Crimea: The New Russian Empire* that official Russia in its

neighbouring policy has made its way from soft power to information warfare, 'passportisation', active advocacy for the compatriots abroad and the annexation of Crimea (Grigas, 2016, p. 25-56). ROC's backed Russian World concept underwent a similar transition – from soft power to legitimization of aggression. Alar Kilp titled the ROC's involvement in foreign affairs of the Russian Federation as a *supportive diplomacy* (Kilp, 2006), which can be studied as a faith diplomacy. However, the annexation of Crimea and the war in Donbass are part of the Russian hybrid war, so the scientific approach of *public diplomacy during military conflicts* is used in this research.

The aim of the paper is to analyse the external communication messages of the Russian Orthodox Church during the annexation of Crimea and the war in Donbass and their linkage with Russian foreign policy goals. The ROC's communication in military conflicts is still a rather poorly studied topic and therefore this article intends to contribute to its further in-depth research.

Methodology

Studies in the field of public diplomacy usually employ research models that can be adapted to each individual case (Gilboa, 2008, p. 59). The study uses a research model dealing with: a) communication channels; b) the message; c) the link between messages of public diplomacy and foreign policy goals. Due to the limited scope of this study, the audience's responses to the message are not examined. The emphasis is put on qualitative research methods. However, quantitative data from other studies on the religious affiliations of the Ukrainian population were also used. Both official and informal documents were analysed in order to fulfil the set tasks. The conceptual documents of Russian foreign policy, speeches of its public officials, politicians and diplomats were studied. The messages of the Moscow Patriarchate's official representatives as well as lower rank clergymen were analysed in the context of Russian foreign policy goals.

Results and Discussion

Public diplomacy in military conflicts

Although public diplomacy (PD) implementation cases can be traced back in history many centuries ago, the notion of 'public diplomacy' was first used in 1965, when Edmund Gullion, former US Foreign Service employee, founded Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy. According to the 1965 definition, public diplomacy was understood as the means by which national governments, private groups and individuals influence the attitudes and opinions of other individuals or national governments, in order to affect their foreign policy decisions (Snow, Taylor, 2009, p. 19). Joseph Nye, the author of the theoretical aspects of the soft power, has pointed out that public diplomacy is a tool for implementing soft power (Nye, 2004, p. 108-110). Although generally the soft power approach is used to study the peacetime foreign policy, one of Joseph Nye's quotations explains the importance of using public diplomacy during the war: "Conventional wisdom holds that the state with the largest army prevails, but in the information age, the state (or the non-state actor) with the best story may sometimes win." (Nye, 2010, p. 2).

The strength of faith diplomacy as a component of PD is the ability to address and unite individuals with different ethnic and civic affinities or different political beliefs. Philip Seib points out: "Faith is influential: for some people it is the centre of their lives." (Seib, 2013, p. 1). The traditional

understanding of religious diplomacy is based on the assumption that both sides of the war can call for peace through religious organizations. The problem may grow if a religious organization firmly supports one of the warring parties, because then diplomacy of faith can have the opposite effect – it can increase tension between the conflicting parties.

Countries can continue active public diplomacy with the audience of another country, even while in a state of war. Such PD may differ significantly from peacetime messages and implementation practices. The approach of *public diplomacy during military conflicts* explains that foreign affairs and related non-state actors also have a share in public diplomacy during military conflicts, namely, to work with audiences in other countries to convince the international community of the legitimacy of their actions. When analysing the role of public diplomacy in military conflicts, Anthony Pratkanis distinguishes a number of goals that can be achieved through public diplomacy (selectively): to communicate the legitimacy of course of action; to change the mind and behaviour of enemies, neutrals; to win support for ideals; to encourage belligerents to cease fire; to build pressure by other countries against the aggressor; to resolve a conflict and prevent a war in the first place; to justify war efforts to significant neutrals; to destroy enemy's morale; to improve one's own morale; to induce an enemy to surrender (Snow & Taylor, 2009, p. 113). The approach by Anthony Pratkanis helps to understand the meaning of messages by the Russian Orthodox Church during the annexation of Crimea and the war in Donbass.

Russian Orthodox Church's communication before and after the annexation of Crimea

Communication channels

The Russian Orthodox Church addresses the population of Ukraine through three major channels of communication: the Moscow Patriarchate parishes, non-governmental organizations, and the media. The people of Ukraine are the main audience on the topics of the annexation of Crimea and the war in Donbass, but the messages are also distributed to two other target audiences: a) population of Russia itself; b) the international community (especially its Russian-speaking segment).

The 2018 surveys show that 28.7 per cent of the Ukrainian population adhere to Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kiev Patriarchate, 12.8 per cent – Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, 0.3 per cent – Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, but 23.4 per cent admitted they were 'simply Orthodox' without links to one or another patriarchate (Razumkov centr, 2018). The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate had 12340 congregations, 191 monasteries (with 4625 monks and nuns) and about 9900 priests in 2012 (Pkhaldze, 2012, p. 177). Information from Russia spreads in the Moscow Patriarchate parishes through formal communication by the pastors of both countries, as well as through informal contacts of the parish members across national borders.

Dissemination of Russia's messages in Ukraine has taken place through organizations of Russian compatriots residing abroad, some of them having Orthodox orientation. For example, the goal of the NGO Cossack Believers is to support Orthodoxy and the Ukrainian-Russian unity (Pelnēns, 2010, 256). In order to defend their interests, the Ukrainian Orthodox public organizations

supported by the Moscow Patriarchate cooperate with like-minded Russian organizations, such as Union of Russian Orthodox Brotherhoods, Russian Union of Orthodox Citizens, etc.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate (UOCMP) is an active user of Ukrainian national media, including internet resources, radio, and television. The UOCMP messages are distributed in more than 40 regional television programs; the leaders in regional communication are eparchies of Odessa, Donetsk, and Dnepropetrovsk (Pkhaldze, 2012, p. 182).

Messages

Patriarch Kirill, the Head of the Russian Orthodox Church (Patriarch of Moscow and all Rus'), like the Head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate Metropolitan Onufry, have been cautious in statements about the annexation of Crimea and the war in Donbass. Contrary to that, Vsevolod Chaplin, Head of the ROC Public Relations Department (2009 – 2015), has been sharp in his expressions. In March 2014, Chaplin said he had great hopes that the mission of the Russian soldiers to defend the freedom, identity and lives of those people would not be met with a cruel resistance that would lead to massive clashes (Makarkin, 2015). These words of an official clerical representative suggest that in 2014 the ROC called on the Ukrainian side not to resist the occupation of Crimea. Speaking about the events in Ukraine Chaplin pointed in an Internet online conference in 2014 that Russia has stopped all the global projects, „which were not in line with our conscience, with our historical vision and, I dare say, with the God’s truth. That was Napoleon’s project and Hitler’s project alike. So let’s stop the American project as well!” (Interfax-Religion.ru, 2014). The Russian media explain that the real opponent of Russia is not Ukraine, but the USA, which is instigating the Ukrainian government into the war.

Patriarch Kirill did not attend the meeting in Kremlin of March 18, 2014, where Crimean annexation was celebrated. A few weeks later, on April 7, Kirill spoke during the sermon about the expansion of Russia’s territory, which grew from a small Moscow principality to a large country “from ocean to ocean” (Patriarchia.ru, 2014). Kirill explained that absorption of new lands was successful because it was a manifestation of spirituality. Albeit the leader of the ROC does not directly mention Crimea, he praises Russia’s historical territorial expansion, which shows that Kirill links this issue with Crimean events, thus indirectly supporting the Kremlin’s position on Crimea. ROC is justifying the Russian involvement in war against Ukraine with a spiritual mission to stop the ‘global evil’. The sacralisation of the war leads to certain consequences – the opponents are demonised and labelled as the ‘absolute evil’ thus escalating the aggression (Kuraev, 2014).

Several pastors of Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate have openly expressed their supporting views on the separatist position of pro-Moscow militants (Derkach, 2018, 3). Part of the Crimean Orthodox priests and monks have supported publicly the annexation of Crimea by Russia. Abbot Orest of UOCMP monastery in Sevastopol said about annexation of Crimea that “Crimea has returned back home – to Russia [..].” (Barhatova, 2015). Meanwhile ROC’s priest Shkarbul stated that “it’s just ATO² and those sanctioning and supporting it, who serve Satan’s interests more than anyone else” (Gorditsa, 2014). Pro-Moscow Cossack units have given oaths in the Moscow Patriarchate churches in Ukraine to serve their homeland Russia, and often consecrated their flags

² ATO – Anti-Terrorism Operation – conducted for the preservation of Ukraine's territorial integrity

there. In November, 2016 one such unit prayed “the Lord and the Mother of God, to make our troops victorious over the evil enemy – the Satanic hordes of heretic Nazis” (Buchin, 2016). Such examples are plentiful (Derkach, 2018), they show some of the moods of the local Moscow Patriarchate pastors and separatist military units in the conflict zones in Ukraine.

Linkage of Russian Orthodox Church’s communication with the Russian foreign policy objectives

When we evaluate the immediate short-term objectives of ROC’s messaging, the ones come to forefront: to persuade the audience about righteousness of Russia’s actions; encourage belligerents to cease fire; justify war efforts; improve one’s own morale; induce an enemy to surrender. It is important to take into account here that Russia’s aggression against Ukraine took place in a form of a hybrid war, without openly declaring war. The annexation of Crimea was intended to proceed quickly, without deaths of Russian soldiers. Jolanta Darczewska points out that the Crimean Operation perfectly shows the essence of the information war: the victim of aggression – as was the case in Crimea – does not resist” (Darczewska, 2014, p. 6).

Public diplomacy works on broader long-term goals. One of contiguous points between Russia’s foreign policy and the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine is the promotion of the concept of the Russian World. On March 18, 2014, while addressing the audience in the Kremlin Hall just after the annexation of Crimea, Putin stated: “[..]I expect that the citizens of Germany will also support the aspiration of the Russian World, of historical Russia, to restore unity” (Kremlin.ru, 2014). Thus, Putin used ROC’s supported concept of Russian World to justify aggression against Ukraine.

Sergey Zdiouruk and Oleksiy Haran, analysing the influence of ROC on social and political processes in Ukraine, points out that “An attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church and its most dedicated supporters in Ukraine to the EU, NATO, the USA and West should be considered, in general, as a single ideological complex, with a central idea to recreate the political unity of the former Soviet Union, headed by Russia” (Pkhaldze, 2012, p. 81). The objectives of the Moscow Patriarchate in Ukraine not only do not contradict Russia’s foreign policy goals; the former ones helped in achieving the latter ones as part of Russia’s public diplomacy. However, the conduct of Moscow Patriarchate in relations with Ukraine has even more alienated most of the Ukrainian society (including the believers) from Moscow’s political objectives.

Conclusions

The overarching Russia’s foreign policy goal in its relations with Ukraine is to keep the country within its sphere of influence, preventing Ukraine from integrating with the West in the political, security and economic spheres. The main objectives of Russia’s public diplomacy during aggression against Ukraine were to seek support for Russia’s actions inside Ukrainian society, as well as to put pressure on Ukraine’s political leadership to make it accept Russia’s conditions for a) the entire political future of Ukraine; b) Crimean Peninsula status. The Russian Orthodox Church in its communication was most involved in raising the support by the Ukrainian and Russian populations for Russia’s actions in Ukraine, as well as in levelling down the morale of the Ukrainian people and military to resist Russian aggression.

The research shows that the interests of ROC and Russian foreign policy makers coincide on a number of foreign policy issues, so communication is synergistic – both secular and Moscow patriarchal messages complement each other. The messages of the Moscow Patriarchate were disseminated with the help of the media, non-governmental organizations and clergymen in local parishes. The dominant idea of those messages was the need for unity between Ukrainians and Russians due to their historical ties and common Orthodox faith. A number of local Moscow Patriarchate pastors have demonised Ukrainian government forces and volunteer troops that fight for the territorial integrity of Ukraine by comparing them with Nazi forces and Satanists.

On the one hand, the communication from ROC's management during the annexation of Crimea and warfare in eastern Ukraine corresponded to the usual practice of religious diplomacy, where the representatives of the denominations call for peace. On the other hand, the call to seize hostilities was mostly addressed to the Ukrainian side, as Russian troops were depicted as performing a peace mission. We should not see the role of the ROC in the annexation of Crimea and war in Donbass in just black and white, as no direct public support for the annexation of Crimea and war in Donbass was found on the part of Patriarch Kirill. However, at that time, the statements of ROC's official public representative Vsevolod Chaplin were favourable for the activities of separatists supported by Russia and the annexation of Crimea. The leaders of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate spoke out for peace, while many pastors of the same church, both inside and outside the occupied territories, have supported the position of pro-Moscow militants and even inspired them to wage war. This position, complemented with the sacralization of the war in the speeches of Russian politicians, can escalate the aggression, since it demonises the opponent.

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THE BALTIC STATES IN THE HISTORICAL DISCOURSE OF THE WEST: THE NARRATIVE OF THE NEW COLD WAR

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Abstract: The Baltic States – former captive nations, now – members of the European Union and NATO – find themselves on the different side of the figurative wall in the current security setting, where the deteriorating Russian-Western relations are occasionally defined as the New Cold War. The aim of this paper is to discuss the construction of this historically-charged narrative and how it has been contextualized in the past to be defined as the New Cold War. I argue that the narrative of the history, especially the 20th century and its wars, totalitarian regimes, and the Cold War experiences, is still present in the way the Western identity is constructed and is especially evident in the discourse of the Baltic States. Carrying out the poststructuralist discourse analysis, I aim to disclose the constructions through which the historical discourse of the Cold War is contextualized in the wider discourse of Baltic-Western relations.

Keywords: Poststructuralism, The Baltic States, international relations, discourse, security studies

Introduction

This paper discusses how the Baltic security discourse has been reflected in the narrative of the New Cold War. I argue that due to the strong emphasis on the past, which have been very evident in the Baltic-Western relations, the Baltic states' security has been constructed as a challenge to defend Western values and European peace and freedom.

In my paper I firstly briefly review the Baltic and Western identities and their relations ever since the independence of the Baltic States and then focus on how they are represented in the New Cold War narrative.

The concept of the New Cold War has been used for a while to define the worsening relations between Russia and the West. We could assign the talks about Russian influence on the US elections or the war in Syria to this narrative, so the Baltic states is one more place of the political and military tension between the two camps, this way drawing parallels with the original Cold War.

In the context of the situation in the Baltic States and around them, the New Cold War has been analyzed discussing the changes in security situation after the Ukrainian crisis (Gromyko, 2015; Charap & Shapiro, 2015), its narrative in the Russian public sphere (Rotaru, 2019) or the uses of the past by the present Western elites (Lieven, 2018), also – discussing the geopolitical vision of the European Union (EU) and its strategy countering Russian aggression (Browning, 2018) or how NATO should be preparing for those new security challenges (Kroenig, 2015).

Cox (2014) writes about the role history played in the events of the Cold War and discusses its general place in the policy making, arguing that the use of the term New Cold War for the current situation is rather misguided. He also notices that “there can never be any easy, let alone statistically

certain, way of measuring what role ‘history’ ever plays in shaping the decisions of key players. Indeed, according to at least one view, it probably plays very little independent role at all other than in justifying or rationalising actions that would have been taken otherwise” (2014, p. 462).

While discussed in the academic circles, the concept of the New Cold War was also used in the public sphere. In the narrative of the Russian-Western relations, it has been used when questioning of the resemblance to the Cold War period, comparing for the numbers of troops deployed, the level of the suspense in the relations with Russia, finally, discussing whether the current security situation can be defined as a New Cold War and in what characteristics. Those questions were also addressed in the books of Lucas (2008) and Legvold (2016).

And while this might seem as a part of a global trend, looking into how the Baltic and Western relations have been constructed, we can see that this is a continuation of the previous articulations of the Baltic and Western identities and that the strong link with the past is very central in this discourse.

Methodology

The narrative of the Baltic States: the poststructuralist approach

The construction of the New Cold War narrative was analyzed using the poststructuralist discourse analysis methodology by Hansen (2006). She defines political identities as created through the positive process of linking together some features that represent an identity and then juxtaposing them against the other identity through the negative process of differentiation. The poststructuralist approach holds that no identity in international relations can exist in isolation and is always constructed in relation with some other identity.

This method of linking and differentiation was used to structure the analysis of the official and media discourse to draw the insights on the situation of Western-Baltic relations and the narrative of the New Cold War.

A wide variety of texts was read for this analysis, dating from the beginning on the 90s when the Baltic states regained their independence. The readings included, but weren't limited to, official speeches of the presidents of the United States, the official press releases from the chancellor of Germany, government of the Great Britain, also, the texts from the European Parliament and NATO. It also included the media texts, mostly those published in Politico.eu and BBC.com, opting for those websites as focused on political news.

Once the main narratives have been defined, to get the view as complete as possible, the readings also included various publications in the media, historical documents and other texts the read ones referred to.

Besides the texts reviewed for the primary research on the discourse of the Baltic States, for the further analysis of the New Cold War two books regarding the subject were also included: “The New Cold War” by Edward Lucas and “Return to Cold War” by Robert Legvold. The analysis was also supplemented with the media texts, regarding the Baltic States, from the “Newspaper Source” database of the newspapers, TV and radio content of various US and other countries media, this

way including a wider specter of texts to make sure the discourse is fully represented, and no significant aspects are omitted. The analysis, however, shows that it is a rather solid narrative.

The results were structured around the identities using the previously-mentioned method, allowing to define how those identities were established in the discourse and how they differentiated themselves from each other, at the same time, forming a defining set of features. It disclosed certain topics and dominating narratives in the discourse. Before proceeding to the discussion about the New Cold War, the paper further briefly reviews the results of the discourse analysis of the Baltic–Western relations.

The narrative of the Baltic states is closely built around the West struggle of coping with the regimes and wars of the past century. Firstly, the Baltic states are defined through their common fate as the former captive nations. Their past is emphasized both with admiration for their progress, and with a definition of the course they have to take, finally, their struggle for freedom is contextualized as a fight for what the West holds the essential values, for example, USA president George W. Bush in 2002 described the Baltic fight for freedom as a valuable experience for then a future NATO member: “if you lived under slavery and subjugation, and you're free, there's a spirit. There's a strength of purpose. There's a remembrance of what it's like. There's no gray areas between good and evil. That's an important spirit in NATO”³.

Secondly, the Western identity also comes with a very strong emphasis on the past: the dictatorships of the past are constructed as the antagonistic opposition to the present, emphasizing the freedom and democracy as key values. The post-Soviet states' return to the West is, therefore, a symbolic act of, as Helmut Kohl put it in 1996, a push for the EU “to override its own anxieties and start to shift eastwards the centuries-old divide of the continent into a prosperous western and a struggling eastern half”⁴. The past of the Europe is associated with instability, division and the state of war, insecurity where, in the words of G. W. Bush in 2005, “the freedom of small nations was somehow expendable”.

Those examples only very briefly illustrate how the narrative of the Baltic states' “return to the West” was constructed. We can see that the Baltic identity is reflected through the historical experiences of the Western nations and that the Baltic journey towards the Western Self is seen as a way of addressing and overcoming the unpleasant and painful past of the West itself. As we discussed how those two identities have interacted so far, we can take a closer look at the more recent narrative of the New Cold War. I argue that this is one of the key representations of the Baltic-Western discourse because it reveals the dynamic of the values we've briefly reflected on before and offers a case of how a certain event in the international politics is being incorporated in this past-bound narrative.

³ Interview of the President by LNK TV of Lithuania. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/11/20021121-8.html>.

⁴ EU leaders look to the east. <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-leaders-look-to-the-east/>

Results and Discussion

The New Cold War

In the center of the analogy with the Cold War is the aspect of the polarization and the existence of two rival camps: Russia and the West and especially, the United States. Those camps are defined as “lining up” against each other and “armed to the teeth”. Besides the military rivalry, the worsening diplomatic relations are also defined as “in deep freeze” and “in the new low point” or even worse than in those former times: “there was dialogue throughout the post-war decades, there were protocols (...) Then there was stability – now there is not”⁵. One important distinction that is being made between the Cold War and the current situation is the fact that the present situation is not considered the clash of ideologies or philosophies, emphasizing the fact that Russia, unlike the West, is not basing its actions on values but on the mere pragmatism, this way making it another identity to construct oneself against.

In some cases, the current situation is being measured by the Cold War, for example, defining a military exercise as the largest since the Cold War, pointing out that the heavy military equipment would be sent to the Eastern Europe for the first time after the Cold War or describing certain military-related actions as “Cold War era military tensions”, returning to Eastern Europe. The Cold War, therefore, is seen as the bottom line in the relations and defining the current situation as the new version of it is a way to emphasize how serious the situation is.

Undoubtedly, the analogy also brings up the historic parallels, while the the case of the Baltic states already has been deeply contextualized in the history of the West, the Cold War included. For example, with the accession to NATO, the Baltic States were assured that “the arbitrary lines drawn by dictators” were erased for good and that Europe would never be divided and this, as already mentioned, is a case important both for the Baltic states and to the West as it constructs the present Western Self against the one of the past, depicting the present Western identity as committed to defending the freedom of the small states and their right to choose – unlike in the past times when their fate used to be decided by the bigger international player.

There are two dominating contexts in which we can find the Baltic states and they are closely related to the previously discussed representations of identities and history.

The first aspect is the question of the security guarantees, more precisely, the NATO commitment of defense of each of its member. This commitment is emphasized both by the Western leaders who come to the Baltic states to assure them after the annexation of Crimea, and secondly, it is being brought up wondering if Russia would try to attack the states in order to challenge the West. “Rather like West Berlin in the days of the Cold War, the Baltic States are militarily indefensible but symbolically vital: if they succumb to Russian pressure, who will be next?”, writes Edward Lucas (12 p.). He argues that sowing the doubt and the saber rattling are the ways to test the lines and see how far the West would allow Russia to go. The aspect that the attack against the Baltic states would require all the NATO members to respond is another parallel to the fragile security situation of the original Cold War. “Their goal is to undermine the alliance and to undermine the European Union. (...) creating divisions between countries, exploiting those and also to demonstrate that the

⁵ Burleigh, Michael. “New Cold War? No, it's far more perilous than that”. *Mail on Sunday*, April 15, 2018.

alliance cannot defend one of its members”⁶, – a US general who commanded the US army in EU is quoted saying.

The Baltic states here are seen as the countries in a very complicated geopolitical location, yet symbolically and otherwise essential to NATO and to the West: they represent a promise to never come back to the dark times of history when the freedom of the small states could have been sacrificed. The vice president of the US Joe Biden even defines the security of the Baltic states as “the sacred honor” of the US: “I want to make it clear, absolutely clear to all the people of the Baltic States, we have pledged our sacred honor – the United States of America – our sacred honor to the NATO treaty. We mean what we say. We have never reneged on any commitment we have made. Our sacred honor is at stake.”

The second context in which the Baltic states are being mentioned is the ethical one, emphasizing the fight for the united Europe: “At the very heart of the new Russia-West Cold War, Russia, the US, and its NATO allies returning to the defining feature of the original Cold War: a militarized standoff over the future of a divided Europe”, – writes Legvold (2017, p. 53). The Vice President of the US Pence, during his address in 2017 in Estonia, pointed out that “we stand where East meets West, on a great frontier of freedom”, also emphasizing that this it’s threatened by Russia, which “continues to seek to redraw international borders by force, undermine the democracies of sovereign nations, and divide the free nations of Europe one against another”⁷. The US president Barack Obama in 2014, reacting to the crisis in Eastern Ukraine, also pointed out that the vision of Europe that is whole and free and at peace is being threatened by Russia, associating Russia’s nationalism with the ambitions originating from the past.

At the same time, the persisting relevance of the Western values is questioned, especially by the media, asking if Western Europeans are still ready to pay for the safety of the Eastern countries. Lucas points out that the certain ignorance exists and even compares it to the pre-World war II situation. Such development of the narrative is pressuring to prove that the West still stand for those values – the attempt to do it is partly evident in the previously-mentioned assuring of the Baltic states.

The narrative of Europe, relying on the US for its security, is also related to the Baltic states, for example, British Prime Minister Theresa May, addressing in Republican Party of the US conference points out that “sovereign countries cannot outsource their security and prosperity to America. And they should not undermine the alliances that keep us strong by failing to step up and play their part. (...) It is (...) why we have agreed to send 800 troops to Estonia and Poland as part of NATO’s forward presence in eastern Europe”⁸. So, the Baltic States-related policies are also a proof of unity and the remaining commitment to fight for the common ideals.

⁶ Martin, Rachel. “Russia Aims To Undermine NATO, Retired Lt. Gen. Hodges Says”. *Morning Edition (NPR)*, July 24, 2018

⁷ Remarks by the Vice President to Enhanced Forward Presence and Estonian Troops. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/07/31/remarks-vice-president-enhanced-forward-presence-and-estonian-troops>

⁸ Prime Minister's speech to the Republican Party conference 2017: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/prime-ministers-speech-to-the-republican-party-conference-2017>

Conclusions

Those examples show that the case of the Baltic states is seen as a litmus test for how much the West is still willing to stand for its key values and at the same time, if it has learned from the past and wouldn't make the same mistakes again. The security of the Baltic States is constructed as crucial and symbolically relevant.

Having discussed how the Baltic identity is contextualized and represented in the Western narrative, it's worth asking what does it mean for the Baltic States? Is it the way to be represented that is good for the Baltic States' interests and their security?

What is obvious from a glance at this discourse, is that the Baltic narrative is interlaced with some deep and essential Western identity aspects. The idea of the Cold War is still very vivid in the Western self-perception and defining a situation with the similar terms, comparing it to the well-known one, helps to put the message about the seriousness of the situation across.

Moreover, as long as the case of the Baltic states is seen as a test case for NATO and Western values and they are given such a big importance not only in the narrative of the New Cold War but in the entire context of the Western identity, this is an important security guarantee as such. Even looking from a very realistic and rationalist point of view, if one keeps associating a certain object with the essential values and obligations, losing this object leaves more at stake than the basic material loss.

On the other hand, given that the Cold War is seen so negatively and as such a dangerous setting where the participants can accidentally wander into a "hot" war, the concept comes with a worry about the increasing military presence. The Cold War is perceived as a great example that the democratic values persist, yet it also comes with a grim memory of such events as Cuban Missile Crisis. That means that the narrative on the New Cold War may cause support or reluctance to react, depending on how the discourse develops.

At the same time, we can start asking ourselves if being associated with the historic events and the past is really a good thing in the long run. Being deeply established in the past but less evident in the contemporary issues leaves the Baltic States dependent on the longevity of this aspect of the Western identity.

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THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRIVACY AND SECURITY IN THE DATA AGE⁹

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Abstract: Protection of privacy and security are the key concerns in today's information society where ever-increasing amount of data have been created. The emerging technologies such as Internet of Things, Big Data, Artificial Intelligence as well as government and corporate surveillance rises new challenges and call for the re-evaluation of privacy and security concepts. The pressing demand to address national security concerns encourages states to apply new measures that can seriously weaken privacy and security standards. The paper aims to develop understanding of the complicated and changing relationship between privacy and security in the digital age. It examines the concepts of privacy and security in order to reveal the main commonalities and differences between these two interrelated issues and their development direction. It demonstrates how privacy and security can be seen as complimentary values and how the new EU data protection rules tie them together even more. Finally, the paper will examine privacy and security as two opposite values, which is the case when it comes to national security arguing that EU and national measures aiming to expand gathering and sharing of personal data for law enforcement purposes need to be tested for compliance with the fundamental rights.

Keywords: data protection, human rights, privacy, security

Introduction

Privacy and security are the key concerns in today's information society where huge amounts of data is being produced every day at an ever-increasing pace. The importance of data will only increase with the new technologies, like massive growth of Internet of Things, Big Data and Artificial Intelligence. However, these emerging technologies along with the ability to collect and analyze ever-increasing amounts of data bring serious threats, in particular to privacy and security. The issues of privacy and security have become even more important due to the General Data Protection Regulation (the GDPR) (European Parliament and Council Regulation (EU) 2016/679, 2016), which became applicable in 25 May 2018.

This paper seeks to develop understanding of the complicated and changing relationship between privacy and security in the digital age. It will, first, explain the concepts of privacy and security. The analysis begins by considering why it is important to protect privacy as well as how the right to privacy and the right to data protection are related to each other. It will proceed with the analysis of the concepts of security and cybersecurity. Second, the paper will examine the relationship between privacy and security, the main commonalities and differences between these two interrelated issues and their development direction. It will reveal how privacy and security can be seen as

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complimentary values and how the new European Union (the EU) data protection rules tie them together even more. Finally, the paper will examine privacy and security as two opposite values, which is the case when it comes to national security.

Methodology

A number of scientific research methods are used in the paper. One of the main research methods is the analytical method which is used in analysing the legal theory, legislation and other materials. The historical method is used to discover the development of the right to privacy and the right to data protection. The comparative method is used to evaluate how privacy and security is defined by different stakeholders and finding out and comparing its content in the real world and cyberspace. The inductive method is applied to draw general conclusions from the study of individual cases, and the deductive method - to make the specific conclusions by taking into account theoretical guidelines and overall ideas. A wide range of literature - books, articles, guidelines and other materials of the EU institutions - as well as international, EU and national legislation and the case-law of the European Court of Human Rights (the ECtHR) and the Court of Justice of the European Union (the CJEU) is used in the study.

Results and Discussion

Defining privacy and data protection

The first attempts to define privacy date back to the nineteenth century, when two American lawyers *Warren* and *Brandeis* in their work “The Right to Privacy” described privacy as “the right to be let alone” (Bernal, 2014, 33. p.). Privacy in its most traditional aspect means people’s interest in not being exposed to unwanted attention from the state or third party (Van Dijk and Van Hoof, Van Riin, Zwaak (Eds.), 2018, 670. p.). This definition, although attractive in its simplicity, creates a new question: “Why a person wants or needs to be let alone?” One of the most common misconception about privacy is that it is about having something to hide and that privacy only aids wrongdoers (Schneier, 2015, 147. p.).

Privacy is a fundamental human right inherent to the human dignity of every person. It is essential aspect of autonomy (Bernal, 2014, 33. p.). Prof. *Nissenbaum* categorizes relationship between privacy and autonomy in digital context in three ways. Firstly, privacy gives us autonomy over our personal information. Secondly, privacy also creates an environment in which we can exercise our autonomy, feel free in thoughts and actions, that would not be possible under the constant risk of observation. Thirdly, privacy allows us to make free choices and act freely by protecting against manipulation of our choices and actions (Bernal, 2014, 10. p.). Privacy gives us a personal sphere in which we can freely develop our personalities, think and shape our opinions. Privacy is thus also an essential precondition for the exercise of other fundamental freedoms, such as freedom of expression, freedom of peaceful assembly and association, and freedom of religion (FRA, 2018b, 18. p.).

The right to respect private life and the right to personal data protection, although closely related, are distinct rights (FRA, 2018b, 18. p.). The right to privacy is recognised in the core international human rights treaties (United Nations General Assembly, 1966, art. 17; Council of Europe, 1952,

art. 8.). It consists of a general prohibition of interference and protects against unlawful or excessive use of power.

In the 1970s in Europe the right to data protection started to develop as a distinct fundamental right with an increase in the use of computers and in response to the need for specific rules governing the collection and use of personal information (Rudgard, 2018, 20., 26. p.). The Charter of the Fundamental Rights of the European Union (European Union, 2000), which became legally binding in the EU in 2009, contrary to the earlier human rights treaties, not only guarantees the respect for private life (Article 7), but separately establishes the right to the protection of personal data (Article 8) (FRA, 2018b, 18. p.). Europe plays a leading role in the world in data protection, as it has set very high standards, in particular with the adoption of the GDPR.

The protection of personal data is viewed as a modern and active right. Any processing of personal data must comply with the essential components of data protection, such as the respect for the data subject's rights and independent supervision (FRA, 2018a, 19. p.). The right to personal data protection comes into play whenever personal data are processed, irrespective of the impact on privacy. It is thus broader than the right to respect for private life as not all data processing is capable of constituting a privacy interference (FRA, 2018a, 20. p.). At the same time the right to data protection is more specific than the right to privacy. The concept of privacy is wider as it encompasses various aspects of private sphere such as reputation, identity, relationships with others and the "outside world", physical and psychological integrity, family life, home, electronic communications etc (Van Dijk and Van Hoof, Van Riin, Zwaak (Eds.), 2018, 669. p.).

Defining Security

Right to security is also one of the fundamental human rights established in the international human rights treaties (United Nations General Assembly, 1966, art. 9., Council of Europe, 1952, art. 5.). We can identify notions of public security or national security, social security, personal security as well as divide it depending on threats in different areas, e.g. economic security, health security etc.

"Security" is defined as "a state of being free from danger or threat" (English Oxford Dictionary, n.d.). Cybersecurity came into focus with the expansion of internet that created new threats and risks. Cybersecurity refers to security of cyberspace, it is a part, a subset of security.

Cybersecurity can be viewed in the wider and in the narrower sense. In the wider sense cybersecurity includes different threats in the cyberspace and the measures to address these threats (ENISA, 2017). These measures can involve different disciplines and cover multidisciplinary aspects: technology, law, psychology, sociology, economy, political science and diplomacy (Klimburg (Ed.), 2012, X.p.; Kurbalija, 2016, 90. p.).

Cybersecurity in the narrower sense covers the security of information systems and the ability to protect or defend against cyberattacks and cyber incidents. It is seen as a synonym of information security and is defined as the preservation of three main aspects of information: confidentiality, integrity and availability (ENISA, 2015, 11. p.).

Privacy and security as complementary values

Cybersecurity and human rights are complimentary and interdependent issues (Klimburg (Ed.), 2012, X.p.; Kurbalija, 2016, 90. p.). More security implies more human rights, including privacy and data protection, and vice versa. Without privacy people feel vulnerable and less secure. Similarly, a loss of security can result in the loss of privacy. Ensuring safe use of computers and devices, e.g., safe access with appropriate passwords, using encryption, is essential to safeguard privacy.

Considering the relationship between data protection and cybersecurity, cybersecurity in the narrower sense or information security is wider than data protection as it involves not only personal data but all kinds of data. At the same time cybersecurity is also narrower than protection of personal data, as data protection involves many other requirements. The GDPR sets out security as one of the seven data protection principles (Article 5). Security, although very essential, but is just one among many other obligations which are imposed on data controllers.

The new EU data protection rules ties privacy and security even more together. Alongside security requirements, the GDPR introduces a risk-based approach, which is generally applied in the security field, as an essential element also in data protection field (ENISA, 2017). The GDPR imposes an obligation on all data controllers to implement appropriate measures taking into account the risks to the rights and freedoms of natural persons (Article 24 (1)). In situations where a type of processing is likely to result in a high risk, the controller shall carry out data protection impact assessment (Article 35(1)). However, if in case of security basic economics can be applied and we can make calculation how much does the loss of security cost, it is much harder to set a value to privacy (Schneier, 2015, 166. p.) Both EU and national data protection authorities are developing further guidelines on how these new rules will be applied in practice (EDPS, 2018b).

Security breaches are the most common cause for serious privacy and data protection violations. The GDPR introduces the obligation to notify personal data breaches, i.e., security incidents, to data protection authorities (Article 33). Thousands of data breaches have been notified within six months since the GDPR became applicable on 25 May 2018 (Panoptykon Foundation, 2018). Data protection authorities in large part of legal actions carried out after the GDPR have found violations and imposed penalties to companies for failing to ensure data safety requirements (see, e.g. ICO, 2018).

The new data protection rules are a starting point for the paradigm shift in attitude to privacy and security. The GDPR introduces new principle – accountability principle according to which all companies and institutions that process personal data shall be able to demonstrate compliance by implementing appropriate technical and organisational measures (Article 5 (2)).

Privacy and security as opposite values

Privacy and security can be also seen as two opposite values, which is the case when it comes to national security. Within the international human rights instruments and constitutions public safety and national security is provided as one of the grounds for justification of interference of privacy,

however such interference has to be strictly necessary and proportional in a democratic society to comply with the human rights (Council of Europe, 1950, art. 8 (2); Constitutional Assembly of Latvia, 1922, art. 116.).

In 2013 *Edward Snowden* brought to light mass global surveillance programmes on a previously unimaginable scale sparking global concern about the negative impact of surveillance practices on the right to privacy (UN, 2014). These concerns have reached both the ECtHR and the CJEU which have adopted a number of landmark decisions on the balancing the right to privacy and security requiring strict necessity and proportionality test when assessing the interference of the right to privacy in the interests of national security as well as application of strong procedural safeguards (CJEU, 2014; CJEU, 2015; ECtHR 2018; See Nesterova, 2017.).

Existing and planned EU measures aiming to expand information sharing for law enforcement purposes need to be tested for compliance with the right to data protection and privacy taking into account the requirements set out by the ECtHR and the CJEU. There has been broad discussion on EU data exchange initiatives inside EU, such as the EU PNR system (See FRA, 2018a, 166. p.), the Entry-Exit-System proposal (See EDPS, 2016), proposal for a Directive on rules facilitating the use of financial information for law enforcement purposes (See EDPS, 2018a), as well as outside the EU, such as PNR agreements with non-EU countries (See FRA, 2018a, p. 159.).

EU Member States may also apply different measures in the name of national security, e.g. building huge data bases and applying surveillance measures that interfere with the right to privacy. Although national security remains in the sole responsibility of each EU Member State (European Union, 2007, art. 4 (2)), governments need to implement and review surveillance measures in line with the right to privacy and data protection as well as other fundamental rights.

The advancement of emerging technologies, in particular AI and biotechnology creates new fundamental rights risks and puts democracy in danger (Hawkin, 2018, 186. p.). There is expected to be a rapid advancement of facial recognition technologies that will make it possible to match faces recorded on video taken from surveillance cameras installed in public places against biometric pictures stored in IT systems (Hodson, 2018, 123. p.). Many EU Member States are testing this technology sparking a great concern about the responsible use of so highly privacy intrusive measure (Jacob, 2017). Data mining techniques used for surveillance are not proved to be an effective tool for fighting with terrorism, however they are much more suitable for other purposes such as social control, manipulation, discrimination and even creating a digital dictatorship (See Schneier, 2015, 159.-164. p.), like so called “social credit” system in China (See, e.g. Carney, 2018.). Unavoidable surveillance by tech giants and governments brings serious threat to a society powered by free autonomous citizens making their own choices and actions based on their free will that is essential to democracy (EDPS, 2018c).

Enforcing and completing existing European data protection and privacy rules, although is crucial, could not be enough to circumvent all the risks created by the new technologies. Concerned regulators of EU member states need to cooperate in order to develop a common position in respect of the scope of state surveillance in the name of national security. There is also a need for a global

ethical standards and regulation to govern data and for creation of new technologies, systems and AI (The European Commission's High-Level Expert Group on Artificial Intelligence, 2019).

Conclusions

Privacy is a fundamental human right inherent to the human dignity and autonomy of every person and providing a personal sphere in which people can think and act freely. Security and privacy are complimentary values. The new EU data protection rules tie privacy and security together even more by introducing new security requirements and a risk-based approach which is generally applied in the security field. The new rules are a starting point for the paradigm shift in attitude to privacy and security by introducing such principles as accountability principle, data protection by default and by design.

Privacy and security can be also seen as two opposite values. Public safety and national security can be the grounds for justification of interference of privacy, however such interference has to be strictly necessary and proportional. EU and national measures aiming to expand processing and sharing of personal data for law enforcement purposes need to be tested for compliance with the right to data protection and privacy. The advancement of emerging technologies, in particular AI and biotechnology, that *inter alia* could allow to develop high-tech surveillance systems powered by facial recognition and artificial intelligence, brings serious threat to democracy. Existing European data protection and privacy rules, although are crucial, could not be enough to circumvent all the risks created by the new technologies that calls for a global ethical standards and regulation to govern data and for creation of new technologies, systems and AI.

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WHICH WAY FOR CZECHIA - HOW TO CONSTRUCT THE NATIONS IMAGE?¹⁰

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Abstract: Maintaining the country's reputation is a part of foreign relations in many countries around the world. The aim of this article is to look closer at the role of state administration in the whole process. The documentary analysis goes through the evaluation of strategic documents and public statements and the situation is examined in the practice of three states – Finland, the Netherlands and Slovakia. The comparison of the findings brings consensus on the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is crucial, the different role of the government, whose role oscillates between coordinating, informal and undistinguished and also a different mode of coordination, where there is a solid structure of the governing council, an informal consensus and a working group without clear powers. The recommendation for the Czech practice is the existence of a strong presence of the government and its support of the coordination body, which will also have sufficient powers.

Keywords: public diplomacy, nation branding, country's reputation, state administration

Introduction

The maintenance of the country's reputation has become an inseparable part of the foreign-political agenda of many countries around the world in recent years. The positive perception of the country is one way of gaining a position and influence on the international scene and thus fulfilling its foreign policy priorities (Kamrava, 2013). It plays a large role, referring to their limited capacities of hard power sources, especially for small states (Nye, 2004).

This text focuses on the actors involved in the maintenance of country's reputation on the institutional level, where attention is paid to state actors and, above all, to the role of the government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the formation of a coordination system.

The aim of this article is to identify the key elements that will set up a coordination system at the national level in a way that will allow long-term and effective action by analyzing the situation to find key features of the practice and thus successful examples for the Czech practice. Apart from documentary analysis, the article also uses a method of comparison and managed interviews with actors. In the first part of the text, there is a definition of the level of actors in the country's good reputation system. In the second part, the topic is further developed by looking at the practice of three small states (Finland, the Netherlands and Slovakia). The data thus obtained are then synthesized in the form of generally valid elements, and in the third part, recommendations are expressed that concern the institutional level and should help Czechia to form an effective structure for maintaining the country's good reputation.

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State actors in the cultivation of the country's reputation

The circle of actors involved in the process is very important for the effective maintenance of the country's reputation. A number of authors (see Melissen, 2005; Dinnie, 2016) state that the role of the state, i.e. state authorities, is crucial. In the past, foreign communication in public diplomacy was at the level of the state elite versus the other state elite (Melissen, 2005). However, in more recent decades, with the rise in the importance of public opinion, along with an increase in the importance of non-state actors, both the groups of actors and the target groups in the area of good reputation have changed significantly. However, state actors remain key players, especially at the strategic level, when the state has to decide how it wishes to be perceived.

With regard to the individual levels of involvement summarized in Table 1, it is clear that essentially all the key state bodies, all the representatives who speak and act on behalf of the state, both in the domestic and in the foreign arena in particular, perform a representative function. State officials interpret the country's political attitudes, giving their presence the weight of events by representing the country.

Table 1: Participation levels of state actors

Level of involvement of state actors		
Representative	Legislative	Executive
Head of State	Parliament	government
Parliament	government	ministries
government	political parties	other state and public institutions

Source: author

The importance of the legislative level, or the role of Parliament, depends very much on the distribution of political forces, the tradition of state administration and the importance of reputation on the contemporary political scene. There are basically two options. Either the government's program is approved by the Parliament, and then the Parliament and political parties can speak out or such a program is only solved at government level. The Parliament can also become a discussion platform on the subject.

On the executive level, the role of the government, which in many cases has an initiating and coordinating role (e.g. Denmark, Spain), appears to be the key. For this purpose, a commission or similar body is usually set up to carry out both a coordinating and possibly a methodological task on behalf of the government. An important aspect of coordination is the competence of such a commission, as well as the ability to enforce compliance.

This co-ordination group may exist at several levels. The chairperson of such a committee may be either the prime minister or one of the ministers involved. An expert group can work under the

umbrella of such a committee, including academics, a group devoted to collaboration with non-state actors or any other variation according to the needs of the government. The role of the executive center, which manages the work of the committee between meetings is also important. A frequent choice is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). Another option is the government office itself or one of the other ministries. From the above characteristics, the following criteria for analyzing the situation emerge:

- What is the role of government?
- What is the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Who are the other stakeholders and what is their thematic focus?
- What is the chosen coordination system, its form and form of anchoring?

The practice of small states – Finland, the Netherlands and Slovakia

FINLAND

Looking at the present Finnish activities, the role of the government has strengthened over the last ten years. The requirement for coordination of activities, at least at the national level, also emerged from the expert studies published between 2000 and 2010 (Country Brand Delegation 2010). First, a Council for the Promotion of Finland board was formed in 2005, and then the new Team Finland concept appeared in 2012 (interview with the MFA of Finland, January 2016).

The current form consists of a network of actors with clearly defined competencies and willingness to work together. The role of the government and the prime minister is the key. The Finnish prime minister is the Chairman of the Council for Promotion. The structure of the Council consists of two levels. The first of these is organizational, consisting of representatives of the MFA, the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Economy and Employment. The organizational level is complemented by representatives of Business Finland, an agency dedicated to the promotion and internationalization of business and innovation. The expert level consists of representatives of the academic sphere and representatives from practice. The Council's activity is primarily focused on institutions that are paid from public sources. The Council is currently focusing on the creation of a framework for individual actors in order to maintain a coordinated image of Finland abroad. The Council for the Promotion of Finland became part of the Team Finland concept shortly after its inception (2012). However, between the two formations, it is more likely to talk about cooperation and networking than hierarchical structures (interview with the MFA of Finland, January 2016).

The organizational structure of Team Finland is relatively simple. The team is made up of two groups, the Steering Group and the Managing Group. The Chairman of the Steering Group is the prime minister, the Vice-President comes from a private company and Section Secretaries are representatives of key sectors (Foreign Affairs, Economy and Education). Everyday work is entrusted to the Managing Group, consisting of representatives of the office of the prime minister, of the MFA, of the agency Business Finland plus again representatives of Finnish companies. Its activity is further subdivided into the level of the thematically defined working groups. Team Finland is also active on the domestic scene, and regional agents are involved in bringing together all stakeholders within the territory. At present, there are eighteen local teams in Finland (Team Finland 2018).

THE NETHERLANDS

On an institutional level, the role of government in Dutch practice is rather conceptual in terms of the formulation of the policy's major priorities. There is no strategy at the government level, nor is the prime minister featured in a real role in the domain of goodwill. The role of the state is nevertheless important (interview with the MFA of the Netherlands, June 2018).

The MFA, and especially its departments dealing with communication and public diplomacy, has a crucial conceptual role. Coordination can be divided into internal and external. On the internal level, it is about ensuring consistency in the work of the headquarters in The Hague and networks of embassies abroad. On the external level, it is about the communication and coordination of activities with other involved departments as well as with other state actors. Worth mentioning is the mechanism applied abroad, where the embassy is taken as a coordination center for all the actors involved who participate in any way in the Dutch presence in the country, this also applies to non-state actors. The MFA also cooperates with a number of independent institutions or agencies (interview with the MFA of the Netherlands, June 2018).

The second major player is the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (MECS). The ministry emphasizes the positive impact that cultural diplomacy has on the international position of the Netherlands, as well as the overlap and interconnection with the economic area, and in the field of development cooperation. The Ministry of Economy and Climate Change (MEC) is the third actor strongly involved in the maintenance of the country's reputation. The aim of this office is to present the Netherlands as a very competitive economy, which at the same time, however, is very keen on the sustainability of development. The key partner institution is the Dutch Business Promotion Agency (RVO.nl). The agency also covers export promotion and foreign investment inflow services. Another player is the Netherlands Business Support Office (NBSO). These authorities cooperate with the MFA in support of Dutch businessmen in their export activities and foreign investors in their interest in operating in the Netherlands.

SLOVAKIA

The overwhelming role has been played by state actors since the beginning of the process, but the effort was marked by resort-oriented activities, and the attempt to cooperate was relatively small. In 2009, the Government Council for the Unified Presentation of the Slovak Republic was set up as an advisory body of the Slovak government. The work of this Council was unfortunately not long-lasting and was abolished in the framework of subsequent post-election changes.

By the initiative of the MFA, a new co-ordination platform was set up in 2013 in the form of the Working Group for Coordinated Presentation of Slovakia Abroad, as one of the three working groups of the Government Council for Export and Investment Support. Its main objective is to exchange information and coordinate all actors involved in the topic at the national level (MFEA SK 2018b).

At present, the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of Slovakia (MFEA SK) is the key institution of state branding activities (MFEA SK 2018a). Another body is the Ministry of Economy of Slovakia (ME SK), which focuses on topics related to the development of external economic

relations. Its structure includes also the Slovak Agency for Investment and Trade Development (SARIO) agency. It focuses primarily on supporting the reputation of Slovakia as an excellent investment destination (ME SK 2018). And the Ministry of Culture of Slovakia (MC SK) is involved in the presentation of Slovak culture abroad (MC SK 2018).

The Comparison and Suggestions for Czech practice

The following Table 2 compares the role of state actors in the maintenance of a country's good reputation. Attention is paid to both the role of the government, the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as other actors and their thematic focus. An important aspect is the form of coordination of activities.

Table 2: Criteria for assessing the approach of the surveyed countries to the good name of the country.

	State actors			
	The role of government	The role of MFA	Other actors	System of coordination
Finland	Coordinating	Crucial	ME Business Finland	Council for Promotion - Team Finland
Netherlands	Informal	Crucial	MEC MECS NBSO RVO.nl	M F A + M E C – coordination of activities
Slovakia	Undistinguished	Crucial	ME SARIO MC	Working Group

Source: author

The Finnish structure can be described as a functioning network where there is a coordinating role of the government with the key role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. An important player is also the Ministry of Economy. An important element of the Finnish system is also broad cooperation with private entities, especially in the field of economic presentation. More involvement of private actors is to be expected in the future (Team Finland 2018).

The cooperation and synergy of the Dutch actors connected with the country's reputation is typically under the auspices of the government. The key role in public diplomacy activities is given to the MFA, while a similar role in export and investment promotion goes to the Ministry of Economy. In the Netherlands there is a strong tradition of communication and reaching consensus and, therefore, also of the maintenance of the country's reputation. An important aspect is associated with cooperation with non-state actors, who are defended as full-fledged partners.

The Slovak example shows the undistinguished role of government, while the key role belongs to the MFA. At the government level, there is a working group that should play the role of a

coordination center, but it is not equipped with powers and acts as a professional advisory body with zero enforceability of its decisions (MZVaEZ 2018b).

The Czech situation is currently somewhat unclear in the institutional sense. There is a clear and obvious need to set up the structure of the system, the division of powers and ways of cooperation. Because of the presence of different ministries, the coordination body should be probably controlled by the government itself. The executive power on a daily basis can be managed by the Office of the Government or by the MFA. The coordination body also must have clear powers and the possibility of enforcing its decisions.

There is also another dimension and it is the contact and cooperation of the body and its members with actors outside the structure, non-state actors and also with the professional public. However, the establishment of the structure at a governmental level has to be first as the corner stone on which the system can be further built.

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Abstract: The paper provides analysis of the social policy in Latvia focusing on the interaction between the national government and the European Commission. The authors are analysing policy documents, legislative acts, and scientific literature on the topic. The involvement of the EC into social policy process in Latvia started when the country adopted *acquis communautaire*, followed by signing the Joint Inclusion Memorandum in 2003, joining the EU in 2004 and merging into common labour market. In the post-crisis EU, the progress towards the Europe 2020 targets is monitored throughout the European Semester with Country Specific Recommendations. Latvia uses substantive ESF investments to upskill its workforce and offer new opportunities to jobseekers, and to strengthen institutional capabilities. Despite of the sound social dimension of the EU, value orientation in combination with political will of ruling elite play decisive role in shaping social policy in small national states like Latvia.

Key words: open method of coordination, European semester, country specific recommendations

Introduction

From the very first stages of the regained independent Latvian state in 1990s, the social policy making process has been influenced strongly by the actors from outside (see Rajevska 2005). Most important was Latvia's interaction with the European Union (EU). In 1995 Latvia applied for the EU membership and in 1999 the European Commission (EC) started negotiations with the country. In 1999-2003 Latvia implemented a far-reaching reform process, adjusting multiple laws, rules, standards and regulations to the EU norms and became a full member of the EU in 2004.

Three consecutive periods can be distinguished characterising interaction between Latvian social policy makers and the EU:

- Pre-accession, accession and the first years in the EU (1995 – 2007)
- Crisis years (2008 – 2011)
- Post-crisis period (2012 – onwards)

The EC has constantly enhanced the rhetoric articulating the need for supporting sustainable economic growth by strengthening the social dimension (Juncker 2014, EC 2015, ESPR). The authors are aiming to investigate how this dimension manifested in the interaction between the EC and policy makers in Latvia and have analysed political documents, legislative acts, and scientific literature on the topic.

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Pre-accession, accession and early years in the EU

Latvia adopted the whole common body of EU law, *acquis communautaire*, and during 1999-2003 adjusted internal legislation to the EU norms. Important stage on this roadmap was Joint Inclusion Memorandum (JIM) signed in 2003 by the Latvian Ministry of Welfare and the EC. Latvia has declared the commitments in area of social policy. JIM was the first comprehensive paper with analysis and evaluation of different areas. Many statements of JIM still remain topical. The government of Latvia was rather critical in the evaluation of the social situation in the early 2000s. “Even though the economic indicators are relatively high, the increase in the level of public welfare is still too low. The increase in the income of inhabitants is very uneven. The polarisation of material welfare is growing; there are a large number of persons receiving a low income” (JIM, p.7). On the whole, GDP has increased faster than the increase in resources allocated for social protection. Social security spending as a proportion of GDP has decreased annually since 1999. The decrease in the proportion of resources allocated for social protection from GDP has a negative impact on the standard of living and state of health of the population. It also affects the ability of the respective area institutions to perform their functions (JIM, 2003, p.9). Especially critical was common evaluation of health area. “The general health condition of the Latvian population in terms of life expectancy and mortality indicators was assessed as unsatisfactory” (JIM, 2003, p.12).

In 1999 the Gini coefficient in Latvia was 31, reached its peak in 2008 at 37.5, lowered to 34.5 in 2016 and 2017, but increased to 35.6 in 2018. The reduction of poverty and social exclusion has been proclaimed as one of the primary long-term social policy objectives in Latvia fully in line with the development of EU.

Open method of Coordination (OMC) has been seen as a mechanism whereby national civil servants are encouraged to ratchet-up their policies against agreed benchmarks and through policy learning. Particular regulatory of OMC mechanisms include: joint language use; the building of a common knowledge base (including the collection and standardisation of statistics); the strategic use of comparisons and evaluations; the systemic editing and diffusion of knowledge, and they are combined with social pressures to conform to common standards and goals, and with time pressures in meeting specific deadlines. These measures taken together constitute a system of governance with the potential to transform the practices of member states and to enhance the integration process, albeit by a somewhat different kind of dynamics than is generated by regulation and integration via hard law (Jacobsson, 2004, p. 356). With joining the EU Latvia strengthened institutional capabilities, especially through the provision of structural funds and by the implementation of different programs using the OMC.

The following inclusion into common labour market and the increased mobility of labour force created the most serious challenges to sustainability of Latvian social policy.

Crisis years (2008-2011)

Latvia was the country that suffered the deepest GDP fall in 2009. The package of emergency assistance was agreed between the Government, the IMF, the EC, the World Bank (WB), and Nordic and other European countries. International support focused on the Government's

Emergency Social Safety Net Strategy. The objectives of the programme were to: (i) protect vulnerable groups with emergency safety net support during the economic contraction; (ii) mitigate the social costs of fiscal consolidation; and (iii) ensure that structural reforms lay a foundation for medium term improvements in the social sectors. The loans focused on the three policy areas: education, healthcare and social protection. In all three sectors structural changes were initiated to raise efficiency over the medium-term. However, the WB has later admitted that the efficacy of foundation for the medium-term improvements was not convincing and was rated 'modest' (WB 2013).

Latvia's *public works program*, partly financed through European Social Fund (ESF) was launched amid soaring unemployment in 2009 that jumped from a pre-crisis low of 5% to more than 20% in 2010. The program, which ran from the end of 2009 through the end of 2011, created more than 110,000 temporary jobs. All unemployed people who were not receiving unemployment benefits were eligible to participate in the program on a first-come-first-served basis for up to six months within a year, with two-week minimum participation requirement. Job opportunities ranged from public infrastructure maintenance to environmental clean-up to social, municipal, and state services. Despite the low stipend and the labour-intensive work offered, the program proved very popular. The program was continually over-subscribed. The waiting list was always nearly twice the number of available positions in the program.

Post-crisis period - European Semester

Europe 2020 is the EU's ten-year jobs and growth strategy that was launched in 2010. Progress towards the Europe 2020 targets is encouraged and monitored throughout the European Semester, the EU's yearly cycle of economic and budgetary coordination.

The European Semester provides a framework for the coordination of economic policies. It allows EU countries to discuss their economic and budget plans and monitor progress at specific times throughout the year. It is an integrated system, which ensures that there are clearer rules, better follow-up and improved implementation by Member States (MS) of the commonly agreed policies throughout the year (EC 2018).

In his speech to the European Parliament, the EC President-elect, J. Juncker, spoke of his wish for Europe to be 'triple-A on social issues', to strengthen the social dimension of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) (Juncker 2014). A detailed description of how to achieve this 'Social Triple A' was set out in the Five Presidents' report in June 2015 (EC 2015). It mainly consists of promoting employment through 'efficient' labour-market policies, improving education and lifelong learning policies, better coordinating social security systems, and offering an effective social protection system to everyone in the framework of the EMU.

The EC publishes the Country Specific Recommendations (CSRs) every spring. They give guidance on what can realistically be achieved in the next 12-18 months to make growth stronger, more sustainable and more inclusive. Evaluation of efforts of MS to implement reforms ranges degree of

progress from 'no progress' through 'limited', 'some' and 'substantial' progress¹² to 'full implementation'.

Latvia has been receiving CSRs since 2012 with their further annual assessment in country report. Regarding social policy areas mentioned in CSRs, the single social policy area where 'substantial progress' had been observed was the reduction of child poverty. This recommendation appeared in CSRs only once in 2013, and already in 2014 it was verified that child-related benefits had been increased significantly and other measures implemented as well. The Commission's assessments in respect of other CSRs relating to social policy areas are much less positive. There are recommendations that remain almost intact in every CSR

Table 1. Country specific recommendations for Latvia in the field of social assistance and assessment of their implementation in the subsequent year (excerpts from respective Country Reports)

CSRs for Latvia	Assessment in the subsequent year
2012: Tackle high rates of poverty and social exclusion by reforming the social assistance system to make it more efficient, while better protecting the poor	2013:No progress. There has been little progress in addressing the problems of social assistance and some steps (abolishing central government financing for GMI; reduction of the GMI amount) go against the spirit of the CSR.
2013: Tackle high rates of poverty by reforming social assistance for better coverage, by improving benefit adequacy and activation measures for benefit recipients.	2014:Limited progress in reforming social assistance. Reform proposals based on sound evidence are being prepared; however, their implementation is uncertain.
2014: Reform social assistance and its financing further to ensure better coverage, adequacy of benefits, strengthened activation and targeted social services	2015:Limited progress in social assistance reform. Several studies and policy documents were prepared, but the implementation is uncertain.
2015: Take concrete steps to reform social assistance, ensuring adequacy of benefits	2016:Limited progress has been made in reforming social assistance and ensuring adequacy of benefits. The preparatory work is ongoing to reform social assistance by introducing the minimum income level from 2017, but its implementation is uncertain. The social assistance benefit adequacy has not improved since 2009.
2016: Improve the adequacy of social assistance benefits	2017:Limited progress has been made in improving adequacy of social assistance benefits. The key reform of the minimum income level was not implemented as planned in 2017 and future plans are uncertain. The family state benefit has been excluded from the means test to qualify for social assistance with a limited improvement in benefit adequacy.

¹²The definition of "some progress" assumes that "the member state has announced or adopted measures to address the CSR. These measures are promising, but not all of them have been implemented yet and implementation is not certain in all cases". Meanwhile, "limited progress" means that "the member state has announced some measures to address the CSR, but these measures appear insufficient and/or their adoption/implementation is at risk".

<p>2017: Improve the adequacy of the social safety net</p>	<p>2018: Limited progress: GMI increased from €49.80 to €53; some steps taken to improve current pension adequacy and family state benefits. The MIL reform was not implemented in 2017 as planned and no follow-up has been decided</p>
<p>2018: Improve the adequacy of minimum income benefits, minimum old-age pensions and income support for people with disabilities.</p>	<p>2019: ??</p>

Despite the fact Latvia has announced some measures already in 2014, practically nothing has been done for their implementation. Healthcare topic has first appeared in CSRs in 2014 and since that time is repeated each year, as only ‘limited progress’ is observed in its improvement.

Methodology

Apart from the already mentioned JIM, CSRs, soft policy documents such as White Books and Road Maps, the EC has also financial tools to influence social policy development in member states. Latvia is using ESF investments to upskill its workforce and offer new opportunities to all jobseekers, particularly youth. Social inclusion and education measures are also underway. Young people are benefiting from actions funded under the Youth Employment Initiative, offering training, work experience and apprenticeships as well as individual help to make the transition into working life. In addition, the ESF is supporting improvements to health and safety at work.

ESF measures are supporting social inclusion and anti-poverty actions with a strong focus on the de-institutionalisation of adults with mental disabilities and children in care being achieved through new community-based care approaches. ESF projects are giving better access to health services for the socially excluded and people in remote rural locations. On the one hand, Latvian citizens positively evaluate the use of EU funds in Latvia (in 2017, 67% considered it successful), but on the other hand people do not believe that the central government uses the funds fairly (51% don’t trust the government in this respect), meanwhile demonstrating limited interest in getting information on this spending (Latvijas Fakti 2017).

In November 2017, the European Pillar of Social Rights (EPSR) was proclaimed, becoming another instrument of setting common social standards in member states. It is accompanied by a ‘social scoreboard’ to monitor the implementation of the ESPR by tracking trends and performances across the EU countries in 12 areas. The scoreboard will also serve to assess progress towards a social ‘triple A’ for the EU as a whole.

Conclusions

Throughout the last two decades, the EC has been a very important and influential factor shaping social policy in Latvia, either as its active actor, or tacit background of the policy processes. Its roles include being assessor, counsellor, coordinator, investor and regulator. Availability and use of the ESF is very important source of social project financing in Latvia.

In social policy areas MS have almost full competence and high level of discretion in decision-making process. The main tools of the EC are definition of common goals and monitoring of their implementation. Fiscal control of budget discipline is functioning on macro level.

Attitudes of Latvia's authorities towards the EC recommendations in social policy area were different depending on political and economic context: rather functional and responsive during accession process and in the first period of membership, during severe crisis years and applying for euro status, while at the same time quite reserved and even ignorant after recovering from the crisis. The cost of such approach was rapid decrease of electoral support for ruling coalition during national election in October 2018. There are clear signs that in 2014-2018 the ruling coalition refocused from social security towards military security, while the adoption of the ESPR remained sidelined.

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CONSTRUCTION AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE CATEGORY OF GENDER WITHIN THE VIRTUAL GAMING COMMUNITIES: A SHORT INSIGHT

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Abstract: Nowadays culture is often perceived as a source for creating and recreating different attitudes towards knowledge about the category of gender. If it becomes a part of non-real environment (as it is in case of virtual space), gender category often transforms into the hybridized manifestation of an identity. It is not always rooted even in socially constructed dichotomies, rather becomes an additional attribute of the virtual representations. (Boellstorff, 2008; Liu 2004; Hine 2001) In my paper I want to discuss a question of the formation of “virtually inspired” manifestations of gender and gender roles using an example of an RPG game “The Witcher” (2007). As my method I am using participatory gaming with other participants of a virtual gaming community and the interview data. By applying it, I want to find, whether the represented gender in all its forms and possible transformations in the selected RPG game helps to create a certain ‘virtual atmosphere’ of the gaming process. In other words, I want to discuss, how the socially constructed form of gender is embedded into the virtual environment and how it is experienced by the users of this game. As a source material for my qualitative investigation I am using the data gathered during the fieldwork conducted in the second half of 2017. I argue that virtual gender and gender roles insisted by the game are creating an additional context in which game participants find the paths to the particular narrative of the story. As it is well known, the game is based on the book series by A. Sapkowski “Viedzmin” (1993-2013) and therefore it seems interesting to investigate the ways of interconnection of the narrative of the novel to the narrative of the game through the perspective of gender. In order to highlight and to find out more precise manifestations of the transformative nature of gender in the virtual environment and its simultaneous interconnectedness to the Sapkowski’s narrative, I will concentrate my analysis on these characters – Gerald of Rivia (male character), Shani (female character), dwarf Zoltan Chivay (potentially male character) and Yaga (potentially female character). Provided analysis will help to understand how the media culture is being involved into the production and transformation of gender roles and the potential invisibility of this process by the particular users.

Keywords: Gender, gameplay, choice-based game, virtual community, media culture

Introduction

“Who said falling in love with a few million pixels on a screen is not possible?” asks Amanda Du Preez in her article on gender, archetypes, and computer games (Preez 2007: 18-27). For my mind, there is no any correct or wrong answer to this question since the concept of a virtual game itself falls apart into such categories as (individual) experience, knowledge, elements of performance and virtual immersion, interactivity... the list can be continued. Though, for me there is a need to rather discuss elements of a collective creation of a virtual space where every involved actor is being ‘synthesized’ according to the rules of a particular virtual game and gameplay design, as well as social aspects of this type of involvement. The aim of my today’s talk is to give a short insight into the question how and why socially constructed experiences and practices are still saved and repeated within a virtual space of one of the most popular RPG game of the nowadays – “*The Witcher*” (part I, 2007). In order to find possibly shortest path to the answer, I want to start with a

small introduction to **A**). some theoretizations of an importance of virtual games and gameplay within the relations of the developed democracy (and liberalism?), **B**). short introduction to the plot of the game and some explanations of its abnormal popularity among representatives of different ages, education and expertise levels, also relation to the virtual gaming as such and **C**). to introduce some results of a more practical research – the data from the fieldwork conducted in the first half of 2017 and aimed at investigation of the manifestations of the category of morality within the cyberspace and cyber-communication practices.

Theoretical observations

The idea of a virtual can seem as a large, theoretically multilayered and therefore contradictory concept. However, in order to understand some principles of the purpose for creation of virtual games (or even - virtual worlds, as it is in case of “Witcher” saga), first of all, it is important to sketch some ‘real’ factors. One of them, according to the research of several contemporary theorists (Preez 2007; Delamere, Shaw 2014), can be the link between the unexperienced “taste of interactive media and interactivity” (Preez 2007, p. 18) and the general politics of the developers of the particular virtual content. Important to note here is that both parts of these relationships are aimed at better (mean: financially more beneficiary) and faster consumer practices and processes. Though, if these relationships are stable and provide a predictable results (for example – the number of sell copies increase), it is possible to say that the politics of pleasure and entertainment provide a more pleasurable “hope” for the better (=economically successful) future. In order to make it possible, the industry creates characters that express human-like emotions, are seemingly touchable (and therefore ‘alive’ and ‘trustworthy’) that simultaneously make a potential consumer to ‘feel’ and ‘act’ as a character. In this way actually the phenomena of immersivity and immersive realities is created but this is a very large topic which is only partly connected to the proposed topic. Another possible explanation why virtual worlds are becoming more and more addictive is that they often provide a set of an ideal “Pantheon” of virtual heroes everybody wants to become similar to.

The category of gender is present in the virtual gameplay since we are always dealing with an ideal copy of reality, including different ideologies and hierarchies supporting and recreating it. According to another theorists – Fern Delamere and Susan Shaw (2014) – when speaking of gender in digital games and virtual spaces it is important to remember that such categories as agency and power, that informs and often ‘transmits’ gender practices within the virtual space, are seen as reciprocal interplay rather than independent categories. Moreover, gender continues to represent the means of difference/differentiation as between the real participants of the game as well as between the game characters even in the context of potentially open, transformative, and gender-inclusive environment. It is important to note here that gender is perceived as difference in its social and political manifestation (level of ‘reality’) as well as an option of difference within the computer game. In order to specify the difference between real and virtual gender(ed) relationships, several authors offer to borrow Michel Foucault’s concept of *heterotopia* (Foucault, “*Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias*”, 1984).

For Foucault, as it is well known, heterotopias are perceived as “other or different spaces that have have meaning for the society because [they] are “simultaneously mythic and real concentration of space in which we live” (Foucault 1984; Delamere, Shaw 2014: 283-284). For virtual manifestation of gender and gendered practices that could mean that the space itself is been used as a path to the real action of a player, performance of this action, and the perception of a final result – action of a

character on a computer screen. Virtual environment even enlarges the meaning and possibilities of creating and saving gender hierarchy by using some computer design techniques, that help, for example, create visually ‘traditional’ perception of womanhood and manhood – both for the male spectator, who becomes also an active participant.

Another angle where gender concept is actual for digital games and gameplay is the psychoneurological findings in memory work and its connection to the virtual and real motivations to join the game and actions within it. Philip Bonanno and Pamela Kommers (2005) in their article on the impact of digital games on education among psychology students and its connection to gender differences argue that it is rather more important to stress the question what kinds of goals gamers want to get when playing than just speculate on gender differences. In this case, they are sure, the question of the purposes for engagement to digital games and its connection with (visual) reflection on the screen can be also solved. By conducting a fieldwork among the students of psychology in Malta they came to the conclusion that there are at least 6 different ‘groups of motivations’ that characterize modern gameplayer and are not dependent on gender straightly. They are: a). *Competition*; b). *Challenge*; c). *Social interaction*, d). *Diversions* (for example, to pass time, alleviate boredom); e). *Fantasy* (ability to do things you cannot do in real life); and f). *Arousal* (just because the game is exiting). On the one hand, these characteristics unite all the users/gamers; on the other – continue to repeat gender-based prejudices on the level of visual representation and algorithm-based actions of a characters on the screen.

However, what makes gender differences visible in digital environment are distinction between virtual and real agency and the feeling of resistance. Several theorists here use an argument proposed by Raewyn Connell and James Messerschmidt about these concepts as politically charged actions associated with issues of power, be that personal or individual power or collective networks of power. (Connell, Messerschmidt 2005; Delamere, Shaw 2014). Digital environment saves and enlarges the notion of emphasized femininity and allows agency and oppression to exist simultaneously. This seems to be the major theoretical juxtaposition in thinking on gender in digital environment which I want to use as a starting point in discussing the plot and specificity of gender and gendered representations in the virtual game “The Witcher”.

Introduction to the plot and the sources of popularity

Virtual RPG “The Witcher” (2007) has been released on 26 October, 2007 by CD Projekt Red and presented as a virtual adaptation of the book series “Wiedźmin” (Witcher) by Andrzej Sapkowski (1993-2013). The book series consists of seven books of short novels or novels and tells a story of a hybrid person – semi-mythical; semi-human Witcher of Rivia. His main aim is to fight different mythological beasts and creatures and protect different kingdoms he travels to. The world of Witcher is full of non-human like creatures that often become a major vehicle for the narration and plot development. As an addition to the series, in 2013 the Bestiary of all creatures involved both into the book plot and video game was introduced. Bestiary included representations of mythological creatures of different nations and its content is often overlapped with Neil Gaiman’s world of Gods (e.g. “American Gods” (2001)), “Norse Mythology” (2017, started in 2012). The plot of the virtual game is inspired by several major lines of the first 4 books of the series – “The Last Wish” (1993); “Blood of Elves” (1994); “Sword of Destiny” (1992), and “Time of Contempt” (1995). From the first moments of the game the gamer is involved into an epic tale of the defense of the last bastion of Rivia, almost conquered by a huge Alghoul. From an analytical

perspective here it is important to note that the world is being introduced from a detailed and still all-inclusive viewpoint which within the narrative theory can be associated with an omniscient narration. The gamer is introduced to three main characters- Witcher of Rivia, Temerian Sorceress Triss Merigold and Vesemir – the head of a castle. For my analysis today I would like to use juxtaposition of the major protagonist – Geralt and Triss Merigold in terms of representation and realization of the category of gender in the game as well as to give a short insight into how several representatives of Bestiarium (supposed to be almost always killed by the major character) are gendered.





Using an argument of Amanda Du Preez (2007) where she defines the ‘language of computer games’ and unites it with the phenomena of popularity and celebration of computer (virtual) characters by stating that: “computer games also use the mytho-poetic language of the comic strip” (Du Preez 2007, p. 19) and “characters [often] continue their existence through the mega-popular game characters” (Du Preez: Ibid) it is possible to examine whether the characters of the analyzed video game are becoming a true calc of literary characters, survive some changes, or transforming their behavior and appearance making it more ‘suitable’ for the cyber adventures and possibilities. The characters of the game are asking gamer to join their third person masculinized narrative where many actions and plot lines are imaginary dependent on the choice of the real person. Imaginary characteristics of the virtual choice are explained by the in-built algorithm of the game. At least the first part of the game trilogy (in 2011 “The Witcher II: Assassins of Kings” and in 2015 “The Witcher III: Wild Hunt” have been released) there are three to four choices of the dialogue that provoke the next stage of the game and therefore continues the narrative and also forecasts the final stage of Geralt’s adventures. The dialogues are also united with several visual transformations of the involved characters and work in the creation of gendered images as an addition. What are these gendered representations and why they are so important for the ‘virtual corporeality’ of the game, I’ll try to discuss in the next part of my talk.



Gender, qualitative data and interpretation.

In order to specify the analytical perspective and make it more ‘tactile’ I have conducted a small fieldwork in the end of 2017. The purpose for the fieldwork was a will to understand whether it is possible to distinguish the principles of morality in cyberspace and real environment, how they overlap and how ‘travel’ to the real relationships. Gender category in this discussion was an additional category that characterized the context of the virtual choice made and survived by the gamers in one or another virtual expression (virtual corporeality). The question of gender identification became important when asking on character virtual recognition both by the ‘corporeal continuation’ (gamer herself/himself) and the perception of a character by the rest participants of the game (=potential viewers and evaluators, especially in cases when the game was played ‘on video recording’ and commented by more than one person). As Karolina (26) argues: “When the game was out everybody wanted to try it. Like, you know a little child and a candy. Often there was not any previous knowledge of what to wait from the game. Like, there is.... There were very little people who actually knew something of a book. And then... you opened a lap and just dive into the world. Since all characters seemed so realistic. As for me, Triss was kind of vulgar, you know. But still gorgeous.” At the same time Mărtiņš (19) who has joined the community 5 years later the first part of the game was launched, emphasizes: “For me it was just for fun. To fight the Dragons or Baba Yagas. Like, I didn’t actually thought of how they should look like. Just followed the game instructions”. The arguments for my mind highlight both the reason of popularity of the game –

‘diving’ into an utopian world and just enjoying it, and the means of gender which are rather unstable and mostly dependent on previous knowledge of the respondent.

Another important layer of analysis is the mytho-epical resources of a game and their particular video and visual representations. I argue that mythological background is totally dependent on the computer-invented algorithms and digital design, plus it is informed by the individual imagination of the developer of the game and NOT based on a collective imagination or interpretation of a mythological symbol or character. Let us see several examples of the Bestiarium of the game.

Character	Visual Representation
<p>A. Baba Yaga (Yaga)</p>	
<p>B. Drowner</p>	
<p>C. Alghoul</p>	
<p>D. Banshee</p>	

<p>E. Bruxa</p>	
<p>F. Alp</p>	

Mythological component of all of the represented characters is overlapped (as you can see from the pictures) with a strong influence from the technical developer's side. Important point in understanding how gender works on the level of Bestiarium in the game is to remember that the industry of entertainment stands between such concepts as social action, social space, social objects, and social agents. (Delamere, Shaw 2014: 279-302). These elements of the virtual-real interaction are often seen as a part of a new-created game's hierarchy, where certain rules (as we have seen from Mārtiņš' answer) apply. Hierarchies within the game, following Delamere and Shaw, often "guide, who one is, and who one wants to be" (Delamere, Shaw 2014: 283). As to represented characters, they actually fall outside any of hierarchies and are used in the game as a source of gaining the major aim – to kill everyone and reach a really masculine wish of conquering (even) the world of fantasy. It doesn't matter what kind of mythological past every of the characters had before he/she/it met 'true expression of their existence' – witcher Geralt who is always wanting to destroy. Important nuance in understanding the hierarchy (or the 'rules') of the game is that from the beginning for the player there is no choice which side to represent so she/he becomes a continuation of 'the nature' of witcher.

One more aspect that leads me to think that gender issues are especially highlighted on the level of 'non-human' manifestations in the game is the question of how heterotopias (or different spaces, understanding of differentiation and continuous spatial overlapping) are being involved into creation of a certain attitude of a player watching and participating in the action. As I showed previously on a short clip, the tale opens up as highly masculinized narrative of fights with the creatures where nobody even doubts who is/will be the winner. I argue that specifically representatives of the 'additional characters' list formulate the sense of the world within the world, trespass gender and mythological boundaries and create a sense of immersivity, so important to the

virtual world. What unites 'the rules' part with the virtual world is the strive for the expression of violence. Several theorists of game culture argue that in the virtual world there is always a disproportion between the real 'sense of violence' and its cyber manifestation. (LaRell Anderson 2016: 18-36) 'The Witcher' for my mind develops and underpins this tendency by focusing on the 'creative' component of killing. The scenes we have seen in the trailer show 'the beauty' of fight and the 'will of death' from the other side. The concept of heterotopias (or the world of creatures in the world of 'virtual humans') in this particular case can be hardly described as a way of resistance and contest as Michel Foucault would like to see it. Rather, the world of creatures in the game can be described as an expression of an ideal order, ideal hierarchy (also – gender hierarchy, since almost all creatures are of the female sex), as just an other 'idealistic dream' of the world's order.

Conclusions

As I tried to show, the RPG game experience and purpose for creating is often connected with not just an economic will to get a profit from selling (however, this is also an important element in the process of transmitting the symbols, ideas, and principles (rules) of the game, for sure), but also with the will to control human's agency, choice-making and even some expectations or thoughts of moral nature. For the virtual adaptation of the novels by Andrzej Sapkowski several techniques in constructing gender hierarchy were used:

- a). Strong manipulation with the 'traditionality' of masculine/feminine actions were saved. As a result, masculine characters of human nature remained violence oriented. So are the rules of the game that are supported by the technical solution of one-person involvement and 3 person viewpoint. Here it is also important to underline that by uniting first and third person action and narrative, the sense of the reality is being emphasized.
- b). Creatures of the non-human world represent not only cultural in-betweenness (Irish Banshee, Russian (Slavic) Yaga or cultural 'outsiders' – Alghouls, Bruxa, and Alp created by the developers and Sapkowski himself only), but also question gender boundaries. Even if visually they express feminine or masculine 'look', they remain to be just a source for entertainment and the object of 'a beautiful fight'. Here it is possible to make a parallel with a classical understanding of gender hierarchy, where sexes were placed into subject-object relationships.
- c). Fieldwork data, however, showed that the real gamers are not always familiar or aware of the principles of the produced plot of the game. For them it is rather an element, a way for entertainment, for 'pausing' the reality and diving inside its idealistic representation. The level of ideal in the game is supported by the strong juxtaposition of good and bad thus providing a background for the questions of morality and moral action.

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MANAGING MULTIPLE IDENTITIES ON FACEBOOK: YOUTH UNDERSTANDING OF A UNITED IMAGE

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Abstract: The article explores the question of what is the approach of youth (16 – 26) to constructing a united image that is relevant to all of the identities they represent on Facebook. The article is based in symbolic interactionism theory covering topics of self, meanings, multiple identities, as well as deals with the presentation of self in social networking sites. For the research, online surveying and semi-structured interviewing are used. In addition to the presentation of the results, the article suggest new paths to be taken when investigating the management of multiple identities and maintenance of a united image.

Keywords: Facebook, image, multiple identities, social networking sites, youth

Introduction

The society nowadays can be described by complexity, meaning that people are expected to embrace various status defined roles and different activities, providing continuously expanding number of possibilities for their lives (Cuff, Sharrock, Francis, 2005, 94 p.). It is not hard to imagine a person that is a student, a son, a boyfriend, a co-worker – all being true at once; however, his behaviour depends on the context and people surrounding him. The need to adapt the behaviour to the situation exposes the individual to a challenge, which, at the same time, is manageable, as, in most of the cases, the person is aware of the people present.

Nevertheless, the situation is far more complex regarding the digital environment, as one can only imagine what is the audience for the published content. Furthermore, the era of anonymity has passed by; the increasing popularity of social networking sites (SNSs) furthers the connection between digital profiles and offline selves, bringing along also the need to cover most of the contexts faced by the individual in the “real-world” (Lister, 2009, 209 p.). The result of the conscious and unconscious behaviour and the attempts to communicate the various identities in the platform of social networking sites form a digital image of the person. Therefore a question emerges about the understanding of a united image that would embody all (or most of) the meanings that are important for the identities that one has.

For this research, the audience of youth is chosen for two main reasons. Firstly, they are the ones who get to know more contexts beyond the previous experience of family life and relationship with their schoolmates (Cotterell, 2007, 13). Secondly, at this age the use of social networking sites is more important than ever (Lincoln, 2012, 211).

Therefore the research question inquires: *What is the approach of youth (16 – 26) to constructing a united image that is relevant to all of the identities they represent on Facebook?*

It is important to mention here that this publication and research is an excerpt from the Master's thesis that covers a broader topic of managing multiple identities on Facebook, thus also speaking about the approaches of constructing each of the identities.

Multiple identities as components of self

To understand the ways how different identities contribute to form a united self, it is important to define the main used terms, as there has been a lot of discussions and controversial approaches for comprehension of the concepts. For instance, sometimes in order to describe the personality as a whole, the terms of identity or subject / subjectivity are used, however, it is also assumed that self and identity, albeit they are similar, are not completely comparable, as there are forms of identity that are not based on self, for instance, collective identities (Elliott, 2014). Therefore, in the context of this article, self will be used as a comprehensive concept of the subject.

Here it is important to understand whether one can have multiple selves (i.e., James, 1890), different kinds of selves (i.e., Swann & Buhrmester, 2012) or it should be seen as a whole or one multi-faceted self (McConnell, 2011). McConnell suggests structuring one's knowledge about himself as a set of nodes, each of which is connected to other nodes. Thus, self, according to him, is composed of various self-aspects that are connected to various attributes. Each of self-aspects can be activated when facing specific experience.

A rather similar approach is offered by Burke & Stets (2009), who within their identity theory suggest speaking about multiple identities that have different identity standards. The results of the different identities simultaneously activated needs to be combined in the social behaviour of the individual, as there is one resulting stream of action, thus it needs to be adapted so that it is consistent with all of the identities. For this research, the theory of Burke & Stets and the approach of McConnell are combined.

Another crucial topic here is the presentation of self, which has been defined in dramaturgical context (Goffman, 1956), comparing the demonstration of identities to a theatre play. It is also related to creating a favourable impression, the expressive function of which includes the motivation to construct one's image and claiming his own identity (Baumeister, 1982). However, it is important that the positive claims can be verified (Schlenker, 1986, 38 p.), because the result of self-presentation is not based only on the instantaneous impression, but also integrates the meaning gained in past and requires further confirmation in the future (Baumeister, 1998, 706 p.).

Furthermore, another challenge for the self-presentation is caused by different audiences, as Reynolds (2006) states that the play is always adapted to the audience in order to leave a good impression, so the individual chooses his behaviour according to his views about the expectations of the audience. In the current study, an emphasis is put on the strive for a united image as a result of the presentation of the identities relevant to self, because, as it is shown in the following paragraphs, the digital media environment brings all audiences together, exposing the person to a need to present various identities at once.

Construction of identities in social media environment

Social media create a new layer of online interaction, where lives are organized. Nowadays this layer of platforms impacts communication on individual and community level, as well as on a level of a global society, especially taking into account the fact that the online and offline worlds keep on converging (Van Dijck, 2013a, 4). The experience of these changes urges to distinguish the digital generation (Buckingham, 2013) and digital natives (Prensky, 2001) – youth, for whom digital media have been present since their childhood. Therefore, it is no surprise that for them SNSs are an obvious option for the presentation of self.

Supposing that in reality it is possible for people to alter the direction of communication if the context changes and to adapt the conveyed message to that, then it might be impossible in online communication, as in many cases there is no evidence of inappropriate persons following the content; thus, the digital natives would assume that the others will respect the social context and will understand, which part of the message is meant for this part of the public (Boyd, 2014, 34 p.).

Previous research about presentation of specific identities in social media has been conducted on the subject of academic identity (Cain, 2008; Bongartz et al., 2011), worker's identity (DuBrin, 2012; Van Dijck, 2013b), religious identity (Bobkowski & Pearce, 2011), as well as identities defined by specific relationship (Boyd, 2006; Pempek, Yermolayeva, & Calvert, 2009, etc.). However, there is lack of research about the possible overlapping and interaction between these identities in the joint context of SNSs that could help in adapting the theoretical approaches of multiple identities and multiple self-aspects to the contemporary context.

Methodology

Online-surveying and semi-structured interviewing were the two main methods used, therefore combining both quantitative and qualitative approach.

Surveys are rarely used as a method to gain new ideas as mostly closed questions are used in order to be able to analyse a quantity of data. Nevertheless, the method allows getting an evaluation of pre-existing statements that are based on previous research or theory (Nardi, 2006, 74). In this case, the survey was structured to explore the identities that are significant to the person, as well as those that he or she considers as presented on *Facebook*, afterward providing questions about each of identities presented on *Facebook*.

Furthermore, a set of statements about general process of identity management was included. The set consisted of questions about frequency of using the SNS, one's estimation of his or her own friend list, as well as statements about practices of action when various identities come together and understanding of a united personality and united image on *Facebook*.

Likert's scale (1 to 5, where 1 means *Strongly disagree*, and 5 means *Strongly agree*) was used in order to allow the respondents to point out the degree, in which they agreed to the given statements. The number of valid respondents is 212.

The method of semi-structured interviewing was chosen as it has a potential of revealing information that is not predictable and gives new important meanings for the research (Gillham, 2000, 1). In the research, 12 semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to specify the methods of identity construction. The respondents were asked to describe themselves, their occupations and persons significant to them, and the following questions emerged from the identities assumed from these answers to understand their approach to constructing each of the identities. Subsequently, questions about the motivations and methods of maintaining a single image were asked, which is a particular focus of this article.

Participants

The survey includes 212 *Facebook* users (aged 16 – 26 years) in the age groups 16 – 18 ($N = 77$), 19 – 22 ($N = 63$), and 23 – 26 ($N = 72$). Among the participants there were 60 men (28,3%) and 152 women (71,7%). The participants were recruited by publishing the survey on *Facebook* and inviting the users to share it with their own friends. Furthermore, 12 semi-structured interviews were conducted with an equal number of participants for each age group. All of them were daily users of *Facebook*.

Results and Discussion

Results include a presentation of conclusions drawn from quantitative data of surveys, further illustrated by examples from interviews.

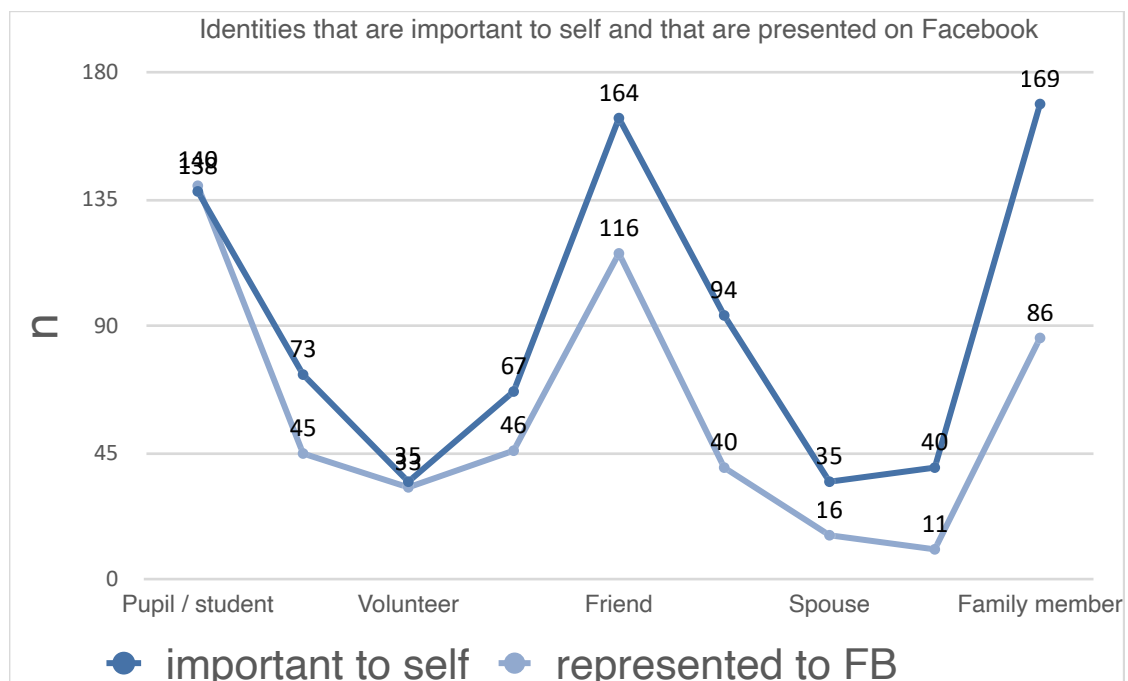


Figure 1. Comparison between identities one claims to be important to self and those one considers to be presented on *Facebook*.

The upper chart presents the answers to both questions about identities – the aspects of personality that one finds important and the aspects he or she presents on *Facebook* (according to him/her). It is

important to notice that the difference between both results for each identity are not the same. In the case of student/pupil identity, as well as volunteer identity, the numbers are almost the same, whereas the gap is much bigger regarding the identity of a family member or the identity of a believer. This shows that, when reflecting on their image on *Facebook*, a part of respondents acknowledge the fact that there are aspects of their personality that they choose not to show in the digital environment.

Speaking about the number of identities, the youngest age group (16 – 18) has the smallest average number of identities considered as important for their identities, mostly they have checked 2 – 4 identities as relevant, whilst the middle (19 – 22) and the oldest (23 – 26) age groups have the average number of 3,95 and 3,94, mostly choosing 3 – 5 identities.

The participants were asked to what degree they agree to the following statement: *I believe that all aspects of my personality that I show on Facebook form a united image*. Although 31% chose a neutral answer, 41% of the participants were more positive (choosing 4 or 5 as their answer). Furthermore, the oldest age group (23 – 26) was more likely to give a positive answer.

When asked whether it was easy to construct a united image, the age group of 19 – 22 was more likely to give a negative answer, whereas the youngest and the oldest were those who considered it as a relatively easy task. Taking into account the theory presented beforehand, the youth from the middle age group experience most of the contextual changes, however, there has not been enough time to get used to them. This age group is also more likely to agree with the statement that they are trying to leave a different impression on different groups of friends.

One of the goals for the interviews was to understand the exact approaches for constructing a united image on *Facebook*. Four basic trends were observable during the conversations:

- 1) Construction of an image that is “in-between” all the various identities and not overly emphasizing any of them;
- 2) Creation of an image that is neutral – avoiding not some specific roles, but rather content that could be considered inadequate;
- 3) Maintenance of a unifying aspect or characteristic that is a prism through which every identity is presented;
- 4) Expression of no need for a united image, because the contradictions are what form an authentic personality.

To sum up the results, it is possible to notice some differences when comparing the different age groups, however, it does not play the leading role. Previous experience, real-life relationships with different audiences, as well as the most important values and principles, are even more crucial when it comes to building an image that integrates the different meanings of the different identities. The need or willingness for this image to be a united one differs between persons, which opens up many new questions that are shown in the closing part of the article.

Conclusions

Whether construction of a united image is an easy task for a young person depends on his/her desires and expectation of this process, as well as various other aspects – his/her relationship with significant persons, experience in the use of the different tools offered by SNSs, as well views on his/her image and personality.

At the same time, the answers about construction of the image leads to understanding that it is the consequence of a larger process. Furthermore, the different views on whether the image even should be united rises a question about the personality traits that make one more or, on the contrary, less willing to integrate the different identities both in real life and on SNSs. In the context of digital environment, the identity management and the question of a “united self” are rarely researched, however, in one of the articles that covers the topic the term of “integrity” is used (Robards, 2010), which has few in any definitions in the field of digital culture.

Therefore there is a need to apply the term of integrity, already used in philosophy and psychology (i.e., McFall, 1987; Beebe, 1992; Schaubert, 1996; Burlinson, 2001), to the present context and consequently find a way to understand its role in digital communication that often questions the connection between “real life” self and digital self, including the often unmentioned different “real life” identities into the digital representation of one’s self.

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CORRUPTION IN LATVIAN FINANCE SYSTEM: A CASE STUDY OF TABLOIDISATION IN ONLINE MEDIA

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Abstract: In February of 2018 anti-corruption police (KNAB) detained and questioned Bank of Latvia president Ilmārs Rimšēvičs in a connection with possible extortion and corruption charges. In the following week (17.02.2018-24.02.2018) the event was covered extensively - creating a rich field of data for media researchers. This study focuses on the way two of leading online media websites in Latvia covered the story. The paper talks about detecting and describing the key elements of tabloidization using the news stories that were connected with the problems (or perceived problems) in the Latvian banking system. As tabloidization has been linked with simplification and choosing spectacle over substance this is a good theoretical framework to apply it to a topic that would traditionally fall in hard news category. As the results of study suggest - the topic was “interesting” enough, that there were little evidence of clear sensationalism or tabloid media value adoption. So that leaves a room for discussion is tabloidization affecting only some topics that appear in Latvian online media.

Keywords: tabloidization, Bank of Latvia, online media, public media, commercial media

Introduction

Online media is an important player in Latvian mediascape. As statistics suggest (CSB, 2018) 68% of people living in Latvia in 2017 used internet for accessing news websites. The same statistics demonstrates a steady growth of news consumption online. Although online media news sites have been active part on Latvian media landscape for almost two decades, there has not been an in-depth research on tabloidization, topic sensationalization or tabloid news value adoption. (Viluns, 2017) As there are not a lot of studies the methods for detecting mainstream media adaption of tabloid values there are not any solid frameworks for analyzing tabloidization of online media and this paper will be used as a pilot study for attempt to create a solid understanding of tabloidization on the traditionally hard-news type stories. Previous studies conducted in a similar fashion focused on tabloidization of foreign news (Viluns, 2017; Kaprāns, Kudors, 2018, 173-176) suggest that the tabloidization (regarding this term in the classic sense) has already happened and even public media is engaged in a proverbial fight for the “clicks” and “views” of Latvian public. But there needs to be a lot more work.

This study focuses on the case that prominently dominated media agenda in February of 2018 - possible corruption and extortion was incriminated to Bank of Latvia president Ilmārs Rimšēvičs. There were a lot of reports, opinion pieces and features written and broadcasted about the investigation case, background of Rimšēvičs and any other sliver of information that reporters could find. This in theory created a fruitful field for possible tabloidization, for example media websites in eagerness to be the first to report something, could have published some false facts or embellish certain detail to gather more readers. This case study seeks to test that assumption as there are studies that have detected tabloid value adoption even in such hard news topics as politics and economics. (Otto, Glogger, Boukes, 2017)

Tabloids and tabloidization

As the term tabloidization and tabloids are used quite widely, there needs to be a short overview of how it is understood and applied in this study. The word “tabloid” has its roots in the pharmaceutical industry (Esser, 1999). It was associated with means of drug/medicine compression easy swallowing. In the beginning of 20th century, the term was used as a derogatory word for newspapers that traditionally catered to the “tastes” of “common man” (Glynn, 2000; Conboy, 2005). Tabloids used simpler terms and language, more space was left for illustrations and photos. The tabloid strives to connect with the “common man”. Most researchers and media professionals have a similar understanding of what tabloids represent. Colin Sparks offers one of the more prominent explanations: “[...] the tabloid is a form marked by two major features: it devotes relatively little attention to politics, economics, and society and relatively much attention to diversions like sports, scandal, and popular entertainment; it devotes much attention to the personal and private lives of people, both celebrities and ordinary people, and relatively little to political processes, economic developments, and social changes” (Sparks, Tulloch, 2000, 10). Tabloidization often is used to refer to a media value structure where a greater priority being assigned to the commercial aspects (*Alotaibi, 2013*) - media organization uses salacious stories and “laud” cases to attract audience. As social media has become a sort of a gateway to the news stories – media companies need to attract readers to their site – easiest way is an engaging headline. In some case this strive to lure in the common man leads to misinformation and exaggerations. In the era of online media, we see a certain convergence (Lefkowitz, 2016) of values were one website can offer serious content mixed with infotainment and tabloid stories. (Otto, Glogger, Boukes, 2017; Baum, 2002)

Researching online media

One of the problems that this study encounters and has been noted by other researchers (Bødker, Brügger, 2018; Brügger, 2009; Lecheler, Kruikemeier, 2016) is that online media is a medium that constantly changes. It can be updated a minute after first publication or a year later. So while this could be seen as a good thing for media professionals who have the ability to correct mistakes and add new information, it is quite the opposite for researchers - the history and data bases become unreliable in the sense that there is no way of telling whether the story researchers are accessing later is the same as the one that an audience member saw the moment it was published. In this case that study of Bank of Latvia crisis was conducted half a year later.

This study focuses on the Latvian commercial news website *Delfi.lv* and public media website *Lsm.lv* and the news they produced in the first week (17.02.2018-24.02.2018) of the banking crisis event. The two selected media have been chosen because *Delfi.lv* the leading Latvian news website with more than 800 000 page visits in January of 2019 (Gemius, 2019) and *Lsm.lv* is a public media website. The study is conducted using qualitative content analysis to detect tabloid style reporting done in the selected news stories. In this case, the study uses online media archive and assumes that if there are no notes attached to the story about additions or changes, the story is the same as it was on the day and minute of publishing.

Results and Discussion

In public media website *Lsm.lv* there were found 46 publications that were connected with Bank of Latvia president Ilmārs Rimšēvičs involvement with corruption charges. While commercial news

website *Delfi.lv* published 57 separated stories in the first week after the news about possible corruption case was reported. In *Delfi.lv* there were 11 news stories republished from National News Agency LETA, and 46 materials that were written by journalists working for *Delfi.lv* or freelancers, and one opinion piece from a Latvian radio (public broadcaster) journalist, while on the public media website there were only three story republished from the news agency. *Lsm.lv* published 43 original news story (created by public broadcasting journalists from television and radio) and as in the case of *Delfi.lv* one opinion piece.

As in the case with tabloidization of United States of America presidential pre-election campaign representation in Latvia (Viluns, 2017) and also with Rimševičs and Bank of Latvia, there was little need for sensationalization of the issue, because the event is already very unique, scandalous and engaging. If, as previously noted, the core principles of tabloid value adoption are to get more views (when talking about online media) and engage with a broader audience, to increase the economic gain (even in the case of public media), then as this and other studies suggest - there are topics that can still be considered “hard news” topics, but still be quite interesting and engaging to the “common man” as well other audiences. It has been determined that headlines often are the “victims” of tabloidization, (Viluns, 2017) and that Latvian online media often relies heavily on news agency content (Viluns, 2018). This was not the case, as most of the articles were very precise, with little or no simplifications and exaggerations. There were not any overt indications of journalist opinions or any unnecessary or use of clickbait style headlines (García, Santorun, García, 2017, 1261).

Uzņēmējs Martinsons atbrīvots no izolatora; Rimševičs pagaidām vēl aiz restēm (Businessman Martinsons has been released from detention facility; Rimševičs is still behind bars, Delfi.lv, 18.02.2018)

KNAB veicis kratīšanu Latvijas Bankas prezidenta darba vietā un privātīpašumā; aizturēts uzņēmējs Martinsons (Corruption police have searched work place and private property of president of Bank of Latvia; businessman Martinsons has been detained, Lsm.lv, 17.02.2018)

The study reveals slight differences in the publications by the commercial and the public media. *Delfi.lv* more often published opinions of the involved or interested parties as stand alone news stories, while public media incorporated these same opinions in other, broader stories, creating a more balanced publication, that showed as many sides and opinions on the case as possible.

'Norvik banka': Rimševičs gadiem ilgi izspiedis kukuļus un pieprasījis atmazgāt Krievijas naudu (Norvik bank: Rimševičs has extorted, asked for bribes and demanded laundering of Russian money for years, Delfi.lv, 19.02.2018)

The example of *Norvik bank* opinion was republished from National news agency. While in the main body of the story journalist add some context, it is largely a stand alone opinion. The reader with lack of knowledge of the topic, could gain one side arguments about the case, relying only on this story. This could be seen as a tabloid value adoption where media website published unverified claims, just to bolster their page visit count, while on the other hand there could be an argument that

the website allows for everyone involved or at least informed in the case to express their point of view.

It must be noted, that there were few articles that do not fall in “hard news” category. *Delfi.lv* published an informational piece that said the president of Bank of Latvia will come to their video interview, but later posted that he has refused to come. Also *Delfi.lv* offered a publication from their freelance entertainment, satirical story partners *Cehs.lv* - that offered an ironic and humorous opinion on the banking crisis. This could be seen as softening of hard news, or using the terminology Gans (2009) offers and assume it was a way to popularize the hard news topic, to engage with a broader audience (Baum, Jamison, 2006).

Cehs.lv: Rimšēviča copes padomi. Kā izmakšķerēt 100 štukas (Cehs.lv: Rimšēvičs advice: How to fish out 100 grand, Delfi.lv, 22.02.2018)

The study reveals that in this case there is little in the sense of classical tabloidization in *Delfi.lv* and *Lsm.lv*. Even the headlines are not especially aggressive, humorous, opinionated or salacious. The headlines are very informative and precise, no wordplays or jokes, no rhetorical questions or clickbait. This lends credibility to the idea that online media editorial staff did see the news topic interesting for audiences for what it is and did not find the need to artificially make this a more scandalous topic. The results of the study will be used as foundation for further studies of online media tabloidization in Latvia. The question when studying tabloidization probably should not be “what issues are getting tabloid style treatment” as the answer would be “the same as always”, but how are the hard news and soft news coexist together, because online media can have “multiple faces” - there can be pages dedicated to analytical and investigative journalism, there can be sub pages that are all about expert opinions on complex economic questions, but there also can be, and as it can be seen already are, pages and sub pages that are

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1918 AND ITS IMPACT OF NETWORK POLICIES. HANS SCHMIDT AND MONIKA HUNNIUS
- BETWEEN COSMOPOLITANISM AND NATIONAL DEMANDS

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Abstract: Until 1918 the cosmopolitanism was the connecting aspect in the network policy of Schmidt and Hunnius. Their shared network was a result of a need for affiliation in a cosmopolitan space of communication. To exchange with foreign artists and foreign musical developments was therefore a motivation for them both. Besides their approach to complement the local music scene, Hunnius and Schmidt followed a cosmopolitan principle that stood for art as a kind of supranational or universal concept. The changing life in the young national state had an impact on artists' perception of art and their courses of action. While Schmidt was still following the cosmopolitan principle, Hunnius chose the national part instead.

Keywords: Music scene, nationalism, cosmopolitanism, Riga, network policies

Introduction

The concept of Cosmopolitanism is fluid, its character depending on time, circumstances and social or political structures. When individuals live in times of change – as is usually the case – these changes necessarily have an impact on the behavior and self-perception of cosmopolitans. Here, I use the networks in Riga's music scene in the first decades of the 20th century as an example to illustrate such developments.

The following talk is about two Baltic Germans and their network practices in Riga. I would like to describe the cosmopolitan thought pattern “Denkstruktur” (a term coined by Ludwig Fleck in 1954) of these two musicians and look into how political and social changes in the Latvian capital Riga influenced their ways of communication and networking.

The first person I discuss is Hans Schmidt (1854-1923), the second is his colleague and friend Monika Hunnius (1858-1934). Although their professional biographies were not at any time similar, their common network practices in Riga give us an impression of an interaction, which was a result of a specific and tightly focused network policy.

In art history, cosmopolitan ideas are often denounced as “romantic idealism”, a kind of romantic view of society without any lasting change (Kunst, 2017). This criticism begs the question: What happens with a cosmopolitan approach in art in times of change? With respect to Riga in a period when Latvia became a national and independent state, did cosmopolitanism then lose its impact in art? And regarding Baltic German artists – did nationalisation influence their way of acting and thinking? What happened to German-speaking artists when their mother tongue was no longer the language of the dominating culture, when German became a tolerated language of a state accepted minority?

I would thus like to focus on the breaking point of 1918 and its consequences for cosmopolitanism and cooperation among artists of various nationalities (Kunst, 2017). In so doing, I would like to examine the biographies of Hunnius and Schmidt from the point of view of their individual perception of art and what it meant to be an artist, but also from the point of view of pragmatism and functionality, in other words the usability of their network practices (Bolz et al, 2016, p. 14).

Biographical interdependencies (Wilhelmi, 2018)

Schmidt was only a few years older than his colleague, Hunnius, and the two had several things in common:

One, their background: Both families were part of the academic German-dominated social environment in the so-called Ostseeprovinzen (Baltic provinces) of the Russian Empire. Thus, both were born as members of the upper class, which was founded on the German language and German culture.

Two: Both Schmidt and Hunnius left their homeland for professional purposes. They received vocational training, and after some years of professional work abroad they came back to Riga.

Three: Both musicians were specialized in the same music genre: the so-called 'deutsches Lied'.

Four: The time they spent abroad meant that Schmidt and Hunnius both gained experience in networking across Europe, and more importantly, they realized how crucial this was for their professional advancement.

And five: This in turn led them to cooperate and to share their contacts when they came back to Riga, thus instigating the idea of combining their individual networks in order to create one common network of musicians centred in Riga.

As already mentioned, the networks reached from West to East Europe, including some parts of West Russia. With respect to the temporary music scene in Riga this large radius may be seen as unique. Especially in the context of the German speaking minority there do not appear to be any other examples of a kind of network practice which ignored imperial, national, territorial and language borders. What we generally find is a nationally motivated network practice¹³.

Theoretical thoughts

In music sciences discussions about cosmopolitanism still do not exist. The only study about a cosmopolitan musician, or rather the only research of which I am aware, which uses the approach of

¹³ For example the Wagner association: Thomson, Erik: *Monika Hunnius. Schmerzensewege sind Segensewege*, Stuttgart 1956, p. 11. And in general Woodworth, Bradley: *Music Associations and National Identity in Russia's Baltic Provinces. 1914*, in: *Vereinskultur und Zivilgesellschaft in Nordosteuropa. Regionale Spezifik und europäische Zusammenhänge*, ed. by Jörg Hackmann. Wien 2012, pp 307-329, or Kniazeva, Jeanna: *Singakademie und Liedertafel in Sankt Petersburg. Modelle für Russland nach deutschen Vorbildern*, in: *Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa 20* (2012), pp. 399-417

cosmopolitanism is a biographical study about Franz List, the Hungarian composer. But also in this publication the theoretical frame is limited (Redepenning, 2015).

But what we can find are discussions about this term in the wider framework of art history: Here nowadays the term „Cosmopolitanism“ is defined as: (absolute) „Bedingung für Intellektualität, Welthaltigkeit, Offenheit und die Vermischung von Kulturen, Ideen und Bevölkerung“, (the absolute) "requirement for intellectuality, worldliness, open-mindedness and the blending of cultures, ideas and populations." (Kunst, 2017).

At the same time, this – one could say – paradigm of „cosmopolitan modernity“ cast doubts on its validity, because the concept – as critics say – is not of use for artists with experience of migration.

The immigration aspect in particular makes a space like Riga very interesting for questions of cosmopolitanism. The Baltic city was always a town determined by social changes, in which minorities and majorities competed for social, political and even cultural hegemony. During the period of nationalisation and state independence, this latter issue dominated the way in which the minorities lived together.

Looking at the biographies of Hunnius and Schmidt, both of whom experienced migration. Beside their emigration for professional reasons, which both had in common, Hunnius had also had left the Baltics when WWI started, since the changed circumstances meant that working (that is, singing and writing) in German were strictly forbidden. Voices which criticise the concept of a universally determined perception of art and music underline the fact that changing national circumstances or belongings, as well as changing traditions must have an influence on self-attributes (ibid.).

Following these objections, the network policies of artists offer the perfect framework for an analysis of the changes in beliefs and conceptions of art and artistic work. Even relationships mirror the specific perceptions of art from the viewpoint of the network participant – as we can see from the examples of Schmidt and Hunnius.

Using methods of qualitative network analysis, the relationships in their network give us an idea of how strong, how intensive the ties were and, furthermore, reflect the support function of network practices (see for example Stegbauer, 2010). With regard to both biographies and the area in which Schmidt and Hunnius lived, another point of this investigation is the geographical location of Riga, and its position between east and west as well as in transcultural transfer:

Riga and its artistic milieu

The cultural space Riga was influenced by ethnic diversity and multilingualism. From the mid-19th century onwards, the Latvian or Latvian speaking culture became a counterpart to the cultural hegemony of the Baltic Germans (and the resulting orientation around "German" culture and the German language) in the cultural sphere of Riga. Due to Riga's geographical position as a main traffic hub between west and east - or, more precisely, between the German Empire and St. Petersburg in the Russian Empire, Riga has always been, and may still be, a point of intersection for

touring musicians. The musical milieu in Riga could, and did, profit from this specific infrastructural position. Musicians who travelled through the town could easily be contacted and asked to stay for an engagement.

Schmidt and Hunnius were among the most popular and successful people who put this into practice, the end of the 19th century: They engaged travelling musicians and integrated them into the local artistic milieu of Riga. The fact that singers traditionally travelled without any musical company promoted the work of Hans Schmidt, probably the most popular contemporary German pianist in Riga: By offering to accompany singers on the piano he was easily able to forge contacts with foreign musicians (Arro, 1965).

Besides his work as a pianist he also helped as a kind of agent, organizing concerts in Riga. This was an important supporting function for singers wishing to achieve public success. Since there were no concert agencies and there was not even a standardised form of concert arrangements, Schmidt thus became one of the main initiators of organizing concerts during this period (Westermann, 1961/1962).

In doing so, Schmidt's main aim was to promote music in Riga. He supported travelling singers on the one hand by organizing concerts and on the other hand by inviting them into his own household. Here, he was able to introduce the foreign artists to his network of local musicians in a familiar framework.

Music historians underline the unrestrictive nature of Schmidt's attitude:

„fühlte er [Schmidt] sich doch niemals gebunden an nationale oder ständische Einteilungen, und in seinem Hause trafen sich Angehörige aller in Riga lebenden Nationen.“

"he [Schmidt] never felt bound by national or social class divisions, and representatives of all the nations to be found in Riga met in his house."¹⁴

The quotation gives us an indication of the cosmopolitan character of Schmidt's work. However, the historian does not mention the differences between the sexual belongings or genders of the artists. Although Schmidt's behaviour to artists was in general without national or ethnic differentiation, he accepted the existing gender roles in Riga's society. This is only one reason for the symbiotic working relationship with his female colleague, Hunnius. She represented the counterpart of his network with male singers. She cared for the female artists who travelled through Riga. Hunnius as a single woman ran a household with the capacity to invite female artists, and the singer Hunnius herself was able to communicate on the same level of understanding with her guests.

Conversely, it was Schmidt who protected and cared for the male artists who had been invited by Hunnius to come to Riga (Hunnus, 1948, p. 189). The efficiency of this shared network practice is also shown by the founding of a choir some decades earlier (end of the 1890s). The founding of associations like choirs was a typical phenomenon at the end of the 19th century. And the choir in

¹⁴ Rigasche Rundschau 1924.

question, the Crescendo-association was no exception in this sense. Hunnius and Schmidt had founded it to foster their network of musicians in Riga.

In fact, with Crescendo they were able to build up a network of musicians and music enthusiasts and also to create a space for communication. Their network not only addressed well-known musicians but also unknown, young singers. The ethnic or national identity of those musicians was irrelevant for membership of the Crescendo circle (Westermann, 1961/1962, p. 218).

The policy of Crescendo was unique in its intention to invite all musicians regardless of their origin and its aim to focus on talent (Hunnus, 1947, p. 11). With their plea for cosmopolitan music Hunnius and Schmidt created an open space (following Marc Bloch) for musicians and music enthusiasts. And in an abstract sense, this space was the platform to round off or complete an idealistic kind of art (following Kant).

Nevertheless, Schmidt's claim to cosmopolitanism cannot be placed in the context of the concept of "world music". The demand for world music, first articulated in 1852, stood for a kind of music which could be understood everywhere in the world, by everybody. Nor can we connect Schmidt's claim with the initiatives around 1900, when musicians had tried to create a "World music" by composing atonal songs¹⁵.

To support the local music scene, Hunnius and Schmidt tried to persuade musicians to live in Riga. This attempt was – especially before the 1920s - a top priority, because the possibilities for vocational training in Riga were limited. Professional schools such as conservatories were not founded until the state became independent. As Hunnius and Schmidt had done decades earlier, musicians had to go abroad in order to further their studies or to experience professional life (Hunnus, 1948, p. 269).

It is interesting to note that the cooperation between Hunnius and Schmidt ended when Latvia became independent. The changing life in the young national state had an impact on artists' perception of art and their courses of action. From now on, Hunnius and Schmidt went different ways. It seems as if Hunnius' self-perception had changed, she no more articulated her claim to cosmopolitanism. Hunnius became further immersed in the work for the German association. This association – as its name implies – was founded in order to protect German culture and the German language.

Hunnus, then, used her knowledge to support music in the German language. One could interpret this such that her training in the genre "Deutsches Lied" years earlier was surely one reason for her choosing this direction. However, although Schmidt had experienced the same training, he did not follow the national path. Schmidt intensified his network practice, he strengthened his contacts with Latvian-speaking musicians. He was interested in Latvia's new academic music scene and he

¹⁵ Widmaier, Tobias: „Weltmusik“ – eine kurze Begriffsgeschichte, in: Benedikt Widmaier u. Gerd Steffens (Hrsg.): Weltbürgertum und Kosmopolitisierung, Schwalbach/Ts. 2010, pp. 67-76 or Redepenning, Dorothea: Liszts Spätwerk im Spannungsfeld zwischen nationalem Denken und Weltbürgertum, in: *ibid.* (ed.): Musik im Spannungsfeld zwischen nationalem Denken und Weltbürgertum, Heidelberg 2015, pp. 161-181, pp. 163-181.

wanted to participate, to provide his expertise to the state's project to foster national identity. As a result, Schmidt worked at the conservatory teaching piano until his death. He also reviewed concerts given by Latvian artists for a German-speaking newspaper. Again, his aim was to connect both cultures, the Latvian and the German, aspiring to a kind of supranational or cosmopolitan music.

Why did Hunnius cut her network ties? Why did she pursue a different concept of music?

We cannot give a definite answer. There may be more than one answer: Maybe it was because of language limits? We do not know how good her language skills in Latvian were. Maybe gender differences played another role in a male-dominated academic milieu. Certainly her emigration during WWI prevented closer connections with the new Latvian elite. On the other hand, Hunnius' expertise as a musician was always on a lower level than that of Schmidt who had a high reputation.

Conclusions

The example of Schmidt and Hunnius and their network policy gives an impression of the interdependence of social and political changes and changes in perceptions of art. For a better understanding of their network practices it is useful to compare changes and new forms of communication in the framework of historical events.

The independence of the Latvian republic was one such breaking point. But from 1918 onwards, independence had not only political and socio-hierarchical consequences, but also replaced the old rules in the field of culture when the leading German culture lost its hegemony and a national Latvian culture took the leading role.

Until 1918 the cosmopolitanism was the connecting aspect in the network policy of Schmidt and Hunnius. Their shared network was a result of a need for affiliation in a cosmopolitan space of communication.

During the described period of time Hunnius and Schmidt lived and worked in Riga. The lack of mobility made it necessary for them both to build up an efficient network. Communicating with those artists who crossed their paths, as travelling singers did, was, then, a major means of expanding their network.

To exchange with foreign artists and foreign musical developments was therefore a motivation for them both. Besides their approach to complement the local music scene, Hunnius and Schmidt followed a cosmopolitan principle that stood for art as a kind of supranational or universal concept.

The reasons why Hunnius stopped following this concept of cosmopolitanism are unclear. If this was only caused by nationalism and a growing self-identification as a member of a minority we will never find a clear answer. And regarding Schmidt – we will also never know if his perception of cosmopolitanism went so far as to say that he stood for a cosmopolitan social order, so to speak a society of equals (Sigrid, 2000, p. 276).

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THE COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS: THE GREAT WAR AND BATTLES FOR INDEPENDENCE (1914-1922) IN LITHUANIA

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Abstract: The article contains three parts and by the memory research method aims to discuss three topics. The first deals with constructing the collective memory and national consciousness by first historians and intellectuals of the 19th century and seeks to show the importance of the Great War in the final stages of this process. The second part of the article presents the impact of the Great War and struggles for independence on collective memory which revealed itself in memoirs, written in period 1914–1940, and in officially created memorial sites. And the third part of the article discusses the extinction of significance of the Great War from collective memory as a natural and specially constructed phenomenon.

Keywords: First World War, collective memory, political censorship, rewriting memory.

Introduction

“Those guns may have fallen silent eighty years ago, but their echoes neither die nor even fade away” (Motion, 1998: 38). These words from former Poet Laureate Andrew Motion, written in 1998, emphasize the extraordinary endurance of the First World War in the public memory.” By this citation and the following comments begins her dissertation Angela Thurstance (Thurstance, 2015). The impact of the Great War made a crucial impact on Western World, which public and cultural memory lasted till now. Despite the fact that the Great War changed drastically not Western but the Eastern Europe where three big multinational empires collapsed and emerged several new national states, the memory of this historical event isn’t so important there. There are two main reasons “Why?” In the Western front participate more educated young people. They were able to perceive not only the new kind of this war (the first modern, technical war) but also the “spiritual mechanism” of the war itself revealing its false ideology, total absurdity and everlasting psychological trauma to those who survived the war. The second reason is related to the historical events of the second half of the 20th century, which were again more significant for Eastern Europe.

The concept of collective memory was introduced by Maurice Halbwachs (1925/1952), further refined and supplemented mostly by Jan and Aleida Assmann (2012), who added to memory studies such important terms as “cultural” and “communicative” memory. It is important speaking specifically about the Great War and its status in the memory of a particular nation, as an “imaginary community”¹⁶. Thus, in this work, collective memory will be pursued as a generalization of the concept of the memory of the Lithuanian nation, which in concrete terms appears as communicative and cultural memory. However, from the perspective of the current century, it is obvious that communicative (and individual) memory is no longer configurable, we will focus solely on cultural memory and cultural policy. Since it isn’t possible to provide an overview of all forms of cultural memory, it is intended to present individual memoirs of the

¹⁶ Term, introduced by Benedict Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983).

participants of the Great War and the struggles for independence, and official memorial sites established by the state in the period 1914–1940. In the third part of the article, we will discuss the rewriting of collective memory as part of the political and cultural policy, provided by the Soviet regime, and its consequences for the current understanding of the Great War and the struggles for independence.

To constructing the nation and collective memory

While Benedict Anderson associates the birth of national consciousness with the Reformation and the invention of book printing¹⁷, the smaller nations, especially those without political independence, were more influenced by another cultural “revolution” – Ossianism¹⁸. James Macpherson’s “Ossian’s songs” shocked the literary world with a stunning idea to search and find fascinating mythology in the folk art of every nation. The works by Johann Gottfried Herder gave a theoretical ground to evaluate folk art and the uniqueness of national language, to search “a national spirit”, hidden in old manuscripts, folk tales, and beliefs. By this inspired cultural movement started in all the Baltic countries in the first decades of the 19th century¹⁹ but in Lithuania, this process was interrupted by two political uprisings (1831, 1863) against Tsarist Russia. The Russian authorities closed the University of Vilnius in 1832, put the ban on Latin alphabet in 1864, and started a policy of russification – these means and drastic attempt to rewrite collective memory hardly influenced the development of Lithuanian culture, which barely existed in the underground.

Nevertheless the harsh constraints on the whole nation, its language and Catholicism have essentially helped to create the first imaginary community. It was organized by Bishop Motiejus Valančius, who originally founded a temperance movement and later started organizing printing of Lithuanian books abroad and an illegal distribution network. This worked for several decades and a community of strong national awareness has been developed in secret private rural schools. The absence of a Lithuanian gymnasium and high schools was an obstacle to the creation of an intelligent society, but it was created abroad. True, the creation of historical collective memory has reappeared from the beginning. The first periodical “Ausra” issued by “father” of national awakening Jonas Basanavičius²⁰, devoted the first number to the first Lithuanian historian Simonas Daukantas and poet Antanas Baranauskas – both were showed as teachers to know the historical past of Lithuania. Knowing own history has to be the main basis for national awareness.

The influence of “Ausra” on the Lithuanian intellectuals was enormous, but its efforts to reanimate Daukantas was unsuccessful. The historical views of Daukantas, Baranauskas and Theodor

¹⁷ The first book in Lithuanian (1547) was actually printed as a result of religious battles, but it did not awake national consciousness.

¹⁸ The term “Ossianism” isn’t popular in Western literatures despite the poem by James Macpherson was highly influential in the development of the Romantic movement, but it is significant for North, Middle and Eastern European literatures where it seen as term for important cultural movement.

¹⁹ The in the first 3 decades of 19th century there were written several theoretical works in Lithuanian Polish or German (by Ksaveras Bogušas, Liudvikas Rėza, Dionizas Poška and others), published first collections of folk songs, several folk tales, the huge poem by Kristijonas Donelaitis, and event the first history of Lithuania in Lithuanian (by Simonas Daukantas).

²⁰ “Ausra” was issued in Tilsit (Prussia) in 1883 and distributed in Lithuania illegally as many printings form 1864.

Narbutt²¹ were old-fashioned and unsuitable for the reality of the turn of centuries. This was understood by Maironis, who studied history at Kiev and returned to write a new history of Lithuania. The book by Maironis²² was special in that he did not associate history with statehood. For the first time extending the narrative thread to his lifetime, he wrote the history of the Lithuanian nation. He also raised a very important idea that the Lithuanian nation has not realized itself in history through culture by now and has to do so in the future. These historical ideas as the Lithuanian language itself were popularized by same Maironis in his poetry which spread in masses as songs performed by amateur theaters in villages. After the press ban was abolished in 1904 the school history textbooks were written following the Maironis concept. At the end of the 19th century, the first political parties began to emerge, and the first major political congress took place in Vilnius in 1905.

However, the suppression of the mass unrest in 1905–1907 again slowed down the desire for autonomous independence, which practically remained unchanged until the Great War. When the war started and the Germans began to rush into Russian territory, the masses of refugees moved to the depths of Russia. The "Committee for Victims of War" was established to organize this chaotic process. In 1914–1916, about a third of the million Lithuanians found themselves in Russia. The committee, led by the Duma deputy Martynas Yčas, who received the high subsidy from the princes Tatyana Committee, managed not only to create tolerable living conditions but also to organize an education, set up many Lithuanian schools and several gymnasiums. This helped Lithuanians feel like members of one national community, and they brought this sense of unity and confidence to their organizational abilities to Lithuania. The model of future independence, which has become more and more apparent at the end of the war, has been discussed at intellectual congresses in Switzerland. At the beginning of 1918, an Act of Independence was signed and published in Vilnius, although there was still a few years to be fought because of the factual and juridical independence.

The Commemoration of the Great War and struggles for independence

The most prominent political and cultural personalities of the period left the memoirs. During the interwar period, it was officially encouraged to write, collect and publish memoirs about the Great War and the struggle for independence²³. In the long run, the attitude to these two phenomena settled down as a whole, although, as the witnesses of the same testimony show, the war was not considered as "ours". Only intellectuals who have mature the idea of freedom for decades have understood the war as a radical event that will change the European political map. For the ordinary people, the war was, first of all, a catastrophe. Stasė Jablonskienė has named three disasters in the country: mobilization, evacuation of the population and German occupation (Jablonskienė, 1935: 298). Thousands of Lithuanians were called up and forced to fight on the Russian side, and some for the Germans (mostly citizens of Lithuania Minor, which belonged to East Prussia). Therefore, in the turbulent years of 1914 to 1919, many Lithuanians fought each other on different sides. Thousands of Lithuanians were killed, thousands spent all three years of war in German captivity.

²¹ Theodor Narbutt published a 9-volume *History of Lithuania* (1835–1841) in Polish.

²² Issued in Tilsit in 1886; then, without the author's knowledge, the bookmakers repeated the print run; the third edition was issued by Maironis himself after the cancellation of the press ban, in 1906.

²³ Continuous publication in journals "Karo archyvas" ["War Archive", 1925–1929, 1935–1940] and "Mūsų senovė" ["Our Past"], 1921–1940, two vol. book *Savanorių žygiai* [Volunteers' Deeds, ed. Petras Ruseckas, Kaunas, 1937]; book, a collection of memoirs, *Lietuva didžiąjame kare* [Lithuania in the Great War, ed. Petras Ruseckas, Kaunas, 1939].

From these events, the first two perspectives of war open up²⁴. The third perspective derives from the memoirs left by the high-ranking Russian army officers involved in military activities in other regions²⁵. The fourth perspective was formed from the memories of the German-occupied in Lithuania²⁶. West frontier participants testimonials open the fifth²⁷. Sixth – from the life of Lithuanian refugees in the depths of Russia. Finally, the seventh, last, perspective emerges from the Lithuanian intelligentsia, who took care of Lithuania's future plans, later declared Independence and organized its defence on the fronts of war and diplomacy²⁸. The boundaries between the listed perspectives are not strict, as there were individuals with multiple experiences, such as those involved in war and in captivity, later on in the struggle for independence and in building state structures²⁹. The spectrum of memoir literature opens up a wide and varied panorama of historical events and personal experiences.

In the states level, the care of the soldiers' tombs was considered as part of the cultural policy. In commemoration of the decade of the Great War, a monument with eternal fire was built in the Garden of the Military Museum in Kaunas. In the opening ceremony (1928 May 15) the German Military Delegation also attended. The next day, German Counsellor and the officers' delegation arrived in the German Cemetery in Kaunas. For those who died in the battles for independence, monuments were built on the initiative of the local people in all the cities and towns. The circulation of content related to the First War has reached the ritual level.

Collective memory as a living process

The cultural oblivion of the Great War was conditioned by the fresher, from the perspective of the present, the collective trauma: a Soviet occupation in 1940, mass deportations, the beginning of the Second World War, the bloody fight against sovietisation in forests, mass exile to the West. After the freedom of the press returned (1987–1988), memoir, documentary and fiction literature came from locked-up areas related to this trauma, which witnesses were still alive. This is a natural, "life-like" case because, as Aleida Assmann has said, "[...] remembrance cannot be separated from forgiveness: both are necessary and indispensable memory operations" (Assman, 2011: 400). However, it is

²⁴ One of the best memoirs of the war in East Prussia and then presence in German captivity was written by former Tsarist military officer Aleksandr Uspensky, later a citizen and an officer of the Republic of Lithuania Успенский А. А. *На войне [In the war]*. Kaunas, 1932. Lith translation *Didžiajame kare*, 1935; *В плену [In captivity]*, vol 1: 1915–1916; vol. 2: 1917–1918 г. Kaunas, 1932).

²⁵ One of the best memoirs left Tsarist navy officer Teodoras Reingardas *Jūrininkas, karininkas, mirtininkas: prisiminimai [Sailor, officer, mortal: memories]*, Šiauliai, 2000.

²⁶ There is a lot of books but one of the best is regarded wide memoirs left in three volumes by the woman writer and public activist Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė, *Karo meto dienoraštis [War time diary]*, issued in 1925 and 1931.

²⁷ Not so many Lithuanians fought in the West Front, but an interesting book of memories was written by an American Lithuanian volunteer Jurgis Frank Jonaitis *Mano patyrimai Didžiojo Karėj 1918 ir 1919 metais [My experiences in the Great War of 1918 and 1919]*, Boston, 1920.

²⁸ From this perspective is written the biggest amount of memoirs because the writers were the most educated. The mentioned above Martynas Yčas, member of Russian Duma and leader of Lithuanian Comitee of refugies left three volumes of memoirs: *Atsiminimai: Nepriklausomybės kelias, [Memories: On the Road of Independence]*, Kaunas, 1936

²⁹ The best example of that kind is Stasys Raštikis, volunteer of Tsar's Army, then an officer, the Commander of Lithuanian Army, a military Educator, an emigrant, who left four volumes of *Memories: Atsiminimai [Memoirs]*, Los Angeles, 1956–1982.

important to note that the historical war heritage of the Great War did not return after "knocking down" "a hunger" of knowledge about the Second World War. After the disappearance of the communicative memory, it is for the stories of the people who took part in the events of 1914–1920, the need for that memory has not survived for later generations.

The fact that a large part of it was already culturally immortalised at the time, few knew, because almost everything was destroyed, written sources were unavailable for long time. So we have to speak not about natural oblivion, but about censorship of memory. Halbwachs (1992: 37) emphasized that "<...> memory depends on the social environment" (Halbwachs, 1992: 77). Only, of course, "social" should be supplemented by "political". The concept of "Nation", which was guided by the revival of Lithuanians since the 19th century, the Soviet ideology opposed and insisted on the concept of "class". By rewriting history from Marxist-Leninist positions, the struggle for national liberation was replaced by the struggle of Lithuanian proletariat against bourgeois nationalists, who temporarily grabbed power in 1918–1940. Such a stance of history was crippled through all the teaching and education measures, periodicals and lasted until 1987 when articles of the Russian Bolshevik Party and its entire ideology appeared in the Soviet press of that time. But "black" work has been done – there was succeeded in eradicating the importance of the Great War and the struggle for independence from collective memory. The restoration of monuments and the return of memory texts is now inadequate, and a targeted state policy is needed.

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