CULTURE CROSSROADS

CONTENT

INTRODUCTION

The 11th edition of *Culture Crossroads* comprises a selection of articles that were presented at the international conference of the Latvian Academy of Culture "Culture Crossroads X" (2016). All authors of the articles are related in their research efforts to analyse local cultural phenomena in the context of global trends and topical theoretical research approaches.

The authors focus their research interests on a wide range of issues in the fields of art, culture and cultural heritage, both on a regional and international scale. Prof. Dr. **D. Georg Adlmaier-Herbst,** (Honorary Professor at Berlin University of the Arts, Berlin Career College, Germany; visiting Professor at the Latvian Academy of Culture) in his article *Global Relationship Management in a Digital World* investigates how digital media and technologies can contribute to a company's global relationship management. The visiting researcher at the Latvian Academy of Culture **Andris Kairišs** (Latvia) in his article *Awareness Raising and Protection of Archaeological Heritage* seeks internationally applicable solutions to improve the accumulation of statistics in identifying illegal excavations in order to strengthen archaeological heritage protection. **Agnese Treimane** (Research Assistant at the LAC Research Centre, Latvia) in her research paper *The Clash of Opinions Regarding Innovation in a Tradition: the Case of the Repertoire of Latvian Nationwide Song and Dance Celebration* studies the dynamics of the most important national tradition of the contemporary Baltic States – *The Song and Dance Festival* – and evaluates the changes in repertoire, based on extensive empirical data. The article of **Mathieu Bokestael** (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium*) Is Every Path the Right Path? A Semiological Analysis of the Axiological Choices in* Mr Nobody *(2009)* examines the application of different semiological models in film analysis in order to specify the axiological position of a film. In her research paper *Museum as an Object of Change* **Ieva Andžāne** (PhD candidate at the Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia) investigates the paradigm of change in the field of cultural heritage and analyses the impact of the said paradigm on the planning of museum strategies. **Zenta Broka-Lāce** (Institute of Latvian History at the University of Latvia; Ģederts Eliass Jelgava History and Art Museum of Jelgava, Latvia) in her article *The Development of Archaeological Thought in Latvia during the Construction of the River Daugava*

Hydropower Plants examines local infrastructure development projects of different countries, focusing on the integration methods of rural landscape conservation and archaeological research in the planning of these projects. In his article *Personification and Embodiment in "The Bottle Neck"* (Flaskenhalsen) *by H. C. Andersen and its Translations into English, Latvian and Russian* **Ēriks Bormanis** (PhD candidate at the Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia), in the context of translatology, analyses the connection of bodily experience with language and communication processes, and the manifestation differences of these experiences in several cultures. **Liene Galeja** (PhD candidate at the Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia) in her research paper *The Use of Abuse: Thematization of Victims and Perpetrators in the Context of the Historical Master Narrative of Latvia* detects trends in the instrumentalization of history, focusing on the development of various narratives (especially emphasising historical master narrative) and their role in the socio-political interpretation of the nation's past. In her research paper *Do Cultural Tourists Going to Regional Concert Halls Benefit Local Economies? A Comparative Induced Impact Analysis in Latvia* **Laura Bukbārde** (Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, Latvia) develops the methodology for evaluating the economic impact of cultural events and estimates the impact of several concert halls across Latvia on the development of the specific region. **Ojārs Stepens** (PhD candidate at the University of Latvia) addresses the differences in the implementation of cultural policies in undemocratic political regimes.

As a whole these research studies reflect the possibilities of interdisciplinary approach for discovering original aspects of cultural phenomena and developing new research questions for future research.

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GLOBAL RELATIONSHIP MANAGEMENT IN A DIGITAL WORLD

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Prof. Dr. D. Georg Adlmaier-Herbst studied Economics (focus on marketing), Sociology, Journalism, Educational Science and Psychology at the universities in Frankfurt/Main, Berlin and Hagen (Germany). For 15 years, he worked in the corporate communications department of a global pharmaceutical company. In 1993 he created his first website. He has been an executive partner in source 1 networks GmbH since 1999, and he advises companies all over the world. Prof. Adlmaier-Herbst is Honorary Professor of Strategic Communication Management at the Berlin Academy of Arts (Germany), Senior Lecturer for Corporate Communication and Social Media at the University of St. Gallen (Switzerland), Visiting Professor at Latvian Culture Academy Riga, Visiting Professor at Shanghai Jiao Tong University (China), member of the "Council of Internet Sages". He was elected "Professor of the Year" in 2011. He has been teaching at company universities and advanced training institutions for many years. He has written 20 books. His website is: http://www.dietergeorgherbst.de

Abstract

The relationship between an organization and its public represents a central concern for the research and practice of public relations. This paper is based on the central research question: How can digital media and technologies contribute to a company's global relationship management? Stemming from the general question I have three more research-related questions:

1. How can social media communities contribute to corporate relationship management?

2. What are the key questions for global relationship management?

3. What are the organizational prerequisites for global relationship management?

Conclusion: Digital media and technologies can contribute in a unique way to global relationship management. These peculiarities comprise the "big four": integration, accessibility, connectivity and interactivity. Connectivity and interactivity are the two most important for global relationship management. Social media channels have opened up new opportunities for companies to benefit from platforms in recent years, where users meet, communicate, exchange ideas and even create products. The problem for global relationship management is that these platforms are very different world-wide, their users and the culture of the communication within these channels are equally different. As a consequence for global relationship management, organizations have to set up a systematic and long-term process of analysis, planning, creation and control to professionally manage the organization's communication.

Keywords: *social media, digital world, global relationship management, interactivity, connectivity.*

1. INTRODUCTION: RELEVANCE OF GLOBAL RELATIONSHIP MANAGEMENT IN PR

The relationships between an organization and its publics represent a central concern for the research and practice of public relations: "Public Relations are the management of communication of an organization and its publics" [Grunig & Hunt 1984: 7]. PR expert Ströh defines Public Relations as "the umbrella function that manages the communication between an organization and its publics to build and enhance healthy relationships to the benefit of all parties involved" [Ströh 2007]. American Scientists Cutlip, Center and Broom define Public relations as "the management function that identifies, establishes and maintains mutually beneficial relationships between an organization and the publics on whom its success or failure depends" [Cutlip/Center & Broom 2012: 5].

PR legends Ledingham and Bruning describe relationships between a company and its publics as "state that exists between an organization and its target publics, where the actions of each part produce an impact on the other parties' economic, social, political or cultural state" [1998: 62]. PR professional Ward [1998] asserted that successful public relationships not only expand economic opportunities, but could also save an organization immeasurable dollars by preventing, minimizing or resolving conflicts and crisis.

In the following years the relational perspective has been applied to a variety of public relations areas such as crisis management, customer-service providers,

and symbolic and behavioral influences of employee volunteerism [Coombs 2000; Ledingham & Bruning 1998, 2001; Wilson 2000; Herbst 2014].

Public Relations are seen as one of the most important ingredients for an effective organization. Relationships influence the success or failure of an organization [Harrison 2003; Ledingham & Bruning 2000b; Robbins & Barnwell 2002]. Why have relationships become so important for organizations and for PR?

- **Reach organization's goals:** To reach their goals, organizations need the support of people or groups of people, the so-called publics. The most common publics are employees, customers, journalists and politicians. Through PR a company tries to convince and motivate their publics to support their goals with their own specific contribution. In order to achieve this, the organization offers a clear and rewarding relationship to these targeted audiences based on communications. This is expressed in the terms Employer Relations, Customer Relations, Media Relations, Investor Relations and Political Relations. James E. Grunig argues that "in order to have public relations valued inside organizations, the PR practitioners must be able to demonstrate that their efforts are part of reaching the objectives of organizations by building long term behavioral relationships with strategic publics" [Grunig 1993: 136]. Hon and Grunig consider the fundamental purpose of public relations to be the creation and development for ongoing or long-term relationships with key audiences of an organization. They argue that no matter how important it is for an organization to measure the effects and results that apply to the PR work, it is even more important for an organization to measure the relationships [Hon, Childers & Grunig 1999].

- **Positioning in market and society:** more and more organizations recognize the potential relationship management offers for differentiation from competitors in the market place but also in society. In times of saturated markets and interchangeable products, rewarding relationships are the only opportunity for a clear positioning.

- **Relationships within the company are key:** They enable employees to build a clear picture of what their organization stands for and in turn an understanding of what their work contributes to accomplishing organization's goals.

- **Relationships outside the organization are important** because the emotional proximity to customers, journalists and financiers increases with each exchange. The reason is that intense exchanges call for a mutual level of commitment and understanding. The more intense the exchange between organization and publics, the stronger the trust toward the organization

grows. The identity of the self and of the other move nearer to one another and ideally reconcile.

- **Shaping relationships to customers of services is clearly essential to the success of an organization:** One reason for this is that the service provider is often in direct contact with the customer. Another reason is that there is no physical product to serve as perceptual anchor. A properly maintained relationship translates as corporate accountability. Perceived risk of disappointment sinks in the eyes of the consumer and other stakeholders.

Developing relationships as a management process

Public Relations as management of relationships between an organization and its publics puts public relations on the level of a strategic management function because it can influence the way stakeholders support the company's goals. The importance of the company's relationship has given rise to relationship management [Ledingham 2003].

The management process of developing relationships with publics is systematic and long-term. It consists of analysis, planning, creation and control. The goal of Public Relations is to create and develop a clear image in publics' minds. Impact studies show that the vividness of an organization's image is the super-dimension of image management [Herbst & Scheier 2004].

2. HOW DIGITAL MEDIA AND TECHNOLOGIES CAN CONTRIBUTE: PECULIARITIES OF DIGITAL MEDIA

Storytelling expert Marie-Laure Ryan stresses that every medium possesses a unique combination of features [Ryan 2004: 19, 2015]. Digital technologies provide storytelling with a combination of four peculiarities – the Big Four: integration, accessibility, connectivity and interactivity [Herbst 2004a]. The two most important for Global Relationship Management are Connectivity and Interactivity.

Connectivity

Connectivity means that the building blocks of devices, technologies, applications, media assets, etc. are connected with one another and communicate (keyword: supersystem of systems) [Herbst 2014]. Connectivity with and within the digital realm has increased dramatically in recent years. Three examples:

- **Media Convergence** is the consolidation of traditionally distinct disciplines like print, TV, radio, digital [Jenkins 2006].
- **Devices and Technologies**: people mail with their phones, go online with their televisions and listen to radio online. Mobile end devices like

smartphones and tablets open up new user scenarios and multi-screen experiences via apps and digital utilities like Location Based Services.

- **Social Networks and Sharing Platforms** enable new forms of communication where every individual can access, forward, rate, comment and themselves create content. Marie-Laure Ryan talks about networking computers in physical space in order to bring users together in virtual environments.

Connecting with the space outside the Digital Media: the digital realm is increasingly connected with the spaces outside digital media.

Users have three possible modes of navigation: first, the haphazard pursuit of links through which the user drifts; secondly, goal-oriented travel along a certain path and thirdly, a concrete search for a particular piece of content undetermined by a particular path.

Interactivity

Interactivity is closely tied to integration and connectivity. Many authors see interactivity as the essential difference to traditional storytelling: "interactivity is repeatedly cited as the feature of digital media that most clearly distinguishes it from older, non-digital genres" [Ryan 2004, 2006; Aarseth 1997; Alexander 2011]. Interactivity can either be described as selective, from clicking on a link, or productive, from participation in a story plot with dialogue or gesture [Ryan 2004: 339].

Accordingly, PR in digital media entails a very active user in contrast to classical PR, which consists of an active narrator and a passive audience. Users in digital media aren't required to wait until something happens, rather they can make something happen. The digital PR user can influence the relationship directly: users can reach into the communication and help shape it. The question is as follows: does the user select a story (human interacts with machine) or tell a story as user-generated content (human interacts with content)?

Organized and collective consumer movements against a company are a part of the risk of interactivity. The examples in recent years of how interactive critical discussions have gravely damaged organization's images are many.

3. RELATIONSHIP MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Social media have radically changed communication behavior and created new means to manage relationships. "Social media present new opportunities but also risks for political actors. The moment they start using social media they enter an implicit communicative agreement with the public; they are expected to seek reciprocity and interaction and not, as they traditionally have done, prioritize the

internal party organization, members, supporters, and the media, instead of the public" [Karlsson, Clerwall & Buskqvist 2013: 2].

In particular, social media platforms grant companies opportunities to contact and engage with existing and potential customers. Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and LinkedIn have radically altered the possibilities for engagement of publics and relationship management. Social media enable users to participate, both passively and actively, in communication, such that they can integrate and co-create brand messages [Kozinets et al. 2010].

Social media enable real time communication among people and groups. As such, social networks are "Platforms […] which foremost serve to establish, nurture and manage social relationships as well as create new ones" [Meckel & Stanoevska-Slabeva 2008: 21]. They serve to "expand and care for relationship networks" [Ebersbach, et al. 2008: 33].

Passive and active participation on brand pages both have measurable effects on the customer-brand relationship and consumer behavior. Thus, managers who invest in social media brand pages open an efficient channel to communicate brand messages, engage customers, and strengthen individual bonds with the brand [Jahn & Kunz 2012].

Digital professionals Boyd & Ellison summarize the three primary functions of social networks. According to which, social networks are "web-based services that allow individuals to

(1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system,

(2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and

(3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system" [Boyd & Ellison 2007: 211].

Social networking sites provide constant connectivity among consumers [Jansen, Zhang, & Sobel 2009] and PR managers are focusing on leveraging these social interactions among customers to achieve benefits for their customer relationships. In today's connected world, online content is an integral part of a customer, and sharing online content can have a big impact on sales and the development of customer relationships [Godes & Mayzlin 2009]. CRM is as "a philosophy and a business strategy, supported by a technology platform, business rules, processes and social characteristics, designed to engage the customer in a collaborative conversation in order to provide mutually beneficial value in a trusted and transparent business environment. It's the company's response to the customer's ownership of the conversation" [Greenberg 2010: 34].

Social media and relationship management

All in all, social media seem to be the perfect channels for organization's relationship management:

- the company uses channels that already exist;
- enormous reach;
- high usage;
- many active users searching for corporate and brand information.

Belonging to the challenges is that human behavior has changed dramatically: users have evolved from passive receptors into active participants. Social networks are places where relationships arise, but also where they may end as quickly as they began [Stegbauer 2011: 252].

Global relationship management

Although there seem to be many opportunities for relationship management with target audiences there are some important problems in regard to Global Relationship Management:

- social media channels vary widely worldwide;
- enormous cultural differences worldwide;
- regulatory differences;
- language differences;
- differences in design: pages are too colorful, loud and tacky for our tastes (China);
- many channels we use in Europe are censored or restricted in use (like "Great Firewall of China" for Facebook, Twitter and Google+);
- popular users get arrested, like the Sina Weibo user Charles Xue (12 million followers);
- governments claim a "Real Name Policy".

One example of different uses and activities in Germany and worldwide: In Germany 9% of users are members in a brand community (15% worldwide); 8% write about brands on the web (worldwide 15%); 17% interact with brands (40% worldwide) [Schweiger 2013].

Examples of different Chinese channels

Many companies think that they can be reached globally with their Facebook account – "the web is global". In fact, Facebook has a very limited reach in China and India, two very fast-growing markets. The number of Facebook users in China is 597,520 (as of 25 February 2013), only 0.04% of the population. Its rank is 99th [Grothe & Weber 2013]. Is China a developing country in Social Media? Not at all: China has 731 million internet users. China's mobile internet users climbed to

695 million, showing much stronger growth than the rate of overall web users. While there's still extensive usage of PCs and laptops, especially at workplaces and schools, 95.1 percent of total internet users access from mobile devices – mainly phones (https://www.techinasia.com/china-731-million-internet-users-end-2016). Social media are different to those in the rest of the world. The social media channels they use are a parallel universe to our social media channels:

- Sina Weibo and Tencent Weibo: China's Twitter;
- Renren, Kaixin 001 and Qzone: China's Facebooks;
- Youku: China's YouTube;
- WeChat: China's Whatsapp.

The example of China shows that there are very different social media channels world-wide with different reach, users, cultures and languages.

4. GLOBAL RELATIONSHIP MANAGEMENT AS MANAGEMENT OF FEEDBACK

The questions are: What does this mean for professional global relationship management? How can social media channels of an organization be coordinated globally? When experts are asked what characterizes global management, they cite its enormous complexity, its high risk and its higher reconnaissance requirements [e. g. Czinkota 2000; Ghauri & Cateora 2014; Hollensen 2014]. National management is also labor intensive, full of risk and complex, however.

Characteristics of global management

What then characterizes global management that national management lacks? Answer: global management must manage feedback [Herbst 2014a]. What does that mean for the global relationship management?

Every country could basically shape its own discrete relationship management as called for in the particular country. But what happens when a country plans something that affects another country or the central strategy, or that could possibly affect it? In such an event, the relationship management should be marshalled; content, timing and format should be set up free of contradictions in order to leverage commonalities and avoid cross talk and unintended messaging. An example: in these internet times, users check worldwide where they can get the best price on a product; search engines and service provider that compare prices. If a company offers its products at different prices in different countries, it should be coordinated. Global relationship management is the management of feedback. Social Scientist Lavecchia [2008] concludes as a result of her study about Belgium's Euro campaign as a model for global public relationship management and collaboration: "Organizations have expanded their reach to international

markets, thus requiring the need to adapt to the different environments in which they are located. This adaptation requires a level of communication that is fitting to their host country" [2008: 60].

Expert, global relationship management is tied to organizational prerequisites: they affect the participating personnel, roles and responsibilities, processes, the applied information technology as well as the communication structure. Because the discussion among relevant groups in different countries directly affects corporate politics, global relationship management must be championed by corporate leadership, funded by a discreet budget and supported with clear directives.

5. ORGANIZATION OF GLOBAL RELATIONSHIP MANAGEMENT

Global relationship management (GRM) is the analysis, planning, creation and organization of global relationship management. Why is global relationship management so important when every country could shape its own local relationships as called for in the particular country?

Well, what happens when a country plans something that affects another country or the central strategy, or something occurs that could possibly affect the organization locally? In such an event, the global relationship management should be marshalled. Content, timing and framework should be set up free of contradictions in order to leverage commonalities and avoid cross talk and unintended messaging.

Global relationship management requires coordination among countries so that a clear image of the organization and its offerings develop – a big picture. Impact studies show that the vividness of an organization's image is the super-dimension of image management [Kroeber-Riel/Diller/Köhler 2015].

Consistent organization's image can only arise when all relationship management's tools are systematically planned and implemented globally. Consistency includes:

- Personnel: all stakeholder decisions and behavior stem from a common understanding of GRM.
- Partnership: is GRM coordinated with external business partners like vendors?
- Instrumental: which programmes do countries implement internationally? Do they complement one another?
- Timing: programme timing should be coordinated so that one country doesn't implement a tactic that another country is waiting on for better timing.
- Content: global relationship messaging must be consistent and free of contradiction. Consistency doesn't mean that every country uses the same

messaging. Rather that the relationship management possesses the general messaging overview in order to ensure there are no contradictions.

- Form: which design guidelines are international? This includes extant formal trademarks such as name and logo.
- Objective: are country-specific launches and one-offs coordinated with one another? The coordination of global relationship management ensures that all stakeholders are able to adequately exchange ideas and communicate – interdisciplinary teams, project management and networks play a major role here. Fitting processes are ones which engender purposeful coordination and measurement and which strengthen overall collaboration.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Global relationship management demands buy-in from all the PR managers in concerned countries in order that clear imagery can be achieved with publics. For this to happen, global relationship management must be systematically planned and precisely executed. Guiding principle: because of the many differences among countries, global relationship management is extremely differentiated. Synergies arise in no small degree from the alignment of such differences along the path to the sought-after brand image.

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AWARENESS RAISING AND PROTECTION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

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Abstract

Significant amount of illegal excavations and information regarding Internet trade of protected artifacts, the number of criminal cases and other violations strongly implies that Latvian archaeological heritage is endangered. The detailed situation unfortunately is not precisely known since correspondent statistical data are not being processed and analysed on regular basis.

Different methods are being used in order to reduce illegal obtainment and trade of antiquities, however, it is usually hard to find relatively efficient and at the same time fast solution.

One of practical solutions to the problem has to do with enhancing awareness of different audiences involved. Thus, after six months of hard work, the *Catalogue of Endangered Latvian Archaeological Artefacts* was published in June 2016.

The analysis of national situation regarding protection of archaeological artifacts, combined with survey of controlling institutions as well as study of foreign information sources allowed for some conclusions at the broader level:

- awareness-raising activities seem to be necessary and valuable as legislative acts do not contain all the information needed for different audiences. Awareness raising achieved by information dissemination concerning protected archaeological artifacts and related issues seems to be accelerated comparing to other possible solutions;
- understanding the factors that push to wrongdoing or influence abstention from it in the context of current political and socio-economic situation is probably the key aspect for facilitating protection of cultural heritage;
- the combination of informational, legal, law enforcement, analytical, coordination, organization and mutual cooperation activities is important for more effective protection.

Keywords: *archaeological heritage, endangered artifacts, looting, awareness, heritage protection.*

Introduction

Three offenders have been convicted for damaging and looting of ancient burial ground by one of Latvian district courts in the end of 2015 [ADC 2015]. This event perhaps would not be considered so significant if it had not been the first time when criminal liability was applied and real punishment was given for such an offence committed in Latvia [Ambote 2015]. The case was even called as "the historical judgement" [LETA 2015] [Ambote 2015] and representative of the State police revealed that "… there was not any success for holding the looters criminally liable until then. It was the first time in 2015 when there was a success" [Krauze 2017].

Beyond doubts it is positive that the work of the law enforcement succeeded, although an "uncomfortable" question arises, because situation logic requires the answer: Why is this the first case in 25 years? Why did the national archaeological heritage turn out to be so vulnerable?

This article is not intended for detailed and all-round study of the situation, analysing all the possible factors that influence protection of the archaeological heritage. Basic attention in the article is focused on awareness of both inhabitants and institutions controlling the turnover of cultural objects (hereinafter – controlling institutions)[1] regarding necessity for protection of cultural (archaeological) heritage as well as possible factor of unawareness to vulnerability of the heritage.

The information used in the article was available to the author as of March 2017.

Facts and numbers

While the problem of illegal excavations has been officially noted already in 2011 [UNESCO 2011: 3], Latvian crime statistics do not contain data on the illegal obtainment of archaeological artifacts [Kairiss 2016: 64–65]. Despite a significant amount of illegal excavations (especially in the ancient burial places), it is not precisely known which archaeological artifacts have been illegally obtained and no archaeological artifacts have been seized during their transport out of the country. Controlling institutions in most cases receive information regarding the

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[1] Institutions more or less engaged in control of turnover of cultural objects (e.g. prevention and fight against offences involving cultural objects and/or the identification of illegal dealing in cultural objects), e.g. the State Police, State Inspection for Heritage Protection, units of State Revenue Service etc.

illegal turnover of protected Latvian archaeological artifacts[1] from Internet trading websites (e.g., eBay.com). Publicly available information regarding the Internet trade in antiquities must lead to the assumption that volume of illegal trade of protected Latvian archaeological artifacts on the Internet is large.[2] Damage to archaeological heritage often caused by the finders of ancient objects is considered to be one of factors endangering cultural heritage in the framework of SWOT analysis conducted by the State Inspection for Heritage Protection (hereinafter – SIfHP) for cultural monuments protection sector [SIfHP 2015, 2: 10].

According to SIfHP data [SIfHP 2015, 1; 2016, 2] from 2011 until June 2016 the following damage cases have been registered in Latvian archaeological sites:[3]

- ancient burial places: 109 cases, proportion in the total amount of damage cases about 83%;
- hillforts: 18 cases, about 14%;
- other sites: 5 cases, about 3%.

According to the State Police data [Police 2016] from 2014 until June 2016, 26 criminal proceedings have been started, qualified according to section 229 "Destruction of and Damage to Cultural Monuments" and 228 "Desecration of graves and corpses" of the Criminal Law[4] and related to criminal offences against cultural monuments.

Besides criminal offences, administrative violations are also being committed. Furthermore, large number of illegal excavations in archaeological sites had been recognized, but did not lead to any criminal proceedings or administrative violation procedure [SIfHP 2015, 1].

Damage done in financial terms, according to initial estimates (to be exact in the court proceedings), in 2011–2014 was about 3.06 million EUR, in January – March 2015 only – about 3.4 million EUR [SIfHP 2015, 1].

It should be noted that there is no precise statistics regarding looting of and damage done to archaeological sites in Latvia. It could be explained by qualification of offences as well as organizational issues and responsibility aspects of institutions concerned: at least a part of offences involving cultural monuments, such as ancient burial grounds, is being qualified not by the section 229 (Destruction of

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[1] Law of the Republic of Latvia "On Protection of Cultural Monuments". According to Paragraph 4 of Section 7 "… Antiquities found in archaeological sites in the ground, above the ground or in water (dated until the 17th century included) shall belong to the State, and they shall be stored by public museums. …"

[2] E.g. in September 2014 there were about 30 traders openly (illegally) selling protected Latvian archaeological artifacts on eBay.com

[3] According to SIfHP information, data on damage done from 2015 to the end of the first half of 2016 could be specified.

[4] Law of the Republic of Latvia "Criminal Law".

and Damage to Cultural Monuments), but by the section 228 of the Criminal Law (Desecration of graves and corpses), incl. the aforementioned "historical judgement" adopted at the end of 2015 [Sprūde 2016][1]. The official statistics [IC 2017] does not differentiate an offence by the place of occurance, either an ancient burial ground (in most cases related to illegal obtainment of artifacts), or modern cemetery (often related to act of vandalism, theft of grave equipment etc. objects). Without special inquiry it is impossible to conclude from the official statistics where exactly the offence has been committed – in the ancient burial place or modern cemetery. Official statistics [IC 2017] [CIS 2017] confirm that level of criminal offences related to desecration of graves and corpses is consistently steady in Latvia. In average, in a year there are 49 criminal offences related to stealing of a monument or funerary urn, or other objects placed on or in a grave or at a funerary urn (year 2011 to 2016).
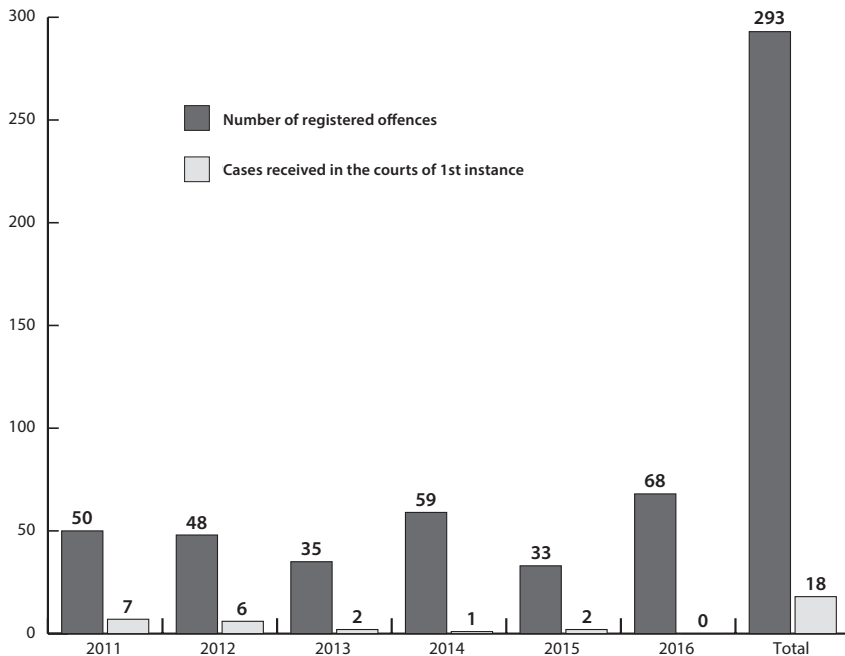
Figure1. Desecration of graves and corpses associated with stealing[2]
(Raw data source: [IC 2017] [CIS 2017]).

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[1] In this case at the moment of commitment of the offence the place of illegal excavation, in legal terms, represented protection zone of cultural monument "Asaru ancient burial ground" and not the ancient burial ground itself.

[2] Law of the Republic of Latvia "Criminal Law". Paragraph three of Section 228. Desecration of graves, funerary urns or interred or uninterred corpses (also if committed by a group of persons pursuant to prior agreement), if such acts are associated with stealing of a monument or funerary urn, or other objects placed on or in a grave or at a funerary urn.

At the same time, offences qualified according to section 229 (Destruction of and Damage to Cultural Monuments) of the Criminal Law practically do not get into the courts of first instance, see Figure 2.
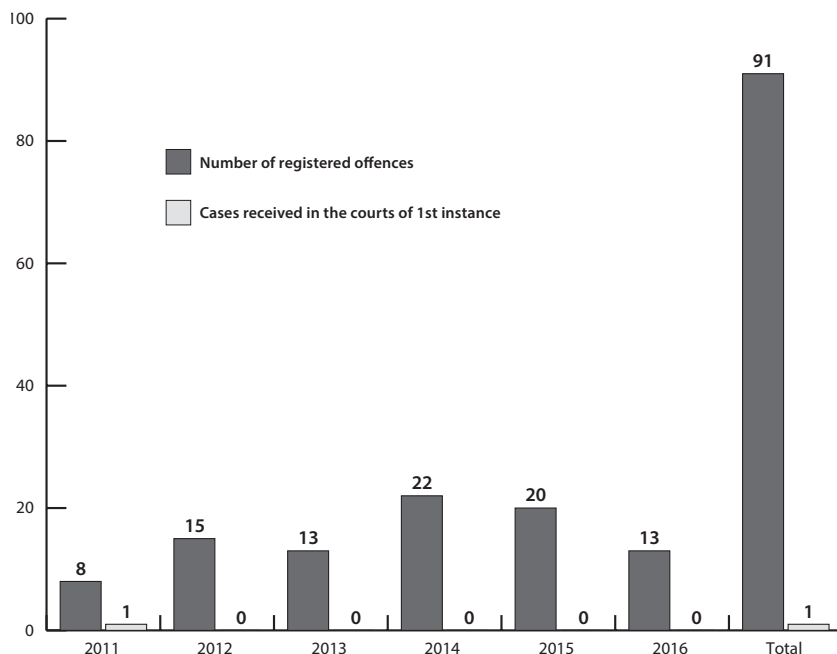
Figure 2. Destruction of and Damage to Cultural Monuments.[1]
(Raw data source: [IC 2017] [CIS 2017]).

Section 89 of Latvian Administrative Violations Code provides for liability for breach of cultural monument protection rules,[2] although there are several rules that a person could break and considered liable according to the above-mentioned section. According to the law "On Protection of Cultural Monuments"[3] the finder within five days shall notify the SIfHP in writing regarding the objects which might have historical, scientific, artistic, or other cultural value (i.e. also about the archaeological artifacts), as well as the location and conditions of the find. Section 89 of Latvian Administrative Violations Code provides for administrative liability for non-declaration of archeological finds, although without going into specifics of an administrative violation it is not possible to conclude whether

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[1] Law of the Republic of Latvia "Criminal Law". Section 229. Destruction of and Damage to Cultural Monuments.

[2] Law of the Republic of Latvia "Latvian Administrative Violations Code".

[3] Law of the Republic of Latvia "On Protection of Cultural Monuments". Paragraph 2 of Section 17.

administrative liability has been applied specifically for the mentioned violation or breach of any other cultural monument protection rule. On 13 June 2016 a draft law[1] was submitted to the Saeima (Parliament) of the Republic of Latvia. It proposes transferring of administrative liability for violation of cultural monument protection rules to the law "On Protection of Cultural Monuments". It seems that the draft law brings more clarity, including administrative liability for non-declaration of the archaeological artifact (defining it as illegal keeping of the artifact that belongs to the state).

At the moment, no institution in the country is primarily responsible for processing of statistical data on violations of law related to cultural heritage. The corresponding data are published just from time to time, e.g. on the basis of mass media or researchers' request.[2] Despite significant destruction and looting of archaeological sites in 2015, there is not any reflection on that and no statistical information on associated damage has been included in the 2015 public report of the SIfHP [SIfHP 2016, 1]. Statistical information on destruction and looting of archaeological sites is not included on the SIfHP website either. Sometimes, statistical data with regard to offences against cultural monuments given by the representatives of the SIfHP differ from one another. For example, information given in the journal "*ir*" in June 2016 [Nagle 2016] regarding criminal proceedings started in 2015 (19 proceedings) does not correspond to information given during the news release by Latvian Independent Television dated 23 July 2016 [Brikmane 2016] regarding criminal proceedings started in 2015 (22 proceedings). The aforementioned data do not correspond with data given by the State Police [Police 2016], which has informed that 8 criminal proceedings have been started regarding damaging and looting of archaeological monuments in 2015 (representative of the State Police informed[3] that information given did not contain data on those offences

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[1] Draft law "Amendment of the law "On Protection of Cultural Monuments"" No 604/Lp12 submitted to the Parliament of the Republic of Latvia (2016). Available: http://titania.saeima.lv/LIVS12/saeimalivs12.nsf/webAll?SearchView&Query=([Title]=*Par+kult%C5%ABras+pieminek%C4%BCu+aizsardz%C4%ABbu*)&SearchMax=0&SearchOrder=4 (viewed 20.03.2017.)

[2] Also norms prescribed in the law of the Republic of Latvia "State Administration Structure Law" should be taken into account, e.g. paragraph 7 of section 10 (Principles of State Administration) states: "…(7) The duty of State administration is to inform the public of its activities. This especially applies to that section of the public and to those private persons whose rights or lawful interests are or may be affected by the implemented or planned activities. …". Aspects of damaging, destroying and looting of cultural heritage are probably quite important, so the institutions involved should inform the public on their own initiative.

[3] State police explanation provided on 22 August 2016 according to request of A. Kairiss, invited researcher of the Latvian Academy of Culture.

against cultural monuments, that have been qualified as hooligan actions, since they were not related to looting of the artifacts). The fact that no institution in the country is primarily responsible for processing and analysis of the aforementioned statistical data[1] demonstrates lack of uniform approach to processing of such data and assessing situation in the country. One of the tasks included in the Strategy for cultural monuments protection sector for 2014–2020, offers, however, a ray of hope: "qualitative information, including statistical data gathering and analysis" is mentioned there [SIfHP 2015, 2: 14, 20 sub-point 2.2.6.]. Probably this task is related also to data processing and analysis on violations of law related to cultural heritage.

Development of Latvian solutions

In order to understand where we are, where we were, and where we probably want to be, it seems important to observe the development of Latvian solutions regarding prevention and combating offences involving cultural objects. The situation in greater detail has been described in the article dedicated to development of the corresponding solutions [Kairiss 2015]. Here, in this publication, just the most important facts have been summarized.

Most probably no significant study of cultural property thefts has been conducted in Latvia before 2008. So, the situation was more or less like the "happy ignorance".

In 2008 analysts of the Information Centre of Ministry of the Interior noticed significant disproportion between number of stolen and recovered cultural objects, lack of quality regarding cultural objects identification data and a number of technical problems regarding data processing on cultural objects in the law enforcement sector. Studying available information on thefts of cultural objects, the analysts have come to the primary conclusion: there was a lack of co-operation between law enforcement and private owners/holders of cultural objects. The main problem had to do with lack of timely received qualitative information.

So, the list of inadequacies has been developed. Briefly speaking, the imperfections were of methodological, technical and organizational nature. On the basis of the conducted study, the international project has been carried out,

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[1] E.g. the corresponding function or task is not directly mentioned in the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia regulation No 916, adopted on 9 November 2004, "By-law of the State Inspection for Heritage Protection"; probably it can be concluded from more general functions of the institution, e.g. subpoint 2.1.: "2. The Inspection shall have the following functions: 2.1. to implement the protection of cultural monuments; …"; however, no one of the institution's tasks listed in the legal act does not directly correspond to data processing and analysis.

implementing modern information processing and exchange solutions. Developed solutions included also publicly available free of charge electronic services for description and verification of status of cultural objects.[1]

It should be taken into account, however, that since 2011–2012 the electronic services have not been advertised or otherwise significantly promoted, so despite a very hopeful start, their usage has decreased dramatically. Besides, amount of data publication and data updating in the framework of electronic service "Detection of the status of cultural object" [IC 2011] has decreased largely, most probably due to certain ignorance of the electronic service from the part of institutions concerned.[2]

It turned out, however, that technical solutions alone could not help to resolve the issue. Analysis conducted in 2012–2015 by researchers of Latvian Academy of Culture revealed several aspects to be addressed in order to improve the situation (for more detailed information see [Kairiss 2016: 73–74]). Table 1 summarizes data on historical development of the corresponding solutions.

Table 1. **Latvian solutions regarding prevention and combating offences involving cultural objects**

Prior to 2008 *Happy ignorance*	2008–2009 *The revelation*	2009–2011 *"Deus ex machina"*	2012–2016 *The revelation II*
No data – no problem!	Increasing crime against cultural property and negligible amount of recovered objects Blames and excuses The start of analysis	Methodology for description of cultural objects Improvement of law enforcement information system and data exchange Creation of public electronic services	The percentage of recovered cultural objects remained very low Aspects to be addressed: • awareness • knowledge • cooperation • coordination • legal regulation

The aforementioned aspects have been largely affirmed also in the framework of the survey of controlling institutions in 2014–2015.

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[1] See, e.g. ICOM International Observatory on Illicit Traffic in Cultural Goods. Latvia. Information Centre. Available: http://obs-traffic.museum/information-centre?search_api_views_fulltext (viewed 12.03.2017.)

[2] E.g. the last publicly available record regarding stolen/lost cultural object in the electronic service is dated by 9 September 2014. Available: http://www.ic.iem.gov.lv/ko_status/index.php (viewed 12.03.2017.)

Survey of representatives of controlling institutions

In the framework of research project "Improvement of solutions for reducing illegal turnover of cultural objects in Latvia" implemented by Latvian Academy of Culture, training for representatives of controlling institutions was organized in 2014–2015 regarding identification of cultural historic objects and the related issues. The training was implemented in Daugavpils, Ventspils and Riga (3 trainings in Riga) and the total number of participants has reached 222 officers and employees of the State Police, State Revenue Service (customs), State Border Guard, SIfHP, SJC "Latvijas Pasts" (Latvian postal service), as well as employees of some museums. The objective of training was related to providing of basic knowledge about those cultural historic objects more often illegally obtained or traded, so officers or employees can assess the situation and involve cultural field professionals to support controlling institutions as soon as possible.

In the course of the training, using one and the same programme, participants' surveys (5 in total) on cultural objects protection and illegal turnover issues were conducted.[1] The total number of respondents reached 180, representing 81.1% of the training participants. The most significant part of respondents constituted officers/employees of the State police, State Revenue Service (customs) and State Border Guard (about 92% in total). In terms of work experience the most part represented persons with 6 to 20 years of work experience (59.4% in total). This publication reflects respondents' answers just to some of the questions.

The absolute majority of respondents – 82.7% (or 148) – indicated that they consider illegal turnover of cultural objects as actual issue to be resolved.

According to respondents' opinion (137 answers given to the open question (possible responses were not pre-formulated in the questionnaire)) the main barriers to more effective reduction of illegal turnover of cultural objects are as follows (more significant – first):

1. insufficient knowledge/awareness of personnel of officers/employees (e.g. cultural objects identification issues, value estimation), lack of training;
2. lack of cooperation and information sharing between institutions concerned at national and international level, insufficient information exchange, complications in identification of stolen property (including ineffective use of information systems, insufficient registration and therefore identification of cultural objects);

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[1] The survey has been conducted and results summarized by Andris Kairiss, invited researcher of Latvian Academy of Culture. Latvian Academy of Culture provided some technical support in implementation of the survey.

3. insufficient/ineffective legal regulation (e.g. to hold perpetrators accountable; non-licensing of usage of metal detectors), insufficient experience in application of law;
4. insufficient awareness and apathy of the public (also in connection with economic situation in the country);
5. lack of financial and other resources of controlling institutions;
6. lack of information in the field of practical limitation of illegal turnover of cultural objects (e.g. methods for prevention of illegal transportation, supporting documents and forgeries thereof);
7. insufficient control of cultural objects during border control procedures, open internal borders in the EU (lack of control);
8. lack of experts and specialists;
9. lack of information regarding protected objects/sites (e.g. archaeological sites);
10. illegal trade on the Internet and other barriers.

Respondents have given comments, noting that they are most interested in the following aspects which correlate with the aforementioned barriers:
1. detailed characteristics and identification of different cultural objects (in particular – icons, numismatics, phaleristics, paintings, weapons, archaeological artifacts);
2. aspects of forgery of cultural objects;
3. aspects of provenance and age identification of cultural objects;
4. characteristics of illegal actions involving cultural objects (*modus operandi*), e.g. illegal market, illegal trade networks and transportation channels, thefts from religious sites, illegal obtainment and transportation out of the country, illegal turnover of different kinds of cultural objects and prevention/combating thereof;
5. schemes (algorithms) of actions and flow of information in different situations (e.g. where and how to verify data on cultural object (e.g. information systems), whom to contact);
6. legal regulation and aspects of practical application thereof (e.g. restrictions of turnover and export; supporting documents, prevention of legalization, proof issues, punishment);
7. mutual cooperation between institutions concerned.

Awareness aspect

The awareness of institutions concerned and general public plays significant role among factors and barriers, affecting the reduction of illegal turnover of cultural objects (including archaeological artifacts), defined by both researchers of Latvian Academy of Culture and participants of the survey.

Presumably those persons consciously involved in damaging and looting of archaeological sites, illegal trade of artifacts and other illegal activities do not understand social economic consequences of their actions, see, e.g. [Brodie 2010],[1] although they are quite well informed about the illegal nature of their actions and are able to identify archaeological artifacts at least in general [LSM 2016].

According to one of classic criminology theories – *the routine activity theory* [Cohen, Felson 1979] – the offence is committed when the *likely offender* meets the *potential target* in the absence of the *capable guard*. If there is certain clarity regarding the potential target as such – in our case it is archaeological artifact or site, then the question regarding the likely offender and the capable guard is not so unambiguous. Probably one and the same person could take both the offender's or guard's role or remain indifferent (e.g. doing nothing while seeing someone damaging archaeological site), not taking any side. It seems that the aspect of awareness and the related comprehension is of significant importance for choosing the particular role.

Analysing the situation on a broader scale, one most probably should agree with assumption that nowadays moral considerations should be increasingly attributed to the buyers of antiquities since they have option to choose in comparison with those artifact finders who are very poor, see e.g. [Brodie, Doole, Watson 2000: 25]. Making an assumption about social economic context's influence to the option to choose, it should be noted that the situation in contemporary Latvia, although it should be improved [OECD 2016], is not so dramatic (there is no famine or war etc.), that illegal obtainment and trade of archaeological artifacts is related to resource gathering for survival. The aforementioned is also confirmed by international welfare indexes, e.g. *Legatum Prosperity Index* [Legatum 2017]. According to this index Latvia is ranked number 37 (out of 149 countries) by all indicators and number 34 by the economic quality indicator in 2016.

For simplicity, we can observe a case when an archaeological artifact has already been obtained (e.g. as a result of illegal excavation) and reached a potential buyer's sight.

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[1] E.g. short-term economic gain for persons involved in illegal obtainment of archaeological artifacts causes significant long-term social economic losses at least at local and regional level.

It seems that the potential buyer would try to answer at least some questions before making decision on purchase of concrete object. Probably the most significant aspects to be clarified (besides price) related to whether the particular object is an archaeological artifact as such and, if it at least seemingly is, then which culture and time period does it belong to.

It is doubtful that the potential buyer would immediately ask (at least to himself) a question of whether the particular object is an object of trade in terms of law. Furthermore, it is even more doubtful taking into account the fact that corresponding indications (e.g. regarding requirements of relevant international or national legal acts, imposing restrictions on turnover of these objects) are not always presented on the trading websites [Brodie 2015: 12, 18]. In reality identification of archaeological artifacts is quite complicated as most people are not familiar with them (e.g. if the artifacts look like a piece of rusty metal or fragment of a stone) or are able to differentiate archaeological artifacts from remakes or fakes as there is large number of fakes in the antiquities market [Brodie 2015: 11–12] [Yates 2015: 35] [Seif 2015: 73]. The sellers, taking into account insufficient knowledge of the potential buyers and high demand for particular artifacts, could mislead the buyers, e.g. representing Baltic tribes' artifacts as Viking artifacts [Nagle 2016].

Since archaeological artifacts are not weapons, narcotic substances or other objects characterized by well-known turnover restrictions, the potential buyer might be unaware that the sale of these items may be illegal. In order to give rise to suspicion that the artifact is traded illegally, it should be identified as protected object (the *potential target*). At this stage we can also face one of the common misconceptions – if something is stated in the law (i.e. that archaeological artifacts are under protection), then it is considered to be crystal clear and self-evident. Unfortunately, practice shows that even many law enforcement professionals have no sufficient knowledge to identify protected archaeological artifacts, e.g. chief of the Criminal Investigation Board of the State Police noted that there are no experts in the police who would be able to identify whether the found objects are considered to be archaeological artifacts, that is why the police cooperates with the SIfHP [Helmane 2016]. Situation could be even more complicated taking into account that the potential buyers are often interested in those archaeological artifacts having turnover restrictions imposed by national legal acts of their country of origin (i.e. other than the country of residence of the buyer), and the restrictions may apply to artifacts of certain age only.[1]

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[1] E.g. according to Section 7 of the "Law On Protection of Cultural Monuments" only those antiquities dated until the 17th century included shall belong to the state and be stored by public museums.

Possible consequences of non-identification of archaeological artifact are, for example, buying it as unprotected object (e.g. without checking the provenance, requesting exportation license etc.) and non-reporting of the accidental find to heritage protection authorities.

Therefore, unawareness and not only the malice could influence the support of illegal activities and damaging the archaeological heritage.

Let us assume that the archaeological object has been identified as protected. Where does the identification of the protected object lead us to? Are some of us going to remain more or less indifferent and behave as "likely offenders", and the others are going to become "capable guardians"? There are probably 3 basic options:

- indifference. Despite publicly available information on destruction and looting of archaeological sites as well as huge number of artifacts with doubtful provenance [UNESCO 2015], it does not abstain many buyers from corresponding purchases. The volume of trade on the Internet allows for assumption that many buyers are not embarrassed with the fact that a large amount of archaeological artifacts is characterized with doubtful provenance or represents fakes [Brodie 2015: 18]. Probably the "indifferent" buyers do not worry about damage done to cultural heritage or assume that many other persons who sold and bought artifacts with doubtful provenance, have not been held responsible for their actions, so there is no ground to worry about the possible consequences;

- fear of liability. It could work in some cases when a person fears to become a partner in crime if he or she doesn't inform controlling institutions about the breach of law. More frequently it is related to fear of damaged reputation if a person buys stolen (or illegally obtained) objects. It is logical to suppose that at least in some cases fear of liability can help the likely offender to abstain from wrongdoing. Nevertheless, fear of liability most probably would have limited efficiency if a person is not internally convinced of inadmissibility of certain actions;

- understanding the value. Understanding the value of a protected object, phenomenon or interest is powerful positive stimulus no matter whether we talk about human life, health or cultural historic value of an archaeological artifact. The key element here is conventional understanding of the value: e.g. it is much more likely that everyone would rather immediately protect child from abuse than archaeological site or artifact from looting and illegal trade. Sometimes attention is drawn not so much to the protection of archaeological artifacts, but to the conditions of illegal obtainment of the artifacts. In cases of ancient burial grounds looting, there is often sharp reaction in mass media news and readers' comments regarding the

disturbing of peace of the dead, lack of respect for ancestors etc. Those people who understand the cultural historic value of archaeological artifacts and are internally convinced of necessity to protect cultural heritage, are the most "capable guardians". Even more – if we feel respect to and pride of the object, it is much more likely that we would do our best to protect it. An example of it could be protection of artifacts/artworks we associate with the nation or consider as significant part of the world cultural heritage.

There are also cases in Latvia when local inhabitants unite to protect the archaeological heritage and possibly reduce actions of the looters [Vilcāne 2013].

Awareness raising

Theoretically there could be a hope that inhabitants would raise their level of awareness themselves, reading legal acts and looking for information regarding protection of cultural heritage. In some cases it is true, although taking into account threats to archaeological heritage worldwide, it should be assumed that large part of individuals is not particularly active in the field of protection of archaeological heritage even if the threats relate to their own countries or districts of domicile. The important aspect is that there is a lot of information regarding Latvian archaeological heritage, although it is largely connected with issues of archaeology, research of historical and other aspects, i.e. both general public and controlling (non-cultural) institutions lack concentrated information in the context of identification and protection of archaeological artifacts.

Taking into account the aforementioned and remembering the words of Aeschylus that "a wise person does not know much, but knows what is necessary", in order to raise the awareness of inhabitants as well as institutions and organizations concerned regarding protected Latvian archaeological artifacts, a small group of Latvian cultural institutions' representatives, under the guidance of Latvian Academy of Culture, started to develop *Catalogue of Endangered Latvian Archaeological Artefacts* (hereinafter – the Catalogue) in the end of 2015 [Kairišs, Šulte, Zirne, Lūsēna, Urtāns 2016].

It took Latvian Academy of Culture, National History Museum of Latvia and SIfHP about 6 months of concentrated work to create the Catalogue. The Catalogue has been developed with some consultative support of several controlling institutions.

The Catalogue is designed to aid in the identification of those Latvian archaeological artifacts, which are more frequently acquired illegally, illegally traded and exported outside the territory of Latvia. It includes only the types of artifacts that are most threatened by illegal obtainment and trade, as well as more commonly found in Latvia. Individual archaeological artifacts shown and described in the

Catalogue are legitimately held in the National History Museum of Latvia collections and have been included in it for illustrative purposes.

The idea of such a catalogue is not very original, ICOM, for example, created so called Red Lists catalogues and database, also containing images and descriptions of artifacts legitimately held in museums.[1] Latvian Catalogue differs from ICOM publications with more information included both in terms of number of objects and detailed descriptions as well as with sample of exportation permit, images and descriptions of objects before and after restoration.

Detection of the most endangered artifacts has been done by studying content of several tens of websites offering for sale the artifacts of Latvian origin.

The Catalogue is available free of charge in Latvian, English and Russian. It can be downloaded freely from several national and foreign websites, including one of Interpol General Secretariat.[2] It is intended for use by many national, foreign and international target groups, e.g.:

- controlling institutions (e.g. police, customs, Interpol),
- cultural institutions (e.g. museums, ICOM, UNESCO),
- traders, actual and potential buyers of cultural objects,
- non-governmental organizations, universities and schools,
- individuals interested in history, tourists,
- other audiences.

The main task of the Catalogue is to raise awareness, that is why besides information on archaeological artifacts, it contains legal and practical information on protection issues. It includes the following parts:

- description of the current situation,
- legal information,
- recommendations regarding activities:
  - intended for prevention and detection of illegal turnover of the artifacts,
  - in case of detection (suspicion) of illegal turnover of the artifacts,
- descriptions and images of artifacts,
- characteristics and images of artifacts before and after the restoration,
- filled-in sample of the exportation permit,
- contact information of controlling institutions,
- contact information of museums providing consultations on archaeological artifacts.

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[1] ICOM. Red List catalogues and data base. Available: http://icom.museum/programmes/fighting-illicit-traffic/red-list/ (viewed 23.03.2017.)

[2] Interpol. Works of art. Available: https://www.interpol.int/Crime-areas/Works-of-art/Works-of-art (viewed 23.03.2017.)

Using law enforcement, cultural and academic institutions channels, the Catalogue in just several days has been distributed to large number of national, foreign and international controlling institutions, as well as number of cultural, academic and research institutions, also NGOs. The Catalogue has been included in the websites of several national and foreign institutions and organizations, social networks, as well as promoted in mass media, thus facilitating its availability to general public.

It seems that the benefits of the Catalogue usage are self-explanatory, however, besides detection of the most endangered kinds of artifacts and improving awareness of different audiences in both Latvia and abroad, it also increases capabilities for prevention and combating offences against archaeological heritage and cooperation between different institutions, organizations and persons concerned. At the same time the Catalogue performs kind of preventive function, e.g. informing about negative consequences of destruction of cultural heritage and liability for illegal transfer of property rights and sale of artifacts, illegal transportation and sending artifacts by mail. One of the positive effects is probably related to decreasing of motivation for making illegal digs in Latvian archaeological sites and illegal trade of Latvian archaeological artifacts. Possible positive influence of the Catalogue could be confirmed e.g. by the fact that since August – November 2016[1] the amount of Latvian archaeological artifacts traded by eBay (there is a suspicion that large proportion of traded artifacts is considered to be protected and they are traded illegally) tends to decrease substantially. The eBay, for sure is not the only one (although probably the largest one) trading platform for archaeological artifacts, and the illegal trade could also be influenced by activity of the law enforcement agencies. To some extent the illegal trade can be affected also by the cyclicality of obtainment and trade of the artifacts, e.g. it is more complicated to make excavations in winter time as the soil is firm, so the artifacts are more difficult to extract.[2]

It is important to mention that many sellers of archaeological artifacts knowingly restrict (using corresponding technical options) Latvian users from seeing full information on archaeological artifacts traded by eBay. Therefore, one and the same eBay webpage view from Latvia and, e.g. the USA significantly differs. The webpage available for the US located users contains much more information on archaeological artifacts on sale. Probably this kind of restriction is used to prevent

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[1] The catalogue was made publicly available at the end of June 2016. eBay webpage was viewed in August 2016 (total number of antiquities located in Latvia) and then in November 2016 (number of "Viking" antiquities located in Latvia).

[2] Cold weather does not always discourage the looters since large-scale illegal excavations in Latvia have been made in January–March 2015.

Latvian controlling institutions from undisturbed observance of the corresponding information. The other related reason could concern the size of the antiquity market, since the US market is much bigger than the Latvian one.
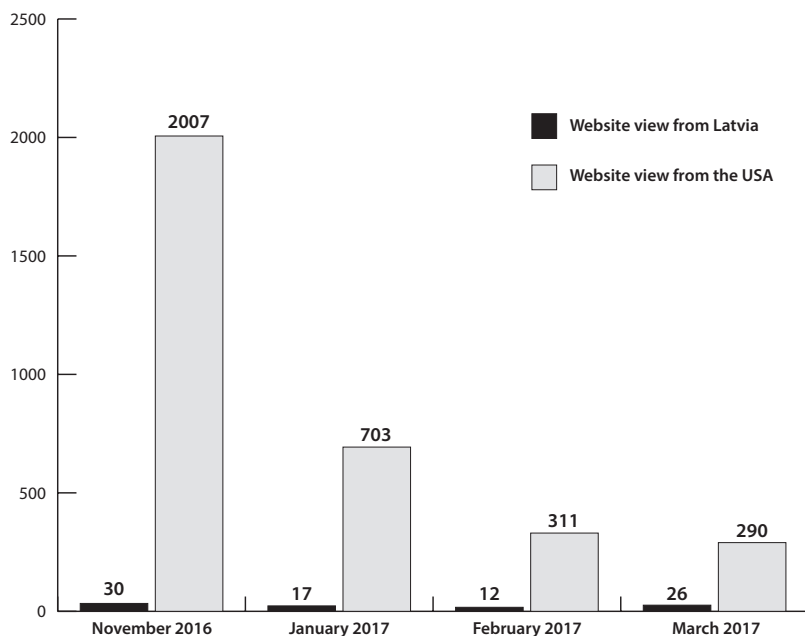
Figure 3. Latvian archaeological artifacts on eBay.[1]

Further steps

It should be understood that awareness raising itself is most probably not enough to ensure protection of the archaeological heritage; moreover, there will always be individuals who for one or another reason would continue their illegal actions regarding damaging archaeological sites and looting possibilities of

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[1] The total number of objects in the corresponding webpage of eBay (for November 2016, January, February and March 2017: Antiques > Antiquities > Viking > Located in Latvia) is indicated. Information on eBay webpage has been viewed from Latvia and the USA on one and the same webpage on one and the same date. Most objects according to their appearance and sometimes according to description provided relate to protected Latvian archaeological artifacts (moreover – all the Viking age artifacts are considered to be protected in Latvia since according to law, turnover restrictions apply to artifacts dated until the 17th century inclusive). On 10 August 2016 the total number of Latvian antiquities (most of them were indicated as "Viking") on eBay (Antiques > Antiquities > Located in Latvia) was 154 (website view from Latvia) and 2430 (website view from the USA). It is complicated to count the precise number of artifacts traded in particular month since the number changes every day – that is why just the general tendency can be determined.

tracing history. Remembering that *justice without force is powerless*[1] and taking into account different factors affecting efficiency of protection of cultural heritage, it should be agreed that the combination of activities, including informational, law enforcement, legal, analytical, coordination, organization and cooperation is of true power. The activities involve:

- raising of understanding of cultural heritage's importance,
- raising of public awareness regarding cultural property protection,
- coordination of actions of controlling institutions,
- better co-operation between controlling and cultural institutions,
- developing of international cooperation (especially between controlling institutions),
- training for controlling institutions,
- involvement of NGOs and other related organizations,
- improvement of legal regulation,
- research activities, e.g. analysis of cases of unlawful obtaining and trade of archaeological artifacts,
- reducing opportunities of illegal trade of archaeological artifacts,
- developing practical recommendations for landowners, as well as owners/ holders of archaeological artifacts.

Protecting archaeological heritage, we both respect the ancestors and think about the next generations. Taking this into consideration we probably can well adapt famous quote regarding protection of natural heritage to protection of archaeological and other cultural heritage: *we have not taken over cultural heritage from our ancestors – we have only borrowed it from our children.*

Abbreviations used

ADC   – Alūksne District Court (one of the district courts in Latvia)
CIS   – Courts Information System
IC   – Information Centre of the Ministry of the Interior
LEGATUM – Legatum Institute
LETA   – Latvian national information agency "LETA"
LSM   – news portal "Latvijas sabiedriskie mediji" ("Public broadcasting of Latvia")
OECD   – The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
Police   – State police of Latvia
SIfHP   – State Inspection for Heritage Protection of Latvia

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[1] Justice without force is powerless; force without justice is tyrannical. Quote of Blaise Pascal (*Pensées*, 1660).

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THE CLASH OF OPINIONS REGARDING INNOVATION IN A TRADITION: THE CASE OF THE REPERTOIRE OF LATVIAN NATIONWIDE SONG AND DANCE CELEBRATION

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Abstract

In this article the tradition of Song and Dance Celebration (SDC) is analysed, focusing on the aspects of innovation of its repertoire and the effect these innovations may have on the development of traditions. Repertoire is the one aspect which pervades the whole SDC process and is dealt with by all actors – organisers, participants (choir members), conductors, audience members. Repertoire is also one of the most changing aspects of the SDC, because at the beginning of every five-year cycle it is redefined and is put together anew. Lately, the content of the repertoire has been a subject of discussions especially regarding the ability of participants of the amateur-arts groups. The main goal of this article is to describe if and how innovations in the SDC repertoire are an obstacle or the source of a progress. In this article theoretical and empirical data gathered in the framework of research programme HABITUS have been used. Data show that participants are not satisfied with the proportion and content of the new compositions (innovations) in the repertoire. Nevertheless, article argues that the aspects of innovation are inevitable and necessary in order for this tradition to be sustainable, progressing and actual. It cannot be asserted that too many innovations in the repertoire could stop the SDC tradition altogether. However, it is suggested that few actions are taken in order for the tradition to keep on being widely practised and accepted by large groups of people.

Keywords: *tradition, innovation, Latvian Song and Dance Celebration, repertoire, aesthetic taste.*

In this article the tradition of Latvian Nationwide Song and Dance Celebration (further on – SDC or Celebration) will be described, focusing on the aspects of

innovation of its repertoire and the effect these innovations may or may not have on the whole development of this tradition. The content of the repertoire has been a subject of heated discussions in past few years in the SDC community, especially regarding the performance ability of participants of the amateur-arts groups. This topic is especially important since the Celebration devoted to Latvias' one hundredth anniversary is coming up in 2018. Thus, the main goal of this article is to describe if and how innovations in the Song and Dance Celebration repertoire are an obstacle or the source of a progress in the Celebration movement. In this article theoretical and empirical (quantitative, as well as qualitative) data gathered in a three-year long process of research programme HABITUS [HABITUS 2015] will be used. Throughout data gathering process it has been an aim to collect opinions of all the stakeholders (involved parties) of the SDC – to collect data about numerically smaller groups (coordinators, chief-leaders and chief-conductors, policy makers, municipality representatives) mostly in-depth interviews were conducted, whereas to reach group leaders and group members (in all three Baltic countries and in diaspora) electronic surveys were used. In some cases, to get a wider perspective, both methods were combined. In almost all the cases studies have been carried out in collaboration with Latvian National Centre for Culture to secure a representative and valid respondent range.

Introduction to Song and Dance Celebration phenomenon

The Song and Dance Celebration, which is an ongoing tradition in all three Baltic countries, is a worldwide recognized phenomenon of intangible cultural heritage based on an *a capella* singing tradition [UNESCO Latvijas Nacionālā komisija]. The SDC in Latvia started in 1873, and since then has become one of the largest mass events in Latvia. It gathers together more than 35 000 performers from amateur-arts groups and their leaders, and thousands of spectators, as well as a vast amount of organisers, media members, government representatives, tourists and others. Celebration itself lasts one week and takes place every five years in the summer, but the process is continuous – there is a constant preparation process (board meetings, rehearsals, concerts, gatherings, contests, reviews etc.) and everyday practices are carried out in the SDC interim. The SDC in Latvia is guarded by a specific Song and Dance Celebration Law [Saeima 2005] which makes it an institutionalized and determined process. In Latvian national discourse it is seen as a value in itself, because of its historically significant role in the strengthening a sense of belonging to the Latvian nation, thus creating Latvian nation itself. These traits and values are being reproduced still. Considering this, the State invests vast amount of money and resources to sustain this tradition which includes supporting rehearsals, preparing joint-repertoire, providing national costumes, improving infrastructure etc.

The SDC can be looked at and researched in many aspects, e.g., from the management viewpoint as a mass event or a historically important movement. Nevertheless, the author of this article and also researchers of the programme HABITUS have chosen to look at this phenomenon from the perspective of a tradition.

Song and Dance Celebration as a tradition

When viewed as a tradition, SDC is interpreted as a repeated action with symbolic meaning, which represents a specific value in the community and thus is transmitted to the next generation [Green 1997: 801; Treimane 2016]. Due to the historical diversity of theoretical approaches and the interdisciplinary interpretation, the phenomenon of a tradition cannot be adapted to just one definition. It is more advisable in describing a tradition to use various repeating aspects described in different theoretical sources[1]. Six such characterizing aspects are: continuity, changeability, innovation and creativity, the aspect of time (or – repetition of the past), intangible and symbolic aspect, tradition bearer [Laķe & Vinogradova 2016]. All of these six aspects can be applied to the SDC, e.g., continuity is reflected in the cyclic organisational process, symbolic aspects can be seen in the Celebration as a representation of Latvian unity, patriotism etc.

Using these aspects in explaining the tradition, it is possible to have more inclusive and deeper analysis. In this article the main focus is on the aspects of continuity and innovation as symbiotic aspects in sustaining a tradition. The sources of changeability and adaptability to modern needs are creativity and innovation [Bronner 2011: 97; Vaz da Silva 2012: 44]. This applies to the SDC also – it has been managed to keep the Celebration ongoing without having any gaps or misses in the five-year cycle, at the same time the Celebration has been ever changing and developing. To name a few changes, in 1948 dancing was added as a separate event, in 1960 additional Youth SDC was added, in 1998 an idea of a whole artistic concept for the *gala* concert was introduced; new regional forms of the Celebration are introduced, more and more electronic musical instruments are used in the *gala* concert; during the soviet times songs were performed also in other languages; now the part of the Celebration is also amateur theatre events etc. [Dziesmusvetki.tv]. Innovations are inevitable and necessary for a tradition in order to be timely and important in a society, as well as innovations and changes were requisite during the Soviet times for this tradition to even be allowed to happen. Innovations and adaptations show the progress of a tradition and community's willingness to carry the tradition on. If tradition is changing and innovative, it means it is still *alive* and timely [Glassie 1995: 405].

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[1] To name a few authors – Ruth Finnegan, Simon J. Bronner, Dace Bula, Dan Ben-Amos, Henrie Glassie, Francisco Vaz da Silva.

In this article author wants to talk about innovations regarding the SDC repertoire (more specifically – the repertoire that is performed in the choir *gala* concert), since it is one of the most important aspects which pervades the whole SDC process and is dealt with by all the actors – organisers, participants (choir members), conductors, chief-conductors, audience members. In its core, repertoire is also one of the most changing aspects of the SDC, because at the beginning of every five-year cycle it is redefined and put together anew, which also means including new compositions or adaptations of the songs. The author would like to point out that the repertoire in years 1990–2017 will be discussed in the context of this article[1].

The clash of opinions and tastes regarding the SDC repertoire on the whole

Repertoire for choirs is called the joint repertoire because all the choirs learn the same songs with the same level of difficulty (the only division is between women, men and mixed choirs repertoire). In average there are about 40 songs performed in the *gala* concert which takes up at least 3–4 hours. One can notice that the compass of the repertoire is extensive and is expanding with each Celebration[2]. In order to take part in the Celebration itself, each amateur-arts group has to learn the said repertoire and stand the competition (specific reviews) in order to prove their conformity to the artistic quality standards of the Celebration. As said before, part of the repertoire repeats from year to year, but each time there is a significant amount of new compositions. Songs and the repertoire in general are chosen by the organisers, the Council of the Song and Dance Celebration and the Action Committee of the Nationwide Latvian Song and Dance Celebration [Saeima 2005], and main chief-conductors, which are highly educated and respected professionals. Conducting and teaching singing, as well as composing is their main job. Some of them lead the best and most recognized and awarded choirs in Latvia. On the contrary, absolute majority of more than 15 000 *gala* concert participants (amateurs) have completely different musical education, aesthetic taste

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[1] This period of time will be looked at because one can see a certain consistency in the repertoire, since in 1991 Latvia regained independence and changes were made in all areas of life. The SDC repertoire was also free from censorship and obligations put on by socialist regime. People dared to talk more about what they want to perform not so much what they are obligated to perform. Also in this period, as mentioned above, an idea of a whole artistic concept for the *gala* concert was introduced.

[2] It can be observed while looking at the SDC catalogues (each Celebration year a specific catalogue is issued where one can introduce themselves with artistic concept, Artistic board members, all of the concerts and planned programmes, pictures etc.). While in the 1998 there were 38 songs, in 2013 there were 44 songs (excluding songs performed by kokle ensembles and brass orchestras, and dances, the amount of which has also grown).

and expectations. The professionals wish to raise the quality of the performance as high as possible, while for most of the amateurs socialisation, communication and emotional and spiritual fulfilment is more important, and giving highly professional performance is secondary [Tisenkopfs 2003; Tisenkopfs 2007; Latvijas Kultūras akadēmijas Zinātniskās pētniecības centrs 2014].

Some authors explain the clash of opinions between amateurs and professionals in arts by using description of differences in social capital [Mueller 1951, Pavlovs 1987, Daugavietis 2015]. When acting in certain cultural field, individuals use capital (resources) they already have (time, knowledge, acquaintance etc.) to gain new ones, such as prestige, communication, identity, education, feeling of comfort, self-realisation and others. Thus, the motivation to participate differs regarding the type of the certain cultural activity. This is impacted also by the individual's type – a professional, an amateur and a consumer. These three types have different interests and they act differently based on their capitals: whilst professionals are oriented more on symbolic and economical capitals, amateurs care more about social capital and pleasure [Daugavietis 2015: 58–60]. Consequently, there exists a gap or aesthetic distance between members (leaders and participants) of certain amateur-arts group which has been a subject of research at least since publications of American sociologist John Henry Mueller about functioning of American symphony orchestras in the 1930s–50s [Mueller 1951]. Different aesthetic needs of art-group leaders and the vast majority of other musicians consequently create threat for their successful existence. Such kind of difficulties have been noticed also in the movement of SDC.

There are several aspects regarding the repertoire, which cause tension between different actors. In this article the author has chosen to name two of them, based on qualitative data gathered [HABITUS 2016/207; HABITUS 2015]:

1. The discussion about the level of difficulty and artistic excellence – there is a group of people who strongly insist that the Celebration is and should mainly be orientated towards the whole nation and cater their entertainment, thus the repertoire should include popular and publicly known songs which are easy to learn:

This is the movement of people, a folk art! Professionals should really stay in their line – let them suffer and fight with their high-level compositions. People need lightness. They need a composition they find appealing and approachable.

Ever so often repertoire is written for big, powerful choirs. Thus, average singers are repelled. Ok, sometimes at least they unburden some choirs who cannot keep up, make easier adaptations. But the audience doesn't find these super-difficult compositions appealing. They want to hear something light that stays in their memory. And composers should think about that.

Our maestro R. Pauls[1] has been saying all along, that conductors should come down from their academic heights and come closer to "simple" people.

The opposite side, however, advocates that quality standards should not be lowered and the competition still should take place.

There are too many participants. We should not let everyone participate. Those, who are too weak, need to be removed.

If we keep thinking like this, we will end up in an event, where people sing some popular songs in monophony with someone strumming a guitar in the background. But since we are under UNESCO and we have our Law ["Song and Dance Celebration Law"]*, the government has taken responsibility to keep this phenomenon the way it is. Our uniqueness – massive form and preciseness. 15 000 choir singers sing in 6 voices. This requires time, energy, resources.*

2. The second clash of opinions is consequential from the first one mentioned – the contradiction between demand for professionalism and the real ability of amateurs. Meaning, most of the choir singers-participants are amateurs who sing in their own time as a hobby. Most of them, as noted by chief-conductors, do not even have the basic musical education – ability to read notation [HABITUS 2016/2017]. Thus, amateur-arts groups do not have the ability of a professional choir – they have less free time, less time for rehearsals, they have to devote more attention to the difficult parts of the repertoire, many groups do not have consistent set of singers etc. If sudden changes in repertoire are made, many choirs cannot catch up. Besides, many get tired of endless process of reviews and contests:

Sometimes the problem is – you have only two years to learn the repertoire. There are so many songs, that it is extremely difficult to manage to learn all of it.

Every year the choice and communication of the repertoire is very sparse, broken. We have five-year period. The first 2 years we can have only a glimpse of what will come in front of us. In the third – we are gaining some stability. In the fourth – we feel confident, but sudden changes in repertoire are made. You either quit or start over.

In reality many colleagues are against these reviews. Each year you have to prove that you are good enough. Each spring you have an exam. It is exhausting – to motivate the participants, to keep them interested and at the same time maintain the quality. Many leaders get exhausted.

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[1] Ojārs Raimonds Pauls (b. on 12 January 1936) is a Latvian composer and piano player who is well known in Latvia, Russia, post-Soviet countries and world-wide. He is one of the most famous and well-known Latvian contemporary composers due to his melodious and heart-felt songs. His range of work is from popular music to musicals, ballets and choir music. He is one of the composers in Latvia that has an active concert and performing life himself. He was also the Minister of culture of Latvia from 1988 to 1993.

The two problems mentioned above are directly connected with the growing proportion of the new original compositions. They take the most time to be learned. All in all, there are many approaches the songs performed in the *gala* concert can be analysed and grouped by – thematically, by their author, by the way they are performed[1], ideologically[2], regarding their originality, regarding their language, and several others. The author suggests her own approach – in the context of this article to distinguish four types of compositions (songs) regarding their originality/ newness:

1. *Classics* – songs that have conquered a place in Latvian people's hearts and have been sung for many Celebrations. (Such as "Pūt, vējiņi", "Gaismas pils", "Manai dzimtenei", "Saule, pērkons, Daugava".) Usually these are dramatic or romantic ballad-type songs with a powerful and, most often, patriotic message. These songs mostly have been composed by the greatest and best-known Latvian composers[3]. They are almost always included in the repertoire because (a) most of the people (performers and audience) know them and can sing along (even if songs are musically challenging); (b) they symbolize the patriotic feeling and historical meaning of the SDC; (c) they have gained an indisputable status in the music field. It is worth keeping in mind though that some of the new compositions (such as "Mana dziesma" or "Dvēseles dziesma") have managed to gain the status of a *classic* at the same year they were sung, usually because they embody the same message of patriotism and emotional belonging. This is usually created by using symbolically charged lyrics that create emotional experiences. Feeling strong emotions are highly important to the participants as it was unveiled in the SDC participant survey in 2014 [Latvijas Kultūras akadēmijas Zinātniskās pētniecības centrs 2014], where the most popular answer to the question "For you, which are the main gains from participation in SDC?" was *vivid/strong emotions that I cannot get in any other way* (73%);

2. *Semi-classics* – this category holds the largest variety of songs. These are songs that are mostly known by large group of people but they are not regularly included in the repertoire. These can be traditional folksongs, some pieces from the choir repertoire in the wider music field, or songs that had been previously written for the SDC;

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[1] How they are performed: *a capella*, with orchestra, with the music accompaniment. Who is performing: everyone sings, only females sing, only males sing.

[2] E.g., whether or not the song expresses ideological ideas, or includes political connotations.

[3] Such as Jāzeps Vītols, Emīls Dārziņš, Raimonds Pauls, Mārtiņš Brauns, Zigmārs Liepiņš and others.

3. *Adaptations* – usually new variations or adaptations by Latvian composers of Latvian folksongs. This category is very biased because these songs can be viewed as old, yet at the same time new. The highest risk, as pointed out also by representatives of Valmiera municipality [HABITUS 2015], is when the adaptation is so innovative it is hard to recognize which folksong it actually is:

It is hard to understand why we have the need to entangle simple songs, our folksongs. People do not find it appealing. There have been such adaptations that only by lyrics you can surmise what song it is. And it is only because those, up high, who make decisions, are used to working with professional choirs.

In other cases, these songs are loved and appreciated both by the performers and audience members, because most of the folksongs (such as "Līgodama upe nesa", "Tumša nakte, zaļa zāle", "Dziedot dzimu, dziedot augu" etc.) are widely known in Latvia and they also trigger the same patriotic, nostalgic feeling as the *classics*;

4. *New pieces (original compositions)* – these songs are specifically written for the actual Celebration. In many cases they are directly connected with the main artistic concept of the gala concert.[1] These songs have a potential to become *classics* or *semi-classics*, but in most cases their life cycle is very short and they are not afterwards performed by many choirs. This, as pointed out also by organisers and chief-conductors, is because many composers tend to be too experimental and are used to writing songs for professional singers and choirs [HABITUS 2015]. Thus, these songs are usually too difficult for most of the participants, so they have no interest in them after the Celebration.

The fourth type of compositions is mostly in the focus of this article.

Original compositions as innovations and their impact on the tradition

Up until the beginning of the last century innovation was considered to be a polar opposite to a tradition [Green 1997: 800; Bula 2011: 14]. Nowadays academics admit that innovation is an integral part of a tradition because people use it, recreate it and adjust it to their actual needs, values and views. Hence, the tradition is still important to them [Bronner 2011: 30]. Still, too many or radical changes (than cannot anymore be viewed as innovative adaptations of the old) can diminish or completely redefine a tradition [Glassie 1995: 395].

All in all, SDC participants approve of innovations and changes in the structure and representation of the Celebration, for example, data of participant survey [Latvijas Kultūras akadēmijas Zinātniskās pētniecības centrs 2014] show that when

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[1] For instance, when the artistic concept was named "Līgo", several songs were about solstice festival in Latvia.

asked how they see the Celebration in the future, 51% gave the most popular answer – *with new technologies and special effects.* When asked about important aspects in the planning of the SDC, 44% thought it is *very important* that the programme of the Celebration is *renewed each cycle of the Celebration and new elements are included.* We can infer that on the whole innovations are important for the development of the SDC. Experts also admit that it is important to have new compositions for several reasons. First, having the ability to require new repertoire signifies the high ability of the singers, which has become a trademark for Latvian Song and Dance Celebration. Ability to produce new compositions and learn them shows the high artistic excellence of Latvian music field. Since the SDC is governmentally determined event, it should have high expectations and quality. This is also agreed by several chief-conductors [HABITUS 2016/2017]:

This is not a sing-along celebration, it is a Song Celebration. And this is why I always disagree with those who expect the Celebration to be a mass sing-along event. Celebration is similar to church chorales – you go and listen to them not only because you can sing along, but because you become mentally and spiritually fulfilled. It is a new emotional experience. You can never get that from singing along to selection of 'best hits'.

We should not be afraid to take risks. We do not need to become 'canned goods', you know. We need new repertoire, we need improvement, inspiration. Granted, this does not imply that the repertoire needs to be extra difficult. At the same time, it should not become child-level easy. We need to be creative and brave. Everyone may not like the repertoire, but there is no other way we can improve and progress.

Undeniably, we need the quality. If people pay big sums to come to see the concert, they want to have their money's worth – they want to see that performers know what they have to do. [..] If you are performing, if you go on a stage, you need to take responsibility of what you are showing. You cannot do whatever and however you want. Besides, we never have requests that absolutely no participant would be able to accomplish.

Second, it is important to include vast majority of representatives of the music field in the Celebration since it is one of the biggest music events in Latvia. This means a chance has to be given to a wide range of composers and other musicians to create new pieces. The promotion of creative novelties (also new compositions) and provision of according finances has been stated as a priority also in SDC legal framework [Saeima 2005]. Third, new compositions are the element of surprise for the audience and also participants, and that decreases the risk that people could get bored with this tradition. And lastly, as mentioned before, there have been cases where original compositions have quickly become popular and accepted.

On the other hand, the high proportion of new compositions repels parts of audience and participants because they find it hard to relate with these songs, they cannot sing along and as a result they do not experience the feeling of togetherness,

so there is no emotional fulfilment. If people recognize the songs (and they repeat year after a year), they feel more comfortable and involved. Additional aspect for a resistance towards new compositions for choir members and conductors is the fact that learning the new repertoire takes too much time and effort, therefore willingness of the singers to come to rehearsals decreases, and the conductors become overworked and frustrated. Since they both are the main actors in SDC it is extremely important that they are satisfied with the process. As data [Latvijas Kultūras akadēmijas Zinātniskās pētniecības centrs 2014] show, the main reasons why people take part in amateur-arts groups are *opportunity to express my creativity and artistic ability* (47%) and *the need to meet with people with whom I can share my interests* (41%); thus, it can be concluded that people seek for emotional fulfilment and approval in their amateur-arts group, so it is very important they are satisfied with the rehearsal process.

Reason why new compositions are not easily accepted, besides their level of difficulty, is also the fact that these are so-called *experiments* and are not meant for non-professional (and large-scale) choirs. In some cases, composers lack the understanding of specifics of amateur-arts groups [HABITUS 2015]. This has been also admitted by organisers themselves. In addition, in many cases the pieces are ready in the last minute so there is no time left to test them or make any corrections in case problems with their learning are identified [Mediņa 2012]. Besides, composers usually are not very keen on making changes in their pieces. This leads to the fact that many of these compositions become *one-timers* and are rarely performed by any choir after the Celebration. Choir leaders admit – it has been so hard to teach and learn this repertoire, that after the Celebration they have no desire to work with it again [HABITUS 2016/2017; HABITUS 2015].

Another aspect worth mentioning is, that initial reaction of the participants towards new compositions tend to be negative because of their previous experiences, when they have not passed the bar and have been left out of the Celebration, because they were not able to perform these songs in the reviews. This also makes amateurs feel uncomfortable since they need to step widely out of their comfort zone.

Taking into consideration everything that has been mentioned previously, participants are very resistant towards the new repertoire and the new compositions, which create unnecessary tension and in all damages the whole process of the tradition, creating migrating of singers from choirs to dance groups, for instance.

Conclusion and prognosis

It can be concluded that since the SDC is *alive* and actively practised tradition the aspects of innovation are inevitable and necessary in order for this tradition to be sustainable, progressing and actual. The repertoire is only a part of the

whole tradition process so it cannot be asserted that too many innovations in the repertoire could stop the SDC tradition altogether. But most certainly they could change it greatly. Therefore, to keep the tradition process enjoyable for the widest part of its implementers (a.k.a. participants and group leaders), the proportion of new compositions and their content should be adjusted. Meaning, new original compositions should draw up only a small part of the repertoire. In addition, these compositions should be carefully and in multiple stages tested and adjusted in order to be in correspondence with the ability of participants. It also needs to be taken into consideration that more of consultative and explanatory work needs to be done before announcing the repertoire of the new five-year cycle, so that participants feel informed, prepared and understand the importance or the value of these compositions. We can prognosticate that even if keeping very high artistic standards could maintain the professionalism and artistic excellence of the *gala* concert, it would diminish the number of participants and in all there would be a lack of interest in this tradition. The ongoing tension would also do the damage to the image of this tradition. This would change the status of the SDC from loved tradition by a vast amount of Latvian inhabitants to an exclusive tradition meant for a small group of people (elite). Activities mentioned before could prevent this from happening and could ensure the ongoing and positive development of this tradition.

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IS EVERY PATH THE RIGHT PATH?
A SEMIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE AXIOLOGICAL CHOICES
IN *MR NOBODY* (2009)

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Abstract

Jaco Van Dormael's 2009 film *Mr Nobody* presents the viewer with a set of different choices and lives. The explicit moral of the film is that each of these lives is the right one, that every path is the right path. This paper proposes a semiotic analysis of the romantic interests of Nemo to investigate whether this is truly the case. Through the use of different semiological models (among others Metzian semiotics of cinema, Fontanille and Zilverberg's tensive model and Greimas' semiotic square), it disproves the axiological position of the film and shows that the different lives of Nemo are presented as unequal.

Keywords: *Semiology, Mr Nobody, Jaco Van Dormael, Christian Metz.*

Christian Metz famously attempted to "study the ordering and functioning of the main signifying units used in the filmic message" [Metz 1990: 68]. In light of more contemporary semiotic systems, Metzian model perhaps presents an outdated and oversimplified distinction between denotation and connotation. However, this oversimplification can, through its rigid oppositional differentiation, add to a clearer understanding of the distinctions between the different axiological positions and choices presented in *Mr Nobody* since axiological concerns are predominantly connotative. Metzian system understands the 'shot' as the smallest possible unit of signification [ibid.: 74] in the linguistic paradigm of cinema and the "[sequence (…) [as] a sort of coherent syntagma within which the "shots" react (semantically) to each other" [ibid.: 77]. Metzian categorisation of cinematic syntax offers multiple linguistic structures but the different potential lives of Nemo are mostly represented in a manner that is closest

to what Metz calls the 'Alternate (Narrative) Syntagma', i.e. as parallel, simultaneous and chronological[1]. Metz defines this specific syntagma as follows:

> "[t]he alternate syntagma is well known by theoreticians of the cinema under the names "alternate montage," "parallel montage," "synchronism," etc., depending on the case. Typical example: shot of the pursuers, followed by a shot of the pursued, and back to a shot of the pursuers. Definition: The montage presents alternately two or more series of events in such a way that within each series the temporal relationships are consecutive, but that, between the series taken as wholes, the temporal relationship is one of simultaneity (which can be expressed by the formula "Alternating of images equals simultaneity of occurrences")" [sic] [ibid.: 84].

Each of these syntagmatic lives is supposedly equal since, in the movie, the 118-year-old Nemo explicitly says that "[e]ach of these lives is the right one! Every path is the right path. Everything could've been anything else. And it would have just as much meaning." It is a thought that is reiterated once more near the very end of the film when the narrator says that "[b]efore, [the child] was unable to make a choice because he didn't know what would happen; now that he knows what would happen, he's unable to make a choice." This entails once more that no life is preferable and that every choice is equal, but is that really the case? Jaco van Dormael, the director and writer of the film, in that regard, states that he "wanted to make some sort of philosophical tale without a moral: [t]he experiment that Mr Nobody suggests is to not choose but to explore everything in order to understand that all experiences are interesting in the end. That is what I would like the audience to feel: that there are no good or bad choices. That it is all in the way we live them. In this respect, the question of freedom is one of the essential themes of my film" [Wild Bunch 2009].

Yet, it is also undeniable that, to the audience, some lives seem more preferable to others. In that regard it is important to notice how Van Dormael states that "[c]inema allows us to multiply the possibilities of life: to live for a few hours the life of an inhabitant of Uzbekistan or to be a trapper in Alaska" [Wild Bunch 2009]. What follows is therefore a semiological analysis of the axiological connotations of the adult characters of Anna, Elise and Jeanne which tries to evaluate how equal or unequal these lives are. This paper limits itself to these choices and this paradigm because analysing all the possible lives of Nemo would lead too far and because what matters is acknowledging the structural inequality of these lives and not their interdependent

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[1] This is true even before the nine-year-old Nemo is faced with the initial choice between his mother and his father – which sets the plot in motion – as the narrative alternates between the lives of Nemo as a child and his 118-year-old self.

status of preference. The analysis will mostly be grounded in Saussurean semiology and its exponents (such as the theories of Metz) since these theories rely on oppositional differentiation and are therefore well-fitted for uncovering the distinctions between denotation and connotation on the one hand, and between multiple axiological positions or connotations on the other. Moreover, Van Dormael often also discusses his films in terms of 'cinematic language' and thereby acknowledges his indebtedness to a linguistic and structuralist understanding of cinema.

However, before we analyse the film it is important to acknowledge the fact that axiological evaluations rely on a value system that is highly constructed. Barthesian *Mythologies* has shattered the illusion of a 'natural' value system by unmasking it as cultural and constructed. We should therefore both consider which values the world in which the film is produced and received considers central, and which axiological categories the conceptual world within the film emphasises. The value system in which the film is produced and (most often) received needs little explication for it is the one in which we live. Common sense[1] and the understanding of the constructivist character of our axiological system should therefore suffice in guiding us through the analysis. The answer to the latter question, however, is more complicated but seems to lie in the centrality of the theme of love in the film: in the director's commentary included with the DVD, Van Dormael states that "*l'amour (…) est évidemment central au film*" [Mr Nobody 2009] since a lot of the choices Nemo is faced with and that will distinguish between all his possible lives have to do with the concept of love[2]. What's more, it is similarly interesting to consider the fact that 'love' and all the other themes of the film (such as choice, happiness, time) each have to do with what Floch calls 'existential values' in his evaluation of axiological categories,
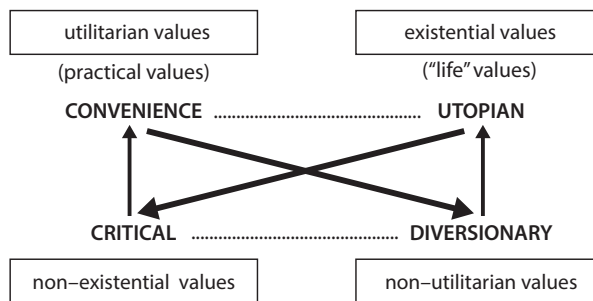
Figure 1. Floch's axiological semiotic square [1988: 239].

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[1] Language, especially when idiomatic or metaphorical, will also prove very helpful in that regard.

[2] This is also why this analysis focuses on the potential love interests of the protagonist.

values which have to do with the human as a social being looking for fulfilment [1988: 239–243]. We will therefore consider these values as central to the film.

In addition, it is also important to understand that the axiological categories associated with the women are not really of a denotative character but more of a connotative one, for values are not naturally inscribed in the word or the image. Although it is rather impossible to completely distinguish between pure denotative meaning and connotative meaning, Metz offers us an interesting methodology that, exactly because it is perhaps a little oversimplified, can help us in our analysis. He writes that

> "In the cinema, [the denoted meaning] is represented by the literal (that is, perceptual) meaning of the spectacle reproduced in the image, or of the sounds duplicated by the soundtrack. As for connotation, (…) its significate is the (…) cinematographic "style," "genre" (the epic, the western, etc.), "symbol" (philosophical, humanitarian, ideological, and so on), or "poetic atmosphere" – and its signifier is the whole denotated semiological material, whether signified or signifying. (…) The same scene filmed in a different light would produce a different impression; and so would the same technique used on a different subject. (…) This is another way of saying that the significate of connotation can establish itself only when the corresponding signifier brings into play both the signifier and the significate of denotation [sic]" [1990: 71].

> "[e]ven the subtlest and most ingenious cinematographic connotations are based then on this principle, which we might state as follows: A visual or auditory theme – or arrangement of visual and auditory themes – once it has been placed in its correct syntagmatic position within the discourse that constitutes the whole film, takes on a value greater than its own and is increased by the additional meaning it receives. But this addition itself is never entirely "arbitrary," for what the theme symbolizes in this manner is an integral situation or whole process, a part of which in fact it is, within the story told by the film (or which the spectator knows to be an actual part of life). In short, the connotative meaning extends over the denotative meaning, but without contradicting or ignoring it [sic]" [1990: 76].

Connotative Level	Signifier		Signified
Denotative Level	Signifier	Signified	

Figure 2. Visual representation of the links between denotative and connotative meaning in Metzian theory.

Both the filming techniques (the denotative signifiers), and their visual results (the denotative signifieds) will therefore be analysed as signifiers of the connotative meaning. Moreover, Metz argues that contrary to Saussurean linguistic semiology, the relationship between signifier and signified in film language is not always arbitrary. He argues that the relationship between the denotative signifiers and signifieds is one of non-arbitrary analogy or iconicity in both image and sound – "that is to say, [one of] perceptual similarity between the signifier and (…) the significate" [1990: 75]. The relationship between the connotative signifiers and signifieds, however, is "always symbolic in nature" [1990: 76] and this symbolism is of course arbitrary since "the form of the sign is not related to its signification" [Storkerson 2010: 14]. Moreover, this signification is "assigned by convention" [ibid.] and can be based on both cultural[1] and specialised codes [Metz 1990: 77]. Metz argues that the former are "so ubiquitous and well "assimilated" that the viewers generally consider them to be "natural" (...) (although they are clearly products, since they vary in space and time)" [ibid.]. He adds that they require "no special training" [ibid.], whereas the specialised codes do since they "concern more specific and restricted social activities" [ibid.]. The latter therefore also "appear more explicitly as codes" [1990: 77]. The film of course uses what Metz calls the regular cultural code of encoding and decoding which is exactly why common sense can suffice in the analysis since the axiological system in which the film is produced and received is also part of our cultural code. However, it is important to realise that every image is connoted and that no film is in "a kind of Edenic state (...); cleared utopianically of its connotations" [Barthes 1980: 277]. In short, no image is "radically objective or (…) innocent" [ibid.: 277], no matter how hard Van Dormael tries to convince us of the opposite.

Finally, to understand the connotations that are inscribed in the different love interests of Nemo, it is also necessary to recognize the fact that the women only exist in their relationship to the protagonist. They are never active subjects but always remain passive objects of (fetishistic) spectatorship. In an interview included with the press kit of the film, Jaco Van Dormael confesses that

> "[t]he writing of the wives is built on a paradigm based on the relationship each of them has with Nemo. There is the case where he is in love with her and she's in love with him too (Anna), he is in love with her

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[1] Jean-Louis Gassée, chairman of the Apple Products Division, gave an accurate description of the 'cultural decoding' of the firm's logo: [i]t is obvious, here, that the figurative reading is a cultural event or, to put it another way, that the perception of readily recognizable images (...) is always achieved via a personal grid for reading the world, a grid acquired from childhood onwards and specific to one's culture [qtd in Floch 2000: 54].

but she isn't quite in love with him (Elise), she is in love with him but he isn't totally in love with her (Jeanne). In the end, the story with Anna – the one where both are (...) madly in love – is lived out in waiting, in absence, whereas the other two lives are lived daily but in the tragedy of non-reciprocity" [Wild Bunch 2009].

It is therefore important to note that the three women belong to the same paradigm relating to the protagonist – a paradigm that could perhaps be described as 'potential wives for Nemo' – for Floch, in following Metz, correctly argues that "[i]n more semiotic terms, identity can be conceived or perceived along the two axes of 'system' (paradigm) and 'process' (syntagma) and that visual identity can, in the first instance, be defined in terms of both difference and continuity" [2000: 33]. Jared Leto, the actor playing Nemo, understands this paradigm and this tension between difference and continuity in the following manner: "I started looking for differences rather than similarities. But ultimately, I didn't want to play 12 clearly different people, but 12 different versions of the same person according to the different choices he makes. Because this is actually the same person in 12 different existences" [Wild Bunch 1990]. Anna, Elise and Jeanne are therefore always represented in a romantic relation to Nemo and are thus necessarily part of the same discourse or paradigm. However, that is not the only continuity that bridges the three women: other motifs – such as the diverging traintracks[1] or the often threatening presence (of large bulks) of water (be it a lake, a swimming pool or a bath) – are present indiscriminately throughout the different lives of Nemo and contribute to a form of coherence that holds the paradigm of possible lives together.

Meaning is however also created by difference, and subjectivity is, as Benveniste famously argued, a product of language. As the French semiotician puts it: "[i]t is in and through language that man constitutes himself as a subject because language alone establishes the concept of 'ego' in reality, in its reality which is that of the being" [Benveniste 1971: 224]. Nemo's different accents, which depend on the life and love interest he chooses, therefore create a set of negative oppositions that enables the spectator to differentiate between the lives with Anna, Elise and Jeanne. However, cinema is primarily a visual language and we should also consider what Floch, in adapting André Lhote's term, calls the 'visual invariants' [2000: 35–36], of what Greimas calls the plastic categories, i.e. "the "minimal" units of the [visual] signifier"

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[1] The diverging traintracks are of course also cultural metaphors for the representation of diverging possibilities and lives, and are related to the metaphor of the 'fork in the road' as for instance used in Robert Frost's poem 'The Road Not Taken'.

[Greimas 1989: 639][1], of a visual object. Visual invariants are therefore "differential and recognized traits; and they are so because of their variables of realization because they are prone to being traits relevant to the form of expression of a visual identity" [Floch 2000: 36]. The most obvious visual invariants of the three women are of course the colours[2] associated with each of them, since each love interest is connected to a specific primary colour. Van Dormael explains that he tried to

> "find a visual language for each one of Nemo's lives, by playing with colour. Three little girls: one wears a red dress (Anna), the second a blue one (Elise) and the third a yellow dress (Jeanne). We kept these three colours as visual codes for each of their lives. Thus, in the life where Nemo chooses the little girl in yellow, the whole set is tinted in yellow whereas red and blue are absent. Same logic and same consequences for the two other stories. It could sound very forced, but on screen it works very discretely. It's as if in choosing [sic] a life, he renounces colours and goes towards monochrome. In childhood, all the colours exist. For Old Nemo only white remains" [Wild Bunch 2009].

However, with each colour not only comes denotation, but also connotation. Anna's fiery red associates the character with love and passion. Red has been a symbol of the passion of the Christ in Christian iconography throughout the history of western art and has been reinterpreted in popular culture as a symbol of love and romantic passion as can perhaps best be illustrated by the ubiquitous association of the colour with Saint Valentine's Day[3]. Thus, since Anna is associated with love and that the concept of love is so central to the film and its emphasis on 'existential values', Anna proves to be a very successful character. Elise's colour, on the other hand, is blue which is a colour often associated with depression, sadness and melancholy as in the idiom 'feeling blue' which motivates Miles Davis' seminal album. In the film, her character is therefore characterised by feelings of

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[1] Greimas writes: "[t]he procedures by which the semiotic object is constructed consist in determining combinations of minimal units – which we will call plastic figures – and then moving on to still more complex configurations, thus confirming the general postulate according to which all language is at first a hierarchy" [1989: 641].

[2] Storkerson notes how colour is often, in Peircean terms, a 'decorative' "which evoke[s] feelings" [2010: 26].

[3] This semantic reinterpretation can perhaps best be understood as a form of Peircean semiosis. The colour red (representamen) refers to the colour of blood (object) and thus creates an interpretant in western art (the idea of the passion of Jesus). This interpretant constitutes a new representamen that refers to the life and teachings of Jesus (object) and associates the colour, through the centrality of love in the Christ's teachings, with the concept of romantic love (interpretant).

unfulfillment, guilt and depression which categorise her as very unsuccessful in terms of Floch's existential values. Jeanne's colour, finally, is yellow. It is, through its resemblance with gold, a symbol of the material wealth and power[1] Nemo acquires in his life with her[2]. Jeanne therefore stands for values that are, in Floch's system, more 'utilitarian' than 'existential' as can be exemplified by the fact that the Nemo who is married to Jeanne exactly chooses not to choose but to let any decision be taken by the tossing of a coin.

The semiotic oppositions, however, go a lot further than a mere colour-coding. Van Dormael explains:

> "I wanted each life in MR. NOBODY to have a different cinematic language. I also wanted to use the camera in a very specific way for each life so that one would know which life we are talking about from the first shot of a scene. We filmed the life with Anna (Diane Kruger) like their adolescence: I used with Anna and Nemo as adults the same set up I'd used with them as teenagers so that the two emotional charges would merge on screen. The life with Elise (Sarah Polley) plays on the distance between her and Nemo, with one of the two characters out of focus, filmed with a hand-held camera, in a realistic way. In the life with Jeanne (Linh-Dan Pham) we used an out of shot technique. The feet appear on screen before the face. The heart of the matter is always out of shot, as if no one's paying attention to it. The life of the teenager in the coma is completely out of focus. The life of the widower is composed of different independent camera movements; they are contemplative, with no connection to the character's movements. The life of "the one who was never born" is flat, unreal; everything in it is clean [sic]" [Wild Bunch 2009].

These different cinematic languages are not innocent or arbitrary either. First of all, it's interesting that in interviews Van Dormael seems very reluctant to describe the specific cinematic language associated with Anna and often remains very vague when talking about these issues, especially compared to the willingness he displays to discuss the ones associated with Elise and Jeanne. In the director's

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[1] Wennerlind correctly argues that "money serves as a general claim on social wealth and confers the privilege to exercise power over other people" [2001: 566]. However, although capitalist consumer culture tries to convince society that money and power equals happiness, it has not yet succeeded in doing so as can be illustrated by a lot of products of the culture industry (e.g. a lot of rom-coms where a wealthy man is unhappy until he finds the love of his life) or the popular idiom 'money doesn't buy happiness'.

[2] In that manner, it resembles the use of the colour yellow in Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (e.g. Gatsby's golden car).

commentary added to the DVD, he does, however, reveal that "*dans la vie avec Anna, (…) les plans de l'enfance, ce sont des plans qui se répètent de façon identique à l'âge adulte*" [Mr Nobody 2009]. He illustrates that statement by pointing to the similarities between the scene where the nine-year-old Nemo almost drowns in the pool, and the one where the Nemo who is married to Anna drives into a lake and finds his death. Similarly, the scene where the long-haired Nemo who works as a 'poolboy' and Anna chase each other in his apartment recalls an almost identical scene between Nemo and Anna as teenagers. By creating this narrative arc from childhood to adulthood with Anna (and denying it to the storylines with Elise and Jeanne), the film thus seems to suggest that the choice for Anna is the most 'natural'[1] one. What's more, with regards to the cinematic language of the lives with Elise, Van Dormael notes that the 'realism' of the hand-held camera plays 'on the distance between her and Nemo'. The fact that one of the two characters is always out of focus thus carries an axiological quality of distance that can be added to the colour symbolism of Elise's character. Similarly, in the life where Elise dies on her wedding day, the contemplative and independent camera movements signify a form of solitude and alienation in the life of the widower. Finally, Van Dormael argues with regards to the cinematic language associated with Jeanne's character that 'the heart of the matter is always out of shot'. Here of course, Van Dormael's verbal language and choice of metaphor is quite striking as well. Jeanne's storylines are the ones where Nemo doesn't love his wife. Anna, Nemo's real love and the real 'heart of the matter', is therefore necessarily always out of shot. This illustrates Floch's claim that a signifier is "not primarily what it represents, but what it transforms – that is to say, what it chooses not to represent" [2000: 62].

Moreover, in both Elise's and Jeanne's representation, there is therefore not only a relationship of symbolism in the use of colour but also one of iconicity between filming techniques – or, in Van Dormael's words, cinematic language – and the denotative signifieds that carry the axiological qualities ascribed to the women. This illustrates quite well the strict hierarchical structure of denotative analogy and connotative symbolism of Metz discussed above (cf. Figures 3 and 4)[2]. If a character is out of focus, it entails a physical distance between him/her and the

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[1] Although of course, as noted above, Barthes has deconstructed these myths of the cultural codes – which incidentally relate to the hierarchies of denotative and connotative signification that Metz identifies –, they are still quite pervasive and keep influencing the spectator in his assessment of the different lives.

[2] Here we encounter the oversimplification of Metzian semiology mentioned above: it is unlikely that the denotative and connotative meanings are so strictly separated. This 'categorical' thinking, however, helps us to easily identify the axiological implications of the cinematic languages of Elise and Jeanne, which, for our purpose are more important than Barthesian semiological plausibility.

subject that is in focus, which, in turn, on a second denotative level, by analogy, signifies an emotional distance. This emotional distance combined with a physical distance, according to our cultural norms, then acquires the connotation of an unhappy or bad marriage. Similarly, the 'out of shot' technique implies a physical absence that on a second denotative level can be understood as an absence of love, which once again combined with a physical absence carries, in our western culture, the connotation of an unhappy or bad marriage.

Connotative level		*Signifier* physical and emotional distance		*Signified* unhappy marriage
2nd Denotative level		*Signifier* physical distance	*Signified* emotional distance	
1st Denotative level	*Signifier* out of focus	*Signified* physical distance		

Figure 3. Adapation of Figure 2 to Elise's life camera techniques.

Connotative level		*Signifier* physical and emotional absence		*Signified* unhappy marriage
2nd Denotative level		*Signifier* physical absence	*Signified* emotional absence	
1st Denotative level	*Signifier* out of shot	*Signified* physical absence		

Figure 4. Adaptation of Figure 2 to Jeanne's life camera techniques.

This semiological analysis of Elise's and Jeanne's cinematic languages reveals that both camera techniques actually share the same connotation. The semiotic relationship between the characters is therefore not one of strict negative opposition but rather of scalar continuum. In fact, this is quite logical since the 'out of shot' technique can be understood as a stronger form of the 'out of focus' technique: if an object is moved more and more out of focus, it will eventually disappear from the shot. This also relates to another aspect of the film, namely the unequal

amount of screen time allotted to the different storylines. In this competition of allotted screen time, Nemo's lives with Anna take the lead. The ones with Elise take second place, whereas the ones with Jeanne drag far behind as Van Dormael notes in the director's commentary included with the DVD: "*dans l'ensemble du film, [l'histoire avec Jeanne] est très court[e] (…) simplement parce que le personnage principal ne la voit pas. Il passe à côté*" [Mr Nobody 2009]. This inequality of course shifts the spectator's preference significantly in favour of Anna, as do a lot of other details. Nemo seems for instance to have a telepathic relationship with Anna that he doesn't have with Elise or Jeanne (thereby denotating that they have a special relationship, which – contrary to the connotations that the camera techniques of the lives with Elise and Jeanne bear – in our culture is considered a good basis for marriage or love). Similarly, the nine-year-old Nemo faced with the divorce of his parents at the train station seems to want to choose his mother over his father. In the lives where Nemo ends up with his father – which are the ones associated with Elise and Jeanne, whereas the choice of the mother leads to the lives with Anna –, it is mostly just because he happens to lose his shoe, stumbles and is unable to get on the train in time.

In the press kit accompanying the release of the film, Van Dormael also insists that "the story [he] was trying to tell [is] not binary [and] that [he] was above all interested by the multiplicity and complexity of choices" [Wild Bunch 2009]. The absence of a clear opposition and of a simple "inverted symmetry" [Floch 2000: 44] in favour of a continuum of lives should therefore not surprise the viewer. This is also the reason why rigid and binary (post-)Saussurean systems, although they offer clear distinctions between denotation and connotation, are also slightly ill-adapted to analyse the relationships between Nemo and his love interests. Fontanille and Zilverberg's 'tensive model' [Fontanille 2006; Zilverberg 2006], however, is more dynamic and offers an interesting approach. Louis Hébert exhibits the possibilities of the model and offers an interesting approach to the 'feelings of attachment' central to the film [Hébert, his graph]:

"Consider, for example, a group of emotions associated with attachment to other beings. (…) The axis of intensity indicates the intensity of the emotion, and the axis of extent the number of beings toward which a given subject directs this emotion. By partitioning the graph into four zones, we will distinguish four main kinds of emotions. In zone one, we have (a) love (ordinary love); (b) in zone two, "true love", or "the love of a lifetime"; (c) in zone three, we have friendship; and (d) in zone four, "universal love" or compassion. Now we shall refine the analysis. If we distinguish in terms of extent, true love generally applies to fewer beings

than ordinary love, and conversely, universal love, as the name indicates, generally applies to more beings than friendship. Then if we distinguish in terms of intensity, friendship is generally a less intense feeling than love, and we consider universal love to be absolute compared to true love, not just in terms of extent but also intensity. This more exact analysis can be represented as follows":
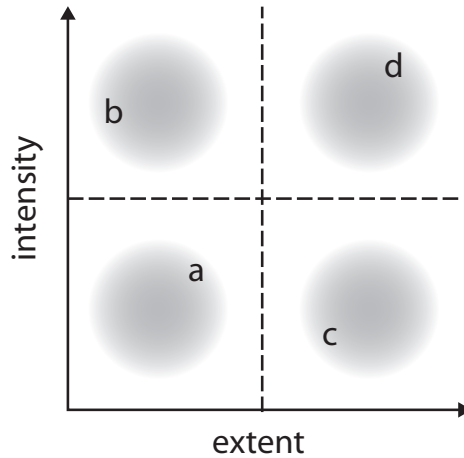
Figure 5. The tensive configurations of feelings
of attachment.

In this analysis, one could draw a line from (b) to (c) that would approximately display a relationship of inverse correlation between our cultural definitions for 'true love' and 'friendship': whereas true love is high in intensity and low in extent, friendship is a feeling that extends to more people but is therefore also less intense. If we subsequently consider the characters of Anna, Elise and Jeanne and try to position them along that arrow of inverse correlation according to the feelings Nemo seems to display for them, then we would position Anna high on the left, Elise a little bit more to the right but still in the upper-left corner – for even though Nemo seems to display some romantic affection for Elise, she is unsuccessful in her 'existential' values and she does not share some of the signs of true love that Anna and Nemo share (e.g the telepathy, the fact that she is allotted less screen time, the fact that she is associated with the father and that she lives in England, etc.) –, and finally Jeanne significantly more to the bottom right – for she represents 'utilitarian' values and even though she displays signs of 'romantic love' towards Nemo, he doesn't share her feelings. In a more cognitive approach to the film, we might therefore have said that in the category 'true love' Anna is more prototypical than Elise, who in turn is more prototypical than Jeanne.

Mr Nobody's alternate narrative syntagma thus utilises a paradigm of unequal storylines located across a continuum from most preferable to most undesirable life. The different lives of Nemo are therefore not as equal as the director would like us to believe. However, although we have tried to identify Anna as the most preferable of the three love interests within the frame of the conceptual world of the film and the one of Western European culture, it is ultimately true that it is impossible for us to conclusively identify which one of these lives is the best choice for Nemo due to the impossibility of escaping semiosis and the volatility and arbitrariness of value systems and cultural norms. Philippe Godeau, the producer of the film, states that Van Dormael "could have spent 10 years working (...), exploring all the possibilities of the editing and coming up with an entirely different film" [Wild Bunch 2009]. We therefore cannot exclude the possibility that, in this 'entirely different film', another character would be a better match to Nemo than Anna, and we can similarly not exclude the possibility that an untold (but still possible) storyline in the current film might be preferable to the ones that we have explored. Moreover, this is true not only for the conceptual world of the film but also for our very own cultural norms. Thus, in societies where arranged marriage is the norm, Floch's utilitarian values might prevail over the existential ones emphasised here and the lives with Jeanne preferred over the ones with Anna. This is another way of saying that signs only exist in relationship to each other, that they are constantly assembling and producing meaning, and that a fixed meaning would be impossible to pin down. However, for our purpose it is not really important to pin down exactly which life is the most preferable. What is important, however, is to acknowledge that the lives are structurally unequal and that the explicit moral of the film, namely that every life is equal, is untrue. In fact, in displaying the inequality of Nemo's choices and playing with the spectator's identification and inability to (conclusively) identify the best one, Van Dormael thus also magnificently exemplifies the Orwellian maxim: all choices are equal, but some are more equal than others.

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MUSEUM AS AN OBJECT OF CHANGE

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Abstract

Over the last decades the museum sector has experienced substantial changes. The need for change has been stressed by such well-known museologists and practitioners as Stephen E. Weil, David Flemming and others. Moreover, the change of and within museums has arisen as one of the most important topics of several professional networks and conferences, such as "We Are Museums", which was created in 2013 as yearly event at the intersection of culture and innovation. Thus, we can speak about paradigm of change in contemporary museums that affects their performance and future strategies.

This paradigm of change in museum sector seems especially interesting if we think about the symbolic role of a museum. Traditionally a museum is an institution that keeps our heritage intact and until recently this task has been perceived as its main function. Not without reason the museum has been used as symbol for standstill, unchangeable in art and literature. Yet now we are asking for museums to change themselves and their public offer.

The aim of the article is to track the development of paradigm of change in museum sector and to outline the most important fields that had been affected by change during past decades. The change of museum sector has been viewed in regional context, marking the most important trends: 1) changes in the models of museum funding; 2) changes in museum's strategic priorities; 3) changes in our perception of a museum. Still, it is important to remember that an organization can never change just one thing – in most cases museums are subjected to more than one of these trends. The results in almost all cases are similar – growing importance of museum management.

Keywords: m*useums, change, museum funding, museum management, museum strategies.*

Various changes are almost inevitable in any organization. The Oxford Dictionary defines the noun 'change' as an act or process through which something becomes different, turns from one state to another while the subject of change becomes different and, possibly, gains some better qualities [The Oxford Dictionary 2015]. Usually we tend to believe that change will bring something good, therefore, when speaking about the necessity to change, we actually mean that the object of change must be (or will be) improved.

Over the last decades the necessity to change has arose as one as one of the most important topics in museum sector. The need for change has been stressed by such well-known museologists and practitioners as Stephen E. Weil, David Flemming and others. Moreover, the change of and within museum has arose as one of the main themes of several professional networks and conferences, such as "We Are Museums" that was created in 2013 as yearly event at the intersection of culture and innovation. Increasingly visible is museum reaction to such global trends as digitalization, globalization, growing competition and migration and trying to adapt their offer for the new environment. Thus, in a given situation we can speak about paradigm of change in contemporary museums, where change is becoming one of the characteristic traits of a museum. The aim of the article is to track the development of paradigm of change in museum sector and to outline the most important fields that had been affected by change during past decades.

This paradigm of change in museum sector seems especially interesting if we think about the symbolic role of a museum. The opposite of change is standstill that in a way corresponds with one of the most important functions of museums – to preserve the historical heritage unchanged. Museum that in its current form exists more than 200 years, preserves our memory through the selection and preservation of special items that represent the history [Vaidahers 2009: 12]. Thus, we often tend to unconsciously associate a museum with something unchangeable and static. Not without reason J. D. Salinger used a museum as a symbol for standstill of time in *The Catcher in the Rye*: "The best thing, though, in that museum was that everything always stayed right where it was. Nobody'd move. You could go there a hundred thousand times, and that Eskimo would still be just finished catching those two fish, the birds would still be on their way south, the deers would still be drinking out of that water hole, with their pretty antlers and they're pretty, skinny legs, and that squaw with the naked bosom would still be weaving that same blanket. Nobody'd be different. The only thing that would be different would be you" [Salinger 2010: 131].

However, in the museum literature that have been published during the past decades we can see that museums increasingly often are called to change and reborn in new quality. In addition to that, the museums have been asked to become the

agents of Change themselves with slogan "Museums Change Lives!" [Museums Change Lives! 2015]. Thus, it is interesting to take a closer look at the effect that this paradigm of change has caused in museum field.

Over the last two decades the museum practitioners and theorists have named various causes of change, such as globalization, development of public thought, changing cultural policy among others. Yet, no matter which of these causes we choose, their consequences in most cases are similar – change of museum organization, offer and relationships with society that has led to increased meaning of museum management and marketing.

The author states that in museum literature we can distinguish three separate trends of change:

1) changes in the models of museum funding;

2) changes in museum's strategic priorities;

3) changes in our perception of the museum.

It is important to remember that "an organization can never change just one thing. In most organizations we can see delicate balance and changes in one element will demand an immediate compensation and sometimes cause previously unpredicted changes in others" [Weil 2007: 39]. Thus, in most cases museums are subjected to more than one of aforementioned trends. The results in almost all cases are similar – growing importance of museum management with adaption of change and capability to lead them as some of the most important skills.

Changes in the models of museum funding

The museum funding has been described as diminishing or threatened in almost all professional literature that has been written in past two decades. This is a global trend that can be tied to several factors: increasing number of new museums, decreasing of public funding to culture, the growing complexity of museum practice and extension of museum size. The famous museologist, honorary professor of Smithsonian Institute Stephen E. Weil has pointed out that the results have been similar in the entire world – with decreasing public funding and accordingly the increasing proportion of means that must be found elsewhere, the main source of museum funding must change [Weil 2007: 29]. He stresses that museums almost everywhere have switched from selling to marketing, thus replacing the persuasion of public to buy their traditional offer with researching and meeting the needs of their visitors [Weil 2007: 32].

Although the museum experts have almost unanimously agreed that museums are in financial danger, quite rarely we can read about the causes of this situation. In case of the museums that receive the public funding some of the most important causes are changing trends in the cultural policy that can be observed at global,

regional and national level. For example, museologist Patrick Boylan has described three main regional trends that have influenced museum management on European scale.

As the first trend he mentions the legal systems and arrangements in countries such as France, the United Kingdom, and Canada used to virtually prohibit any form of income-generating activities on the part of publicly owned museums. He points out that as a reaction to this situation from the late 1970s, in a growing number of European countries the arts and heritage sector has been calling for their national governments to match U.S. practice in terms of tax and other incentives to encourage private giving and corporate sponsorship, that has resulted as active promotion of private and corporate financial support for charitable foundations, trusts and associations [Boylan 2006: 202].

The second trend is the exempt of culture and cultural heritage institutions and their services from direct governmental control and financial responsibility through processes of devolution, decentralization or privatization [Boylan 2006: 203]. Devolution or decentralization in this case can be understood as the transfer of power from a central government to sub-national (e.g., state, regional, or local) authorities [Devolution 2015]. Accordingly, destatization and privatization are connected with the decline in the role of the state [Destatization 2015] and transfer of its services or assets to the private sector [Privatization 2015].

The third major trend according to Boylan is movement towards the internal devolution and decentralization of management within heritage and cultural bodies, that typically involve shaking off the frequently restrictive rules and procedures of the public service, and empowering not only directors and other top managers but the whole of the staff in relation to the development and implementation of policy and objectives [Boylan 2006: 204]. Although this practice is not common we can find examples not only in European countries. Characteristic example is The Glenbow Museum, Art Collection, Archives and Library in Canada that split of the local government while implementing wider organizational changes [Privatization (politics) 2015].

In order to fully understand the reasons for the decrease in public funding that are mentioned in museum literature so often, we must take a closer look not only at regional cultural policy trends, but also at political processes at individual countries. The United Kingdom where during several decades museums have experienced completely opposite stances in cultural-policy is one of the most well-known examples. For example, if the 1970s were characterized by expansion of expenditure and by considerable debate about what forms of arts and culture should be subsidized, the 1980s were a decade when political and economic pressures led to a fundamental reappraisal of the funding and management of the arts and

culture. While remaining committed to the principle of public sector support, the government of Margaret Thatcher required arts and culture organizations to look for new sources of revenue to supplement their income [Fisher, Ormston 2011]. At this moment when we can spot the national efforts to promote the private funding that were mentioned by Boylan. In case of the United Kingdom that resulted in the establishment of the Business Sponsorship Incentive Scheme in 1984, which for the first time matched funds from business with a government grant, administered by Arts & Business to encourage new sponsorship from the private sector [Fisher, Ormston 2011].

With the reduction of public funding, museums had to seek for additional sources of funding that accordingly increased the meaning of museum marketing. In practice, this trend is confirmed by relatively large number of educational literature about the museum marketing and management that has been published in past few years. As important sources of funding at this time appears donation and sponsorship, that in many countries have been stimulated at national level and whose importance has been highlighted by many museum managers. However, the orientation towards the private funding has also met criticism. Thus, the cultural commentator Dragan Klaic has noted that sponsorship has often be treated as only possible escape in case of insufficient public funding, yet after more than 20 years since we have business sponsorship in art and culture it has not become a noteworthy alternative to public funding [Klaičs 2008:105]. Museum experts have also mentioned the possibility that need for private funding can lead to the engagement with the activities that are inadequate to museum field. The director of Maritime Museum of Denmark Ulla Tofte has described this problem sharply – the premises of the museum function as a backdrop to everything from fashion shows to Christmas parties [Tofte 2015: 1]. The ethics of relationship between museums and their private partners are sensitive and rarely spoken about. As one of the most recent examples we can mention the British Museum that last year were accused in breaking their code of ethics in the way they dealt with one of their commercial sponsors, British Petroleum [Macalister 2016]. The museum ethics can be offended also on smaller scale through inadequate usage of its premises. These threats are important also in Latvian museums – in almost every one of them we can not only celebrate the birthday, but also rent premises for private events. If we think about the necessity to earn as the main priority, the museum's premises can be used for the aims that are opposite to its mission, such as the case of Latvian War Museum that experienced the public interpretation of its exhibitions in quite opposite way to its own purposes [Ciganovs 2015].

The expert opinions on the financial challenges and the diminishing of private funding have been quite diverse. Interesting assessment has been made by British

researcher Kevin Moore who has said that museums have been pushed into the marketplace, only to find that this market is rapidly changing milieu. Museums have always competed for visitors with each other, and with no other heritage and leisure attractions, even if no charge was made for admission. This competition now has a much keener edge, with the survival of institutions ultimately at stake [Moore 1994: 1]. The submission to the laws of economics makes us re-evaluate also the economic, cultural and social contribution of museums themselves. This situation has been assessed quite differently by museum experts. For example, Serge Renimel, the professor of the University of Sorbonne and international expert of museums and cultural heritage, has predicted the future of museums in pessimistic way, pointing that they are sick with "Baulmol's cost disease" [Renimel 2006: 18].

However, there is another view of museum as the provider of economic value, that can serve as important factor in the territorial regeneration, development of local economies, rising of the level of employment and fundraising [Ambrozs, Krispins 2002: 8–10]. The added value of museum can be associated not only with economics, but it still has to be measurable. Consequently, the museum literature increasingly often touches the topic of social capital that can be created on a basis of museum's collection. While the business-oriented museums are trying to manage the cultural capital in the market economics, it can gain economic success on a basis of the social capital.

Changes in museum's strategic priorities

With the changing funding models, the museums have had to justify their existence anew. While looking for this justification, the museums have changed their strategic priorities and gravitated towards promotion of their collections amongst usual functions. Museum strategies have changed and now one of the most important questions is, "What benefits can museum bring to the society?". This shift of priorities has brought also new topics in research – audience research, individual experience, education and social impact – that have been examined from different angles. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, professor of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester, has stated that for too long museums have treated scientific, research and collection functions as primary against the needs of their visitors [Hooper-Greenhill 1994:1]. Thus, contemporary challenges for museums are to maintain these traditional functions and combine them with educational and recreational functions. Furthermore, contemporary museums are already moving further and acting as agents of change in society.

Museologist Theresa McNichol has noted that at the beginning of the 21st century museums have switched their attention from excellence to experience. In 2006 she wrote that in the past decade, museums have been focusing outward on

the community as well as how they impact their visitors' experience. There is a growing expectation for non-profits to both demonstrate the good they bring to their communities, and educate themselves about how they can capture, describe, and measure their impact. Where previously museums focused on institutional outcomes, such as programmatic excellence, attempts are now concentrated on identifying how individuals are changed as a result of a museum experience [McNichol 2006: 75].

There is another trend, beside the museum's role in education. In the professional literature of the 21st century we can increasingly see the museum as an agent of social changes. S. E. Weil's description of this trend is poetically apt: "Over three decades, what the museum might be envisioned as offering to the public has grown from mere refreshment (the museum as carbonated beverage) to education (the museum as a site for informal learning) to nothing short of communal empowerment (the museum as an instrument for social change)" [Weil 2002: 34]. One of the best-known examples of the museum as the agent of social change is the National Museum Liverpool whose director David Fleming has actively promoted that museums must change towards the public gain. Flemming has noted that the priorities (and challenges) of museum management in the 21st century can be expressed through 12 elements: access, commitment, consultation, cultural authority, diversity, education, identity, inclusion, participation, partnership, people and politics [Fleming 2015: 9]. Francoise McClafferty, Policy and international relations officer at the National Museum Liverpool, has described this course of development in a following way: Museums are broadening their missions and identities and have over the last 15 years been extending their public dimension. Learning, social inclusion and public value are central to every museum's activity. They cannot function independently within the social context in which they sit. Museums must keep up with world-wide trends of globalization, technology, consumerism, sustainability and climate change [McClafferty 2006: 212].

This global strategic movement is reflected also in the Statutes of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) that, since adoption, several times has been updated in line with developments in society. According to current version, the museum is "a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment" [Museum Definition 2015]. The importance of social inclusion is stressed also in one of the most recent ICOM publications – the Recommendation on the Protection and Promotion of Museums and Collections, their Diversity and their Role in Society that has been commissioned by UNESCO, contributing insight and advocating for

the roles of museums and museum professionals in society. The document is based on the principle that museums share a number of missions, including education and the dissemination of culture, and that they work in favour of justice, liberty and peace, helping to build moral and intellectual solidarity among people and guarantee equal access to education for all [ICOM 2016].

The importance of social work as one of museum's priorities has been impacted not only by global museological thought but also – local tendencies that are connected with cultural politics and entrepreneurship. Good example to the meaning of political trends can be seen in 1970s Germany and "new cultural politics" [Kleins 2008: 136].

The social inclusion is one of the most important priorities of museums in the United Kingdom with the aforementioned National Museum Liverpool as one of the best-known examples. Following the idea that museum must be available to all groups of society the social inclusion is becoming more and more important factor in museums who are designing more and more intricate and specialized offer to particular target groups who previously have been excluded.

The social function of museum is closely linked to museum marketing and work with their audience. The link between these two concepts has been described by museologists Fiona McLean and Mark O'Neill, who have noted that the social inclusion nowadays is not only the answer to the rhetoric of government, but is in fact linked to much longer developmental process, beginnings of which can be found in Victorian museums. However, since the 1980s we can speak also about government's efforts to affect the museum activities towards the public benefit [McLean 2007: 215]. They emphasize the important role of the museum's social orientation on museum marketing that traditionally accents the repeated visits of existing audience as a priority. In case of socially inclusive museum, museums tend to attract all audiences, including those, that traditionally have been excluded or have not wanted to visit museum [McLean 2007: 218–219].

A different approach to the social orientation of museums can be seen at the United States of America, where important factor (next to the global trends) is "non-profit" or "private" sector in economics that puts growing stress on organizational performance and the achieved results. Weil considers that this is the result of two influences, one of which is connected with the organization "The United Way of America". When we analyse the situation of the United States of America it is important to keep in mind that unlike the cultural policy related incentives that are characteristic to many European countries, the performance of American "third sector" organizations is based mostly on private incentives. "The United Way of America" whose history began in the 19th century as charitable organization created by church leaders is one of such examples. Right now, it is a global organization

with branches in more than 41 countries, that focuses on community problems in such fields as health, income and education. The stress in past years has been put on community problems, and social responsibility in museum strategies according to Weil is connected with social entrepreneurship theorist J. Gregory Dees social enterprise model [Weil 2007: 36].

The defining of social entrepreneurship began at the end of the 1980s in the USA and Europe as a result of efforts to find solution for poverty, social exclusion and other problems. [Lešinska, Litvins, Pīpiķe 2012: 5]. A similar trend has emerged in European social policy since the 1960s in connection with the conception of socially responsible country – growing number of companies have set a goal to offer their goods to meet the needs of society or solve its problems instead of gaining profits [Lešinska, Litvins, Pīpiķe 2012: 11]. The final definition of the term in the USA and Europe we can connect with the 1990s. In the USA the term "social entrepreneur" was defined by various foundations and organizations, recognizing as such someone who is participating in a free market but whose activities are directed towards the solving of the social problems. On the contrary, in Europe the main stress was laid on the collective nature of social enterprise and its associative and cooperative form [Lešinska, Litvins, Pīpiķe 2012: 8]. The Nobel peace prize winner Muhammad Yunnus gives seven criteria for social business: 1) business objective is to use market mechanisms to address problems which threaten people and society (e.g. education, health, technology access, environment, etc.); 2) the business is supported by its stakeholders; 3) the business must achieve financial and economic sustainability; 4) investors get back their fair share of investment while the society benefits from positive externalities created by the business; 5) the business is environmentally conscious; 6) workforce gets market wage with better working conditions; 7) working with joy. According to these criteria is clear that a museum in classical sense cannot be called a "social business", but museums can use some principles that are connected with social responsibility towards society.

Finally, this trend has also met criticism. Ulla Toffte has described the situation in Scandinavian countries, stressing that in a perfect world all museums could be heroic defenders of the freedom of speech, fighters against social injustice and would be critical against power. Yet in the real life, museums are dependent upon commercial partners and blockbuster exhibitions and as a result they are subjected to self-censorship in fear to lose sponsors or even worse – political support [Tofte 2011: 2–3]. Consequently, while we read the enthusiastic expressions of museum theoreticians about museums as the agents of social change, we must keep in mind that in real life the opportunity for museum to act as such agent on its own can be quite limited.

Changes in our perception of a museum

The gradual diminishing of the museum funding is one of the reasons to change in the museum field. As already mentioned, the museums can be treated as touched by "Baumol's disease", yet the museum can be also used as a means to attract the financing. Bearing in mind the growing number of museums in the past decades, Renimel has stated that it would be naive to think   that this fever of creation and recreation of new museums is dictated by governments and local communities of places where these organizations are situated. Instead most of the new and rebuilt museums are acting as important instruments of urban planning, territorial policy, communication and tourism marketing [Renimel 2006: 17].

It is clear that each organization leaves impact on local economics. Well-known museologists Thimoty Ambroise and Crispin Paine have outlined that museums can have an important role to play in economic regeneration in urban or rural areas, meanwhile the economic role of museums in many countries is less well understood than their social and cultural role. Yet, Museums can serve as part of an overall redevelopment programme, contribute to the development of a cultural infrastructure, act as magnets four tourists, create jobs and increase the levels of employment, attract financial sport and investment from external agencies [Ambrozs, Krispins 2002: 8–9]. Museums have central role in cultural tourism and they are important when we speak about the cultural values and industrial chains. Normally they can also promote other cultural tourism activities that are related with food, clothing, accommodation, transport or religion [Tien 2008: 13].

A characteristic example is the research about the economic impact of museums in Finland at regional and national levels, that was carried by the University of Vaasa. It concludes that "when we know that the share of municipalities of the total funding of museums is about €75 million and the total impact of museum visitors in the regional economies with multiplier effects is between €340 and €500 million, it can be generalized that the museums produce to their locations almost solely as tax revenues the sum the municipalities have invested in them. Furthermore, they improve the employment and income level in the region and create well-being through this in many different ways. This utility is both intellectual and economic and it is linked with impacts related to the image and reputation of the region. From the viewpoint of regional economy, a museum is a good investment solely financially" [Piekkola, Suojanen, Vainio 2014: 48].

In context with the economic value of museums, we can look at another trend – the using of museum's form in order to gain profits. Serge Renimel has noted that in the past museums' existence was based upon research, safekeeping end exhibition of objects, but their value as ensurers of recreation and tourism opportunities was treated only as consequences not the driving force of museum. Yet while the world

economic integration is becoming faster and faster, new logics has raised amongst the decision makers who set not only new priorities for museum development and fundraising, but also created a new species of "museums-mutants" [Piekkola, Suojanen, Vainio 2014: 48].

While setting the profits as main priority, a lot of museums are stepping away from traditional tasks – to collect, to research and to keep our heritage intact. If we define an organization as "museum" according to ICOM definition, a question appears: do all organizations that call themselves "museums" really are ones? Aija Lūse from the Latvian Academy of Culture offers to treat the difference from traditional norms as mutation and divides such organizations in four types with economic changes as common cause:

1) museum as a central object of regeneration plans;

2) museum as an object of commercial business strategy (museum franchising);

3) museum as a marketing tool (museum of particular brand);

4) the profit-oriented company that positions itself as a museum (or museal institution) [Lūse 2014: 81].

This typology shows us one of the trends of changing museum sector. With introduction of professional management, marketing and entrepreneurial leadership in museums, their traditional role as collectors, safekeepers and promoters of heritage objects could have been replaced with economic gain as priority. This situation can make us re-evaluate the organizations that are called museums and their compliance to museum form.

The trends of change in museum funding, strategic priorities and public perception belong to the paradigm of change that is dominating in contemporary museums. As a result, contemporary museums are seeking new strategies for relationship building with governments, private supporters and general public that are reflected in their organizational structures, public offer and marketing and deserve to be discussed separately. It is also important to remember that each of the trends of change can be viewed not only in global and regional but also national, province or even single case study level. Each of these levels will be impacted by a variety of variables such as local cultural policy, stakeholders and others. Still, the main tendencies in almost all cases are the same.

It is important to remember that an organization can never change just one thing. Thus, in most cases museums are subjected to more than one of aforementioned trends and we can assert that as a result of these trends of change have affected practice of museum management and brought forward as the most important skills of adaptation of change and capability to lead them. In the world that is subjected to increasingly rapid changes in technologies, communication, society and governmental policies, museum managers must be able to react to the change and

to lead them in preferred direction. This means the increased significance also in professional skills that quite recently have been treated as completely unrelated to traditional museum such as change management, change stewardship and change leadership amongst others.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL THOUGHT IN LATVIA DURING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE RIVER DAUGAVA HYDROPOWER PLANTS

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Abstract

The construction of the Daugava River Hydropower Plants (HPPs) and corresponding impact on archaeological monuments directly showed the importance of landscape. It is a manifest example how identity of whole nation relies on symbols. It needs to be asked what is left when the landscape – formed, shaped and developed through hundreds and thousands of years – has been brutally destroyed.

During the 1960s archaeologists worked mostly in two regions – Pļaviņas and Riga HPP submerging zones [Loze, Cimermanis 1969: 2–3]. That was really huge and planned research. For archaeologists it was clear that the collected material would keep the story of the life in ancient villages, hillforts and castles as well as peoples living, who had lived there, alive, when all of it would be under the water.

Besides the negative aspects, research that went on for many years has shaped and formed archaeological science as well as the development of archaeological thought. The goal of this paper is to examine what pros and cons these works have left and how to evaluate them in today's context.

Keywords: *archaeological thought, history of archaeology, Daugava, hydropower plants, HPP.*

Already in the first millennium AD the density of population on the right bank of the biggest river in territory of Latvia – the Daugava – was notably large because of good geographical location and the plenitude of fish in the waters. The steep banks of the Daugava were especially beneficial for fortifications. Oliņkalns, Lokstene, Sēlpils and other hillforts where situated on naturally developed isle-like platforms [Mugurēvičs 1977: 9].

The Daugava was the main traffic and trade route. The location of finds let us conclude that the best places for living were the banks of lakes and the embouchures of small rivers. A lot of dwelling-places and burial grounds are located exactly on banks or in old river valley of the Daugava. From archaeological material we can observe that people have lived near the Daugava continuously from Stone Age till nowadays. The only changes are in administrative centres [Mugurēvičs 1977].

The River Daugava historically has played an invaluable role in the national identity of Latvians and is still one of greatest milestones in what could be called the discourse of what it means to be a Latvian. Proofs of that we find in folklore, art and many historical events where the Daugava has indeed been the "River of Destiny" (*Likteņupe*).

The River Daugava obviously has also played an important role in the history of archaeology in Latvia. When in the great flood of 1837 the Daugava revealed ancient burial remains, it turned out to be a catalyst for further public interest in antiquity which resulted in the first more or less scientific archaeological research. Traditionally in historiography of Latvian archaeology Friedrich Karl Hermann Kruse's (1790–1866) *Necrolivonica, oder Altertümer von Liv-, Esth- und Kurland* (Dorpat 1842) has been recognized as being the very first scientific monograph and inspired by it that many aristocrats, priests, teachers started their own "excavations". As the work of Kruse represents the beginning of scientific archaeology [Graudonis 2001: 7–19], we can agree with archaeologist Jānis Graudonis (1913–2005), who said that the beginning of archaeological science is also the beginning of actual knowledge about the history of Latvia [Graudonis 2001: 10].

However, much later a big turn in archaeological science was made in 1959 when an unprecedented amount of research was started in the territory planned for submerging due to the construction of Pļaviņas Hydroelectric Power Station. Archaeologists had to explore territory from Aizkraukle to Pļaviņas (1959–1965). As soon as those works ended, already next year, in 1966 researchers had to move to the next construction site – Riga HPP. Territory from Dole to Ogre was explored in total by 8 expeditions. In 1979 preparation was started for one more HPP on the Daugava – Daugavpils HPP. Expeditions resulted in discovering 4 earlier unknown hillforts, 50 settlements and 17 burial fields [Mugurēvičs 1977].

It is hard to imagine Latvian archaeology without those large-scale construction works of the Soviet era and the legislation which provided archaeological research before works started. And what is most important – the customer had to finance archaeological research. So financially those were one of the best times Latvian archaeologists have had; the more electrification and industrialisation Soviet government enacted, the more archaeologists were needed; furthermore, the more work and praxis they had, the more professional the archaeological science became.

Archaeology became prominent in Soviet Latvia. We cannot imagine the archaeology of Latvia in the modern sense without all the information (for example, density and chronologies of population) collected near the banks of the Daugava in a relatively short time. Thereby the gains are incontestable and very important. On the other hand, there is no gain without a loss – incalculable amount of archaeologically significant information is forever gone because of haste, insufficient quantity of the samples, incomplete documentation etc. It obviously is the fault of the destructive nature of archaeology. Which is why whenever the possibility is not to dig, we should refrain from intervening in the integrity of objects. In case of Daugava HPPs the amount of excavations is not adequately comparable to the relatively small number of resulting publications. Acknowledging the high standards of archaeological research in relation to the average level of scientific development back then – everything was recorded using the established practices of the time – it still cannot be denied and overestimated that Latvia has irretrievably lost one of the most splendid cultural landscapes. Even if some modern technology could reconstruct the entire valley digitally, the meaning and substance of the place is lost. Such iconic monuments of nature and history as Staburags (submerged cliff on the bank of the Daugava shaped by lime and rich springs) or Koknese Castle ruins, which till the second half of 20th century delighted artists and literati, as well as tourists with their historical significance and monumentality, today live only in memories and reflections.

Besides the nostalgia and sense of loss, which arises after losing heritage, the importance of the identity of the place, the big role it occupied in the individual and national consciousness can be sensed more and more. Archaeologists thus had a crucially important task – while the real witnesses of the past were going to be destroyed, they had to ensure that the narrative of the past becomes as complete as possible.

Ķegums HPP

The first HPP on Daugava – Ķegums HPP started to operate in October 1939. Although in the introduction of the monumental work *Latvijas PSR arheoloģija* ("Archaeology of Latvian SSR". Rīga: Zinātne, 1974) we can read that "in times of bourgeois Latvia, while Ķegums HPP was built, there was no archaeological research in the zone of submersion" [Latvijas PSR arheoloģija 1974: 12], the reality is different. Press shows that in 1939 there was excavation in burial ground of Aizkraukle led by archaeologist Pēteris Stepiņš (1914–1999). Latvian Monuments Board (*Pieminekļu Valde*) decided to do a wider protective excavation. Despite the scanty grave goods, the research still was scientifically important for the corresponding period [Stepiņš 1939: 331–334].

On an isle named after Lāčplēsis, the national epic of Latvia, excavation works were also conducted before it was submerged. The famous stone of Lāčplēsis was carved to make a monument for author of the epic – Andrejs Pumpurs (1841–1902). It must be mentioned that during the construction of Ķegums HPP a big hoard was also found – a pot containing 879 Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (1594–1632) silver coins (the first half of the 17th century) [Ķeguma HES 1939: 7].

Nevertheless, the impact of Ķegums HPP on the preserving of archaeological heritage still remains unclear and should be examined in future. Since public consensus on construction was highly positive [Lapiņš 1940: 6], there were practically no discussions about heritage.

Pļaviņas HPP (Fig. 1 and 2)
As the director of National History Museum of Latvia, also an archaeologist, Arnis Radiņš (b. 1951) has mentioned, during the first period after the occupation of Latvia archaeology was poorly financed, there was a serious deficiency of professionals in the field due to the lack of excavation works [Radiņš 2012: 385]. Till the building of HPPs, of course!

The construction of Pļaviņas HPP was widely advocated as crucially important for the Soviet Latvian economics [Stubavs 1960: 1]. When archaeologists came to know about planned proceedings, it was immediately evident that in the territory spanning both sides of the Daugava from Aizkraukle to Pļaviņas, at least 6 hillforts and 14 burial grounds were situated, in need of archaeological research. Since everyone obviously knew there had to be and also would be new objects, in order to start the construction, the Institute of History of Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences had to immediately change all the plans for 1960. For example, the expedition that the archaeologist of the Institute of Latvian History Elvīra Šnore (1905–1996) had to lead in Latgale was shifted to Selonian burial fields on the left bank of the Daugava which were seen as important to improve the study of ethnogenesis. One of the greatest Latvian Stone Age researchers – Francis Zagorskis (1929–1986), who for several years worked in Tērvete, also had to move his expedition to the Daugava region.

Today many think that the research of archaeological monuments surrounding Pļaviņas started a qualitatively new phase of archaeological science in Latvia. 1960/1961 saw the start of continuous archaeological exploration in the submersion zone of Pļaviņas HPP [Stubavs 1960: 11].

Ironically, exactly in communist era we see capitalistic tendencies in research of history – everything was judged by amount of excavated earth, gained antiquities and other kinds of quantitative statistics. Archaeologist Ēvalds Mugurēvičs (b. 1931) writes, if archaeology in post-soviet period mostly performed monument
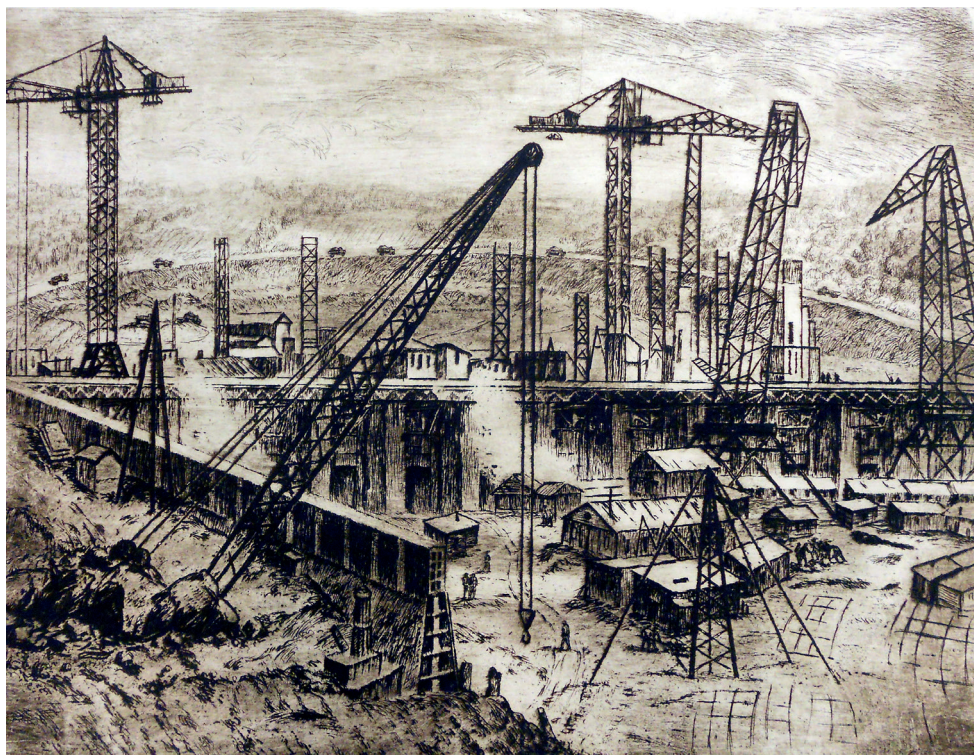
Figure 1. Zelma Tālberga (1900–1972). Construction site of Pļaviņas HPP.
From cycle "For peace and future" 1965. Etching. JVMM (Ģederts Eliass Jelgava History and Art Museum) 3892.

inspection or small protective excavations where one monument gave some dozens or at max 100 antiques, then at the beginning of 1965 already a whole micro-region was explored and researched. These excavations uncovered territory of 6800 m^2, 69 burial sites, 2548 artifacts, 29 339 fragments of pottery, 9529 osteo-logical material units; 390 plans were drawn, more than 3000 photos taken. Archived document amount exceeded 1100 pages. Without stationary excavations in known monuments, several new sites were found and also researched [Stubavs 1960: 12]. At the same time, it is now clear that there were also monuments that archaeologists did not have time and capacity to research and no one will ever know what secrets they hide.

From 1959 to 1964 Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Academy of Sciences Institute of History did archaeological research on the left bank of the Daugava near Pļaviņas. Oliņkalns and Lokstene hillfort regions were examined as an outstanding archaeological complex. While doing excavation works in dwelling places, parallel works were also done in corresponding burial fields in order to gain

Figure 2. Archaeologists in work. Photo from Jasenovs, J. (1966).
Te viļņosies Rīgas jūra. *Cīņa*. Nr. 174, 4. lpp.

a possibly unified and coherent view about the history of one micro-region (about 75–100 km^2) corresponding to period from the 3rd to the 15th century AD.

Plenty of new conclusions were made. For example, the material from Lokstene Castle excavations led to the conclusion (such proof was the first of its kind in the territory of Latvia) that locals had participated in and also influenced the construction of German stone castles [Mugurēvičs 1977: 7–8]. The professional level of archaeologists also grew with the amount and covered territory. The Archaeological sector of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences started seven-hour working days. Improvements were made in the organisational part of excavations. In order to enhance the productivity of work, regulations were made that all the excavated earth should be transported with modern techniques. Institute also bought mobile power station. Already in 1960, the chief director of Archaeological sector Ādolfs Stubavs (1913–1986) reported that expeditions were well equipped with the necessary inventory, small tools, measuring instruments, photo cameras. The only thing lacking was the appropriate space for excavation material and inventory storage. Everything was kept in the work space, which led to dust and unsanitary conditions, as Stubavs has noted [Stubavs 1960: 4].

The praxis that archaeological and culture-historical monuments were not protected, but destroyed due to huge construction works was not uncommon in the USSR, and in other countries at the time. For example, from 1960 to 1980

in Egypt the construction of Aswan Dam saw the transfer of 22 monuments [The Rescue of Nubian Monuments and Sites]. That was one of the reasons why the international heritage society started to raise the alarm about how changing social and economic conditions influenced damage or destruction of the cultural or natural heritage. Notably the main document of world heritage protection, made by UNESCO, was created about the same time [Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage 1972].

Besides Latvia, similar huge excavations were also carried out in Volga, Kaunas etc. HPPs construction zones in the USSR. Most probably because of censorship archaeologists had to depict the huge excavations as outrageously successful, thanks to the politics of the Soviet government. Mostly they claimed that monuments had been completely researched, and the main works were subordinated only to the scientific tasks [Graudonis, Urtāns 1961: 162–163] (concealing the fact that works were often rushed to meet the deadlines of construction workers).

The industrialisation and economic goals in the Soviet Union were seen as much more important than aesthetic or sentimental views on landscape. Furthermore, it seems that for the building of communism it was essential to erase the previous history with its monuments by creating a new living space. Exploiting and changing the nature was as important as in absolutist monarchies – to show the human supremacy and legitimate their project of the new world order.

Scientists of course did their best to collect as much information as it was possible at that time using all the available scientific and technical support. The research in Pļaviņas HPP submerging zone lasted 7 years in total (1959–1965). Nine archaeological expeditions researched 7 hillforts and castles, 22 settlements, 12 burial fields, 1 cult hill – in total a territory of 3 ha with more than 31 000 m^3 earth. It was the first time in history of archaeology in Latvia when an entire micro-region, dating from I millennium BC to the 17th century AD, was thoroughly researched [Strods 1966: 5].

During the excavations seed samples for paleobotanical analysis were taken to study the history of agriculture. Excavations provided about 100 000 human and animal bones. Animal bones were studied by paleozoologists to compare livestock and hunting proportions. Most of the collected human bones were skulls and the so-called long bones. The skulls and teeth were used by anthropologist Raisa Deņisova (b. 1930) to identify ethnicity (the main research factor at the time), while paleopathologist Vilis Derums (1899–1988) used bones to study ancient diseases. Ceramics (approximately 85 000 fragments found) were also examined to analyse the technical level and ethnicity of the population.

The age of buildings was identified with the help of dendrochronology and analysis based on the radioactive decay of carbon. Pottery and Iron Age melting

furnaces were identified with the archaeomagnetic method, in collaboration with the Moscow and Leningrad scientists. The age of fish-bones was identified by biologists; plants – by paleobotanists. Archaeology was seen as a branch of humanities that could use the widest available spectrum of modern natural science and technical methods [Strods 1966: 5].

In the vicinity of Pļaviņas, around 25 000 artifacts were obtained, which, according to historian Heinrihs Strods (1925–2012), constituted around 20% of all the items found in excavations till that time (probably – during the Soviet era). The objects from excavations primarily were to be preserved in a special workshop to ensure the preservation for the future generations [Strods 1966]. Many of the objects found were unique [Zakss 1965: 4].

It can be said that systematic mapping of the cultural layer on excavation site was started exactly at that time. Every 10–20 cm were drawn in plans. As a result, more than 2150 big–size coloured plans were made. Each excavation layer and cross-sections, as well as the most significant finds were photographed. In total around 20 000 shots were taken. In addition, excavations were filmed, creating several documentaries [Strods 1966].

According to the ruling paradigm of Marxist historiography, archaeological materials had to solve problems of productive forces and production relations and the development of ideology in the period of disintegration of primitive community and development of class societies, the Latvian nation ethnogenesis, as well as the problems related to the genesis of feudalism. Therefore, after scientific processing the obtained material was expected to be published already in the next half a year in several volumes for the knowledge transfer to scientists and working-class people. Studies in Plaviņas area were supposed to aid the debunking of some still preserved "wrong" views on Latvian history, build proper materialistic view, and also to contribute significantly to the construction of modern culture [Strods 1966].

Excavations took place from early spring to late autumn [Mugurēvičs 2013: 136]. Consequently, the participating workers were able to manage the development of their professional skills at a high level. A big plus for the archaeology in Soviet era was the systematic planning in all industries, including historical research. Regarding finances, for example, in 1960 each expedition got ca. 17 to 18 thousand roubles [Mugurēvičs 2013: 133]. But there were problems, notwithstanding. Specialists were not prepared on the spot, in Latvian SSR. They had to study abroad. The methodological level of archaeology was pretty high for that time, but archaeological ethics was not on the agenda. For example, when excavation in Mārtiņsala ended, before submerging, in collaboration with workers of HPP, the castle and church walls were showered with grit, so that the basis of

the monuments were not undermined and thus be saved for future generations. Obviously, the effectiveness of such methods is questionable [Mugurēvičs 2013: 192–193].

It is significant that a special role in the contemporary discourse was given to Koknese (Fig. 3–5) hill (note – not a castle) because it was considered that evidence of close relations with the Slavs could be found there [Loze, Cimermanis 1969: 2–3].

The most recent major damage to the castle was caused by Pļaviņas (Aizkraukle) HPP construction and water level increase above the foundations of the castle in 1965. The annual flood, ice and water swings thoroughly washed out the castle walls, an important south side wall fragment of the castle has perished thus permanently transforming the historically established landscape with fortress on the steep bank of the river.

Before the submerging in 1961–1966 archaeologist Stubavs led excavations in Koknese. Material applies to both periods of the Castle existence. Evidence was found pertaining to the economic life of the Castle. The layers of the 13th to 14th century showed the impact of local culture. Various traces of rebuilding and marks left by all ruling powers, mentioned in written sources, were found.

By the end of 1965 the Ministry of Culture had developed Koknese Castle restoration project (designed by A. Bite from Scientific restoration engineering

Figure 3. Photo from the meeting of Semigallian Society "Labour youth" in Koknese Castle ruins, Midsummer, 1932. JVMM 4729/2.

Figure 4. Ģederts Eliass (1887–1975). Koknese Hillfort. 1960s.
Oil on canvas. JVMM 34746/El 666.

design office). It must be mentioned that one of the options discussed was the detonation of the ruins [VKPAI PDC].

On 16 April 1966, Aleksandrs Drīzulis (1920–2006), Director of the Institute of History of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, and Archaeological team leader A. Stubavs wrote to USSR Minister of Culture Vladimirs Kaupužs (b. 1925) in the name of the Institute of History, asking for the assistance in reinforcing the castle ruins.

According to excavation results (1961–1965), Koknese was considered an object with outstanding scientific importance on the All-Union scale. In the 1960s Koknese was attended by tens of thousands of local and international tourists. No other Soviet Latvian historic monument had given so much particular and unique material about the economic, cultural and political relations between Ancient Rus and Latvian territory relations as the 13th century Koknese, which was considered the residence of Russian prince Vjačko (Vyachko). Already in 1970, after submerging, the USSR Heritage protector (Heritage scientific-methodological council President P. Volodin) reported that Koknese Castle was in a threatened condition. Art Professor K. Afanasyev noted that the local authorities before the

Figure 5. Koknese Castle 08.03.2015.
Personal archives of Zenta Broka-Lāce.

construction of HPPs themselves had abandoned the reinforcing of castle, despite the apparent need. Then in 1970 there was an urgent need to develop projects for the conservation of ruins and the improvement of landscape.

After regaining the independence of Latvia, Koknese again came to the public notice – only to find that the ruins were in a very poor condition. In 1991–1992 archaeologist Mārtiņš Ruša led excavations. Between 1993–1999 various conservation works were carried out. Of 8000 LVL budget, 3000 LVL were used for concrete works alone [Ruša 1994; 1998; 2002].

In 1999 underwater archaeologist Voldemārs Rains (b. 1948) led exploration and concluded that in order to reinforce the rock, the river bed should be tipped with at least a million tons of gravel, so it did not seem realistic. All the conservation

work in the 1990s seems to have been a vain effort to stop the further erosion of a unique architectural, archaeological and historical monument [VKPAI PDC].

Riga HPP (Fig. 6)

In 1966 the archaeological research was started in Riga HPP zone. Eight archaeological expeditions took place from Dole Island to Ogre. Till the 1975 in Riga HPP zone archaeologists excavated monuments of the total area of approximately 13.5 hectares – that could be considered the most comprehensive research in history of Latvian archaeology within a single district. It had obtained around 45 000 artefacts, 150 000 ceramic units, approximately 1000 human skulls and many other archaeological materials for further analyses. Every year thousands of tourists from all over Latvia took part in the scientific sessions of the archaeological excavation sites to see the results of research [Ģiga 1966: 1; Radiņš 2012: 385].

In the Soviet era archaeologists were not protected from censorship. The Archaeological sector was supervised by the Communist Party. For example, in

Figure 6. Photo from Riga HPP building in 1974. Inscription on stone in Russian
"Well, the Daugava, wait!". Available: http://www.latvenergo.lv/hesture/hes_rigas.html
(viewed 07.11.2016.)

1959 archaeologists were criticised for their level of qualification, unrealistic plans, little amount of publications[1] and, of course, lack of Party members in sector [Radiņš 2012: 132].

Archaeological research in Pļaviņas and Riga HPP submerging zones also attracted attention of the Central Committee of Latvian Communist Party and Presidium of the Academy of Sciences. The leader of Revision Commission of the Central Committee R. Ķīsis was also dispatched to the director of the Institute of History with official letter to clarify the origin of names of the Daugava isles near Salaspils, which in his opinion was "considerable" [Mugurēvičs 2013: 155].

In 1972, talking about number of monuments and budget for research in submerging zone of Daugavpils HPP, the officials of project group criticised the Institute of History for low ideological and methodological level in the previous research of scientific co-workers. Historians were also kindly asked to intensify the fight against bourgeois ideological manifestations [Mugurēvičs 2013: 177].

When Ēvalds Mugurēvičs in 1974 prepared to participate in international conference dedicated to Prehistory and early history in Nice, France, with his paper and a small documentary on results of archaeological research in Riga HPP submerging zone, the Archaeological Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences blocked him and sent delegation from Moscow, Leningrad and Novosibirsk to conference instead [Mugurēvičs 2013: 205].

Only in the 1980s, more and more sadness and sense of loss could be detected also in the popular press. Only then research on geology, history etc. of submerged monuments could be seen [Pastors 1988: 13–14]. More interest in the Daugava and its cultural landscape was felt in wider public with planned Daugavpils HPP and protests against it. On 19 December 1987 the Commission of the Daugava was established under Latvian Culture Foundation, which was led by professor of geology – Guntis Eberhards (b. 1936) [*Dabas un vēstures kalendārs* 1990: 75]. The fight against the destruction of what was left of the Daugava cultural landscape, led by national intelligentsia, was successful this time. If in the case of Pļaviņas the political censorship silenced every opponent, now the message was successfully spread. The protection of the Daugava became an essential part of Latvian movement of National Awakening. In a wider context it can be seen also as a part of worldwide Green movement, its echoes being captured by illegal listening to foreign radio stations etc.

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[1] The main publications about the Daugava HPP research are listed in Caune, A., Caune, C., 1976: 43–45, No. 193–236.

Some of the most notable monographs: Mugurēvičs, 1977; Stubavs, 1976; Šnore, 1987; Šnore, Zariņa, 1970; Zariņa, 1988; Денисова, Граудонис, Гравере, 1985; Мугуревич, 1965.

Daugavpils HPP

Although Daugavpils HPP was never built, the preparation process had already begun. In the zone planned for submergence, 4 previously unknown hillforts, 50 settlements and 17 burial fields were found [Graudonis 2001: 15].

The search for new objects was organised in several expeditions by walking on foot (around 20 km per day) near the shores of the Daugava [Mugurēvičs 2013: 176]. Notable excavation was led by Mugurēvičs in the settlement of Dinaburga Castle [Mugurēvičs 2013: 251].

Jēkabpils HPP

In 1984 Ēvalds Mugurēvičs was assigned to search for monuments in Jēkabpils HPP planned submersion zone. In reality the work was done by archaeologist Andrejs Vasks (b. 1947). Several groups of archaeologists searched both banks of the Daugava in territory between Jēkabpils and Daugavpils.

However, construction of both Daugavpils and Jēkabpils HPP was pending due to political changes. With no doubt, Soviet legal system had one good thing for archaeologists: before starting any destructive or potentially – for monument preservation – dangerous activities, government normally financed archaeological research [Mugurēvičs 2013: 330]. Unfortunately for archaeologists, the old system collapsed after the restoration of independence. The new law for preservation of cultural heritage [*Latvijas Republikas likums: Par kultūras pieminekļu aizsardzību*; paragraph 22] also restricts any destructive activity before research. In reality, however, it is not always the case.

In total, archaeological excavations were carried out in more than 300 sites in Latvian SSR. It inevitably led to essential shift in knowledge about history. Chronology and typology of our Prehistory changed, as well as notions about ethnical structure and funerary traditions. However, when compared to the amount, the small number of actual publications is not satisfying [Radiņš 2012: 388].

Along with the independence of Latvia, we also regained the scientific independence in the archaeological science, which almost for half a century (at least in theory) had been under the control of Marxist ideology and pro-Slavic interpretations. When all these ideological restrictions were gone, the science gained a seemingly ideological freedom. Cost of that was a notable reduction of budget, that archaeologists were used to reckon with. Latvian archaeology was not ready for free market economy. If previously the main factor in defining the archaeologist was whether or not he/she did excavations, then now scientific research institutions had to accept the new situation and reorganise work in order to shift to the archival material analysis and the publication of articles.

If the use of quantitative methods has grown notably, then completely different situation is in the field of qualitative methodology. Almost no one talks about ethics of archaeology, interpretation problems and theory of archaeological science. Research in the Daugava Valley still is one of the most influential stages in the history of Latvian archaeology, owing to the great amount of excavated objects and collected archaeological material it is not comparable to any other period in the history of Latvian archaeology. Undeniably, for scientists it was an unprecedented and alluring opportunity, however, almost nothing was said against the very process, no one seemed to care about lost monuments of the past and those which were never explored [Padedzis, Mintaurs 2013: 86]. No one will ever know about hoards and individual finds, which obviously must have been there.

The newest research about construction of Pļaviņas HPP shows that we still do not know all the reasons and considerations behind it. Although many see the decision to build HPP as a normal praxis of modernisation, it must not be looked at as such, because in that specific time and place we cannot see these decisions as any other but political. Destroying the Daugava Valley with all its cultural historical heritage, destroying landscape with its emotional weight was not just an economic decision. Researchers and public activists, including the leader of Popular Front of Latvia and the symbolic spokesman of the movement for Latvian independence from the USSR, Dainis Īvāns (b. 1955), are sure that construction of HPP was a crime against Latvian nation. It was carefully calculated part of Russification politics in the USSR towards Latvians, at that time it was obviously an attempt to deal with or even punish the so-called national communists. As historian Mārtiņš Mintaurs has noted, the status of archaeologists was not so stable – of course, government did give money for research, but at the same time researchers risked to look as Latvian bourgeois nationalists in the eyes of Soviet authorities [Padedzis, Mintaurs 2013].

In the winter of 1961/1962 a settlement near Lokstene Hillfort was destroyed due to intense quarrying of dolomite. Archaeologists had just managed to discover some dozen centimetres of thick cultural layer, some pottery, but nothing more is known [Mugurēvičs 1977: 54]. This case was not widely discussed. Also in 1964, the Plaviņas dolomite-mining factory made haste to blow up and transport away yet acquirable resources, thus making it difficult for archaeologists to work [Mugurēvičs 1977: 143].

In conclusion, to answer the question why it is still up to date and important to speak about the Daugava HPP, I must say that archaeology has not yet examined and assessed the amount of the actual loss. Under the pretext of economic benefits, unique natural and cultural monuments of Latvia were destroyed, giving up all international and national ethics, charters and laws which should have protected

cultural heritage, especially taking into account that not only the object itself is essential – it provides much more information in its cultural and historical landscape, therefore the landscape itself should be protected.

The large-scale economic activities of HPP construction started a very dangerous trend in the development of our archaeological thought – not taking landscape in consideration at all. It is thought that the full exploration of the monument which interferes with the construction work solves the problem. However, the problem persists today. In the name of economic development Latvia will carry out the huge *Rail Baltica* project. And if Estonia has declared that it is the largest archaeological project in the history of Estonia [Laats 2015], Latvia is pretty much falling behind. Complete research by using methods of modern archaeological science seems no longer possible, bearing in mind that meeting deadlines for this project will be more important than serious scientific research. It seems, we are not yet ready to learn from mistakes of the past, as long as we do not see them as mistakes. No one has spoken about the influence of *Rail Baltica* on landscape. The primary concern is about economics. These questions should have been discussed already in the planning stages of such the project. If HPPs of the Daugava River could be written-off as consequences of foreign and hostile politics, censorship and fear, even objective praxis of that time, then today the inactivity of monument guards has no excuses.

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VKPAI PDC (Heritage Documentation Centre of State Inspection for Heritage Protection) lieta: *Kokneses pils.*

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PERSONIFICATION AND EMBODIMENT IN "THE BOTTLE NECK" (*FLASKENHALSEN*) BY H. C. ANDERSEN AND ITS TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH, LATVIAN AND RUSSIAN

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Abstract

In his monograph *Embodiment and Cognitive Science* (2006), Raymond Gibbs points out that many aspects of language and communication arise from, and continue to be guided by, bodily experience, as the human mind is embodied, and embodied experience structures thought. As a result, numerous terms across a variety of languages reflect understanding of things in terms of the human body or its parts, which also serves as evidence of metaphoricity. The present research aims to outline the link between personification, i.e. understanding of inanimate objects in terms of living things, which is an integral part of the mind shaped by culture [Lakoff, Johnson 1980], and embodiment, i.e. understanding of the role of an agent's body in its cognition. Both are present in the short story "The Bottle Neck" (*Flaskenhalsen*) by Hans Christian Andersen, which proves an interesting challenge to translators. As the main character of the story is alive, personification becomes an extended and the most important stylistic technique in the work. The translations into English, Latvian and Russian serve as exciting illustrations of cultural and linguistic differences, which emerge when the translators have to deal with personification and embodiment in the original text.

Keywords: *personification, embodiment, Andersen, cognitive linguistics.*

Since the rise of cognitive linguistics in the 1980s, numerous studies have been devoted to metaphor as a pervasive technique in thought and language. Metaphor has been viewed in a variety of contexts and forms. The most important achievement in cognitive linguistics is, perhaps, the discovery of conceptual metaphor, an abstract category for metaphors of a certain kind, outlined by Lakoff and Johnson

in their fundamental work *Metaphors We Live By*. Conceptual metaphors are many and differ across languages and cultures; however, the term itself refers to a universal technique of the human mind, i.e. understanding of one thing in terms of another. This discovery has influenced all subsequent studies of figurative language. Some other stylistic techniques, such as metonymy and personification, have been discussed from the perspective of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), as it has proved convenient to analyse them as interactions of different experiential domains, i.e. the target and the source. The present article focuses on personification. Andersen's story "The Bottle Neck" (*Flaskenhalsen*) serves as interesting empirical material for analysis.

Within the framework of CMT, personification is generally understood as a kind of conceptual metaphor. Thus, Kövecses even introduces the conceptual metaphor INANIMATE OBJECTS ARE PEOPLE [Kövecses 2002: 58]. As suggested in *Metaphors We Live By*, personifications "are extensions of ontological metaphors", "… they allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms – terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics" [Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 34]. In other words, personification has an ontological function in language and thought. If we need to reason about the existence of something, we do so from a human perspective, and the primary and most important form of existence to humans is life.

The most accessible evidence of life is its physical manifestation, which happens to be the (human) body. It is only natural that inanimate objects are often conceptualised as parts of the human body that perform similar functions or have similar physical features. Such expressions as "the eye of a needle", "the leg of a chair", "the hand of a clock", and "the neck of a bottle" are metaphorical mappings of different parts of the human body onto the corresponding objects. The hand of a clock, for instance, shows the time, i.e. performs the task of showing that can also be performed by a person using their hand. Similarly, the leg of a chair performs the action of standing. The neck of a bottle seems to bear physical resemblance to the neck of a human. Similarly, the eye of a needle is a round hole, which is what the human eye basically is. These are all examples of the so-called body metaphors, which generally fall into two categories depending on the kind of mapping that occurs in them: 1) concrete – concrete (the examples above), 2) abstract – concrete (e.g., "the head of a company", "the heart of the city", etc.).

I believe that personification is closely linked to the notion of embodiment, which has also been discussed in cognitive linguistics in the form of criticism of rational and objectivist thought [Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 195–209, Johnson 1987, Gibbs 2005: 1–12 etc.]. Embodiment is the term that is used in cognitive science to refer to "understanding the role of an agent's own body in its everyday, situated

cognition" [Gibbs 2005: 1]. For instance, "being flexible", "balancing" etc. are metaphorical expressions that describe the activity of the human body while referring to the emotional or mental state of the speaker, as described by Gibbs [op. cit.: 1–2]. The body metaphors in the previous paragraph do not necessarily illustrate speakers' awareness of the human body; however, they indicate its role in the creation of these terms.

The main issue regarding embodied experience is that the human body and its role have been traditionally ignored or rejected in Western thought in the name of objectivity. This has led to a disembodied and warped view of the human mind. Language, however, reflects thought naturally. Non-academic language is particularly rich in expressions that are grounded in embodied experience, which is why they may naturally emerge in conscious linguistic practices, such as translation. It is important, though, to differentiate between those metaphorical expressions that are grounded in embodied experience, body metaphors and actual personifications. Not all of the body metaphors qualify as personifications. The expressions "the eye of a needle", "the leg of a chair", "the hand of a clock", and "the neck of a bottle" are indeed figurative; however, these are not examples of personification, as we do not normally conceptualise needles, chairs, bottles, or clocks as living beings. "The heart of the city", however, implies that we treat the city as an independent organism, something that is beyond our control. The seeming paradox in "The Bottle Neck" by Andersen is in the fact that if a bottle has a neck[1], it does not make it alive. However, that is exactly what happens in the story.

"The Bottle Neck" is an empathetic allegory. First published in 1857, it is a story about the life of a bottle, starting from its creation and ending with its old days [Andersen 1857]. Being the main character, the bottle is a humanised object. This results in an extended personification, which is the main stylistic and narrative technique in the story. The terms "mouth" and "neck" are no longer merely mappings of human body parts; they are parts of the bottle's body. The following excerpt from Paull's English translation illustrates that:

> "Yes, you may sing very well, you have all your limbs uninjured; you should feel what it is like to lose your **body**, and only have a **neck** and a **mouth** left, with a cork stuck in it, as I have: you wouldn't sing then, I know" [Andersen 1872].

As personification is seen as a kind of conceptual metaphor in cognitive linguistics, it seems possible to view extended personification in the same way as extended metaphor. Naciscione defines extended metaphor as "an entrenched

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[1] Interestingly, there are many other terms in English that refer to parts of a bottle by mapping parts of the human body onto them, e.g., heel, shoulder, mouth etc.

stylistic pattern of both thought and language, reflecting extended figurative thought. It is a cognitive inference tool, applicable in new figurative thought instantiations" [Naciscione 2016: 241]. Similarly to extended metaphor, extended personification "…sustains a narrative and creates a metaphorical continuum, a network of associative strings, constituting part of the same metaphorical application. Sustainability is secured by recourse to the base metaphor over successive phrases and sentences, or over longer stretches of text" [op. cit.: 254]. According to Naciscione's classification, it is the 3rd type of extended metaphor that is present in the story, which implies "extension of two or several notional base constituents" [op. cit.: 247], i.e. the bottle as an object (source domain) and the bottle as a human (target domain). Consider some examples of extended personification that occur in English, Latvian and Russian translations (the source sub-images are underlined; the target sub-images are in bold):

1) He thought of the blazing furnace in the factory, where he had been **blown into life**; he remembered how hot it felt when he was placed in the <u>heated oven</u>, the **home** from which he sprang…

2) He had been placed in a row, with a whole **regiment of his brothers and sisters** all brought out of the same furnace…

3) When the bottles were packed our bottle was packed amongst them; it little expected then to finish its **career** as a bottle neck…

4) There it lay <u>empty</u>, and without a cork, and it had a peculiar feeling, as if it **wanted something** it knew not what.

5) At last it was filled with rich and costly wine, a cork was placed in it, and sealed down. Then it was <u>labelled "first quality"</u>, as if it had carried off the **first prize at an examination**.

6) The bottle could never after that forget the performance of that moment; indeed there was quite a **convulsion** within him as the <u>cork flew out</u>… [Andersen 1872].

1) Viņš atcerējās kvēlojošo cepli un stikla pūtēju, kas bija viņā **iepūtis dzīvību**.

2) Pudele bija <u>tukša</u> un viņš – bez korķa, un tam likās, it kā **kaut kā trūktu**. Bet kā trūka, to viņš nezināja.

3) Tad tam iebāza mutē korķi, uzlēja virsū laku un uz pudeles rumpja uzlīmēja <u>etiķeti ar uzrakstu "Pirmā labuma"</u>. Pudelei bija tikpat labi kā skolniekam, kad tas **liecībā dabūjis lielisku atzīmi** [Andersens [2003] 2015].

1) Оно вспоминало огненную печь на стеклянном заводе, где в бутылку **вдунули жизнь**, помнило, как *горяча* была **молодая** бутылка, как она смотрела в бурлящую <u>плавильную печь</u> – **место своего рождения**…

2) Но мало-помалу она **остыла** и вполне **примирилась** с своим новым положением.

3) Она стояла в ряду других **братьев и сестер**. Их был тут **целый полк**! Все они вышли из одной печки.

4) Все бутылки были упакованы; наша бутылка тоже; тогда она и не предполагала еще, что кончит в виде бутылочного горлышка **в должности** стаканчика для птички...

5) Бутылка лежала **пустая**, без пробки, и **ощущала в желудке** какую-то **пустоту**, ей как будто **чего-то недоставало**, а чего – она и сама не знала.

6) Но вот ее налили чудесным вином, закупорили и запечатали сургучом, а сбоку наклеили ярлычок: "Первый сорт". Бутылка как будто получила **высшую отметку на экзамене**.

7) Бутылка никогда уже не могла забыть той торжественной минуты, когда пробку из нее точно вышибло и у нее вырвался **глубокий вздох облегчения**… [Андерсен 1899].

In the examples above, one can see a number of sub-images that contribute to the base personification BOTTLE IS HUMAN. They are represented more concisely in the table below.

Table. **Base personification BOTTLE IS HUMAN**

Base personification: BOTTLE IS HUMAN	
BOTTLE AS AN OBJECT (source)	BOTTLE AS A HUMAN (target)
Glass blowing	Blowing into life
Heated oven	Home, place of birth
To cool	To come to terms
Other bottles	Regiment of brothers and sisters
Functioning of the bottle	Career, position
Emptiness	Desire for something, lacking in something
The label "Best Quality"	First prize at an examination, top grade
Uncorking of the bottle	Convulsion, a deep sigh of relief
Hot	Young (hot-tempered)

Thus, a number of phenomena related to the creation and functioning of bottles are viewed from a human perspective, i.e. the other bottles are understood

as brothers and sisters, the heated oven is understood as home [Andersen 1872] or place of birth [Андерсен 1899], etc. The term "bottleneck" has a double function in all the translations. It remains a body metaphor in the array of source sub-images and functions as an independent sub-image in the target domain. Not all the source sub-images are present in the text. For example, glass blowing is only hinted at. Some target sub-images are added by translators so as to sustain the bottle's independence as a character and a living being. Paull refers to the experience of uncorking of the bottle as a convulsion; Hansen (Ганзен) sees it as a deep sigh of relief. These are examples of embodied experience of the bottle as a human, created using the linguistic means of target languages. Hersholt's translation, which is considered close to the original text, has no such additions:

> "The Bottleneck could never forget that solemn moment; it said "pop!" as the cork was pulled out…" [Andersen 1949].

Another example of embodied experience that was added for the above-mentioned reason is the use of the word "hot" together with "young" in the Russian translation, a common collocation in Russian to refer to hot-tempered youth. Similarly, Hansen uses the word "to cool" as a pun to refer to the cooling of the bottle and to its coming to terms with the circumstances.

Similarly, all the translations refer to the emptiness of the bottle as source (physical emptiness of a container) and target (longing for something or lacking in something) sub-images.

It is necessary to stress that the Latvian translation omits a great number of original personifications. This may not necessarily be the translator's fault, as the text in Latvian, which is based on the 1947 translation, has been adapted for school children (according to the Latvian National Library catalogue, the translator is not indicated in the 1947 publication). This explains the scant number of examples of personification in the Latvian text. However, it seems far from being a justifiable editorial strategy in 2015, as children think in figurative terms, just as adults do. It is not clear why schoolchildren should be deprived of Andersen's magic and figurativeness in the text. On the contrary, raising stylistic awareness has substantial educational value.

The examples analysed indicate that body metaphors, personification and embodiment interact and contribute to the figurative network devised by Andersen in his story. Lakoff and Turner suggest that "[t]he process of personification illustrates what is perhaps the most impressive of the powers of metaphorical thought: the power to create, with naturalness and ease" [Lakoff, Turner 1989: 80]. The figurative network in "The Bottle Neck" is indeed the result of such creativity. Considering that literary writing and translation are conscious linguistic activities, one may wonder if such a network exists in language in general. If so, it should

be a matter of further investigations in cognitive linguistics, as all these linguistic phenomena are related to our major concern – life. Moreover, personification is part and parcel of human culture, which had been noticed long before cognitive linguistics. In Huizinga's words: "There is no question of first conceiving something as lifeless and bodiless and then expressing it as something that has body, parts and passions. No; the thing perceived is conceived as having life and movement in the first place, and such is the primary expression of it, which is no afterthought. Personification in this sense arises as soon as the need is felt to communicate one's perceptions to others" [Huizinga 1949: 141].

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USE OF ABUSE: THEMATIZATION OF VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE HISTORICAL MASTER NARRATIVE OF LATVIA

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Abstract

The purpose of the article is to trace the development of the victims vs. perpetrators discourse as an integral part of the historical master narrative of Latvia since the end of the 19th century till nowadays. The narrative of abuse plays an essential role in historical master narratives of many modern national communities, as their integrity is strongly dependent on defining themselves via binary oppositions. According to Anthony Smith, in this self-identification process of a nation culture, mass communication and education play a particular role [Smith, 1991]. Maurice Halbwachs has specified that school textbooks, media and cultural production actually do not care much about the 'real history' – what is being implemented, refers to 'collective memory', adapted to the requirements of the actual presence [Halbwachs 1980]. The research paper analyses how this collective memory pattern has been shaped throughout time in the historical master narrative of Latvia as reflected in literature, media and school textbooks. The research focuses on the 'official' master narrative, as the research objective was to reveal how the past has been adjusted to present under changes of political regimes and social developments. However, in the context of the second half of the 20th century contrasting voices have been included in order to suggest the presence of the multiplicity of narratives and to pose a series of questions to the current cultural and socio-political interpretation of the past of Latvia.

Keywords: *victims vs. perpetrators, memory politics, master narratives, history instrumentalism.*

Discussion

In the 21st century, following the political, cultural and academic attempts of democracies to explain the past by respecting different viewpoints and multiple voices, the binary opposition of victims and perpetrators seems simplistic and outdated. In the context of the discussion about the European identity in making as just one sample of questioned multilateral identities, this opposition seems to be even dangerous to mention. The great collisions of the 20th century seem to be over-analysed on all levels, the Cold War positioning of West vs. East has somewhat lost its clarity, and the past seems to be finally allowed to be forgotten – we all know that *Opa war kein Nazi.* The lasting discussion about the responsibility of bystanders has smoothed the clear edges of the questions of guilt, innocence and revenge. However, as soon as to leave the safe realm of political correctness, stories about the past seem to lean towards comfortable positioning of the black-and-white juxtaposition of 'us' and 'others'. By coining his concept of 'imagined communities', Benedict Anderson has stated that this sense of 'us' vs. 'others' is particularly important factor for self-defining of a nation [Anderson 2006 (1983)]. Pierre Nora has pointed at the intrinsic link between the rise of modern nationalism in the second half of the 19th century and the birth of history as a modern science – despite claims of history to discard its previous politically engaged function as recording chronicles of nobility and design itself as a discipline per se, it loses its purity as soon as history steps out of the ivory tower of a sheer scholarly environment and becomes a subject of curriculum at schools, universities and enthusiast circles. History seizes rights not only to tell stories from the past, but also to interpret them, claiming to explain the meaning of the past events to the contemporary [Nora 2014]. Modern nationalism swiftly grasps the options provided by the tools of history writing and even quicker gets to the idea of history rewriting according to the current needs.

Although the concept of "historical instrumentalism" as coined by Arthur Danto [Danto 1965] has been rated negatively among scholars [Mccullagh 1973; Donagan 1975; Topolski 2012], the discussion on whether history has rights to interpret the past cannot be regarded as one-sided. For instance, Martin Heisler has associated rewriting of history with positive self-identification, relating history politics, another term assigned to use of history for a certain purpose, to identity politics and as such inevitable in order to sustain a community [Heisler 2008]. Another concept advocating for the bright side of 'applied history' is historical constructivism, to be owed to Jack Meiland, whose *Scepticism and Historical Knowledge* explicated and defended history as, roughly, "a fable agreed upon". Meiland suggested that historians "must be regarded as constructing

or creating the past rather than as reporting the past" and constructing their accounts for other purposes than discovery of the past per se [Meiland 1965, 7]. Therefore, history should be understood as a product of the perspective-laden conventions of historians. Leon Golstein has defended history as the "primacy of knowing" as a set of cognitive-constructive processes of historians creating reality [Golstein 1977]. Pierre Nora has argued that the use of past has become particularly complex starting from the second half of the 20th century together with the rise of the impact of an eyewitness [Nora 2014]. If history suggested to create objective stories of the past and focused on teleological perspectives of the development of a community, witnessing served to breed the so-called memory politics – the main actor in memory wars, specific to the reviews of the recent history. Its dual nature can be explained by simultaneous presence of claims for subjectivity and objectivity.

It is important to note that the tendency of historical instrumentalism, inevitable as it might seem, has served as a background for memory politics and respective memory wars. One of characteristic samples is cold war dichotomy affected interpretation of the past, significant also for its attempts to ascribe history rewriting to *the other side.* However, alongside with the right-wing rhetoric spreading across the Western world, memory politics has gained more dangerous features. Culture, education and mass communication become particularly endangered as possible tools for replacing multiculturalism and tolerance with aggressive neo-nationalism and futility against the otherness. In order to prevent these processes, the representations of historical master narratives[1] particularly with respect to national myths and otherization, play a very important role, and Latvian case can be regarded as particularly interesting for study, since a number of studies have pointed at Latvia as a highly susceptible community for extreme right ideologies [Wodak 2013; Kott 2016; Bröning 2016].

In Latvia after the collapse of the Soviet Union memory wars are particularly affected by multiple and often contrasting explanations of the Second World

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[1] "Master narrative", "metanarrative" or "grand narrative" (French: *métarécit*) is a term introduced by Jean-François Lyotard in his classic 1979 work "The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge", in which Lyotard summed up a range of views which were being developed at the time, as a critique of the institutional and ideological forms of knowledge. According to Lyotard, the postmodern was characterised precisely by mistrust of the grand narratives described as narratives *about* narratives of historical meaning, experience, or knowledge, which offers a society legitimation through the anticipated completion of some master idea [Lyotard 1984 (1979)]. As referred to history, the concept of 'historical master narratives' has been referred to history explanations, publicly accepted and often institutionalized as the official, predominating version of national past serving as a basis for politicized historical understanding [Wertsch 2008].

War events and the following so-called Soviet period. The narrative of victims vs. perpetrators play a particularly important role in these memory politics affected collisions, and is often supported by official state policy by supporting the national master narrative version which is rooted back, like in case with several other national communities of Europe, to the second half of the 19th century when the modern nationalism was born. The so-called Neo-Latvians similar to other national awakening movements[1], drafted the local version of the national history master narrative and localized its main elements (see Table 1).

Table 1. **Myths structuring historical master narratives**

Myth of spatial and temporal continuity of a community ("this land has always belonged to us")
Teleological myth ("history has helped us to get here")
Myth of integrity ("we are united")
Myth of cultural and moral superiority ("we are better than others")
Myth of uniqueness ("we have a special place in the world's history")
Manichaeistic myth ("we represent light, fairness and justice")
Myth of 'us' vs. 'others' ("we regard the rest of the world from our perspective")

Particularly the latter four myth elements reflect upon historical narrative as a struggle between opposite forces, where *we* represent the right side. The *us* vs. *others* opposition as a consolidating factor of Latvians as a self-aware nation required significant effort of cultural workers and social activists of the time period, contributing to what Eric Hobsbawm has described as "invention of a tradition" [Hobsbawm 1983]. What is important, that this opposition always provides positions of victims and perpetrators clarified, and *we* are always on the *right side.*

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[1] The term *Neo-Latvians* (Latvian: *jaunlatvieši*) is referred to the activists of the Latvian national awakening movement in the middle of the 19th century. The movement has been named after similar national awakening movements in the 19th century Europe, for example, the *New Germans* or the *New Czechs* (both serving as role models for Latvian national awakening movement activities) [Spekke 1951].

Table 2. **Us vs. others**

US	OTHERS
If we are winners,	they are losers.
If we lose,	they are unfair.
If we are politically strong,	they are politically weak.
If we are military strong,	they deserve to be invaded.
If we are politically/military weak, then we possess a moral superiority.	If they are politically/military superior, then they are unfair and aggressive.
Defeat is just a temporary state and at the end justice will win (justice means we win).	If they win, it is an unjust, temporary state, established by violence.
The most prominent of us are heroes or martyrs.	They are unimportant (depersonalized) or oppressors.
We are never perpetrators – we are either winners or victims.	**They are never victims – they are either perpetrators or losers.**

Following the historical facts, the Neo-Latvians created the master narrative still present nowadays, portraying Latvians as once flourishing and prosperous nation living in the territory of Latvia from time immemorial – until evil forces, namely German merchants and missionaries (represented as *the crusaders, the barons* or merely *the Germans*) arrived at the end of the 12th century and enslaved the nation (sic!), destroyed its culture and value system and killed national heroes [Cīrulis 2007; Apals 2007]. However, this was just a temporary state which was going to pass soon, as, alone or with the help of Russia (see more on Slavophile tendencies among the 19th century Latvian nationalists in Plakans 1995: 100), Latvians were going to wake up from their lethargic state of oppression as the mythical hero was going to resurrect. This plot has been explained in detail in the epic poem *Lāčplēsis* ("Bearslayer") by Andrejs Pumpurs, one of the greatest figures among Latvian 19th century nationalists [Pumpurs 2002 (1888)], trailblazing the tradition of the national narrative and significantly contributing at creating a set of fixed symbols, metaphors and epithets integral to how the narrative is reproduced over time. The epic poem by Pumpurs, but even to further extent, writings by other Neo-Latvians particularly accentuated the motive of Latvians as the nation of victims invaded by foreign perpetrators and suffering under their sway: thus, for instance, Auseklis, one of the late 19th century Latvian poets and cultural workers, depicted all Latvian

poetry as moaning to the Sun and the God about the harsh and bitter fate of the nation and provided a particularly wide array of national romanticism inspired means of literary expression for description of sufferings of the Latvian nation, the violence of foreign invaders and moaning for resurrection [Auseklis], while social and educational activist Kronvaldu Atis in his more pragmatic rhetoric described Latvians as suffering under the burdens and desperation caused by foreign forces aiming to despise and destroy other nations [Kronvaldu Atis, in: Zeiferts (1922–1930)].

This 19th century draft of Latvians as innocent victims invaded by foreign perpetrators and the respective set of symbols and metaphors has remained at the core of the historical master narrative of Latvia until nowadays. Following social, political and cultural paradigmatic changes only adjust the role of perpetrators to the actual circumstances as well as introduce slight shift of accents regarding how the victims thematize themselves. For instance, the image of the Latvian nation sleeping in the seven hundred years long sleep and awaiting the hero to wake it up has remained unchanged throughout the history even if modified according to *Zeitgeist.*

However, already the early socialist thinkers of Latvia active in the late 19th and early 20th century marked one of the above-mentioned minor shifts by criticism towards national myth as orientated towards past only. The focus in their writings was shifted from German invasion to actual social inequality, from nation to an individual as a representative of their social class – but the portrayal of victims and perpetrators stayed intact [Buceniece, 2005].

Another, more significant shift was marked by establishing state independence of Latvia in 1918. The forming of national and especially statehood consciousness as well as reminiscences of the First World War and fierce freedom fights against both German and Russian forces induced notable changes in the historical master narrative. It was also important that a distinction between history and social memory started developing alongside with former soldiers and freedom fighters sharing and recording their memories – this last factor encouraged seeing the *dark centuries* of oppression as overcome. The new narrative sounded as following: during the ages of *darkness and slavery* Latvians might have had some seeds of national self-awareness, but the oppressors had killed these seeds *in fetu* until awaited heroes – Neo-Latvians arrived and freed the nation by culture and education. Now the teleological aspect became predominating – the state of victimhood was in the past, and the nation was consequently approaching re-establishment of the lost past paradise. The rest of the world was depicted as either former perpetrators and current losers, or admirers. This narrative version swiftly expanded from political speech level to school

textbooks, literature and art history chrestomathies and media discourse [Zālītis 1921; Plūdons 1924; Melnalksnis 1925; Skujeneeks 1927]. The First World War and state independence proclamation changed not only shifts aspects in victim thematization. Perpetrators, until then pictured as a sort of amorphic evil mass of oppressors, got more specified by distinguishing their national and social re-presentations. These tendencies developed starting from the 1920s and particularly flourished during the authoritarian regime by Kārlis Ulmanis established in 1934. Germans remained to be regarded as the main historical perpetrator, but gradually a tendency developed of looking for justifying compromises – for instance, Marģers Skujenieks argued that the violent behaviour by German invaders in the 12th–13th century could be explained by the fact that crusades were formed mostly of déclassé representatives of the lower society [Skujeneeks 1927]. Unlike the 19th century thematization, historians dared tackling the subject of the conquest as explained by the political instability of Baltic tribes. Baltic Germans were accepted as part of local community where they participated in social, political and cultural life [Cerūzis 2015]. A new tendency of this period was related to gradually growing negative view on Russia and Russians – as a reaction to disappointment with Russia not providing support to Latvia during its struggle for national independence, marking an essential divergence from the 19th century nationalists and socialists perceiving Russia as the friend in the East, a highly developed cultural and political organization country to serve as a role model. The interwar period narrative depicted Russians as unreliable and sly enthrallers, clearly far behind Latvians both regarding culture and virtues. This was the period when the Russification narrative got drafted – for instance, Frīdis Zālītis, the biggest authority in school history textbook field, characterized Russia as a failed state in the sense of cultural, military, social and education aspects swallowed by bureaucracy [Zālītis 1935], setting background for portrayal of Russia in the years after the independence of Latvia was re-established (worth mentioning that textbooks by Zālītis were intensely republished in early 1990s). Similar rhetoric, also intensely reproduced in Latvian exile community and in Latvia after the collapse of the Soviet Union, was provided by Marģers Skujenieks, describing 1880s as the dark and depressing ages of Russification, "sentencing the Latvian nation with a capital punishment" [Skujeneeks 1927].

Next major shift in the historical master narrative of Latvia was marked by the beginning of the first Soviet occupation period (1940–1941) and the Second World War. Certainly, the official Soviet narrative provided a unilateral regard onto historical events. A reader for elementary school kids, prepared for publishing already during the first Soviet occupation period but actually published just after the end of the Second World War, in 1946, provided a

chrestomathy instruction for restructuring of the collective memory. The reader also considered possible that both schoolchildren and their parents at that time still kept in memory the narrative inherited from the pre-war period. So, for example, the reader did not propose a clear condemnation of *fascist bourgeois* pre-Soviet occupation Latvia – this period seems to be rather *forgotten to mention,* erased from collective memory by skipping. The reader also enclosed poetry by the 19th century nationalist movement authors, claiming for freedom of Latvia, taking care of the Latvian language and culture, getting rid of the burden of foreign supremacies – here an explanation follows that the Neo-Latvians in the 19th century were fighting against the same Germans, thematized as the evil forces who had destroyed our country during the war. It is important that the editors of the book had paid special attention to individual offences committed by Germans, hence the new victim vs. perpetrator relationship was shifted from the level of collective memory to the level of individual memory – each new Soviet citizen could find his or her personal story variation in the reader. Only at the very end of the book the individual horror stories were replaced by more abstract outer enemy of the Soviet state, introducing also new categories of perpetrators, such as fascists, capitalists and foreigners in general [Lasāmā grāmata 4. klasei 1946].

Looking back on the first and the second Soviet occupation periods as well as the relatively short Nazi German occupation period in Latvia (see Table 3) is a sensitive question, as the historical master narrative after the collapse of the Soviet Union was orientated towards setting its own regard onto victims and perpetrators, introducing also a variety of bystander thematization, and since the period wais still closely related to witnessing, personal and family histories, as well as guidelines of history interpretations for domestic and foreign policies, there was a strong tendency to interpret the official master narrative of the occupation powers in the 20th century as opposite to the social memory discourse in families and close environments of trustees. However, such an interpretation shall be regarded as simplified. Already starting with the first Soviet occupation period the cultural landscape of Latvia was marked by a mixture of different and often juxtaposed interpretations of both national history and current events. Consequently, also the victim vs. perpetrator dichotomy split into several versions particularly during the war period. These versions can co-exist as simultaneous alternatives not only within the framework of one chronological period, but even within an individual's cultural memory. Table 3 provides an overview of the possible models of victim vs. perpetrator thematization arranged chronologically according to the time frame between 1940 and *perestroika.*

Table 3. **Victims vs. perpetrators as reflected in the historical master narrative in the cultural landscape of Latvia (1940–1987)**

REGIME / IDEOLOGY / SOCIETAL GROUP	THEMATIZED AS VICTIMS	THEMATIZED AS PERPETRATORS	THEMATIZED AS HEROES
The first Soviet occupation period, official Soviet thematization. 1940–1941	Latvian nation and socialists in the bourgeois Latvia	Ideological agents of the bourgeois Latvia	Soviet power – the Redeemers
Nazi Germany occupation period. 1941–1944	KGB victims and their relatives	KGBs and Jews (often Jews-communists)	Nazi authorities and Adolf Hitler
The second Soviet occupation period until Stalin's death in 1953. Official Soviet thematization	Soviet citizens who had suffered during the Nazi occupation	Germans (fascists) and their supporters	Soviet power and Stalin
Popular thematization (common view by Latvian nationals) until Stalin's death	Latvians (peasants)	Russians	Germans, the West, resistance movement
The Khrushchev Thaw. 1953–1964	Victims of Stalin repressions	Stalinist terror	Soviet power and Lenin
The second Soviet occupation period from stagnation years till *perestroika.* 1964–1987	Not very explicit – a period of relative stability	Capitalist Western society, local corruption	Soviet power and Lenin
Exile Latvian community	Latvians in exile and in Latvia	Russians, communists	Awaited (potentially from the West)
Informal opposition	Latvians	Soviet power	Opposition and the West
Common view discourse in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Latvia	Individualized, mostly related to material issues and bureaucracy	Soviet bureaucracy	Material goods

Even such a brief overview still reveals the multiplicity and ambiguity of the victim vs. perpetrator narrative during this period. Paradoxically, but Soviet and Nazi German occupation periods offer more polyphonic historical master narrative presence than the period of the National Awakening after the collapse of the Soviet Union, when the relevant discourse tends to slope back to a clear distinction between *us* and *others*, similar to the dichotomic national myth structure created by the 19th century nationalist movement. Re-establishing of the independence of Latvia marked a new shift regarding victim vs. perpetrator thematization and new reconsideration of history explained and social memory. A history textbook published in 1992 provided this new version of what had happened in the past: Latvians were portrayed as martyrs who had suffered for long dark ages under foreign supremacies. However, the main enemies and torturers were Russia, communists and Russians still living in Latvia [Auns, Kostanda 1992]. This motive rapidly spread in arts, literature and education guidelines and textbooks, and got an intense support from renewed memory politics wave, as memoirs and memory sites were established with an aim to remember, document and unveil *vicious deeds by Russians.* It is notable that, particularly referring to memory documentations, Nazi occupation as well as historical presence of Baltic Germans in Latvia were often characterized more positively compared to the Soviet occupation power and Russian presence in Latvia [Noras Valteres atmiņas par notikumiem vācu okupācijas periodā 1941.–1944. gadā].

Conclusions

The historical master narrative of Latvia since its development in the 19th century has always been a subject to severe tendencies of instrumentalization of history and memory politics. It particularly refers to the dichotomy of victims vs. doers, mostly due to the presence of occupation powers in the territory of Latvia, as well as other historical collisions. Both occupation regimes and Latvian nationals have developed their versions of historical master narratives, and in complex periods such as the second part of the 20th century, those narrative versions have often existed parallelly both in collective memory and even individual consciousness. Sources witnessing those, consciously or unconsciously, instrumentalized narratives are mostly found in cultural landscape – literature, arts, communication in the public space and particularly clearly they are represented in school textbooks and readers.

Although since the collapse of the Soviet Union Latvia has re-established its independence, the tendency of keeping at a version of national master narrative adjusted to the actual socio-political reality and including the mandatory victim vs. perpetrator motive has not gone – moreover, it has been reinforced by introducing the motive of Soviet trauma as a permanent constituent of the discourse in the public

space, including history education and art space. It has also turned into a successful marketing strategy, just to mention numerous artefacts inviting audiences to commemorate Gulag camps and KGB violence. Soviet trauma has become thematized as an integral part of both domestic and foreign policy discourse, as Latvians tend to identify themselves as a community consolidated by victim identity. However, this can be a dangerous setting not only due to the complexity of the population of Latvia where only two thirds of inhabitants are Latvian nationals, but also in the context of aggressive neo-nationalist wave across Europe, which signifies a general tendency to look for common truths in old binary oppositions of *us* versus *others* and thus can lead to xenophobia, immature political decisions and even severe violence.

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DO CULTURAL TOURISTS GOING TO REGIONAL CONCERT HALLS BENEFIT LOCAL ECONOMIES? A COMPARATIVE INDUCED IMPACT ANALYSIS IN LATVIA

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Abstract

This study contributes to the field of the cultural economics by conducting an economic impact assessment of the three recently established regional concert halls in Latvia while focusing on induced impact.

The overall aim of this study has been to calculate the indirect impact of each regional concert hall on its home-economy in 2016 and to analyse the attendee profiles and what their spending habits reveal about each concert hall and its mission fulfilment.

During the research, the author has used a quantitative research methodology based on the best practices of economic impact assessment. The main source of data is the attendee survey, which is aimed to find out the attendee profile of three regional concert halls (place of residence, distance covered to arrive to the event, the type of event chosen, the size of the group, use of lodging) and their consumption habits (spending on cafes, indirect spending, spending on souvenirs etc.).

The main findings show that induced impact on their home economies is significant. The author has measured the induced impact that stems from non-resident attendee consumption habits in each of the newly constructed concert halls for 2016. The main factors that create divergence in the final induced impact are proximity to Riga, the capital city of Latvia, purchasing power, size of the host city in terms of inhabitants, access to alternative sources of entertainment and the number of years in operation. The distinction between attendee profiles in each of the concert hall creates a great base for further and better targeted attendee attraction.

Keywords: *cultural economics, economic impact assessment, induced impact, attendee profile.*

Introduction

Since 2004 the European Union funding has contributed extensively to the development of Latvia's economy both economically and culturally [Traidase 2011]. The second greatest cultural infrastructure investment after the National Library of Latvia is the creation of multifunctional concert hall web in each corner of Latvia, namely in Rēzekne, Cēsis and Liepāja (see Table 1, Figure 1) [Kultūras ministrija 2017]. These concert halls are of great importance for the field of culture in Latvia as their construction has been embedded within the fundamental cultural policy documents, namely "*Valsts kultūrpolitikas vadlīnijas 2006.–2015. gadam. Nacionāla valsts*" and *"Kultūrpolitikas pamatnostādnes 2014.–2020. gadam: Radošā Latvija"*, where one of strategic pillars is to promote equal development, accessibility, diversification and quality of culture throughout Latvia [Kultūras ministrija 2017]. The multifunctional concert halls are meant to serve as web of multifunctional cultural hubs to fulfil this mission – to revive the cultural landscape of Latvia. Yet no research has been conducted about whether and how well they attain these goals.

Table 1. **Data on concert hall opening and cities they are located in**

Concert hall	Opening	Years in operation	Total number of inhabitants (home economy)[1]
Rēzekne (*GORS*)	29.05.2013.	3	18,717
Cēsis (*Vidzemes koncertzāle*)	31.05.2014.	2	31,216
Liepāja (*Lielais Dzintars*)	07.11.2015.	1	78,144

[1] Source: PMPL, retrieved from http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/assets/documents/statistika/IRD2016/ISPV_Pasvaldibas_iedzivotaju_skaits.pdf

Figure 1. Location of concert halls.

In the framework of this research the author is going to investigate and compare the visitor profiles and their habits for each of the three concert halls, as this information can provide a lot of insights on culture consumption in regions, which in turn allows to discern the weaknesses and strengths of the concert halls themselves, while providing with opportunity to improve management brand strategy and audience targeting [Sinh, Ahuja, & Medury 2010].

Therefore, this paper aims to find out the attendee profile of three regional concert halls (place of residence, distance covered to arrive to the event, the type of event chosen, the size of the group, use of lodging) and their consumption habits (spending on cafes, indirect spending, spending on souvenirs etc.). It has been done by applying economic impact assessment (EIA), namely conducting attendee surveys and measuring the indirect impact of each concert hall created in the year 2016 aiming to answer the following **research questions**: *What is the indirect impact of each regional concert hall on its home-economy in 2016? What do the attendee profiles and spending habits reveal about each concert hall and its mission fulfilment?*

The answers to these questions will equip both concert hall management and the officials of the Ministry of Culture with deeper understanding of contemporary trends in cultural tourism in Latvia, highlight the strong sides and overall benefits of the multifunctional concert hall web, as well as detect potential issues to be resolved or improved in future. Knowing instead of assuming who is your client, attendee is of a great value for any enterprise, it allows to make strategic decisions aimed at concrete goals [Sinh, Ahuja, & Medury 2010].

Methodology

Economic impact analysis (EIA) is a methodological approach mainly used in cultural economics to examine the short-term monetary contribution of an event, culture infrastructure or an entire industry that mainly relies on culture tourism for a particular area (home economy) [see Shellard 2004; Werquin 2006; Zemīte 2008; ECOS 2008; Rozenberga 2013; Freiberga 2015]. Therefore, EIA requires to draw a formal border between the host economy and the so called overseas economy (everything outside the defined scope of home economy) [Shellard 2010].

EIA quantifies and monetizes three types of impact – direct, induced and indirect impact. Where the former examines employment and income generated by the cultural activity itself, the induced impact stands for the visitor impact, derived from their spending on various goods and services and the latter measures the muliplier effect [Throsby & Ginsburg 2006].

Due to the fact that all three regional concert halls in Latvia have been newly constructed (direct impact proves to be volatile) the most insightful information

can be derived from measuring the induced impact, meaning understanding and comparing the attendee spending habits and preferences. Therefore, this paper will concentrate solely on this part of EIA. It is crucial to understand that this methodology and therefore this paper aims to determine the additional income created in the home economy because of the existence of the concert halls. Meaning that in calculations only non-residents are considered as the locals would have spent the money in the home economy anyway, just for a different good [BOP Consulting 2012].

Survey design

Survey design is the main concern in an EIA induced impact calculations. The aspects to consider are: choice of survey questions; the structure and quantity of visitor expenditure angles; collection of responses [Raabová 2014].

To obtain data on spending because of attending the event, both home and overseas spectators were interviewed. Survey questions were chosen based on EIA model requirements and previous study experiences [Raabová 2014].

A total of 367 direct structured interviews were conducted with total sample size of 1223 respondents, which is 28.5% of all the spectators present at the events (see Table 2). The cross-sectional research method was used to conduct the face to face interviews of attendees before the events. Convenience sampling was chosen, picking the respondents randomly and asking a total of six open-ended questions. Surveys took place from 11.11.2016 to 25.12.2016.

Table 2. **Fieldwork data on survey process**

Place	Date	Inter-viewers	Unique spectators[1]	Spectators interviewed	Contact moments	Event type	Event title
Rēzekne	11 November	2	500	206	72	Music show	Carnival Youth *"Propeller"*
	12 November		20	90	39	Theatre	Liepāja Theatre *"Indulis un Ārija"*
	13 November		145	130	28	Theatre	Liepāja Theatre *"Cilvēks, kas vairās no lifta"*

[1] Data obtained from the concert halls.

Table 2. (Continued from page 121.)

Place	Date	Inter-viewers	Unique spectators[1]	Spectators interviewed	Contact moments	Event type	Event title
Cēsis	9 December, 14:00 and 18:00		720	194	55	Music show	Daumants Kalniņš and Jelgava Bigband "*Frank Sinatra 100*"
			720	176	55		
Liepāja	26 November, 18:00 and 19:00	1	140	56	21	Chamber concert	*"Iededz gaismu"*
			778	102	37	Dance show	Tanci *"Sezonu cīņa"*
	25 December	2	971	273	60	Theatre	*"'Pērļu zvejnieks. Ticot, mīlot, gaidot'"*
			4294	**1223**	**367**		

[1] Data obtained from the concert halls.

Results and discussion

Survey results (see Table 3) have been used as input for induced impact calculation, while excluding transportation expenses, as they have been analysed separately and might distort the real contribution to the home economy and complicate a fair comparison of concert halls because of the varying size of the defined home economies as well as their distance from such major city as Riga.

Another aspect to consider for induced impact is the number of attendees during the year 2016. The author has gathered information only on the number of attendees in events organised by producers and concert halls themselves, which nevertheless is the majority of events. This allowed to estimate the results more precisely because the attendees to these types of events were interviewed.

Each element of the survey will be discussed separately (see Table 4) and summed up with the similarities observable amongst all the concert halls.

Table 3. **Aggregated output data on the spending habits of a non-resident**

Venue	People surveyed	Incl. non-residents	Average spending on:					Total (w/o ticket)
			transport	cafes	other	indirect	lodging	
Cēsis	370	312 (84%)	**€ 3.07**	€ 8.47	€ 0.29	€ 1.75	€ 0.32	**€ 13.90**
Rēzekne	426	310 (72%)	**€ 5.09**	€ 5.69	€ 0.11	€ 0.98	€ 1.27	**€ 13.15**
Liepāja	431	263 (61%)	**€ 4.25**	€ 6.34	€ 0.34	€ 1.37	€ 2.95	**€ 15.25**

Table 4. **Induced impact per one non-resident**

Expense type (average)	Cēsis	Rēzekne	Liepāja
Lodging	€ 0.32	€ 1.27	**€ 2.95**
Cafe	**€ 8.47**	€ 5.69	€ 6.34
Indirect and other spending	**€ 2.04**	€ 1.09	€ 1.71
Total induced impact per one non-resident attendee (excluding transport)	€ 10.83	€ 8.05	**€ 11.00**

Transportation and lodging

Cēsis has the highest proportion of non-resident attendees, namely 84% of the total number of attendees are non-residents. Cēsis also distinguishes itself with the highest proportion of Rigans amongst their visitors; this fact is highly correlated with the proximity to Riga. Yet Cēsis seems to lag behind in terms of attracting spectators living farther away, while Rēzekne is a leader in this position, as their attendees have driven the longest distances to come to the event.

Rēzekne truly serves as a hub for attendee attraction, especially from various distant spots in Latgale. While conducting interviews in Rēzekne people often admitted that the concert hall served for them as a place to get together while enjoying culture. This effect also can be explained by comparatively small other alternatives of culture supply besides Daugavpils, which is less conveniently located, while Rēzekne is in the heart of Latgale region.

Yet Liepāja is quite close in this parameter to Rēzekne. This could be explained by both the increased audience interest about the concert hall in its first year of operation, as well the fact that Liepāja is a convenient destination for Lithuania's inhabitants. Especially, those from Palanga and Kaunas, the Lithuanian attendees surveyed shared the knowledge of the Russian language.

What concerns lodging the attendees often pointed out that they were staying with relatives, yet people tended to use lodging services of hotels and guest houses as well. It is especially pronounced in the cities which are farther from Riga – Rēzekne and Liepāja. The higher expenditure on lodging in Liepāja rather than Rēzekne might be explained by the higher prices in Liepāja, some distortion might as well have been created by the data obtained at the first Christmas day event as people tend to spend more during holidays. Also, the fact that Liepāja has much more to offer besides the concert hall (for example, the vast seashore, theatre, active night life and many cafes) also make tourists to fall for the bait and stay for longer.

The characteristics common for all the concert halls concerning transport is firstly, use of private cars. This can be explained by the fact that public transportation is scarcely available especially in the late hours after the events. However, during the survey process seniors, who travel in groups, admitted they typically rented a bus. There are also three tourism agencies that offer their services to conveniently attend the events.

Spending on cafes

Cēsis Concert hall attendees spend the most on cafes – 8.47 EUR out of 10.83 EUR of total average spending in addition to transportation and tickets (see Table 3). This could be both explained by the larger variety of cafes available in the premises of Cēsis Concert hall. Those cafes are well prepared to serve the increased inflow of attendees during the twenty-minute intervals. In comparison, in Rēzekne both administration and attendees during the survey have expressed dissatisfaction with the cafe located in the concert hall premises. Another reason for higher spending on cuisine in Cēsis may be differences in purchasing power. These differences stem from higher net average income in Vidzeme as compared to Latgale. The proximity to Riga could also further boost price variation.

On daily basis Liepāja Concert hall hosts one cafe and sometimes, mainly for larger events, one pop-up cafe. Many non-residents also tend to go to other cafes in proximity to the concert hall, which is convenient as the concert hall is located in the old town of Liepāja. Yet it should be taken into account that obtaining accurate data on spending in the cafes has proven to be very complicated, therefore the results reflect more the attendee expected expenditure in cafes rather than precisely the actual one.

Indirect and other spending

Indirect spending in the framework of EIA consists of expenses which arise due to the attendance of the cultural event. Indirect expenses include cost for hairdresser, babysitter, new clothing bought for the occasion and additional expenses arising during the trip to the concert hall [Raabová 2014]. Here again leader is Cēsis, driven arguably by higher purchasing power and the influence of Rigans. Most commonly used services were babysitter services (mainly to relatives), coffee or snacks during the trip, as well as alcoholic beverages (for younger audiences).

As regards other spending, such as CDs, souvenirs and concert brochures, people spend the most on these in Liepāja Concert hall (see Table 4). Other expenses seem to be highly sensitive to the type of the event, prices and their availability elsewhere.

Total induced impact

In sum, Liepāja Concert hall by a small margin is the leader in the attendee spending (see Table 5) creating 436,709 EUR contribution to the local economy.

Table 5. **Total induced impact (EUR, 2016)**

	Cēsis	**Rēzekne**	**Liepāja**
Total attendees	43,272	73,621	64,681
Incl. non-residents (estimated)	36,489	53,574	39,469
Non-resident spending, i.e. **induced impact** (estimated)	**€ 395,179**	**€ 281,284**	**€ 436,709**

Although Liepāja Concert hall had a similar individual spending, its results were boosted by a high total number of attendees, therefore higher number of non-local attendees, which might be boosted by the first year of operation and greater interest from culture enthusiasts to see the impressive new building and to assess its acoustic quality. Another aspect to consider is displacement and substitution effect we can observe in case of Liepāja. The Concert hall is one of just many cultural and free-time attractions in Liepāja; thus, some part of the expenditure on Liepāja Concert hall is shifted from one attraction to another, instead of being created to the local economy. The data on spectator numbers in Liepāja Theatre over the last five years provide some evidence to this claim (see Figure 2). Although the drop-in attendee number does not provide conclusive evidence that the substitution effect has taken place, since data fluctuations have been witnessed previously, too, the drop from 2015 to 2016 is considerable and gives strong reason to believe such effect exists in the case of Liepāja.
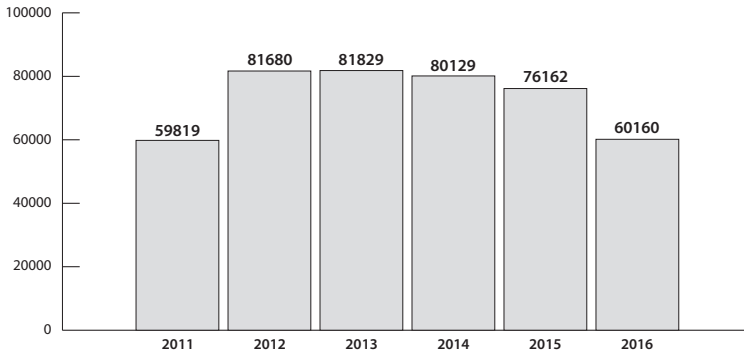
Figure 2. Number of attendees over the past six years in Liepāja Theatre
(displacement effect proof).

Cēsis Concert hall as for induced impact generated 395,179 EUR in 2016, while Rēzekne Concert hall – 281,284 EUR. These concert halls operate for a number of years and provide reasonable scope for comparison. Firstly, Cēsis has higher proportion of non-resident attendees, namely 84% compared to 72% in Rēzekne; this correlates with the number of inhabitants in these cities as well as with the proximity to Riga, where Cēsis is a much smaller city as well as way closer and more conveniently accessible to Rigans. Admittedly, the differences in purchasing power due to varying income levels (which are comparatively the lowest in Latgale region) mean that spending in Rēzekne might be undervalued.

When considering the attendee profile as such it is clearly distinguishable that Cēsis non-resident attendees spend the most on cafes and other indirect purchases while living to greater proximity to the concert hall, Rēzekne visitors cover the longest distances to arrive to the events while economizing on indirect and other spending; finally, in Liepāja attendees spend comparatively more on lodging and by a small margin is the leader in the attendee spending (see Table 6).

Table 6. **Attendee profile by place of residence**

	Cēsis	**Rēzekne**	**Liepāja**
Proportion of non-resident attendees	84%	72%	61%
Number of inhabitants of home economy	18,717	31,216	78,144
Share of Rigans in the total number of attendees (%)	18%	9%	12%
Distance from Riga	88 km	240 km	218 km
Average expenditure on transportation for non-residents	€ 3.07	€ 5.09	€ 4.25
Average lodging expenses	€ 0.32	€ 1.27	€ 2.95

Conclusion

The author has measured the induced impact that stems from non-resident attendee consumption habits in each of the newly constructed concert halls for 2016 by partially applying the economic impact assessment method.

The author finds that the induced impact created in 2016 in Liepāja was 436,709 EUR, in Cēsis 395,179 EUR and in Rēzekne 281,284 EUR (see Table 5). These numbers embody the economic activity and contribution of non-resident attendees have brought to each of the home-economies and serve as proof to culture tourism benefits to local economies. The multifunctional concert hall web proves to be a great way to promote equal accessibility and diversification of culture throughout Latvia, while in the meantime attracting cultural tourists and additional funds to the region.

In addition, the distinction between attendee profiles in each of the concert hall creates a great base for further and better targeted attendee attraction. The strategies could variate from concentrating on the current traits of the non-resident attendees and just targeting some of them. On the contrary, management may wish to focus on the weakest points and develop a strategy that aims to improve them, while maintaining good partnership with the attendee base.

This paper has enabled culture functionaries to ascertain that the multifunctional concert hall web clearly has reached at least some of the aims it was created for, for example, promoting equal accessibility and diversification of culture throughout Latvia. This is marked by the huge distances that people are willing to travel to get to one of the concert halls, as well as the variety of events and functions the concert halls provide. While such aims embedded in the strategic pillars of concert halls as equal development and quality of culture throughout Latvia should still be researched from the standpoint of sociology rather than economic view. Moreover, this research could serve as a basis for repeated studies that would enable to observe culture tourist profiles and spending habits over time.

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CULTURAL POLICY OF UNDEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES NOWADAYS: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATE AND PRIVATE SECTORS

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Abstract

The purpose of the article is tackling the hallmarks of the undemocratic regimes in Europe nowadays, mainly focusing on the interaction between state and private sectors in cultural sphere. Although in today's Europe most countries are regarded as democratic, in some of them still exist political regimes not meeting requirements of democracy – they are the so-called managed democracy regimes. According to the typology of cultural policy provided in 1989 by Hillman-Chartand and MacCaughey, managed democracy regimes integrate elements characteristic to Architect and Engineer cultural policy models. According to these models, state institutions predominate in administration of the cultural sphere. Resources provided by cultural sphere are systematically used for achieving ideological, propaganda and political goals of managed democracy regimes. This process involves not only state institutions but also private actors and NGOs in cultural sphere. In order to gain control over private sector as well the regimes apply diverse strategies of merging state and private sectors (public and professional organisations controlled by the government, financial assignments controlled by the government such as foundations, state budget assignations etc.). As a result, the ideological control and censorship by the state affect both state and private sectors, both actively contributing to achieving political goals and propaganda activities of the regime.

Keywords: *state, culture, cultural policy, managed democracy.*

Discussion

The purpose of the article is tackling the hallmarks of the undemocratic regimes in Europe nowadays, mainly focusing on the interaction between state and private sectors in cultural sphere.

Although nowadays in Europe most countries are regarded as democratic, in some of them still exist political regimes not meeting requirements of democracy. One of the most common approaches to identifying such regimes is the so-called managed democracy theory. It suggests that it is difficult to establish strong totalitarian regimes (such as, for instance, is the totalitarian regime of the North Korea) in today's Europe, but there are countries where the development of democratic institutions is restricted in favour of authoritarian tendencies. Such regimes shall be characterized by use of pseudo-democratic institutions (election, parliament, multi-party system etc.) for legitimating the supremacy of the regime [Wolin 2008, 131–159]. These regimes also create and apply diverse mechanisms for controlling the society (ideology, propaganda and censorship). Regimes of this type can be observed in the following European countries: Yugoslavia (1989–2000), Slovakia (1993–1998), Belarus (since 1994) and Russia (since 1999).

Relevant tendencies of development can be observed also in the field of cultural policy of countries with managed democracy regimes, and they particularly affect the relationship between state and private sectors in cultural sphere.

Research on the above-mentioned issues as well as the development of theoretical and methodological approaches has been launched already in the 1920s–1930s as sociologists and cultural theorists attempted to analyse the emerging totalitarian regimes, incoherent with the model of Western democracies. Referring to recent research practices, I would like to mention the analysis of the Nazi cultural policy provided by the American sociologist George Mosse [Mosse 2003] and studies by the Russian scholar Igor Golomshtok (Голомшток) analysing the cultural policy of the Soviet regime [Голомшток 1994]. Maria Davydchuk from Robert Bosch Research Center has elaborated a comparative analysis of the impact of the state to the cultural policies of today's Ukraine, Russia and Poland. Linking historical experience with actual developments, Davydchuk concludes that cultural policies in these countries are still affected by the tendencies of Soviet mechanisms for regulating cultural sphere [Davydchuk 2010, 45–48]. In relation with the today's cultural policy in Russia as one of referential studies shall be mentioned the report on the political development of today's Russia elaborated by Alfred Evans from the Pittsburgh University, representing the cultural policy of Russia as characteristic to an authoritarian regime [Evans 2008 18–23]. Among others, the report on the development of the political culture in today's Eastern Europe composed by Hans Dietrich Klingermann, Dieter Fuchs and Jan Zielonka shall be mentioned [Klingermann, Fuchs, Zielonka 2006], as well as the recent study by Klaus von Beyme, the professor of political science emeritus at the Heidelberg University, covering aspects of cultural policies and political culture [Beyme 2014].

Referring to the methodological framework of the study, I would like to note that the submitted article has been based on a more comprehensive research project contributing to the analysis of the cultural policy in today's Russia involving a multidisciplinary scope grounded in political science, history and cultural studies. Consequently, among the applied methods comparative analysis, institutional analysis and cultural analysis shall be noted, characteristic to political science but also attributed to cultural studies based analysis. The comparative analysis provides comparing alike phenomena occurring in diverse backgrounds (countries, communities etc.) in order to determine their similarities and differences [Collier 1993, 105–118]. The institutional analysis method concerns societal organisations such as state apparatus, political movements and other institutions regulating social processes [Peters 2000, 1–18]. Cultural analysis is applied in order to analyse correlations between societies and relevant social processes [Ross 2009]. Taking into account that the study concerns Latvia's foreign relations, approaches based on studies of international relations have been tackled, such as the insight into relationship building through the development of ideas, collective values, culture, social structures and identities as provided by the constructivist theory according to the works by Nicolas Onuf [Onuf 1997] and Emanuel Adler [Adler 1997, 321–338].

The main focus in further analysis is set on two European countries of most typical managed democracy regimes – Russia and Belarus. It is also important to mention that these countries are neighbouring with Latvia and cultural relations between Latvia and these countries are always a topical issue for Latvia. Furthermore, just after the collapse of the Soviet Union these countries and Latvia were similarly positioned. Nevertheless, in the future political, economic and cultural development Latvia chose a development scenario, different from the managed democracy countries. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse the cultural policy type of these countries as well as the state and private sector relationship model in their cultural sphere in order to develop successful culture cooperation with them.

State cultural policy models and their relationship with political regimes

Since the 1980s cultural theorists and cultural management researchers have developed several typologies of state cultural policy models. One of the criteria significant for their distinction is relationship between cultural sphere and state institutions. In this context as a typical example can be mentioned the typology offered in 1987 by cultural management researchers Milton Cummings and Richard Katz, which divides state cultural policies into the following models: pure panel, bureaucrat with advice, pure bureaucratic. The same authors offered another approach to division of state cultural policies in 1989 by suggesting the following

models: the government as patron, the government as market manipulator, the government as a regulator of cultural sphere, or the government acting as impresario. Another typology taking into account the state influence on the cultural sphere was provided by Kevin Mulcahy in 1998: the government as designer, the government as benefactor, the government as manager, the government as enabler. In 2003 Margaret Wyszomirski from the University of Ohio offered another typology: the government can serve as an entrepreneur, advocate or a think-tank provider [IFACCA D'Art Report No. 9, 31].

As a relevant source for the study I would also like to mention the theory of four models of cultural economics provided in 2008 by Steward Cunningham and Jason Potts. The theory focuses on the integration of the creative industries into the overall economic development [Cunningham, Potts 2008]. However, as the theory does not offer an analysis of the political regime of the state and cultural sector, this source has been of secondary importance for the actual research paper.

One of the most elaborated and applied typologies belong to American cultural management researchers Harry Hillman-Chartrand and Claire MacCaughey who have offered the following state cultural policy models: facilitator, patron, architect and engineer [Hillman-Chartand, MacCaughey 1989]. Therefore, I have focused on the theory suggested by Harry Hillman-Chartrand and Claire MacCaughey elaborated by taking into account the differences between Western democracies and Soviet totalitarianism and its cultural policy, still actual whilst the theory was stated. These differences smoothed out later, however, in such countries as Russia and Belarus totalitarian past continued haunting state and cultural policies. Consequently, this model has served as a basis for the development of the submitted research paper.

Following the facilitator model, the government strives to provide conditions (laws, regulations etc.) that support the development of culture. Still the government avoids direct interfering with the field either by establishing state institutions or by assigning financial resources. This model is characteristic, for example, to the USA and to other countries following the example of the USA. Following the patron model, the government interfere with the organisations in cultural sphere to far larger extent. The state supports outstanding cultural workers, provides some financial support, can create organisations (often shared between the state and public sector) for cultural activities management. This model is characteristic to the UK, Australia and other countries under British influence. The architect model respectively maintains even more pronounced role of the government at the management of cultural sphere. The state establishes special cultural administration institutions (ministries etc.) and sustains a complex structure of regional institutions. The cultural sphere gets financing directly from the state

budget, and the state provides also different additional financial assignments. There exist certain guidelines for development of cultural sphere that can include also ideological directions, this model is characteristic to modern France, Germany, Scandinavian countries etc. [Hillman-Chartrand, MacCaughey 1989].

The above-mentioned models are characteristic to democratic countries. The last one, engineer model characterizes undemocratic regimes. Therefore, it is most relevant to serve as a theoretical background for explaining characteristic features of so-called managed democracy in today's Europe. Following the engineer model, the government directly controls cultural sphere by active and total interfering with the most part of cultural activities. This model also provides that the government drafts explicit and mandatory cultural policy guidelines with particular attention to ideological, propaganda and political motives. Consequently, cultural sphere in this case serves as a medium for state ideology and propaganda. The cultural policy includes clear political tasks addressed towards achieving domestic and foreign policy objectives of the state regime. The cultural policy includes not only supporting diverse mechanisms of state control and finance assignment control, but also repressive mechanisms developed for suppressing oppositional ways of expressing critique towards the regime through cultural sphere. Censorship is also actively applied. According to Hillman-Chartrand and MacCaughey, this cultural policy model has been characteristic to the totalitarian regimes of the 20th century in North Korea, China, Cuba and the USSR [Hillman-Chartrand, MacCaughey 1989].

To a certain extent this approach was influenced by the time it was dated back to – the second part of the 1980s brought radical changes on a global level caused by dismantling of the totalitarian Soviet regime under the General Secretary of the Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachev (Горбачев, 1985–1991). These events lead to the decomposition of the Soviet influence in Eastern Europe, giving place to renewal of democratic regimes in the Eastern Block. Therefore, it was necessary both to describe the differences between cultural policies in undemocratic and democratic states and to identify the cultural policy type of the dissolving totalitarianism. However, it shall be noted that the countries mentioned by the authors were not the only samples of the engineer type cultural policy. According to similar principles cultural policies were established also in other totalitarian and authoritarian regimes in Europe of the 1920s–1970s. Characteristic examples are Fascist Italy (1922–1943/45), Nazi Germany (1933–1945) and also the so-called Iberian dictatorships: Spain (1936/39–1975) and Portugal (1932–1974), as well as dictatorship regime in Greece in the 1960s. In this context the authoritarian dictatorship regime in Latvia (1934–1940) also has to be mentioned.

Cultural policies of managed democracies: relations between state and private sector in cultural sphere

The managed democracy regimes of today's Europe carry many features of the engineer model. At the same time, they also represent certain qualities of the architect cultural policy model. The reason for this peculiarity is mostly caused by the presence of private sector in economics and respectively also in cultural sphere. This factor affects the tendency for the regimes to apply cultural policy of a mixed type instead of following one model. This quality marks a similarity with the historical undemocratic regimes such as Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. In these countries during the period of the 1920s–1940s the governing regimes aimed to gain total control over all the areas of social life and developed specific tactical approaches that allowed to control both state and private sectors.

The above-mentioned referred also to the organisation of cultural sphere. The main control mechanism was creating professional cultural institutions ruling the corresponding field and thus responsible for all the representatives of private sector. Another characteristic approach was massive state-assigned financial investments into cultural sphere, leading to the situation where the most part of the actors in the field were dependent on these assignments. Similar control mechanisms are applied also by the managed democracy regimes in Europe nowadays. An important feature in their cultural policy strategies is a tendency to apply the resources provided by cultural sphere for purposes of advocating the regime ideology and propaganda, hence turning the actors of cultural sphere into instrumentalized agents of state policy.

This shall be referred also to the relationship between state and private sectors in cultural sphere. One of the objectives of undemocratic regimes is total control over the field – that can be addressed both to state and private sectors. For this purpose, diverse control and impact mechanisms are developed. In this respect similarities with the historical European totalitarian regimes can be observed. For controlling private sector public institutions and money assignments managed by the regime are applied. Developing close relationship between political and economic elites shall be mentioned as a specific method. That presumes maintaining corruptive political-economic environment where successful entrepreneurship is impossible without political support by the regime. Thus, the so-called oligarchic state capitalism is created where entrepreneurs provide supporting regime ideology and propaganda as service to the state. It also refers to cultural sphere accenting the fact that cultural activities create a fertile environment for ideological and propaganda events.

The aforementioned tendencies in cultural policy are particularly characteristic to such managed democracy regimes as today's Russia and Belarus. Therefore, these

two cases require more detailed analysis. In both cases as a specific characteristic feature in cultural sphere shall be mentioned the – of course preserved to a certain extent only and partially modified – remnants of the cultural administration system created under the Soviet totalitarian regime. The system facilitates state control over the field and serves also as a background for building relationship between state and private actors in the field. Tendency of merging state and private sectors in cultural sphere can be observed in both countries, and the mechanisms are similar as well. Consequently, the main objective of the merger is involving the resources of the field into advocating the regime ideology and propaganda. However, there are also essential differences between both cases.

In the actual cultural policy of Russia several stages of development shall be distinguished. The first lasted from 1991–1999. The period shall be characterized as sustaining a relatively democratic cultural policy, development of private sector within the field as well as self-managed development, at least to some extent. The second stage lasted from 1999–2013, when the managed democracy regime was established in Russia. The period is characterized by gradual consolidation of the state and including the private sector into ideological and political tendencies of the regime. The beginning of the third stage can be dated back with 2014, and it has not ended yet. The period is characterized by strong tendency towards developing an undemocratic regime, manifesting itself also as aggressive foreign policy. In cultural sphere merger of state and private sectors has been nearly completed, therefore private actors of the field are also significantly participating in advocating the regime ideology and propaganda acting under strong political control. As the most essential mechanism serving to merge state and private sectors the government-controlled financial assignments shall be mentioned. This policy is strongly advanced due to such an essential income source as oil and gas export industry controlled by the state and supporting the government at diverse manipulative activities. Oil and gas export industry is administrated under the supervision of such institutions as the National Charity Foundation founded by the President of Russia Vladimir Putin (Путин) in 1999, as well as the Cultural Foundation of Russia supervised by the President, and such institutions as Rossotrudnichestvo aiming to broadcast ideology of Russia state abroad. Moreover, as an example of how private sector is involved in controlling cultural sphere the case of the investment company Interros shall be mentioned. The company was created in 1991 by the oligarch Vladimir Potanin (Потанин). Nowadays its main income sources are oil industry and nickel mining industry Norilsknikel where entrepreneurship is nearly only possible by governmental accept. Simultaneously, the charity institute of the foundation is a significant actor in cultural sphere, as it invests a lot in diverse cultural projects, not accidentally mostly supportive to the ideology and propaganda of the regime

[Интеррос]. This way a chain of influences is created – the government enables private entrepreneurship initiatives in a profitable field and receives the possibility to apply private financial assets for ideological securing. Respective tendencies are observable also in the normative acts referring to the cultural policy of Russia. Guidelines for law drafting in cultural sphere of the Russian federation, which came into force in 1992, provided development of a relatively democratic cultural administration [Основы законодательства Российской Федерации о культуре 1992]. However, the end of this development is marked by the guidelines for cultural policy of Russia approved by the President Vladimir Putin in 2014 that provide for ideologization of cultural sphere according to the interests of the regime [Основы государственной культурной политики 2014].

The situation is different in Belarus. It was one of the first Eastern European countries to create an undemocratic regime in 1994. Compared to, for example, the Baltic States and even the regime in Russia in the 1990s, Belarus had far more explicit tendency to preserve the Soviet totalitarian legacy regarding political, economic and cultural spheres. It provided also preserving former Soviet institutions for cultural administration. It must be mentioned that normative acts of the state and cultural policies of Belarus acknowledge and accentuate positive aspects of this legacy regarding the development of Belarus nowadays [Главные принципы государственной политики Республики Беларусь]. Regarding the organisation of cultural sphere, it means a strong emphasis on the state sector and attempts to restrict private initiatives in the cultural market sphere. In this aspect the regime in Belarus is less democratic than the regime in Russia. Despite that, compared to the Soviet totalitarian period, a functioning private sector has been created in Belarus. So, in order to gain ideological and political control over the private actors, the government of Belarus apply strategies similar to those of the Russian government, in order to support merger of state and private sectors in cultural sphere – such as state controlled administrative institutions, investments etc. As one of the most influential instruments can be mentioned, for example, the Foundation of the President of Belarus. Many cultural projects depend on the financial assets gained from the Foundation. An essential difference from the case of Russia is the tendency not only to control but also lessen private initiatives in cultural sphere. Next, there is present also the tendency that the government not only controls the involvement of the private actors into advocating the state ideology and propaganda, but also interferes directly with market relations. Different methods (for instance, mandatory attendance of cultural events for employees in state sector) are applied to manipulate with the product demand in the field – hence the profit options of private actors do not depend on the quality of their provided cultural product, but on loyalty to the regime instead. In this respect as a significant contribution

can be mentioned the characterization of the cultural policy of Belarus provided by Belarussian cultural theorist Vladimir Mozheiko (*Можейко*): "The specialty of the cultural policy of Belarus is that everything that characterizes an artist: his income level and sources, sociocultural context, artistic theme and social activity, depends on one factor – on his attitude towards the regime. In one or another sense activities of an artist are determined by policy that defines their status and audience. Certainly, it distorts the market, it starts functioning according to its own rules where popularity is not related to talent, but income – with popularity" [*Можейко* 2012].

In general, Russia and Belarus represent a typical managed democracy model. Therefore, the experience of these countries can be used for characterizing the overall tendency. Another factor shall be taken into account. Cultural sphere is one of the most advantageous methods for implementing the so-called public diplomacy or soft power in foreign policies. Certainly, to some extent it is characteristic to many countries, such as the USA, France, Germany etc. However, in the case of managed democracy according to the aggressiveness of the relevant foreign policy, cultural sphere turns into a tool for influencing others. The private sector plays an important role here, as traditionally it is not associated with direct governmental supervision. However, in case of Russia, for example, the tendency is actually the opposite – the government controls the private sector both ideologically and politically in respect to the domestic policy, whereas regarding foreign policy the private sector is used as a propaganda tool. It shall be taken into account by developing cultural relations of Latvia with the countries representing managed democracy regimes.

Conclusions

According to the typology of cultural policy provided in 1989 by Hillman-Chartand and MacCaughey, managed democracy regimes integrate elements characteristic to architect and engineer cultural policy models. According to these models, state institutions predominate in administration of the cultural sphere. Resources provided by cultural sphere are systematically used for achieving ideological, propaganda and political goals of the managed democracy regimes. This process involves not only state institutions but also private actors and NGOs in cultural sphere. In order to gain control over the private sector as well, the regimes apply diverse strategies of merging state and private sectors (public and professional organisations controlled by the government, financial assignments controlled by the government such as foundations, state budget assignations etc.). As a result, the ideological control and censorship by the state affect both state and private sectors, both actively contributing to achieve political goals and propaganda activities of the regime.

As most significant representatives of managed democracy regimes in Europe nowadays Russia and Belarus shall be mentioned. Both states have developed an undemocratic cultural policy already starting from 1990s. It is characteristic for both of them to apply the resources of cultural sphere for advocating the regime ideology and propaganda. In case of Russia the foreign policy representation of this process is of great importance. Regarding the relationship between the state and private sectors, these countries represent a tendency of maximum governmental control over the private sector. Therefore, strategies of merging both sectors are actively forwarded. As a result, now in both countries successful existence of the private sector is directly dependent on claiming political loyalty to the regime and active cooperation by propagating the regime. It can be referred also to the foreign policy of these states and the component of cultural relations in their foreign policies. Therefore, this tendency of development shall be taken into account while developing cultural relations of Latvia with these states.

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