



Graduate School of Development Studies

HYBRIDIZATION OF ELITE SOCIALIZATION

A Research Paper presented by:

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Latvia

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialization:

**Governance and Democracy
G&D**

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September, 2011

Disclaimer:

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Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Chapter 1 Introduction | 1 |
| Chapter 2 Background | 3 |
| 2.1. Administrative division of Latvia | 3 |
| 2.1.1. Subnational level | 3 |
| 2.1.2. Local Governments on national level | 4 |
| 2.1.3. Representation of Local Governments internationally | 4 |
| 2.2. Overview of Latvian development cooperation | 5 |
| 2.2.1. Ministry of Foreign affairs: primary document development | 6 |
| 2.2.2. Development cooperation and LARLG | 7 |
| Chapter 3 New institutionalism and European socialization studies: an overview | 10 |
| 3.1. Structure based new institutionalism view on elite socialization | 10 |
| 3.1.1. Normative institutionalism: socialization in culture | 11 |
| 3.1.2. Rational Choice institutionalism: development cooperation as domestic utility maximization | 12 |
| 3.1.3. Historical institutionalism: development cooperation as a spill over of elite socialization in EU democracy | 12 |
| 3.2. Mutual constituency of agency and structure: constructivist institutionalism | 13 |
| 3.3. A critical look at orthodox new institutionalism studies | 15 |
| Chapter 4 Critical realism: A frame for analysis of elite socialization | 18 |
| 4.1. Laying the ground: past constraining the present and future | 20 |
| 4.1.1. Structural properties and conditioning | 21 |
| 4.1.2. Cultural properties | 23 |
| 4.2. Socio-cultural interaction | 25 |
| 4.2.1. Structure and agency interaction | 27 |
| 4.2.2. Culture and agency interaction | 27 |
| 4.3. Agency elaboration | 28 |
| Chapter 5 Case study: The ‘real’ contamination of socialization | 30 |
| 5.1. The Local elites: first encounters with development cooperation, genesis of primary and corporate agents | 30 |
| 5.2. The emergence of social agents on local level and the interest in development cooperation | 31 |

| | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Final remarks | 35 |
| References | 39 |

List of Maps

Map 1.1 Map of administrative division of Latvia and interviewed LGs **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

List of Acronyms

| | |
|-----------|---|
| CBCP | European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument Cross Border Cooperation Programme |
| CC | City Council |
| CEMR | Council of European Municipalities and Regions |
| CI | Constructivist Institutionalism |
| CLRAE | Congress of Local and Regional Authorities |
| CoR | EU Committee of Regions |
| CR | Critical Realism |
| DCPD | Development Cooperation Policy Department of the Economic Relations and Development Cooperation Policy Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| ENPI | European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument |
| ESTLATRUS | European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument cross border cooperation programme for Estonia, Latvia and Russia |
| EU | European Union |
| HI | Historical Institutionalism |
| LALRG | Latvian Association of Local and Regional Governments |
| LAPAS | Latvian Platform for Development Cooperation |
| LATLITBEL | European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument Cross Border Cooperation Programme Latvia–Lithuania–Belarus |
| LG | Local government |
| MFA | Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia |
| NGO | Non governmental organization |
| NI | Normative Institutionalism |
| RCI | Rational Choice Institutionalism |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |

Abstract

This research paper explores the role of *political elite socialization* in development policy transfer among Latvian local governments. By looking at the complex mechanisms behind policy transfer it tries to show the shortcomings of new institutionalism literature and introduce a new theoretical perspective in studying socialization of exogenous norms—critical realist ontology.

Basing on rich fieldwork data—interviews with Local Government Council Chairpersons and international project managers and relevant actors and usage of critical realist framework, it argues that development cooperation on supranational level is based on weaker socialization in EU due to different agent properties (long term political local elites, which are in close relation with the ‘old’ pre- EU LALRG Board members, nostalgia’ for soviet culture, common history—shared by both political elites and project managers, financial possibilities, conditioned by their geographical location.).

Relevance to Development Studies

With the current debates in development literature on decentralization and participatory development it is crucial to understand what are the logics behind local governments in starting development cooperation. The research shows an insight on why development policies are introduced in Latvia, one of the new European Union member states, on supranational level, that can be useful in developing donor strategies for local actor involvement in cooperation.

Keywords

Elite socialization, development, Latvia, local government, critical realism, new institutionalism

Chapter 1

Introduction

“I am convinced that local authorities can be key actors for enhancing democracy and local governance, delivering public services and enhancing local economic development. Local authorities may thus effectively contribute to poverty reduction and achievement of the MDGs.”

EU Commissioner for Development Mr. Andris Piebalgs (2011)

Local government involvement in development cooperation is a relatively new topic, also on European level. Just this year a European Commission Green paper was developed recognizing the role of subnational development actors.

The opposite could be said about elite socialization in European context (europeanization), which is considered a core for European norm transfer to and compliance for new member states. Thus also Latvia, which joined the EU in 2004. Local governments' chairpersons were socialized in development cooperation policy through exogenous, mostly European, actors.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the role of elite socialization in development cooperation policy introduction on Local government level.

I argue that the Local government elite socialization in development cooperation is conditioned by the static political elite with administrative apparatus characterized by weak knowledge of English in combination with historic nostalgia for soviet culture, close interaction amongst the Latvian Association of Local and Regional Government Board members since the development of the Association as well as the structural and geographical conditioning of EU structural funds.

The topic was chosen both for its current relevance in European development policy discourse and its 'uncontamination' non existence in Latvia before the interaction with international donors. By using critical realist complex and in depth ontological and analytical tools, I would like to introduce another approach for elite socialization that could unravel the reason for development cooperation emergence within Latvian Local governments and the role of elite socialization from a different, possibly, deeper perspective.

To achieve the aim the paper is structured in five chapters. Chapter two gives a background in Latvian administrative division and current state of development cooperation with post-soviet countries, showing the role of local governments. Chapter three explores the approaches to europeanization elite socialization theories based on new institutionalism theories—normative, rational choice, historical and thick constructivist new institutionalisms, mapping out the main definitions and variables, views of elite socialization within European context and the faults of these approaches. Consequently chapter four introduces critical realism understanding in giving a deeper understanding behind norm transfer, trying to look at political processes from various angles

and their interactions. And chapter five analyzes the role of elite socialization in development cooperation emergence on subnational level using critical realism and the method of retrodution.

One of the reasons why I want to argue what the existing elite socialization theories are not based in elite socialization in European norms is the extensive field research—for the analysis I have conducted 29 semi-structured interviews with policy officials—the Latvian Association of Local and Regional Government permanent representative in Brussels, Secretary General and International project coordinator, the 2nd and 3rd Secretaries of Development Cooperation Policy Department of the Economic Relations and Development Cooperation Policy Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and 12 different Local Government Chairperson and their international project managers. (for an overview of interview data see Appendices A, for interviewed persons interview length and timeline see Appendices B, for interview question outline see Appendices C). The interviews each were from 20-90 minutes long, conducted in field research from June until August in Latvian language.

I will conclude that to richly understand the successful elite socialization in development cooperation in Latvian context and reasons for it, we should more focus on the ontological debate on structure and agency.

Chapter 2

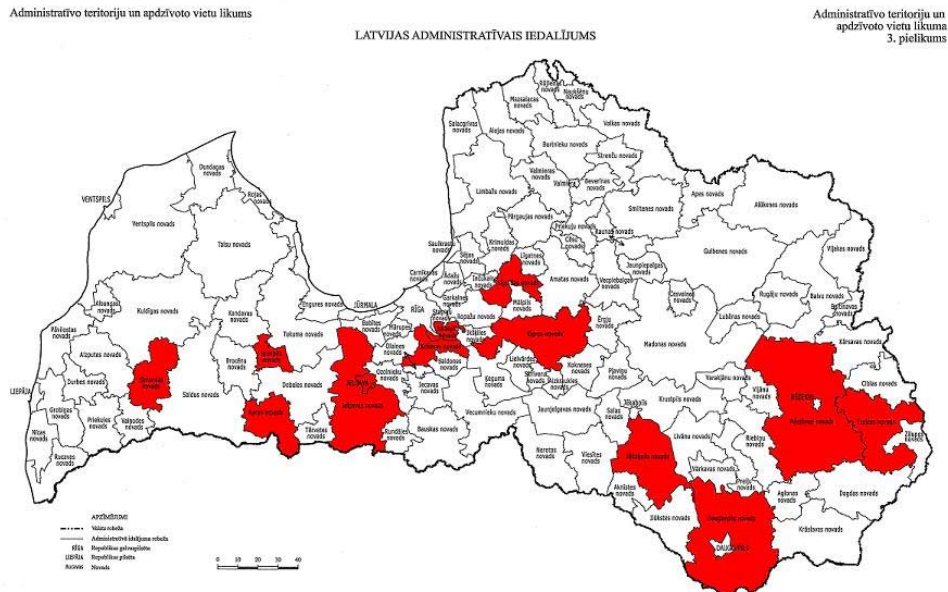
Background

2.1. Administrative division of Latvia

The Latvian administrative system officially started reformation in 1998 until December 18 2008 (however, some territories are still re-negotiating), during which a three tier administrative system—seven cities of republican importance (*republikas pilsētas*) and 26 districts (*rajoni*), subdivided in 527 municipalities (*pašvaldības*)—was changed to a two tier system with nine cities of republican importance and 110 Local Governments (LG - *novadi*). The administrative reform and local development was a crucial aspect in the transition process and part of EU accession criteria.

Map 2.1.1.

The administrative division of Latvia (18.12.2008)



Source: original map from The Ministry of Regional Development and Local Government of the Republic of Latvia (2008). Local Governments marked in red—field work areas (for full sized map see Appendices D)

2.1.1. Subnational level

The local leadership is directly elected via proportional elections every four years by the declared residents of the area with an EU citizenship. The number of Council deputies varies according to the number of inhabitants—from 13 to

as much as 60 in the capital Riga (Central Election Committee 2011). The headquarters of the Council is the biggest leading municipality of the LG whilst each municipality has their own administration that deals with the implementation of day-to-day policies coming from the LG Council.

The annual budget of LGs consists of revenues from income tax of residents, property taxes, grants and target grants; most of the expenses are for the social sphere, executive institutions, apartments and public utilities, rights and law protection. The administrative units with the biggest revenues pay a certain amount in fund of alignment.

2.1.2. Local Governments on national level

Local Governments (local elected leadership (mayors, chairpersons)), are united under the umbrella organisation Latvian Association of Local and Regional Governments (LALRG), which is a non-governmental organization. LALRG organizes its work according to issues in various working groups. The Association includes a permanent office, the Latvian Municipality education centre, journal "LOGS" and the Municipality consultation centre. LALRG administrative apparatus includes the Secretary General, international project managers and the Board, which consists of 15 Chairpersons of LG Councils, LALRG Council and the Chairperson. Data gathered in policy network analysis show the elite as relatively closed, comprised of the same 30 - 40 people since the establishment of LALRG in 1991. They exchange ideas and develop policy documents since the start of the development cooperation (for a full list of elites from municipalities and their involvement in various institutions see Annex E).

LALRG works as the main lobby and spokesperson on national and international level, provides information to municipalities on funding possibilities, training and partner search, represents Latvian administrative units in governmental bilateral talks and various national level consultation institutions. The most important are the annual budget and policy development talks with the government of the Republic of Latvia. Every year until March 1 LALRG submits to the Cabinet Ministers and the Minister of Regional development and Municipalities the names of persons responsible for talks with each of the respectable ministries, until April 1, ministries and the LALRG agree on the topics, as well as the time frame for discussions. The talks between national ministries and the LALRG take place until August 1 the same year (usually finishing in June, before the summer recess of the parliament). The results of these talks are drawn up in a protocol, representing points of agreement and questions on which agreements have not been reached. Before both parties sign the protocol, it has to get the approval of the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Finance and the Minister of the Regional development and Municipality affairs. (Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia 2004)

2.1.3. Representation of Local Governments internationally

Network analysis mentioned before shows that people most active on the European level are also the ones holding posts in domestic policy—since joining

the EU, LALGM posts both nationally and internationally have been held by 29 people. LALRG board members (city or municipality mayors) represent Latvian municipalities in the EU and monitoring committees participate in CEMR working groups. The elites can be considered stagnant and closed, therefore the start of bilateral development cooperation requires a closer look at continuity and change at subnational level and the interaction of national and sub national level. The causality/correlation relationship is still to be explored, as well as the nomination process to the European institutions.

Latvian LG representatives participate in various institutions (the author of these lines has identified 16), of which most important, according to LALGM, are the EU Committee of the Regions (CoR), the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe (CLRAE). In all these institutions LALGM is represented by elected members of the Association. Since 2000, LALGM has a permanent representative in Brussels Evita Gržibovska. Her professional responsibilities include working as a secretariat and a lobbying body for these and other EU institutions. Recently LALRG has joined Platforma and ALDA—two development cooperation associations for LGs. Chairpersons of some LGs are directly represented in other EU and regional organizations, such as European Local Authority Network (ELAN), The Federation of European Union Local Authority Chief Executive Officers (UDiTE), The Assembly of European Regions (AER), Union of the Baltic Cities (UBC), Baltic Sea States Subregional Co-operation (BSSSC).

2.2. Overview of Latvian development cooperation

EU development cooperation is done at multiple levels, through Directorate General for Development and EuropeAid grant level it manages, each country has to have a national development cooperation strategy that sets aims and coordinates bilateral cooperation. The multitude of actors in the area of decentralization and local governance, and also municipalities are getting more involved. There are various mechanisms—town twinning programmes, grant programmes both from the EU and other donors.

In Latvia's case the national development cooperation policy is made in accordance with international agreements and participation in international institutions, such as the EU and UN. In October 27, 1995 Latvia officially started the accession process to EU. An interview at the Development Cooperation Policy Department of the Economic Relations and Development Cooperation Policy Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DCPD) showed the bilateral cooperation is based on national interests of the country. In Latvia's case USSR history still has a role in national discourse on Russia and plays a part in developing cooperation with former USSR states on the developmental path to democracy. Also the historic advantage of the well-known Russian language and recent experience in transition processes, which officially ended with a successful acceptance into the EU, gives Latvia the strength in such areas as security, governmental reforms, customs and gender equality. Common history and a somewhat nostalgia attached to soviet times, plays an important role on both sides of Eastern partnership—during communism Latvia was considered

as the most Western part of the Soviet Union; joining the EU from the side of post-soviet non-EU states is viewed as a proof that economic development can be achieved. Project managers in interviews put an emphasis that this process brings moral satisfaction as well as possibility to remember childhood as one of the main reasons for cooperation. Still, both politicians and bureaucrats stress that without the financial outsourcing ideas would be implemented to a lesser extent or not at all.

2.2.1. Ministry of Foreign affairs: primary document development

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), more specifically the DCPD, is responsible for national development cooperation policy drafting. The department consists of 2nd and 3rd Secretary. This department steers policy document development but does not implement policy programs. As interviews with these officials showed, the main financiers and teachers for national policy document developers were Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), who provided both training and financial resources for the implementation of policy documents within their programme in new EU member states.

The Development Cooperation Policy Programme of the Republic of Latvia 2006 - 2010 which was part of Copenhagen criteria, was approved in June 1, 2006 by the Parliament (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Latvia 2006), which now has been succeeded by a new programme for 2011–2015, approved in the Parliament in July 5, 2011 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Latvia 2011). These documents are the main guides for national bilateral development cooperation strategies. The first official national policy document stipulated four main strategic target countries for Latvian development cooperation—Moldova, Georgia, Ukraine and Belarus (Afghanistan was added in 2007 as the fifth target country with the start of the international mission). The 2011-2015 programme does not stipulate particular partner countries.

The bilateral development cooperation is done on a one-by-one project development basis. There are no separate long-term strategy papers for each country, noted as a drawback by both, MFA and LALRG. Until 2009 MFA gave funding to third parties for project implementation (see Annex 2 for projects managed by LALRG and Latvian LGs). Within this period 112 projects have been run, of which ten were implemented by LALRG and four by LG councils—two by Ogre LG Council, one by Sigulda LG Council, one by Ludza City Council (see Appendice F) as well as one by Jaunpils LG Council and Skrunda LG Council as partners in the project developed by Latvian-Georgian Cooperation fund. The economic crisis state financed bilateral budget has been cut to 269 LVL (379 EUR) (Interview with MFA 3rd secretary), which is not sufficient for project implementation.

Together with DCPD as an advisory body works the Consultative Council in Development Cooperation Policy Issues, consisting of representatives from ministries, state institutions, representatives from the national parliament, NGOs, Latvian Central Bank, the council of University rectors and social partners—Employers' Confederation of Latvia, Free Trade Union Confederation of Latvia; Latvian Association of Local and Regional Governments and the Latvian Platform for Development Cooperation (LAPAS). Interviews with LALRG

employees in Riga and Brussels show that their views are widely taken into consideration during drafting process. But the socialization between the grant applicants was weak, because national bilateral aid systems in the period of 2005–2009 had all development actors—no matter state, public or private—applying for the same grant contests, thus competing against each other. According to LALRG with the closure of MFA bilateral grant programmes horizontal experience exchange happens more often.

2.2.2. Development cooperation and LALRG

The LALRG was the first organization to start development cooperation programmes with countries outside the EU, which became a knowledge transfer in the late 1990s, almost ten years ahead of national development programmes. The Nordic countries being the donors for Latvian development played a crucial role in LALRG becoming a development policy actor. Danish and Norwegian municipality associations assisted Latvian Municipalities to develop infrastructure, education and welfare systems, as well as give advice on civic engagement in local decision making and NGO development. Latvian knowledge on how to ‘unlock a post-soviet mind’ and the recent experience in transition were the reasons why the Norwegian side involved LALRG as partners—Latvians spoke Russian and knew the problems first hand and were already trained in Norway’s development cooperation approach. Latvian experience in transition was seen as a great tool for higher quality programs financed in other transitioning states. First development experience was with Ugandan municipality officials, who learned about Latvian administrative reform in 1998 (Presentation from LALRG, see Appendice F). Afterwards cooperation with Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities expanded to Georgia and Tajikistan.

In addition to MFA strategic partnership countries on national level LALGM also cooperates with Russia, Belarus, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan and also expanding its cooperation with other regions and states such as, Uganda, Iraq and Latin America. Since 2002 the LALRG has implemented around 30 development cooperation projects with MFA being the main co-financer until 2009.

Now the LALRG mostly works with other international financial donors, various EU cross-border cooperation funds (TACIS civil service reform project, they have also applied to EuropeAid, but until now have been unsuccessfully), USAID (in Tajikistan 2002 and 2005; Kyrgyzstan 2005 and 2007), UNDP (in Iraq 2004, on migrant communities in Georgia 2009-2010, UNDP is also financing programmes implemented in Moldova in 2011), NED (In Russia, several programmes). The knowledge that MFA has no funding for bilateral development cooperation and has high activity of subnational elites, may be a way forward to continue the development policy without using state budget funds and having a national strategy. LALRG cooperation continues with other financial funds (Ibid.), but the cooperation on a municipal level has decreased due to lack of funding.

The LALGM data-base shows that as of May 12, 2011, 11 municipalities have twinning partners in Belarus, three in Georgia, Kazakhstan, six in China,

26 in Russia, two in Moldova, eight in Ukraine and one in Uzbekistan (LALGM 2011). It has to be noted that LALGM twinning database shows only the cooperation with official town-twinning agreements, excluding twinning cooperation in initial stages and transnational city networks, rural, public-private partnership programs which are financed by other donors (for a full list of twinning cities see Appendice H). As well, after recent elections in August 2009, more cooperation treaties with Russia and Belarus have been signed.

Their main area of expertise logically is local governance issues and organization of public-private-civic partnerships on sub-national level. The initial areas of cooperation where the LALRG transferred their know-how and experience were in supply of public services and the establishment of service centres. One of the experiences, which the LALRG has been exporting successfully to Moldova and Georgia, is the national consultation system with parliament and the cabinet of ministers. This system is recognized as being unique and well working, thus exportable to other countries. LALRG's Secretary General and Adviser on Foreign Affair Issues note in the interview, that their own experience with these donors also has made them think about the power imbalance in knowledge and experience exchange, development being leveled cooperation and exchange, based on mutual understanding and neet.al. of the developing country. But the validity of this statement requires a separate research¹. The programs introduced in Georgia currently focus on issues Latvia still has problems with—migration management and society integration, strengthening of subnational governance and its voice in national decision making, as well as civic society activism and NGO involvement in local development.

The LALRG team behind international cooperation development and planning has changed minimally since the end of 1990s. The development policy cooperation programmes are also project, not long term programme based, thus search for partners, funding and project management is done by the LG development unit (in some cases it is under the public relations department (Jelgava, Kekava) or separate international relations department (Rezekne)) The main actors are the policy developers—international project managers. The financial grants opened when these officials had already had a few years of writing EU structural fund projects and have been 'socialized' within the EU language of development, project quality criteria and 'to do list' for successful development, both by drafting projects, implementing them and attending various EU funded training seminars.

Looking at the project managers epistemic communities, the regional location does play a role. This exchange of experience and regional networking is especially noticeable in the LGs located further from the capital (as Latgale, the region that borders Russia, Belarus and Lithuania), the headquarters of LALRG. Interviews showed (for an interview overview see Appendice I) that with the change in financial structures, closer experience change happens not just with neighbouring LGs, but also within the planning districts (Kurzeme, Zemgale, Vidzeme, Latgale and Riga respectively).

Also within the LALRG decision making body, the political elite—mayors - when asked on the reasons for developmental cooperation and experiences taught (in Latvian the word "taught" in third person conjugation is the same as

learned) started talking about the experience and knowledge they have accumulated in 'Old Europe', such as Germany, the Netherlands and the Nordic countries, so knowledge transfer is still mostly understood as money and information inflow in Latvia, not transfer out side of the country. As mentioned above, within the EU multi-level governance elites have several settings where the development cooperation ideas can be socialized by learning and exchange of ideas. At the same time the regularity of sessions (from monthly until twice a year), the lack of foreign language knowledge (most municipal elites know Latvian and Russian) and procedural attendance of the meetings could be reason for lack of involvement in development cooperation on supranational level.

This sort of issues, not framed as development cooperation, on supranational are also addressed through two European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument Cross Border Cooperation Programmes (CBCP former INTERREG). Available for Latvian LGs since December 2007 - the LATLITBEL (ENPI CBC: n.a.) for LGs from Latgale region with partners from Lithuania and Belarus and the ESTLATRUS (CTS LLB: 2011) for Latvian LGs from Latgale, Vidzeme regions² with partners from Estonia and Russia. The priority areas are socio-economic development, common challenges and promotion of people to people cooperation³ (for a map of regions see Appendix J), which can qualify as development cooperation.

Chapter 3

New institutionalism and European socialization studies: an overview

EU multi level governance serves as an arena for various actor interactions, socialization and power plays. Elite socialization within policy transfer is a widely researched issue from various theoretical schools. Socialization in European norms is looked at through ‘europeanization’, a vogue term used for analyzing the EU influence on new member states.

Most of theorists give reference to Radelli’s (2003: 11) definition of europeanization as “construction, diffusion and institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms styles, ways of doing things and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU public policy and politics and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies.” The literature overview shows how europeanization is achieved and varies according the authors’ fields of study, ontological and epistemological views. This manifests in two most cited books on europeanization and elite socialization—“The politics of Europeanization” (2003) edited by C.Radaelli and K.Featherstone and International Organization volume 59 (issue 4) (2005) “International Institutions and Socialization in Europe” edited by J.T.Checkel.

Almost all theoretical research uses some form of new institutionalism as a ground theory for europeanization studies, adapting them to European multi-level institutional context, as Checkel (2007: vii) notes “rationalism is the social theory of choice for some contributors, while others are more comfortable with social constructivism. Still others combine the two.” Therefore these views on empirical level can be divided according to NI, RCI, HI and CI, which in turn can be grouped according to ontological causal powers⁴ given to structure and agency (downward or central conflation) and changing properties (culture, rationality, historical dependence). A complete overview and comparison of these theories is beyond the scope of this paper⁵, but this chapter will give a brief insight in the major writings and theoretical frameworks for analyzing elite socialization in European context⁶ and their critiques.

3.1. Structure based new institutionalism view on elite socialization

According to structuralist based theories (normative, rational choice, historical new institutionalisms) agents bear and are socialized into structures. Thus to analyze elite socialization, we have to look at the system as a constraining factor, developing order and repetition. Human agency lies in routine replication of the rules of the game (determined by the structure).

For all the orthodox new institutionalism accounts structure is imposing as ‘rules and constraints’ in the form of cultural ‘norms’ in NI, economic utility maximization in RCI, or as historical path dependence in HI. All of these ac-

counts develop thick descriptions of institutional settings, having institutions in equilibria, individual with exogenous preferences, determined by structural properties.

3.1.1. Normative institutionalism: socialization in culture

Common cultural norms shared within society are the structure upon which world is build, ‘symbolic action’, based on these norms is the main explanation for emergence and sustainability of institutions, both formal and informal⁷. By joining a particular institution, individuals internalize norms associated with their institutional role simultaneously reproducing the system. Socialization happens on the basis of “education, indoctrination, and experience” (March and Olsen 1984: 739). This choice is conditioned by culturally embedded logic of appropriateness that is “driven by rules of appropriate or exemplary behavior, organized into institutions” (March and Olsen 2009: 1)⁸.

Embedding culture is the main task for achieving formal compliance (Hooghe 2005: 865), therefore within the studies of EU, NI is used in explaining EU foreign affairs (such as accession) and historical origins of the Union (Smith 2000, Hague and Harrop 2001, Radaelli 2003, Paraskevopoulos and Rees 2006), stressing the socialization process—being a part of the development community as an appropriate norm for national development, a logical continuation of socialization of common European values and the ‘appropriate’ identity—economically developed, safe, human rights and democracy valued, “consensus-building and cost-sharing” community (“democracies don’t fight amongst themselves”). NI is still strong in public discourse coming from the EU, the words as “joining the club of the rich” are widely used in media and political speeches, NGOs for justifying their claims.

Change in society is influenced by ‘facilitating factors’ (Börzel and Risse in Radaelli 2003: 66), e.g., fear of shaming, low number of veto points, support to formal institutions and redistribution of resources, thus if the institutions and their veto points are controlled by groups who share European values, the change and socialization on a wider scale is faster (Ibid. 216). In the case of local governments and development cooperation, financial incentives work as facilitating factors and adaptation pressure is low, if any, europeanization would lead to accommodation of new cognitive practices, isomorphism and mimicry (horizontal diffusion) (Grote and Lang, as cited in Radaelli 2003: 225).

In essence socialization is a volunteer teacher- student relationship, as Smith (2000) puts it “europeanization reorients national elites”, having Brussels, “Old member states” and policies as role models. Thus the interaction on international level is crucial in accustoming national elites to new norms, internalizing them. The newly embedded norms will trickle down to other areas and local political culture. The lower on the norm appropriation chain the novices are (the ‘weaker’ students) the less ‘usefully’ the structural funds are uptaken and local routines are thus stronger.

3.1.2. Rational Choice institutionalism: development cooperation as domestic utility maximization

In RCI structures are inhabited by “strategically calculating” utility maximizing individuals, who get involved in the institutions by giving up part of their short term profits to maximize their long term gains based on a cost-benefit analysis and incentives. In European context most studies focus on the ‘institutions as rules’ and ‘decisions as rules’ schools⁹, which arguing that rationality (utility maximization) comes before structural conditioning and rules (institutions).

In EU context, the aim is compliance with formal criteria, free market economy, developing level playing field competition, with learning and socialization as unintended secondary outcomes. Compliance of lower level actors to EU rules is beneficial to transmitting the EU agenda and fastening the norm transfer (Brusis 2005: 312). Consequently RCI is widely used in analysing the interests behind EU main policy actors as trying to avoid the ‘tragedy of commons’ by using coercion, change of legitimacy standard, lowering of transaction costs. This requires achieving a shift from domestic to international legitimacy by high external incentives to domestic actors (Schimmelfenning 2000, 2005), because change is a cautious calculated process, that uses discourse and [false] communication as “rhetorical devices” (Schimmelfenning cited in Lewis 2005: 940) in achieving interests based in “material criteria only” (Schimmelfenning 2000: 116). The realization of these interests depends on “bounded rationality”, i.e., “value-based international norms of legitimate statehood and proper state conduct” (Schimmelfenning 2000: 110).

The ‘faked/manipulative socialization’ in EU norms (Brusis 2005, Schimmelfenning 2000), usage of provided incentives (financial resources) to achieve domestic change, using incentives as justifications to achieve domestic change, manifest itself in “different empowerment of actors at the domestic level”, changes in formal institutions and multiple veto points (Börzel and Risse in Radaelli 2003: 58)).

To facilitate a replacement or alteration of existing collective understandings, Radaelli (2003: 70) suggests combining facilitating factors (domestic and international incentives) with high adaptation pressure from the external actor. The EU system of structural fund conditionality is one of the most effective methods to overcome free riding and make everyone comply with the new [formal] rules. By everyone meaning the governments and political parties, because in the post-soviet states “societies are too weak, electorates are too volatile to serve as effective agents of socialization” (Schimmelfenning 2005: 828).

3.1.3. Historical institutionalism: development cooperation as a spill over of elite socialization in EU democracy

Historical institutionalism¹⁰ tries to explain the change of institutions and their continuity by giving individual properties of both—logic of appropriateness from NI and logic of calculation from RCI (Immergut 1992). Individual agency is constrained by path dependency (eg. Krasner 1985). In times of equilibria, systemic embeddedness (socialization) is the main part of decision making—there is a persistent pattern (historically developed formal and informal rou-

times) that is followed within institutions *if not* faced with pressures from outside. As Hall and Taylor (1996: 6) put it; institutions are “formal or informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the policy or political economy”.

When a system is institutionalized, it depicts the societal distribution of power and freezes it (Steinmo, Thelen and Longstreth 1992:2). Change happens within critical junctures (Krasner 1985: 242), when hegemonic set of ideas loses its primary position, creating a level playing field with possibilities for new ideas to become prevailing norms. During this formative process, where elites play a crucial role, learning best practices from others can develop new institutions. The end result ‘freezes’ power distributions within society (Hall and Taylor 1996: 9).

HI as a theoretical framework (critical junctures and path dependency) is used for analysis of increasing European integration (Anderson 2008) and Latvian accession to EU (especially in public media). Stating that Latvian development cooperation and elite socialization requires looking in the past critical juncture events—disillusion of Soviet Union, start of accession talks with EU, joining the EU in 2004, the national administrative reforms, opening of certain financial instruments etc.

Consequently, inertia, time and sequence are crucial aspects of institutional persistence and change. Schmitter and Santiso (1998) develop the “time, timing, tempo” distinction in looking at the introduction of European ideas on domestic level; Brusis (2005: 308) considers timing of legislation as one of the main critiques to unsuccessful knowledge and norm transfer to domestic level. But when a new member state has been set on the path to European Union, minor ‘soft’ policy areas within the increasing returns start as an institutional complementarity with other events taking place on different levels within the system. Simultaneously contingency, the punctuated equilibria and ideas in periods of stasis, might explain conditions and reasons why particular critical juncture has developed by alliance shifts outside of the periods of punctuated equilibria. Historical institutionalism can explain why development cooperation happens with the former Soviet Union countries—basing on old soviet time town twinning activities, family ties and cultural similarities.

3.2. Mutual constituency of agency and structure: constructivist institutionalism

Most of the europeanization/elite socialization literature currently uses the ontological setting of structuration theory¹¹, viewing structure and agency in a central conflation as “two sides of the same coin” (Bieler and Morton 2001 :7). The method Giddens introduces for analysis is ‘bracketing of’—looking at structure (rules and resources) and agency (human action „social practices” (Giddens 1984: 2)) separately, keeping one constant thus choosing a reading (Ibid. 288) of what—structure or agency—is more important. Social structure is constituted by human agency, structural properties of social systems being “both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize”. Change happens only in ‘methamorphosis’ when actors become aware of the

structure and “act against it, reflect, transform” (Bieler and Morton 2001: 8) it. As Cohen notes, “agency in structuration theory is equated with transformative capacity” (Cohen 1987: 284) bounded by unknown factors.

CI in European context tries to encompass all variables that are used in previous new institutionalism theories, thus developing a rich body of literature that has odds within it self¹² due to many variables used in explaining the construction of actors and structure, having various definitions on socialization, internalization, actors properties, interaction on internal and external norms. The common denominator is an emphasis on *socially* constructed actors and their views. Main tool of analysis is deconstruction, as Checkel (2005: 819) describes, by taking “each empirical contribution, deconstruct[ing] it and then reconstruct[ing] and reinterpret[ing] it from the point of view of both rationalism and constructivism”. CI is more equipped in analysing sub-national elite socialization because it recognizes the new various forms of socializing arenas and tools for norm change, simultaneously admitting the continuous making of a common European identity, thus in current terms we can just speak of raise in mutual dependence of different political level actors with constructed and perceived interests.

According to Schmidt (2008), ideas are the main causal explanations of something to happen - understanding on how and why actors do something, we need to understand how, when, where and why ideas and discourse matter. Ideas as independent variables and their influence on change have been explained richly, which is crucial for analyzing socialization, the process of new idea appropriation.

Schmidt's (2008) develops various typologies of ideas, depending on their level of generality (policies; programmes; philosophies). Philosophies being deep core world views, according to which “the ideas, values and principles of knowledge and society are organized” (Schmidt 2008: 308), by locating these, according to Schmidt, we are able to trace the processes to action, to reasons why actors propose certain solutions, methods, develop certain policies to solve particular problems, and why exactly these problems¹³. The transmission and interaction of ideas differ according to actors—there is a coordinated discourse among policy actors and a communicative discourse between political actors and the public, in European state socialization Flockhart (2006: 98) calls these two divisions national level political cultures—a ‘state culture’ at the elite level and a ‘political culture’ at a wider society level.

In both of them national political entrepreneurs play a crucial part for advocacy as well as “guilt and shame”, financial incentives to achieve compliance (Alderson 2001: 418, Zürn and Checkel 2005). These authors distinguish different norms, which have different socialization mechanisms and influential factors, focusing on rules as resources as crucial to socialization process. Rules, formal and informal learning, influence the institutional setting and relations within it, the context being more important than the content, because actors get socialized (more transformed) in the mainstream ideas of an institution—the promoter *and* site of socialization. Thus legislature change is the main reason for norm institutionalization and internalization (Flockhart 2006: 111, Alderson 2001: 419), but outcomes of socialization can not be determined (Checkel

2005: 819, Cooper-Thomas and Anderson 2007: 499) it can result in a domestic ‘double interpretation’ or Gourewitch’s (1978) second image reversed.

Norm internalization, when a new norm is taken for granted, does not need reinforcement and “become[s] part of one’s self-understanding” (Beyers 2005: 900) is considered being the end target of socialization process. For Alderson (2001: 418) political internatization consists of three separate processes (mechanisms)—individual belief change; political pressure and persuasion; and institutionalization. Zürn and Checkel (2005) divide, and Beyers elaborates (2010) between two types of norm internalization mechanisms—role playing (type I) and normative suasion (Type II)¹⁴.

Domestic norms and power configurations, coordination networks and social groups are important in external norm transfer (Beyers 2010: 910, Zürn and Checkel 2005: 1068, Risse and Maier 2010). The trust and satisfaction with domestic institutions influences coordination of new norm inflow, the same as the power of main coordinating institution and the trust put in actors being officially socialized on the European level, their ideational image, its deviation from domestic one (Beyers: 2010: 931, Zürn and Checkel 2005, Hooghe 2005). Flockhart (2006) also suggests to look into which norms generate positive feelings for agents themselves, both individually and in social groups, Beyers (2010: 923) calls this ‘symbolic output’ creation by using behavioral norms and habits considered to be appropriate as incentives for compliance. Still there are “intermediate agents”, which might find the norms neutral, but continue to communicate them (Flockhart 2006: 104).

In describing agent properties Beyers (2010: 912) combines historical properties of actors, their “past experience in other fields”, as well as social background, academic training, professional experience, social distance from the group¹⁵. In putting their ideas forward norm entrepreneurs a la Gramsci necessitate an organizational platform, stating that without a strong platform he/she is not able to change the hegemonic ideas (‘winning coalitions’).

According to CI authors, the structure of intergovernmental negotiations on European Level determines that political elites are more exposed to new ideas and more “willing to debate new ideas” (Flockhart 2006: 105), thus the possibility of socialization amongst them is higher. As Stiles (2003: 3) notes, “[e]lites tend to be ‘fickle’ in the sense that they are easily persuaded by the latest intellectual fad”. Beyers (2010: 924) adds, that political conflicts and decisions are made by politicians, not by civil servants, even though bureaucrats can be given autonomy to act as independent experts, organic individuals with “unbiased opinion, mature judgment, and enlightened conscience” (Ibid. 924), but the results and their voice domestically depends on social networks and domestic political decision making hierarchy, the links the representatives have with the ones they represent (Trondal and Veggeland, cited in Beyers 2010: 924) and the information they share with them.

3.3. A critical look at orthodox new institutionalism studies

The various theories of new institutionalism developed as sequential responses to previous approaches, the *younger* theory critiquing the previous. These shortcomings highlighted in new institutionalism internal debate, focus-

ing on the properties of agency (especially different power dynamics between actors) and the emphasis on structure in the case of NI, RCI and HI are applicable to the analysis of elite socialization in European context. Most of the critique of CI is internal, the theory being overwhelmingly present in EU studies (eg. see Beyers 2010, Checkel 2000, Zürn and Checkel 2005, Alderson 2001).

Looking first at structural account, NI lacks the agential elaborating in explaining shifts in norms of development cooperation (sudden shifts in partner countries, policy areas or cancellation of development cooperation). Norms and culture certainly play a role as an ideational factor, but, as RCI europeanization theorists argue, neglect of strategic action, weakly defines actors, rejection of egoism and instrumentalism (Schimmelfennig 2000: 114) fails to analyze reasons behind sustained opposition after institutionalization (Kelley 2004). Also municipalities are small governmental systems with less vertical veto points and a tendency for long term elites, which should be able to persuade their constituents of implementing development cooperation.

The same type critique, i.e., neglect of “dynamics between various actors and change in their views over time” is channelled to RCI theorists by *relationalists* Delbridge and Edwards (2008: 300-4). By attributing exogenous preferences to individuals, RCI fails to explain change in policy implementation with weak or no foreign incentives, resistance mechanisms and socialization itself in materially inefficient social and cultural development cooperation. Thus in current economic crisis, development cooperation should be swapped with a focus on local constituents, a major source of legitimacy.

Even though HI started shifting ontological groundings of downwards conflation, by trying to merge structure and agency, taking past events in consideration, elaborating individual properties (either logic of appropriateness or logic of calculus—was given a simultaneous power), the main failures of HI is unclear explanation of the role of ideas, their emergence and change on a day-to-day practice. HI fails to identify when the process of ideational change begins and which actors will be involved in it. In the context of development cooperation, why do municipalities get involved in areas with no direct interests and why do agents with strong historical ties in post-soviet space prefer cooperation within European Union?

Constructivists in europeanization studies combine role of ideas with structuration ontology tried to solve the shortcomings of ontologically “deny[ing] human beings any autonomy” (Bieler and Morton 2001:7), but the use of many variables, dealt with empirically by “pick and choose” method (Checkel 2000, Flockart 2006: 90), gives an unclear and operational explanation of change—the causal mechanisms linking interest-based explanations, or norms “to behavioral outcomes are left obscure” (Alderson 2001: 422) and does not focus on material factors.

Beyers (2010:913) critiques CI (also his earlier work) disregarding time as an important factor and weak elaboration of differences between primary and secondary socialization, re-framing of existing norms and their meanings, because internalization is still seen as the end point for socialization.

The CI europeanization theory still keeps the typology of geographical division (Europe, state, local government) intact, instead of analyzing groups and

their properties by dividing according to influence. To add to this, as Zürn and Checkel (2005: 1072) note, socialization at the domestic level is an “underspecified theoretical apparatus”, weakly elaborating the agency ‘domestic actors’ have in policy decisions.

To sum up, new institutionalism authors dealing with europeanization put an emphasis on empirical data analysis and explanation, leaving clear ontological grounding as a secondary field¹⁶. The results are thick taxonomies and analytical tools of surface events in elite socialization, valid for explaining certain practical situations (processes), but not a comprehensive analysis of interaction between structure, agency and culture (ideas). As Sayer (1998: 12) argues, these theories use “‘flat ontologies’ populated by either objects/actors in progress, already ‘activated’ or experience, or a conflation of both—the activated knowledge in progress and experience”.

Given all these points above, this paper does not want to just critique the existing literature, but rather, suggest a critical realist ontology. Even though CR argues that empiricism is the main problem of social science research nowadays, the mixed field work data cannot ‘fit’ in one of these approaches. They show that actors can be utility maximizers and have culture as their main reference point in decision making. Events can create critical junctures and ideas and environment all matter, but none of these factors alone determine the end result of political decision making. The existing theories can be used in different levels of morphogenesis and stasis (looked in depth in the next chapter). As Archer (1995: 82) notes, structuralist theories deal with structural conditioning, central conflationist theories—with social interaction, but agency based theories with structural elaboration, subsequently the various typologies for empirical analysis provide me with thick parts to put in the complex mechanism of morphogenesis/stasis elaboration, thus removing artificial binaries of structure and agency, as well as across the levels geographically. Therefore I will try to give a different reading on elite socialization processes that might be able to solve these issues.

Chapter 4

Critical realism: A frame for analysis of elite socialization

Critical realism has been widely used in the study of business and organizational environments in organization and business management studies (eg. Fleetwood 2005, Easton 2010, Newton et.al. 2011). In political elite socialization literature it has also been combined with organizational theories and social psychology (Helena D.Cooper-Thomas and Neil Anderson (2007)), as well as constructivism (Al-Amoudi 2011; Bieler 2001; Reed 2005). As shown in the previous chapter, critical realist ontological setting claims being able to overcome the theoretical weaknesses of structuralist and structuration theories by “combin[ing] and reconcile[ing] ontological realism, epistemological relativism and judgemental rationality” (Bhaskar 1998: xi).

Ontologically CR implies a stratified explanation of reality (as opposed to sociological constructivism)—ontological underpinnings, the “independent reality of being” as the intransitive dimension (“the real”) and epistemological underpinnings, knowledge, being the transitive dimension (“the actual”). Consequently current processes and our decisions are layered in three stratas of ontological depth—the real, the actual and the empirical. The domain of the real (objects of knowledge) consists of the “real things and structures, mechanisms and processes, events and possibilities of the world.” (Bhaskar 2008: 12). These ‘real’ objects are structures that have generative powers “which endure and operate independently of our knowledge, our experience and the conditions which allow us access to them.” (Ibid.: 15).” Each of these stratas has three various horizontal aspects for analyzing the developments of particular events: structure, culture (cultural systems), and agency (as mediator) in a temporal setting. There is also a stratification of change - structural conditioning, interaction and elaboration (Archer 1995, 1996, 2007). Sayer (1998: 111, 113) simultaneously calls for analysis through “space-time-matter” as “a whole”, in which the ‘spatial’ being a three dimensional setting for “relations between (and within) the constituents of space.” The space depends on context and conditions (culture and structure) the agents are elaborated (and elaborate upon) and ‘contact each other’ depending “upon spatial forms” (Sayer 1998: 113).

Thus the process of emergence is when “new beings (entities, structures, totalities, concepts) are generated out of pre-existing material form which they could have been neither induced nor deduced [...] This is matter as creative, autopoietic”(Bhaskar 1993: 49). The generative mechanism depends on the creative powers “possessed, unexercised, exercised, unactualized, and actualized undetected or unperceived” by the human agency (Bhaskar 1998: xii). The power ‘possessed’ are the “particular cluster of components” that endure (are transfactual) even if not ‘actualized’ which happens if the ‘possessed’ power is “not being counteracted by any other powers”. On the other hand, the power is ‘exercised’ (triggered) without ‘actualizing it’, when it is “being deflected or counteracted by interference from other exercised powers”(Fleetwood 2004: 46). Hence before looking at which properties become emergent (activated) on

the level of 'actual' through "particular mechanisms [that] produce effects in 'conjunctures' which may be unique" (Sayer 1992:116), we have to analyze the domain of the real, move beyond the empirical looking at the societal interaction of "four dialectically interdependent planes: material transactions with nature, interpersonal relations, social structures and the stratification of the personality"(Archer et al. 1998: 197).

Structure is defined both as content and context, including the conditions, intrinsic qualities of the real entity and the practice, a sort of 'path dependent' historic conditioning for the activities. For Archer (1995: 91) structure is "a complex set of relations between parts", for Sayer (1992, 1999: 14) "a set of internally related objects or elements whose causal powers, when combined are emergent from those of their constituents."

Cultural systems, which are dealt with analytically in exactly the same way as structures, have properties of their own—"property of world of ideas" (Archer 1995: 179), which are "internal and necessary logical relationships between components of the cultural systems". Thus this level looks at various ideational variables and their continuous interaction, intertwining, overlapping, by analytically distinguishing various levels, degrees of cultural uniformity, positions (myths, mysteries etc.) components (theories, beliefs, values or more strictly between the propositional formulations of them).

The linkage (activation) of these "depends upon a 'mediating system' consisting of "the positions (places, functions, rules, tasks, duties, rights, etc.) occupied (filled, assumed, enacted, etc.) by individuals, and of the practices (activities, etc.) in which, in virtue of their occupancy of these positions (and vice versa), they engage"" (Bhaskar, as cited in Archer et al. 1998: 200). Agents are the activators of any change or stasis, conditioned by their environment in first order emergent relations "determine the potential bargaining power of collectivities of primary agents." (Archer 1995: 297) Because Agents are "reflective, purposive, promotive and innovative" (248), firstly persons are agents of the socio-cultural system they are born into (Ibid. 257) and have reflexivity within themselves (the personal Bourdieuean doxa and habitus). Depending on causal properties (the "furnish[ing] of activity" (Archer 1995: 257)—level of reflexivity and consciousness) persons (human beings), they have the potential for becoming agents (mediators) - agents (primary or corporate), and further—social actors.

To analyze the emergent powers agents have, it is necessary to "acknowledge their internal and necessary relationship with structured social group over time" (Archer 1995: 257). Corporate agents emerge after double morphogenesis in interaction phase and "shape the *context* for all actors" (Op. cit. 260), are intentional, and have "capacity to entertain projects and design strategies to accomplish them" (Op. cit. 196) or on the contrary—fail in doing so within the process of socio-cultural interaction or structural interaction. Corporate agents include "the self-conscious vested interest groups, promotive interest groups, social movements and defensive associations. Their common denominators are articulation and organization" (Op. cit. 258). On the contrary, primary agents are not rule, but interest governed and "lack a say in structural or cultural modeling" their "effect on structure are unarticulated in action and unstated in aim"(Archer 1995: 259), but they are able to reconstitute, re-

spond to the *environment* corporate agents are willing to control thus interacting with the corporate agents.

When Agent acquires “an identity as a social self” he/she becomes a Social Actor. This social self emerges after triple morphogenesis (in the elaboration phase), when “particular social identities of individual social actors are forged from agential collectivities in relation to the array of organizational roles which are available in society at the specific point in time” (Archer 256).

Therefore socialization in new values as part of democratization process is happening in all municipalities, but there is no straight uncontaminated transfer of norms in policy implementation, without the interaction with all of the above mentioned through the method of retroduction—“mode of inference in which events are explained by postulating (and identifying) mechanisms which are capable of producing them” (Sayer 1992: 107), i.e. the looking at causal powers of the ‘real’ and their actualization and representation on empirical level. The method of retroduction also implies a different understanding of causality and reason, by denying the positivism of natural science and arguing that the “social world is characterized by the complete absence of laws and explanations conforming to the positivist canon”, social systems are open and individual actions are pre-determined by structure and cultural system, thus the “the domain of emergence allows us to see reasons as causes, but causes which may, for instance, be **rationalizations**” (Bhaskar in Archer et.al. 1998: xv). This requires acknowledging the duality of structure and agency (both conditions and actions, not either-or), because through duality of structure, the structures are “ever-present condition (material cause)” and through duality of praxis (reflexive human agency) a ‘conscious production’ and “(normally unconscious) reproduction of the conditions of production” happens (Bhaskar 2005: 37).

This complex insight and various stratifications broaden the scope of variables to look at; thus helping to explain the sub-national elite socialization and appropriation of agency in the multi-level European setting. We have to look at how the world has become what it is currently, by taking into account history, systems and properties, constraints, enabling and motivating factors.

4.1. Laying the ground: past constraining the present and future

As mentioned before, agency is a mediating factor between the three levels of structural change, for which, as HI already made clear, the past matters. CR takes out the determinism of external critical junctures as moments of change, instead analysing punctuations as aggregations and looking at reasons behind them, because “society is pre-given for the individuals who [...] merely ‘reproduce or transform’ it and thus social practice is always, so to speak, restructuration” (Bhaskar 1983: 84). Therefore structural pre-conditioning includes “interests, resources, powers, constraints and predicaments that are built into each position by the web of relationships. These comprise the material circumstances in which people must act and which motivate them to act in certain ways.” (Bhaskar, as cited by Archer et.al.1998: 201, see also xvi). Only by understanding the overarching events and the distribution of resources as well as corporate and primary agent interaction at the particular point in time can we under-

stand the change and get the gist of why the current situation has emerged in this particular way, i.e., local elites have started development cooperation and international cooperation in general.

In order to analyse how agents within municipalities decide to participate in development cooperation projects we have to understand the existing properties for emergence of agency and the role of socialization in this process.

4.1.1. Structural properties and conditioning

As structural conditions to action Bhaskar (2005: 45) names the initial allocation of various 'real' entities "(a) productive resources (of all kinds, including for example cognitive ones) to persons (and groups) and (b) persons (and groups) to functions and roles (for example in the division of labour)". Thus structural systems are not just constraining and enabling, but also motivating (Archer 1995: 130), because the structural properties include bonuses. As Sayer (1992: 105-7) points out "exercised or suffered" capacity and power depends on their interaction ('contingency') and presence with other mechanisms and activities from actors and agents.

Thus in the case of development cooperation we have to look at institutions, decision making process, the role municipalities have in it, support system and interaction (contingent relations) between these variables in "social conditioning" (according Morphogenetic approach) or "First moment" (1M) and "dialectical edge (2E)" for Bhaskar's transcendental realism. 1M is the "non-identity—that is things are not all the same, but involve many degrees of differentiation and stratification. 1M includes looking at various CR (Bhaskar's) defined distinctions— "transitive and intransitive, Real/Actual/Empirical; emergent powers, stratification, generative causality and mechanisms and events", but 2E focuses on negativity and absence—"the world consists as much of things that are not present as things that are" (Mingers 2010: 14). In brief, this level focuses on agency before the socialization process of development cooperation on LG level has started (at power possessed, but not yet exercised)¹⁷, looking at the existing power balances, constraining or enabling particular praxis to emerge.

Practice and material arrangements also imply roles agents play within them. For Bhaskar (**Bhaskar, cited in Outhwaite 1998: 288**) roles are "experienced, not as a relational property in which the individual stands to the collectives of which he or she is a member, but rather as a systemic set of psychological and microsocial imperatives and constraints." These roles operate in sets according to the institutional setting (practices), the same as positions and can not be "reduced to the characteristics of their occupants" (Archer 1995: 275). With socio-cultural interaction on municipal level, taking into account the way the institutions have been set up, individual contacts play a crucial role. Therefore the initial interest the social actor has strongly conditions which roles (social actor) the person wants to be (the duality of praxis).

Existing practice are one of the most important contextualizations. Archer (1995: 107) defines institutions as "regularized practices, whose very regularity (endurance) depends upon agency invoking the same structural principles in the same way because praxis has become routinized". On the level of agency

conditioning, for Sayer (1999: 16) regularized practice is a ‘necessary relation’ among entities, when “one can not exist without the other”, thus a change in one of the entities, conditions the existence of the other. As Harre (2009: 136),ads, a practice is “produced for a performance of a task”, thus it is the regularity, which is inhabited by humans, who with their activity or lack of it, can elaborate and ‘personify’ it. If the relationships between entities are “neither necessary, nor impossible”, i.e., “contingent”, then these entities exist “independently of each other”, but this does not mean that “they could exist independently of anything” (Sayer 1999: 89, 123). Taking these routines and their control over material resources as ‘ground zero’, we can analyze agency enabling and constraining in institutions.

Logically therefore “material arrangements are important in the determinations and confirmation of the meaning of practices” (Sayer 1992: 33), because they exert their influence upon the realization of interests by ‘opportunity costs’, which in turn are dependent on the interpretation by the actor and his/her interaction with the systems, thus conditioning the choices for willingness to engage in change (morphogenesis) or continuity (morphostasis) (Archer 1995: 208). This implies ‘positioned practices’ (Bhaskar in Archer et.al. 1998: 221) which are mediating systems, the “positions (places, functions, rules, tasks, duties, rights, etc.) occupied by individuals, and of the practices in which, in virtue of their occupancy of these positions (and vice versa), they engage”. The positions involve various vested interests (interests being defined as “a function of their social position”), which are also subject to change with the change in positional grounding (Archer 1995: 203-4).

Archer (1995: 216) divides the ‘positioned practices’ in structural settings in four various institutional relationships (institutions being roles and positions)—necessary complementarities, necessary incompatibilities, contingent complementarities, contingent incompatibilities, reflected in the table below.

Table 4.1.1
”Positioned practices” for second order emergents (agents) as institutional relationships (roles and positions) in structural setting

| Institutional relationship | Institutional relationship | Situational logic (mode of interaction with other group(s)) | Change | Mediatory mechanism ¹⁸ |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Necessary complementarities | Institutions are mutually reinforcing, mutually invoke one another and work in terms of each other, network of interlocking operations, roles and positions | Protection | A lose-lose situation from disruption matrix, premiums with reproduction, penalties - disruption | stable reproduction of practices in the population |
| Necessary incompatibilities | Contradiction between the material conditions of production and the productive institutions of the economic system | Compromise | Forthright promotion of their vested interests could only be overcome at a steep, if not prohibitive, price | cautious balancing act, a weighting of gains against losses, where to accrue bonuses is also to invite or incur penalties |
| Contingent incompatibilities | Generic effect - the greatest gains coincide with inflicting maximum injuries on the | Elimination | Strategic mobilization of material and human resources generates new | Social cleavage which is inimical to orderly reproduction |

| | other side | | forms of social cleavage | |
|----------------------------|--|-------------|--|---|
| Contingent compatibilities | institutional repatterning which is antithetic both to the protective reproduction of the status quo and also to the repressive containment of incompatibilities | Opportunism | Finite resources whose distributions promoted protection of what had been secured, but could be lost | Highly compatible with the interests of particular groups |

Source: based on Archer (1995: 219-227).

By locating these relational positions, developed before the agent ‘comes in’, we can understand the possibilities the agent has in interacting with the structure and elaborating it, if having the potential for activation. These ‘positioned practices’ do not just set the context for the agent (‘relevant circumstances’), but identify the “relationships between the focal entities and the environment” (Easton 2010: 121). These relations give us the gist of development of particular governance mechanisms, power relations, the constituency of elite groups (the corporate agents), or as **Newton et al.(2011: 15-16)** write about institutionalized frameworks of power relations “strategic control remaining under the tutelage of an inner circle of business, political and administrative elites”.

In analysis of local governance, due to its specifics—relatively smaller elites, role of interpersonal relations within the administrative apparatus and decision making—we are able understand the basis for networks, which also create the information asymmetries and reasons for veto points and veto player behaviour.

4.1.2. Cultural properties

Cultural configurations are “the maintenance of ideas which stand in manifest logical contradiction or complementarily to others, places, their holders in different ideational positions” (Archer 1995: 227). This political culture, the informal rules as “networks, social norms and values in general, but also spontaneous privatization, corruption, cronyism, mafia-ization, tunneling, arrears, labor hoarding, barter, tax evasion, informal economy or, on the other hand, trust, social capital, new work and business ethics and informal cooperation” (Chavance 2008: 57), conditions how ‘authoritative figures’ (corporate agents) do the ‘artificial selection’ among them to develop and solve policy problems. These cultural configurations or ‘systems of meaning’ the same as structures are mediated through human ‘social interaction’ (Sayer 1992: 21), when embedded in social self, they become ‘conventions’, that constitute the interpretations of common meanings ‘Verstehen’, appropriated differently by agents (Sayer 1992: 38). These ‘Verstehen’ can be considered norms, which trigger different results when interacting with formal rules and producing change, depending on their interaction and embeddedness in corporate agents, can influence the decision making and systemic change (Chavance 2008:61).

Also in cultural systems positions imply roles, which in turn imply vested interests that are constrained and enabled by logic of appropriateness. This interaction of vested interests imply four various cultural configurations and their interactional logics, summarized in a table below.

Table 4.1.2

Cultural configurations and their interactional logics

| | A interaction with B | | Corrective action |
|--|--|--|---|
| Constraining contradiction <i>(necessary incompatibilities)</i> | A has no choice but to cope with B, i.e., make the ideational environment more hospitable (to B) or perish in it. | Cultural tension conditions ideational unification | Makes social containment tempting and logical correction mandatory (resulting either in restricted access to material or restrictions on intellectual enterprise) (1) A <- B, i.e. correcting B so it becomes consistent with A. (2) A <-• B, i.e. correcting both A and B so they become mutually consistent. (3) A -• B, i.e. correcting A so it becomes consistent with B. |
| Concomitant complementarity <i>(necessary complementarities)</i> | A IS adopting B wholesale or flying in the face of its manifest benefits | Problem-free to the actors involved. The consistency of its components makes exploring B rewarding for protagonists of A (ideational bonuses) | Encouraging maximum exposure to congruent ideas but inducing maximum closure against innovation Invoking A also ineluctably evokes B, but since the B upon which this A depends is consistent with it, then B buttresses adherence to A. A occupies a congenial environment of ideas |
| Competitive contradiction <i>(contingent incompatibilities)</i> | Alternatives are present but actors are presented with a forced choice between A and B | Interest groups cause the contradiction to impinge on broader sections of the (relevant) population | Every pressure is brought to bear to decrease their subjective attractions, to discourage synthesis, and to foster stable alignment-reducing the potential for ideational diversity. For protagonists of A, who find themselves confronting a constraining contradiction, penalties accrue if B is not somehow corrected; for partisans of another A who are faced with a competitive contradiction, bonuses are associated with unbridled injurious conflict. |
| Contingent complementarity | A simultaneously holds out choices to the adherents of A but leaves them free to make what they will (if anything) of B. | Increase the opportunity for cultural free play, this requires Socio-Cultural opportunists to take advantage of it | No containment strategies or exposure policies associated with - free from Socio-Cultural manipulation, designed to induce avoidance or adoption or aversion. Agents concerned have substantial freedom to survey or to ignore the broader horizon which has come into view. |

Source: Based on Archer (1995: 229-244).

These configurations of corporate agency, their relationships within each other gives us an understanding of political culture—what choices the corporate agents think they have and how much free space for action they can impose on primary agents. These properties deal with the influence of cultural systems (NI), socialization methods and reasons, because knowledge as a form of power is causal through the discourse it generates “if it can have effects, it must also be capable of being causal, that is capable of producing change” (Sayer 1999: 97). In the European context Bailey (2008: 236) uses this stratum as part of his analysis of social policy in European context as a way of identifying “the national divergence of values and practices [...] and the predominance of natural identities and national oriented popular political activity”. In the context of this work, the ‘values and practices’ and their variations, thus situational logics have to be analyzed deeper—among the political elites, between the political elites and various groups of society both horizontally and vertically, and, by looking at their interaction *and* the interaction with structural properties, we can explain the elaboration of development cooperation or lack thereof.

4.2. Socio-cultural interaction

“What distinguishes the phenomena the scientist actually produces from the totality of the phenomena she could produce is that, when her experiment is successful, it is an index of what she does not produce.” The objects of experimental activity are not events and their conjunctions, but structures, generative mechanisms and the like (forming the real basis of causal laws), which are normally out of phase with the patterns of events which actually occur. (Bhaskar 1998: 10).

The socio-cultural interaction level deals with the activated (emerged) properties of structure, cultural systems and agency. This level deals with the interaction of identified properties, it “brings in parts/wholes, inter-relations and inter-activity, recursive embeddings and reflexivity” (Mingers 2010: 15), the practice when meeting the conscious agent becomes praxis, i.e., “when activated, particular mechanisms produce effects in ‘conjunctures’ which may be unique” (Sayer 1992: 116).

Table 4.2.1

When morphogenesis versus when morphostasis

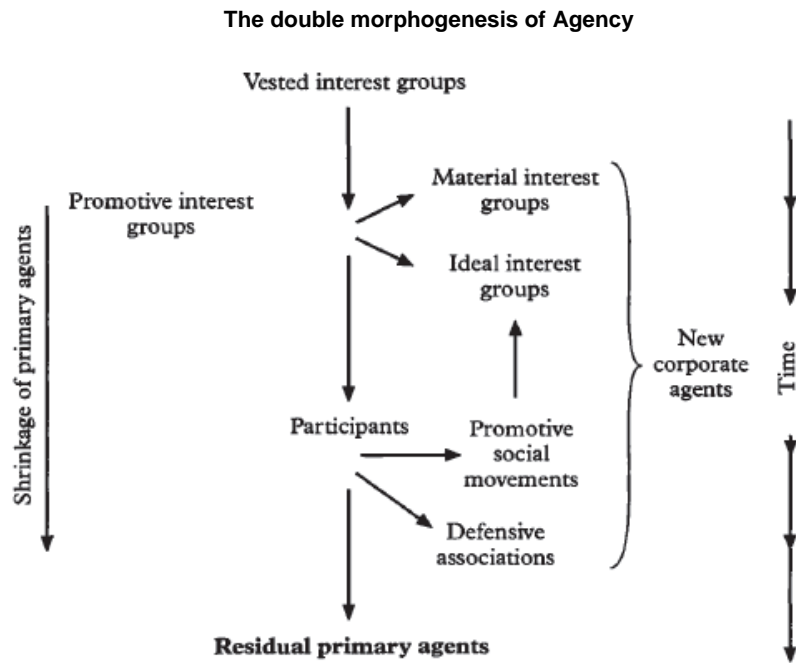
| | | | | | |
|--------------------|------|--|--------------------------|---------------|--|
| | | High | Low | | |
| SOCIAL INTEGRATION | High | Necessary complementarity | Necessary contradiction | Morphostasis | |
| | Low | Contingent complementarity | Contingent contradiction | Morphogenesis | |
| | | SYSTEMIC INTEGRATION (structural or cultural) | | | |

Source: Archer 1995: 296

The conditional level and the interaction of ‘real’ properties in it are not deterministic; their interaction mutually conditions change or failure of it, by affecting information availability. The dualistic interaction of structure and culture (for Sayer ‘contextualization of events’) with the respective elites is constrained both ways—through cultural and structural retroduction (depicted in table 4.2.1), which involves human beings in various pre-conditioned power levels with “their capacity to entertain project and design strategies to accomplish them (successfully or not)” (Archer 1995:196). By understanding the ‘real’ interaction with already elaborated events, we can explain emergence of socialization in some areas and lack of it in others. The emergent properties (activation) of an entity “are properties possessed only by the entity as a whole, not by its components of the simple aggregating of the components (as for example in mass). Emergent properties result from the components and the particular structure of relationships between the components which constitute the entity” (Mingers 2010:4), their “*powers* and *liabilities* generate the events that actually occur” (Bhaskar, cited in Mingers 2010: 9). Using analogies from Giddens and the ‘two sides of the same coin’, in analyzing interaction, we have to

look at the coin as a whole, where one side is culture and the other structure and the drove is the agency that interacts between both of them. Each coin is a unique one, thus the symbols on front and reverse (how, why and by how many and whom practice becomes praxis) have to be analyzed deeper, to determine what can you actually buy, i.e., elaborate at the end of the interaction process. This interaction level leading to morphogenesis or stasis is widely analyzed by CI, which can be used if added the additional layer of ‘real’ and losing the determinism of any particular structural, cultural or agency properties (as utility maximization in Schimmelfenning’s CI and RCI model), thus not being able to fully predict the end result—change or continuity.

Figure 4.2.1



Source: Archer 1995: 275

Double morphogenesis of agency, which is the interaction of corporate agents and primary ones, is the acknowledgement of the stratified emergent powers of both the ‘parts’ and the ‘people’, thus the examination of their interplay leads to distributional regrouping (Archer 1995: 194)). Agency is constituted as a result of double morphogenesis, especially in the time of change, “people collectively generate the elaboration of structure and culture, but they themselves undergo elaboration as people at the same time” (Archer 1995: 253), Sayer (1992: 19) calls it “human development or ‘self change’”. Agents “supply activity with a purpose” (Sayer 1992: 32, Archer 1995: 257) and determine “who out of the total population, acquires which roles within the total role array”. As Sayer (1992:11) has noted “reasons given by actors for their actions may not always be the real reasons, [...] actors may not be aware of it let alone know the reasons for their action”. Therefore distinguishing between “generative mechanisms and intervening factors” (Archer 1995: 71) is crucial, we have to dig in to the causalities of actors action (even though we can not

know it all, but we *can try*) by deconstructing each particle and following the traces they lead us, again speaking in Giddens' definitions, the 'bracketing off' has to happen not on structure and agency, but starting from events genealogically bracketing off the 'intervening factors' on empirical and actual level in the properties of agents, structures and culture to get to the 'real' emerging properties.

4.2.1. Structure and agency interaction

Structural interaction with the conscious human agent produces either change by "modifying current internal and necessary structural relationships and introducing new ones [...] or social interaction reproduces existing internal and necessary structural relations when morphostasis applies" (Archer 1995: 167). Taking examples from CI, the change in corporate and primary agency can be analyzed with looking into negation systems in EU, which are "intergovernmental in nature and as such convenience the national governments and bureaucracies over the parliaments, interest groups, and other political actors" (Wallace 2007: 3) looking also at the properties of elites represented there—do they, eg. now English, participate in the meetings and what they do upon return, how is the structure of decision making locally for the cooperation to start, does the municipality actually have the financial resources to implement these ideas and who is dealing with this and how much 'interpretive freedom' does he/she have to activate the 'positioned practice'. Thus we also need to look at the bureaucratic decision making, the coordination systems and their centralization level (eg. See Chapter 12 on opportunism and negative integration and Chapter 4 on coordination systems in Radaelli 2003: 279). Heterodox theories that deal with shifts of capital production in liberal capitalism and its influence on bureaucratic decision making are also useful. For example, Van der Pijl develops the term of 'functional unity' as 'unification of divided labour', one 'vested interest' group for analysing the development of techno-managerialism class of officials being inside the main decision making structures. Their tasks are such as "(a) the management of complex labour processes under the discipline of capital; (b) the provision of qualified workers capable of performing in them; (c) upholding the legitimacy of an order in which collective labour remains subordinate to the direction by others than the producers themselves; and (d) training and reproducing themselves as a class (Bihr and Boltanski in van der Pijl 2007)".

Thus in the structure and agency interaction, we are "agents of the systemic features [we] transform" (Archer 1995: 257) or fail to transform, or, if being in a primarily agent position without emergent properties, we react and reproduce. In this phase primary agents also have to deal with other institutions or organizations and their interactional consequences, "which different sections of the population have to face and with which they have to deal strategically" (Archer 1995: 202). Archer calls these 'second order emergent properties'.

4.2.2. Culture and agency interaction

The same applies for cultural systems: the agency also interacts in real time with the "socio-cultural system into which they are born into" (Archer 1995:

257). An example is Flockhart's (2006: 89) 'complex socialization model', which puts an emphasis on cognitive comfort and positive self esteem as determinants of behavior (thus the cultural emergent properties as influential on activating agency), as well constrains various resources put on socialization strategy implementation (the structural properties). But looking deeper this 'comfort' is dependent on the socialization in culture, the values, worldviews and their variation accessible to the agent and the relations between these various cultural systems, i.e. the *degree of* cultural uniformity produced by the ideational influence of one set of people on another (Archer 1995: 179), as for example di Maggio analyses the role of culture in sociological isomorphism. For their appropriation of new ideas Beyers (2010: 914) uses secondary socialization, which can be used with critical realist ontology, putting emphasis on past processes and looking at the socialized persons past experiences in other fields, the 'redressing' of existing norms and rules and the temporality of socialization, as Archer(2004: 314) states: "social identity of each human being who achieves one is not only made *under* circumstances which are not of their own choosing, but is partly made *out* of them."

The interaction with culture is through various techniques, such as "manipulation, mystification, legitimization, persuasion and argumentation." (Archer 1995: 179) All of them analyzed in 'soft' and 'hard' European integration and described in NI 'logic of appropriateness'. Using the example of van der Pijl's 'techo-managerial class', (NI 'professionalization') as "intermediate agents", that might find the norms neutral, but continue to communicate them, becoming norm entrepreneurs in domestic level (Flockhart 2006: 104). Agents can have an influence only if the norm exchange is also happening among elites and they are open to new ideas, which depends on which ideas they get access to/prioritize by working under constrained information in bounded rationality (Beyers 2010: 936). In setting the institutional agenda, he (Ibid. 927) argues that horizontally specialized domestic civil services are more prone to supranational role perceptions and socialization than vertical ones, because they are supposed to "transcend territorially intergovernmental thinking". But the most influential knowledges holders can be identified by identifying the "factor responsible for it, that helped produce, or at least facilitated [phenomenon under generalization]" (Lawson 1998: 156).

4.3. Agency elaboration

The study of process where structure meets events; that is in the study of the mode of becomming, bestaying and begoing of a structure or thing"

(Bhaskar, cited in Mingers 2010: 13).

The end result of integration (morphostasis or morphogenesis) to Archer or 4D to Bhaskar is the dimension when praxis has become a new practice or failed to do so. This change is visible on the event level in power relations, which is characterized similarity as the critical juncture in HI within the space-time-matter and "involves some kind of change to a situation for if nothing changes there is no event" (Mingers 2010: 12).

The transition from interaction (primary or corporate agency) to elaboration of agency (social actor) is conditioned by existing agency in the social system (Archer 1995: 275), the positioning of roles and regrouping of role-rule sets (relational property of people), involves inventing new emergent properties “rules for new games which contain more roles in which Social Actors can be themselves” (Archer 1995:280). For example, change in ‘necessary relations’, new corporate agents, power balances—the properties described in conditioning phase, because this elaborations means that “once something is achieved, new conditions and demands necessarily come into being” (Sayer 1999: 16), leading to a relative period of strengthening of current positions of power and property relations until another cycle of morphogenesis or stasis, which happens when generative properties are activated.

With all this in mind, we can start depicting the way development cooperation has been introduced on local governance level. Socialization in new values as part of democratization process is happening in all municipalities, but there is no straight uncontaminated transfer of norms in policy implementation, without the interaction with all of the above mentioned processes, which can be uncovered through the method of retrodution.

Chapter 5

Case study: The ‘real’ contamination of socialization

By introducing the ontological grounds of CR in analysing development policy introduction in I would like to show how socialization of elected political elites is just one of the variables that has to be analyzed for understanding how and why LGs become (or fail to become) development cooperation social actors, by looking at their elaboration of double and after triple morphogenesis.

In the 20 years of independence Latvia has undergone various structural and cultural changes that manifest themselves in the institutional relations and setting, the political relations (identity, political culture) and social relations, thus the morphogenesis of agency is conditioned by various morphogenetic cycles in structure and in cultural systems. These morphogenetic (or static) circles conditioned the way development cooperation at supranational level emerged.

5.1. The Local elites: first encounters with development cooperation, genesis of primary and corporate agents

Firstly, it has to be noted, that development cooperation is not considered a local governance matter. Latvian local governments’ first socialization in this policy came on national level in 1990s, when LALRG was trained within the transition process by Danish Union of Local Authorities and the Norwegian Association of Local Governments. As the current Secretary General of LALRG notes,

“we started developing this experience much faster than our country, because we were involved by our partners [...] who worked with both African countries and the former Soviet Union countries, [we were taken] as good practice, as a good example, especially in association building and negotiations with the Government, they mentioned us [to their partners].”

She also notes, that the reasons for involvement were the close cultural ties:

“it has always been stressed that once upon we were together [in the USSR], even so close, that we can understand each other's jokes, but a Norwegian will never understand Georgian jokes. We understand that, because we have that common history, that past and [...] we somehow understand each other better, of course, also the knowledge of Russian language is always very important, because you can immediately speak without an interpreter.”

Through this opportunity LALRG became corporate agent for international donors. Their structure as being the Association of LGs also conditioned the participation of chairpersons in this process as the main experience holders in transition from communism to democracy, development of local government. This can be seen as the double morphogenesis of LALRG, influenced by historically developed cultural ties, the financial incentives and institutional

support from these donors involved. Chairpersons of LGs were becoming primary agents in the area of development cooperation, two of them were interviewed – L.Gintere, the chairwoman of Jaunpils LG (working since 1987), Edvins Bartkevics is the chairman of Ogre LG (at that time Ogre city) since 1992. It has to be noted, that not all LG Chairpersons were involved in this process equally, the ones in the LALRG Board were more involved. After joining the EU, the donors withdraw from Latvia and LALRG started developing its own development bilateral cooperation strategies and search for funding possibilities, elaborating their interests and engaging in promotive activities, i.e., undergoing triple morphogenesis and becoming a social agent.

The Chairpersons involved are almost the same as a decade ago—Ligita Gintere, Leonids Salcevs (Jekabpils CC), Andris Ravins (Jelgava CC), Edvins Barktevics. L. Salcevs has become a corporate agent on the national level, being one of the main project participants in LALRG project in Georgia, where LALRG helped to establish the Georgian Local Government association. He states that LGs have to participate in development cooperation due to ideational reasons and also European Union, who finances these programmes:

“[W]e are already in this role, [...] educated, so rich with experience, that these [post-soviet] countries choose us as mentors. [...] And we have to be proud, that Georgia takes us as an example, Azerbaijan does. And Europe trusts us in delivering this democracy message further and teaching it to other countries, how to rightly organize life in your own country.”

The chairpersons agree on the need for LALRG to be an active and innovative development policy social actor, but their morphogenesis to a higher level locally, is influenced by various combinations of material, ideational and agency factors, their different role arrays within their own constituency, that interact with their agency under the guidance of LALRG as a social actor. Therefore looking at socialization in cultural norms alone does not give us the answer to actualization of their personal exercised power on the national level, therefore we have to unpack the local level, its various conditions, both structural, ideational, the interests behind them that actualize the necessary relations between practices.

5.2. The emergence of social agents on local level and the interest in development cooperation

The emergence of new roles requires necessary complementarities of development cooperation for the, we have to look at the creative power stemming from various local properties, which create particular clusters of necessary compatibilities for the development cooperation praxis to emerge, by the Social Actor (singular for agent) choice to identify himself with a particular role and actively to personify it (Archer 1995: 276). At various timelines, different LGs have chosen to personify themselves with the role of development cooperation agents. By analysing the triggers, the ‘exercised’ powers and ‘actualized’ ones or lack of it, the necessary relations between them, we can find the ‘real’ entities of material and ideation conditions, which allow the process of emergence to happen. It has to be noted, that they are not ‘fixed in stone’ and per-

manent, because their emergence was a result of another creative process of another set of entities with their creative powers ‘activated’ development cooperation and this ‘emergence’ of social agency has emergent powers of itself. Therefore looking at social agency ‘choice of interest’, we have to look beyond CI social relativism (that leads to determinism), because in each of the LGs the emergence of interest, does not mean that this sort of cooperation was the first choice of the LGs, but particular previous morphogenetic or static cycles have developed the generative tendency as being the only choice at that particular time – instead of looking at the constellations, we look beyond them and within them, if you will.

The developed bilateral development cooperation programmes within the MFA and EuropeAid (Appendice F) in post-soviet space was introduced by Jaunpils LG, Jelgava LG (at that time Jelgava District Council), Jekabpils LG, Ogre LG, Sigulda LG and Skrunda LG. All of them have a a common particular set of material, ideational and agential conditions, in a distinct combination from other Chairpersons. They all are long term local political elites, which are in close relation with the ‘old’ pre- EU LALRG Board members, ‘nostalgia’ for soviet culture, common history–shared by both political elites and project managers and particular financial possibilities for project development, conditioned by the geographical location of the LG they represent. It has to be mentioned, that these are the qualities I was able to locate through interviews, there might be also other variables that are important and have causal powers, but have not been discovered yet.

Firstly, all of these elites are in their posts for a long term, remember the Soviet history and were actively involved in 1991 revolution and transition process to democracy. L.Gintere was appointed Chairwoman of Jaunpils LC in 1987, I.Savicka was the economic advisor for the Jelgava District Council Chairperson until 1994, when she became the Chairperson of Jelgava District Council and remained in the post until 2009, when she was succeeded by Z.Caune after the establishment of Jelgava Local Government as geographic entity. Also the Chairperson of Jekabpils CC L.Salcevicis is one of the longest serving mayors in Latvia (now in his forth term), similarity as that time mayor of Sigulda Local Government T.Pukitis (1990-2009, also lost his post with administrative reform). N.Kleinberga became Chairwoman of Skrunda LG in 2005, formerly working in Kuldiga Local council for four years. She is also a close friend to L.Gintere–they have finished the same university (L.Gintere graduated the first). N. Kleinberga in the interview noted, that “she went for advice on her Masters Thesis”–at the time when L.Gintere was not a mayor yet.

Secondly, this remembrance of morphogenesis of democracy in Latvia leads us to second property–nostalgia and commonly shared life-histories, this is shared also by the project managers of these particular LGs. For example-the case of Ogre, when the project manager explains her reasons for participation: “We are working with the projects, so we see all of the financial opportunities, when there was a new competitions; and the countries seemed like interesting ones, nostalgia from the Soviet times.”

Thirdly, minor conditioning is stemming from the long term political leadership, is the network ties developed in LALRG between chairpersons and the

permanent apparatus of LALRG. All of the above mentioned chairpersons were board members of LALRG in 2005, or had their advisors working there (The current LALRG Secretary General was at that time working for Jelgava District council). This put them also in an information advantage on possibilities of cooperation, because as LALRG Secretary General notes, that the persons easier to reach for participation in the visits “respectively, they are the members of the [LALRG] Board, because they are the most informed about it, so... But, overall, [chairpersons] are quite responsive when we suggest [to receive foreign delegations].”

Another common systemic quality is the absence of knowledge of European official languages of the officials (local administrative and cultural corporate and primary agents) working in the LG. This is a practical reason why the decision is made to cooperate in the post soviet space—to still have the experience exchange and participate in international matters, exchange ideas. This can not be purely argued as specificity for Chairpersons, because the Mayor of Ogre knows English—but this could be a reason why Ogre stopped participating in development cooperation—administrative apparatus since their development programmes changed (younger, with independent Latvian University education), distorting the necessary ‘package for development cooperation’ and activating the one for westernized international cooperation.

All these four mentioned are qualities are shared by people growing up in a particular historical setting, not just the elites mentioned above, but also by Chairpersons in Latgale, region bordering with Russia and having a high Slavic population. The divergence here comes from different availability of financial resources for cooperation. The LGs starting development cooperation with EU and MFA financial programmes are from Pierīga, Zemgale and Kurzeme planning districts, their international cooperation funds do not allow them to cooperate with post-soviet countries. On the other hand Latvian border regions with Russia and Belarus, as mentioned in Chapter 2, have separate programmes within ENPI – EstLatRus and LatLitBel respectively. These grants include mandatory ‘soft’ professional experience and culture exchange between the countries, for example Daugavpils LG is implementing a project with Vitebsk oblast Braslav District in Belarus, building an aerodrome and hospital, additionally organizing the exchange and training of medical staff. Thus to acquire local legitimacy, attract finances locally, for them there is a *need* to cooperate with LGs. outside EU and exchange best practice. Even though they would prefer to cooperate with Western countries (Language is still a barrier), they cooperate with their neighbouring regions for local benefit, not as ‘development actors’. Latgale region interviewed LG officials insist, that they themselves have to develop.

With this example I would like to show how critical realist stratified understanding of ontology and recognition of complex relationships between structure and agency, material and ideation, real, actual and empirical gives a richer insight in why processes start happening, because this example shows the critical realist possibility to take all the best developed analytical parts from each of the institutionalisms, not becoming deterministic. For example, NI very well explains norm transfer and the problems new norm socialization faces when countered with deeply embedded old norms. RCI explains the willing-

ness to participate in development cooperation through the financial incentives and HI explains why there is a particular need for cooperation with the regions in post-soviet space.

But critical realism by recognizing the complexity of social systems allows me to explain why, for example Ogre local government is not anymore involved in development cooperation due to the change in administrative officials who know English and thus develop different dynamics. Also the continuation of funding explains why Jaunpils still continues the cooperation with Georgia, but Skrunda, on the other hand does not.

Further research and understanding of conditioning, interaction, elaboration allows to see the how these conditions and interests - nostalgia' for soviet culture, common history—shared by both political elites and project managers and particular financial possibilities for project development, conditioned by the geographical location of the LG they represent-can be activated or on the contrary, exercised, giving different results.

Final remarks

“To ask for the cause of something is to ask ‘what makes it happen’, what ‘produces’, ‘generates’, ‘creates’ or determines” it, or, more weakly, what ‘enables’ or ‘leads to it’

(Sayer 1992: 104)

This paper tried to give two values added to the analysis of elite socialization in European context – insight in reasons for development cooperation development on Local governance level and through depicting this process, showing the drawbacks of existing analytical tools. Therefore provide a new approach to elite socialization analysis.

The institutionalisms look at the level of actual, the process in progress, but by looking deeper on objects and conditioning we can explain the divergences, thus I would like to claim that through the analysis of interaction between real and actual, there is a hybridization of socialization, which, as a process can not be distinguished from domestic patters, events and history. By using retroduction method and searching for the ‘real’ structural, cultural systems and agency properties, we can see the conditional elements, that allow certain socialization in some areas, not other.

Main conclusion for empirical data analysis shows, that elite socialization in development cooperation on local level conditions more the opposite–stemming away from the socialization in Western values and using this socialization tool for advancing their cultural interests (“nostalgia”) in post-soviet region. This nostalgia is shared by many Latvian local government elites which can be described as ‘old’, lacking English language skills to participate in other projects, but just few of them were able to advance them, basing on the conditioning of their material base (geographic location that conditioned the availability of the particular financial programmes and lack of others).

But to look at why certain local governments are able to advance them, we have to look further than at the level of ‘actual’ where the new-institutionalism theories are

Of course, these conditions and interests behind political elite praxis are in a specific policy area, the necessary conditions for particular creative powers to get activated and interests behind it would be different. For example, if the analysis would focus on socialization in education policy development, because the ‘real’ properties and their interaction are different.

Critical realist ontology and methodology could be used in further analysis of cultural compatibilities among political elites between the Latvian municipalities and their partners in understanding the impact of this cooperation policy.

Notes

- ¹ The author of these lines while working in Jaunpils LG Council from April 2010 until September 2010 took part in preparing a cooperation project with Georgia
- ² Pieriga region, Riga City as adjoining areas
- ³ The LATLITBEL programme does not include promotion of people to people cooperation as its priority, but it is included under measure 5 (Strengthening of social-cultural networking and community development) for the first priority (Promoting sustainable economic and social development)
- ⁴ The ontological framework for these authors is of secondary importance.
- ⁵ See Hall and Taylor 1996; Jupille et.al. 2003, Rutherford 1994; Peters 1999
- ⁶ It has to be noted, that most of these authors have been writing on europeanization for at least a decade within various forms of institutionalisms, so it is impossible to distinguish a single new institutionalism strain for each of them.
- ⁷ NI emphasizes “the relative autonomy of political institutions, possibilities for inefficiency in history, and the importance of symbolic action” (March and Olsen 1984: 734), also see March and Olsen 1989, 2009.
- ⁸ More on logic of appropriateness, development of rules and institutional isomorphism see Powell and DiMaggio 1983; March and Olsen 1984, 2009; Scott 1987, on norm life cycle and appropriation process Finnemore and Sikkink’s 1998
- ⁹ This approach includes various schools, institutions as rules (Ostrom 1990, North 1990), decisions as rules (Ostrom and Arrow, Olson), Principal Agent and Game theory models (Weingast 1996, Grief 2002). There are also varieties of rational choice institutionalisms in economics, focusing on decisions and institutions as rules, property rights (North 2002), transaction costs (Williamson 1979, 1985, 2000) and contracts (Grief 2005). For an overview of the differences in RCI Eggertsson and Eggertsson 1999.
- ¹⁰ Similarity as RCI, also HI was varieties within it, this chapter will look at Swen Steinmo’s and Stephen D. Krasner’s approaches to history as the outcome of rational and purposeful behavior, another strain of HI focuses more on unintended consequences as important factors in determining the outcome. For a deeper analysis of varieties within HI see Steinmo, Thelen and Longstreth 1992, Thelen 1999, Hay and Wincott 1998.
- ¹¹ This chapter will not go into depth on the variations of structuration theory after Giddens, for analysis of divergences in structuration theory see, for example ON2004 155 on Sewell (1992, p. 19), Dessler
- ¹² “The politics of Europeanization” (2003) edited by Radaelli and Featherstone and International Organization volume (vol.59-4)(2005) “International Institutions and Socialization in Europe” edited by Checkel prove the point perfectly
- ¹³ This definition goes together with Pierre Bourdieu described doxa (worldview) and role of habitus and field in identity formation
- ¹⁴ The first one using RCI understanding of utility maximizing individuals, the second – more NI.
- ¹⁵ On agential properties also see Hooghe 2005.
- ¹⁶ For an elaborate critique on HI and RCI ontological problems, see Hay and Wincott, 1998 or Sayer (1992)

¹⁷ Archer's morphogenetic approach focuses on the activated powers, but to understand why some achieve morphogenesis and some do not, we have to analyze the practice before they have become persistent over time

¹⁸ The localtion of these relationships in the conditionality phase are important in understanding their interaction in the interaction phase.

Appendices

A

Overview of data gathered from fieldwork interviews

| | Auce local government | | Daugavpils Local Government | |
|--|---|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| | G. Kaminskis, chairman | S. Zesere, project coordinator | J. Jalinska, chairwoman | S. Balode, project coordinator |
| In office from | 2009 | 04.01.2010. | 2009 (1980) | 1994/5 |
| Project unit in Council since | n.a. | 2009 | n.a. | 1994/5 |
| Development (project unit) | | 4 people, 1 with international | n.a. | 4 people, 3 with international |
| Former work | Head of Auce District Council | Project coordinator in Dobeles district council. Foreign language teacher in Auce Secondary school, folk dance teacher | Līksna municipality council, chairperson, deputy head of Daugavpils District council | n.a. |
| Languages known | English, Russian | English, Russian, German | Latvian, Russian | Latvian, Russian, English |
| Representation in LALRG | Yes | Not yet | Yes | Yes |
| Area size (km ²) | 517,8 | | 1877,6 | |
| Population of Latvians | 75% | | 35% | |
| Economic interests | It is a part of every aspect | Play a role | Weak response from entrepreneurs | No, because of customs |
| Contacts with other municipalities | With LALRG regional development committee, board members, Zemgale planning district | Neighboring ones, formerly included in Dobeles district | Within Latgale planning region | Within Latgale planning region |
| Other foreign municipalities socialized with | Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Norway, Germany | Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Germany, unofficial cooperation with Norway and France | Germany, more prone for cooperation with EU member states | Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Lithuania |
| Participation in LALRG development projects | Not in delegations to post-soviet regions | Not yet | No | n.a. |
| Majority of deputies-thoughts on cooperation | n.a. | Project managers explain and persuade in long-term benefits | Consensus | n.a. |
| Region - where | Russia, Moldova | Brjansk, Ungen Moldova | Belarus, Ukraine | Belarus, Ukraine |
| When activated | | After the administrative reform in 2009 | n.a. | n.a. |

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|--|
| Why activated | Mutual experience exchange | Economic contacts for businessman, new markets, information | With Belarus-border, with Ukraine - a delegation from Ministry of Welfare | Because it is money, and by writing projects we can save it |
| Contacts started with | From District council, with Moldova - from LALRG visit | Motivation and interests of local residents | | |
| What partners have taken from Latvia | Local government experience, business, education | Infrastructure (waste management), cultural event organizing | Democracy on local level, role of deputies, party management | Project management |
| Areas of cooperation | Youth, sports, business, culture | Youth | Culture, education, infrastructure (hospitals) | With Vitebsk - development of Luciku air-drome in Daugavpils Local Government, culture |
| Obstructive factors | Borders | Financial resources | Visas | Business laws, visas |
| Shared experience to other local governments | With a lot of local governments- there is a partner contract with Ilūkste Local government | n.a. | n.a. | Preiļi, Krāslava |
| Which municipalities are most active? | The ones close to borders with Russia and Belarus | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| People most involved | Chairperson, development unit, PR unit, education institutions | | | Ideas from development unit |
| Finance | n.a. | Outside EU - local government council financed programmes. "Garbage can" of ideas, when a project tool opens, realized | EU LAT-LIT-Belarus programme | EU LAT-LIT, LAT-Belarus, In Belarus since 2010 - INTERREG |
| Other finances working with | n.a. | EU cross-border LAT-LIT programme, Europe for Citizens, Youth in Action, Comenius | n.a. | Local government budget |
| Role of EU | Not a big influence | | Member of CoR, has not been to any meetings yet | Without EU funding - cooperation on a lower level |

| | Jaunpils Local Government | | Jekabpils City Council | |
|--|---|--|---|--|
| | L. Gintere, Chairwoman | V. Ziverte, Project manager | L. Salcevicis, Chairman | S. Gogule, Project coordinator |
| In office from | 1987 | n.a. | 1997 | 2003 |
| Project unit in Council since | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 2003 |
| Development (project unit) | n.a. | 3, all with international | n.a. | 2 in 2003, now 4, in 'good years' - 6 |
| Former work | n.a. | Geography and economics teacher at Jaunpils Secondary | Head of University | |
| Languages known | n.a. | Russian, Latvian, learning English | Latvian, Russian, English | Latvian, Russian, in English we hire a consulting company |
| Area (km ²) | 210,2 | | 25,5 | |
| Population of Latvians | 98% | | High activism from Roma, Polish, Belarus, Ukrainian, Russian associations | n.a. |
| Economic interests | n.a. | Play no role, ideas come first, finance after | Assembly and packaging of goods in Latvia (produced in Belarus) | Investment, industry development |
| Contacts with other municipalities | Skrunda, Tukums | n.a. | Valmiera, Big City Association, LALRG | Zemgale Planning district, Aizkraukle, Koknese, Pļaviņas, Krustpils |
| Other foreign municipalities socialized with | n.a. | n.a. | Germany, but in Jekabpils - problems with NGO development | Germany |
| Participation in LALRG development projects | Yes, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Georgia | Moldova wants to cooperate, but no human resources and finance | With Georgia | Georgia |
| Majority of deputies-thoughts on cooperation | n.a. | Does not matter | n.a. | A proof of benefit for visits and cooperation, mostly dev. unit does to them with ideas an possibilities, cooperation takes too much of administrative resources |
| Region - where | Italy, Georgia | n.a. | Belarus, Azerbaijan, Georgia | Just refreshing contacts, until now very weak, Lida (Belarus) |
| When activated | n.a. | 2008 | n.a. | n.a. |
| Why activated | We just wanted to cooperate and an opportunity came | Active people in Latvian-Georgian cooperation | Mentality to Belarus and Russia is close | Activism of chairman, his representation in CoR |
| Contacts started with | Personal contacts with Skrunda chairperson, LALRG offered - which local governments want to cooperate | NGO (Vija is the Head of Jaunpils Life-Long Learning Centre) | Regional committee | Through Zemgale Planning Region |

| | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|---|
| What partners have taken from Latvia | Local civic society involvement | Citizens forums | "White glove" policy on democracy promotion, but in civil engagement for street crime prevention, | A lot, but Jekabpils has no benefit |
| Areas of cooperation | n.a. | Civic involvement in decision making for refugees, craftsmanship, culture, human resource development | Culture, youth also, but economy most important, support for businessmen | Culture |
| Obstructive factors | Reciprocity - Jaunpils is a small administrative unit, finance and human resources | Language, finance | Bureaucracy, but all of them you can solve if you have the desire. People sometime do not understand what is needed from them; also the geographic location is an obstructive factor (about some people living in a secluded area) | Finance programmes (for Zemgale planning district Lat-Lit-Belarus programmes are not available). LANGUAGE (also for project writing) Political elite knows just Russian, thus target areas are still mostly post-soviet space, projects sent directly to Brussels are harder to write |
| Shared experience to other local governments | Yes, because they widen the opportunities and contacts | In Latvia not really, but a lot of local governments in Georgia | n.a. | n.a. |
| Which municipalities are most active? | n.a. | A lot, for example, Skrunda | n.a. | n.a. |
| People most involved | Chairwoman and Vija Ziverte | Chairwoman and Vija Ziverte | Chairman | Chairman, deputy chairman, |
| Finance | n.a. | n.a. | Not ready to use municipal financial resources, through programmes, willing to participate | Lat-Lit, PHARE |
| Other finances working with | Local government budget for cultural exchanges within European Union | US fund through SEB Bank | n.a. | n.a. |

| | Jelgava City Council | | Jelgava Local Government | |
|--|--|--|---|---|
| | A. Ravins, Mayor | B. Pusinska, Project manager | Z. Caune, Chairman | A. Skutane Project manager |
| In office from | 2001 | | 1991 (2009) | 2003 (2009) |
| Project unit in Council since | 2001 - foreign investment bureau | Start of 1990s, officially 2001 | n.a. | 2009 |
| Development (project unit) | n.a. | 2 people+ Competence development center, Jelgava Trade-Industry association | n.a. | 7 (3 have changes since 2009) |
| Former work | n.a. | n.a. | Vircava Municipality council (chairman) | Jelgava District Council |
| Languages known | Latvian, Russian | n.a. | Latvian, Russian | n.a. |
| Representation in LALRG | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Area size | 60,3 | | 1319 | |
| Population of Latvians | 55,5% | | 66,1% | |
| Economic interests | Moscow preliminary economic - common enterprises, Council cooperation as a sign of safe investment | Most important, role of various business associations | Getting Moldavians in European Market, supporting Jelgava local government business man (peat), Pskov ice-cream, after them, LG started | n.a. |
| Contacts with other municipalities | Zemgale region - Auce, Big City Association | Aizkraukle, Tukums - on the basis of common EU projects, with big cities - economy and investment wise-competition | Daugavpils, Gulbene, Ventspils Local government (IT), social sphere, | Within Zemgale planning district (Bauska, Dobele) |
| Other foreign municipalities socialized with | n.a. | n.a. | Norway, Italy, France | Sweden |
| Participation in LALRG development projects | More through Big City Association, but through LALRG participates in visits in Armenia | n.a. | Czech, Italian, with Romania from LALRG | No influence what so ever |
| Majority of deputies-thoughts on cooperation | n.a. | n.a. | No problems, but there are budgetal constraints, development department comes with suggestions | Local infrastructure projects - most important |
| Region - where | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | Moldova |
| When activated | Baranovichi in Belarus since 2003 | n.a. | n.a. | 2008 |

| | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|
| Why activated | Ukraine - Ukrainian association in Jelgava, Brazil, Moscow-businessmen introduced | Cultural and business groups | n.a. | Mudite Priede in Moldova. With Russia within the euro-region Saule, now when finance not available, cooperation has stopped |
| Contacts started with | Personal contacts, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Latvian Investment and Development Agency, Embassies | n.a. | n.a. | LAPAS |
| What partners have taken from Latvia | Belarus - how to deal with IMF | Social policy, addiction treatment, education, capacity building, life-long learning, water management, waste management, culture | How to write projects | Municipality governance - budget, decentralization, civil engagement, social policy etc. After the end of EuropeAid funding, youth and education |
| Areas of cooperation | Schools, sport, NGO, culture, with entrepreneurs in Belarus harder | Social policy and social infrastructure | Youth, culture, art | n.a. |
| Obstructive factors | Ukraine-distance, Belarus - political system | Not interested in 'soft' training projects, co-finance invested in big investment and development projects locally | Co-finance for projects | Finance, specificity - slow change on national level makes change on sub-national impossible in certain areas |
| Shared experience to other local governments | n.a. | Latvian singleton syndrome | n.a. | n.a. |
| Which municipalities are most active? | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| People most involved | n.a. | n.a. | Social services, orphan's court, council elected officials, project managers | n.a. |
| Finance | Investment visits outside EU mostly City financed | Separate budget unit | n.a. | Without finances would not have implemented |
| Other finances working with | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | Trans In Form |
| Role of EU | NATO more important, easier to cooperate with China, attract investment | Outside EU not much | n.a. | More with Latvian being the commissioner, Jelgava faced problems when implemented their project - no such term as development cooperation |

| | Ķekava Local government | | Ludza Local Government | |
|--|--|---|---|--|
| | R. Jurkis, Chairman | A. Vitola, Project coordinator | A. Gendele, Chairwoman | A. Meiksans, Project manager |
| In office from | n.a. | 2005 | 2009 | 2009 |
| Project unit in Council since | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 2009 |
| Development (project unit) | n.a. | PR unit responsible for international cooperation | 3 project managers | 3 project managers, all together 5-6 |
| Former work | n.a. | | Ludza district sports school, director | With projects 4 years, chairperson in other municipality |
| Languages known | n.a. | Latvian, Russian, German | n.a. | n.a. |
| Representation in LALRG | Yes | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Area | 273,6 | | 966 | |
| Population of Latvians | 49,87% | | n. a. | |
| Economic interests | Maybe not that crucial now, but looking long term, East hold the development | Crucial, but initial part from LG, they set the environment for cooperation | Municipality encourages, but they usually work separately, there is a business consultative council | No 1 priority |
| Contacts with other municipalities | Mārupe, Tukums, Ogre, Ķekava, Salaspils, Olaines novads, Sigulda, Pierīgas pašvaldības | n.a. | Latgale planning region, Rezekne, Svarcs, Daugavpils Jalinska, Upenieks Krāslava, Smiltene, Vidzeme planning region | n.a. |
| Other foreign municipalities socialized with | Russia (Pskov), Poland, Germany, Lithuania, Belarus | Sweden – NGO, Lithuania, Germany, Poland | Germany, Lithuania | Lithuania |
| Participation in LALRG development projects | Azerbaijan | n.a. | n.a. | No, partners search themselves |
| Majority of deputies-thoughts on cooperation | n.a. | Dev. unit chooses, talks through chairperson and executive director, then bring to deputies | n.a. | Dev dep finds possibilities, coordinates with governing body |
| Region - where | Azerbaijan, Russia, Lithuania, Belarus | Azerbaijan, Turkey | n.a. | n.a. |
| When activated | n.a. | Chairman was in LALRG delegation | n.a. | 8/9/07 |
| Why activated | n.a. | To gain experience as a local government, | To make contacts, to cooperate in education and culture | To make contacts, to cooperate in education and culture |
| Contacts started with | n.a. | Chairperson is most important | Various financial programmes need partners, 2. Communication with other cultures, sport, education, business | Initiative from municipalities, chairperson |
| What partners have taken from Latvia | Public diplomacy, culture, project management | n.a. | How to write projects, attract finance | Education system for Russia and Belarus, programmes, in- |

| | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|--|
| | | | | novations |
| Areas of cooperation | Investment projects for the future | Education, residents, business | Culture, sport | Culture, education, mostly culture, Belarus investment forum |
| Obstructive factors | Distance, administrative capacity, not a direct task for local governments, lack of information, language, initiative | Bureaucracy (Latvian Investment and Development agency does not share information) | Language | Distance |
| Shared experience to other local governments | n.a. | Salaspils | n.a. | n.a. |
| Which municipalities are most active? | n.a. | Cēsis, Sigulda | n.a. | The ones close to border, historically close contacts |
| People most involved | Development, PR units, deputies | PR units, for each country there is one responsible person | Depending on the area, but each municipality has an international affairs specialist | Specialist for foreign affairs, development dep |
| Finance | Without finance, probably would not cooperate | With Russia (Pskov) INTERREG, not accepted | Lat_EST-RU, LAT-LIT-Belarus | Cross-border cooperation, strongly supports cultural exchange, usually comes before partners |
| Other finances working with | n.a. | Budget funding | n.a. | Comenius, Leonardo da Vinci |
| Role of EU | n.a. | More money, more info | n.a. | |

| | Ogre Local Government | | Rēzekne Local Government | |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| | Chairman E. Bartkevics | S. Zemite, projects | M. Svarcs, Chairman | I. Rimsane projects |
| In office from | 1992 (2009) | 1999 | 2009 | 2000 |
| Project unit in Council since | n.a. | 1999 | n.a. | 2001 (PHARE) |
| Development (project unit) | n.a. | At first 2 people, now 7, 4 of whom work with international ones | n.a. | Foreign affairs coordinator |
| Former work | Ogre City Council | n.a. | Gailava municipality council chairman | School teacher |
| Languages known | Russian, English | Russian, English | n.a. | English |
| Representation in LALRG | n.a. | n.a. | Yes | n.a. |
| Area size | 992,35 | | 2524 | |
| Population of Latvians | 84% | | 57% | |
| Economic interests | n.a. | For the local businessmen | n.a. | n.a. |
| Contacts with other municipalities | Valmiera, Jēkabpils, Tukums, Sigulda already from soviet times | Some ask for advice | n.a. | n.a. |
| Other foreign municipalities socialized with | The Netherlands, Ukraine, Moldova | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Participation in LALRG development projects | Yes | Georgia | Georgia, Turkey | n.a. |
| Majority of deputies-thoughts on cooperation | To support business investment and export | Find, write, consult, first idea we want to make friends | n.a. | Praises the mayor |
| Region - where | Ukraine-came to them | Moldova, Ukraine (DIED DUE TO TECHNICAL REASONS), Russia | Russia, Turkey (from LPS) | Belarus, Russia |
| When activated | 1992 | Found MoFA project call, then searched for partners | Through Latgale planning region | Through Latgale planning region |
| Why activated | Finance from Brussels, especially now with the economic crisis, each cent is important | No language barriers, Russia, Mitiski - business was first | Russian embassy, consulate in Daugavpils | Language plays a role, but would prefer to cooperate with the west |
| Contacts started with | n.a. | Honorary consul Moldova, Ukraine, project unit director was in Estonia for a training and found partners, Afghanistan - through deputies | n.a. | n.a. |
| What partners have taken from Latvia | n.a. | How do draft development plans, project writing | Postavi in Belarus have seen everything | No themes - politics, religion and money, inhabitants consultative councils in municipalities |

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| Areas of cooperation | n.a. | Children and youth education (Russia), business with Ukraine | Culture-historical heritage and its usage in tourism, also cuisine heritage, and involvement of society in political processes | Tourism, culture, education, would want social as well but language barriers |
| Obstructive factors | n.a. | n.a. | Can be overcome | Administrative capacity and language |
| Shared experience to other local governments | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Which municipalities are most active? | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| People most involved | Enthusiasts in the council | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Finance | Without finance would not have realized | LAT-EST-RUS | n.a. | Lat_EST-RUS, Lat-LIT_BELrus |
| Other finances working with | USAID and Holland supported Ogre in transition | n.a. | n.a. | Europe for citizens |
| Role of EU | n.a. | Do not use the funding as much as we should | n.a. | Would still cooperate without EU finance, because they are close neighbors, with crisis the cooperation has become better |

| | Salaspils Local Government | | Sigulda Local Government |
|--|---|---|--|
| | R. Cudars, Chairman | A. Grantins, Projects | I. Zalite, project manager |
| In office from | 2009 | 2009 | Mayor in office from 2009, formerly executive director, project manager form 2005 |
| Project unit in Council since | n.a. | 2009 | n.a. |
| Development (project unit) | n.a. | 3 | 2 |
| Former work | n.a. | Project consultant | n.a. |
| Languages known | n.a. | n.a. | Russian, English |
| Representation in LALRG | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Area size | 127 | | |
| Population of Latvians | | | |
| Economic interests | There has to be benefits for the local government from a project | More for local businessmen | Great influence if the other country is far away |
| Contacts with other municipalities | n.a. | Cēsis, Koknese, Aizkraukle, ķekava | Valmiera, Ogre, Mālpils, Inčukalns |
| Other foreign municipalities socialized with | Sweden, Poland, Germany, France, Belgium, Portugal | Mostly EU countries- Poland, France, Beļģija | Germany, Russia, |
| Participation in LALRG development projects | No | Yes, but personally, as trainer in Iran and Moldova-consultant and project manager, in Iran was evaluating projects | Yes, |
| Majority of deputies-thoughts on cooperation | Coalition gets it, but many don't, it has to be fed the right way, with a clear understandable aim and benefits | Understanding "the old lady on the street" | n.a. |
| Region - where | n.a. | Social cohesion | Georgia |
| When activated | n.a. | n.a. | Since 1957 until 1980s. Then in 2005 |
| Why activated | Many people in municipality feel close to the Slavic culture, not activated due to administrative capacity | After the council of local government changed, came new faces with new ideas | Visit from LALRG Georgian delegation in Sigulda, former contacts on administrative and society level |
| Contacts started with | n.a. | n.a. | Pre-planning visit, before submitting the project to AM, personal contacts are very important, support from Latvian Honorary Counsel Georgia Reģina Jakobidze, Latvian-Georgian Fund |
| What partners have taken from Latvia | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| Areas of cooperation | Economic cooperation, culture - both dealt with separately, infrastructure | n.a. | Social area, education, administrative issues, school exchange |
| Obstructive factors | Administrative capacity and work way too much inside the LG, main thing is development of local area, investment, therefore more EU based programmes | Capacity, NGOs are not that important and municipalities need to work for their local constituents | Distance, financial opportunities from Georgian side, visas, for us getting there is simpler |
| Shared experience to other local governments | With local government close by | n.a. | n.a. |
| Which municipalities are most active? | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| People most involved | n.a. | n.a. | Inga Zalite, mayor and PR |
| Finance | EU gives unlimited financial possibilities, almost impossible to take all of them | n.a. | CIDA, but mostly municipal budget |
| Other finances working with | URBACT un ECLIPSE | In talks with Russia on building a museum in Salapsils Nazi camp through a LV-EST-RUS programme, URBAC II | LAT-LIT-RUS with Saint-Petersburg with sports and bobsledge tracks, INTERREG, EACEA |
| Role of EU | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| | Skrunda Local Government | |
| | N. Kleinberga, Chairwoman | Z. Eglite |
| In office from | n.a. | 2007 |
| Project unit in Council since | n.a. | n.a. |
| Development (project unit) | n.a. | 4 people, with English she alone |
| Former work | n.a. | |
| Languages known | Russian, weak English | Russian, English |
| Representation in LALRG | No | n.a. |
| Area size | | |
| Population of Latvians | | |
| Economic interests | It is one of the factors | n.a. |
| Contacts with other municipalities | Several, as well as ministers, deputies, embassies, neighboring districts | Kuldīga, Saldus, Grobiņa, Liepāja, Talsi |
| Other foreign municipalities socialized with | Estonia | Estonia, Finland |
| Participation in LALRG development projects | Yes, many | Georgia several times, china |
| Majority of deputies-thoughts on cooperation | Some of them do not want to get involved | Yes, they are helping by hiring consultants |
| Region - where | China-from LALRG mission, Georgia, from other municipality, personal contacts, when they came to LALRG | n.a. |
| When activated | n.a. | Started before 25 years ago |
| Why activated | EU projects, municipal development, getting the word out | n.a. |
| Contacts started with | Their municipal leader | More or less with LARPG |
| What partners have taken from Latvia | How municipalities operate, the national unions, inhabitants forums | n.a. |
| Areas of cooperation | Culture, tourism, social | n.a. |
| Obstructive factors | China/Taiwan relationships, first is the initial contact from municipality leaders | All depends on the municipality leaders, also on the other side |
| Shared experience to other local governments | Jaunpils and more | n.a. |
| Which municipalities are most active? | n.a. | n.a. |
| People most involved | n.a. | n.a. |
| Finance | n.a. | n.a. |

B

Overview of field work: Interviews (in chronological order).

Transcripts can be sent and translated in english via e-mail upon request to bb2064@iss.nl

| Inter- view No. | Institution | Post | Name | Working since | Interview date | Interview length (minutes) | Interview Place | Trascript available | |
|-----------------------|---|---|-------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|--|---------------------|---------|
| | | | | | | | | Latvian | English |
| 1. | Development Cooperation Policy Department of the Economic Relations and Development Cooperation Policy Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs | 2nd Secretary | Linda Tomase | | 7 June 2011 | 49:46 | Ministry of Foreign Affairs, K.Valdemāra Street 3, Rīga LV-1395 | X | X |
| | | 3rd Secretary | Anda Grīnberga | | 7 June 2011 | | | | |
| 2. | Ogre LG Council | Chairman | Edvīns Bartkevičs | 2009 (1994) | 8 June 2011 | 64:33 | Ogres novada dome Brīvības Street 33, Ogre LV - 5001 | X | |
| 3. | | Deputy head of De- velopment depart- ment | Sanda Zemīte | 1999 | 8 June 2011 | 35:39 | | X | X |
| 4. | | Project manager in development depart- ment | Edgars Pārpucis | | 8 June 2011 | 4:04 | | X | X |
| 5. | Daugavpils LG Council | Chairwoman | Janīna Jalinska | 2009 (1980) | 10 June 2011 | 40:32 | Daugavpils novada dome Rīgas iela 2, Dau- gavpils, LV-5401 | X | |
| 6. | | Head of Regional Development Unit | Sandra Balode | 1994/5 | 10 June 2011 | 49:39 | | X | |
| 7. | Jaunpils LG Council | Chairwoman | Ligita Gintere | 1987 | 13 June 2011 | 84:43 | Jaunpils novada dome „Ērģelnieki”, Jaunpils, Jaunpils pagasts, Jaunpils novads, LV-3145 | X | |
| 8. | | Head of Development department | Vija Zīverte | | 13 June 2011 | 66:25 | | X | |
| 9. | Latvian Association of Local and Regional Governments | Secretary General | Mudīte Priede | | 13 June 2011 | 47:40 | Latvijas Pašvaldību savienība Mazā Pils ielā 1, | X | X |
| | | Adviser on Foreign Affair Issues | Zane Dūze | | 13 June 2011 | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--------------------|-------------|----------------|-------|--|---|--|
| | | | | | | | Rīgā, LV-1050 | | |
| 10. | Jelgava City Council | Chairman | Andris Rāviņš | 2001 | 14 June 2011 | 55:46 | Jelgavas pilsētas Dome Lielā iela 11, Jelgava, LV-3001 | X | |
| 11. | Latvian Association of Local and Regional Governments | Permanent representative in Brussels | Evita Gržibovska | | 17 June 2011 | 37:10 | Square De Meeûs 1, (4. stāvā) B-1000, Brussels, Belgium | Did not agree for audio recording and direct reference making | |
| 12. | Ķekava LG Council | Head of Development Department | Astrīda Vītola | 2005 | 27 July 2011 | 40:12 | Via skype | X | |
| 13. | Salaspils LG Council | Head of Development Department | Ansis Grantiņš | 2009 | 28 July 2011 | 40:41 | Via skype | X | |
| 14. | Jelgava LG Council | International project specialist | Anita Škutāne | 2009 (2003) | 28 July 2011 | 46:48 | Via skype | X | |
| 15. | Jēkabpils City Council | Head of Development and Investment Department | Sandra Gogule | 2003 | 28 July 2011 | 65:51 | Via skype | X | |
| 16. | Skrunda LG Council | Chairwoman | Nellijs Kleinberga | | 1 August 2011 | 45:59 | Via skype | X | |
| 17. | Skrunda LG Council | Head of Development Department | Zane Eglīte | 2007 | 2 August 2011 | 46:57 | Via skype | X | |
| 18. | Auce LG Council | Head of Development Department | Sandra Zesere | 04.01.2010 | 3 August 2011 | 40:41 | Via skype | X | |
| 19. | Ludza LG Council | Chairwoman | Alīna Gendele | 2009 | 3 August 2011 | 32:54 | Via skype | X | |
| 20. | Sigulda LG Council** | Head of Development Department | Inga Zālīte | | 4 August 2011 | 44:54 | Via skype | X | |
| 21. | Jēkabpils City Council | Chairman | Leonīds Salcevičs | 1997 | 4 August 2011 | 47:06 | Via skype | X | |
| 22. | Jelgava LG Council | Chairman | Ziedonis Caune | 2009 (1991) | 8 August 2011 | 33:24 | Via skype | X | |
| 23. | Rēzekne LG Council | Foreign affairs coordinator | Inta Rimšāne | 2000 | 11 August 2011 | 52:21 | Via skype | X | |
| 24. | Jelgava City Council | Foreign Affairs Coordinator | Baiba Pušinska | 2001 | 12 August 2011 | 69:16 | Via skype | X | |
| 25. | Ludza LG Council | Head of Development and Real Estate Department | Aivars Meikšāns | 2009 | 12 August 2011 | 37:50 | Via skype | Did not agree for full length transcript publishing | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|----------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|-------|-----------|---|---|
| 26. | Rēzekne LG Council | Chairman | Monvids Švarcs | 2009 () | 15 Augusts 2011 | 37:45 | Via skype | X | |
| 27. | Ķekava LG Council | Chairman | Roberts Jurķis | 2009 | 15 August 2011 | 24:18 | Via skype | Did not agree for full length transcript publishing | |
| 28. | Auce LG Council | Chairman | Gints Kaminskis | 2009 () | 16 August 2011 | 18:16 | Via skype | X | X |
| 29. | Salaspils LG Council | Chairman | Raimonds Čudars | 2009 | 16 August 2011 | 30:37 | Via skype | X | X |

* the Chairman of Sigulda LG Council declined to give an interview due to tight schedule

C

Interview guide

Interview guide with approximate questions to Local Government Council Chairpersons and persons responsible for international cooperation

This list is indicative - each LG official (chairperson and person, responsible for international project management) had additional questions on their specific development cooperation, international cooperation in general, as well as person specific and elaborative questions.

Sub-national level

- How did you start development cooperation?
- Whose initiative it was?
- The catalyst, starting point of development cooperation?
- On what are the current development areas dependent? What is the role of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, EU?
- What is the role of finance?
- Future of development cooperation after the closure of Ministry of Foreign affairs grant programme.
- What is the role of individual experts, individuals? Do they come with initiatives?
- Do LGs need to get involved in development cooperation?
- What is the role of Council's chairperson?
- What is the influence of residents?
- Who are the main lobbyists for involvement?
- Have any other LG officials contacted you on your experience in this field?
- What is the role of cooperation developed during USSR?
- Main institutions you cooperate implementing development cooperation (in LG, state and 'other site').
- Coefficients for development cooperation.
- Obstacles for development cooperation.
- Has anything changed with the administrative reform?
- The role of economic cooperation in development cooperation.
- In which periods development cooperation was the easiest/received the most support?
- Who is responsible for development cooperation?
- Who develops the applications, chooses the areas of cooperation, and finds the partners?
- Are you more involved in bilateral/trilateral or multilateral development cooperation?

- Have you heard of, participated in trainings on development cooperation? Who organizes them and pays for participation?
- What are the strengths of your LG that could be transferred to other LGs?

National level

- Involvement in LALRG development cooperation (trainings in Latvia, visits to other countries, received delegations in your LGs).
- Have you developed bilateral cooperation from contacts gained in LALRG projects?
- Cooperation with other LGs.
- Have you been involved in national level legislation, programme development?
- Have you been involved in/have you heard of the consultative council for Ministry of Foreign Affairs?
- Are you involved in development cooperation projects with other actors (e.g. NGOs)?
- What is the role of LGs in your opinion in development cooperation?
- Which LGs in Latvia are the most active in development cooperation?
- Are there any bureaucratic obstacles for starting the cooperation?
- Has LALRG invited you to participate?
- Which other LG project managers/chairpersons you exchange information the most?
- Have you exchanged experience on development cooperation with LG project managers/chairpersons?

Supranational level

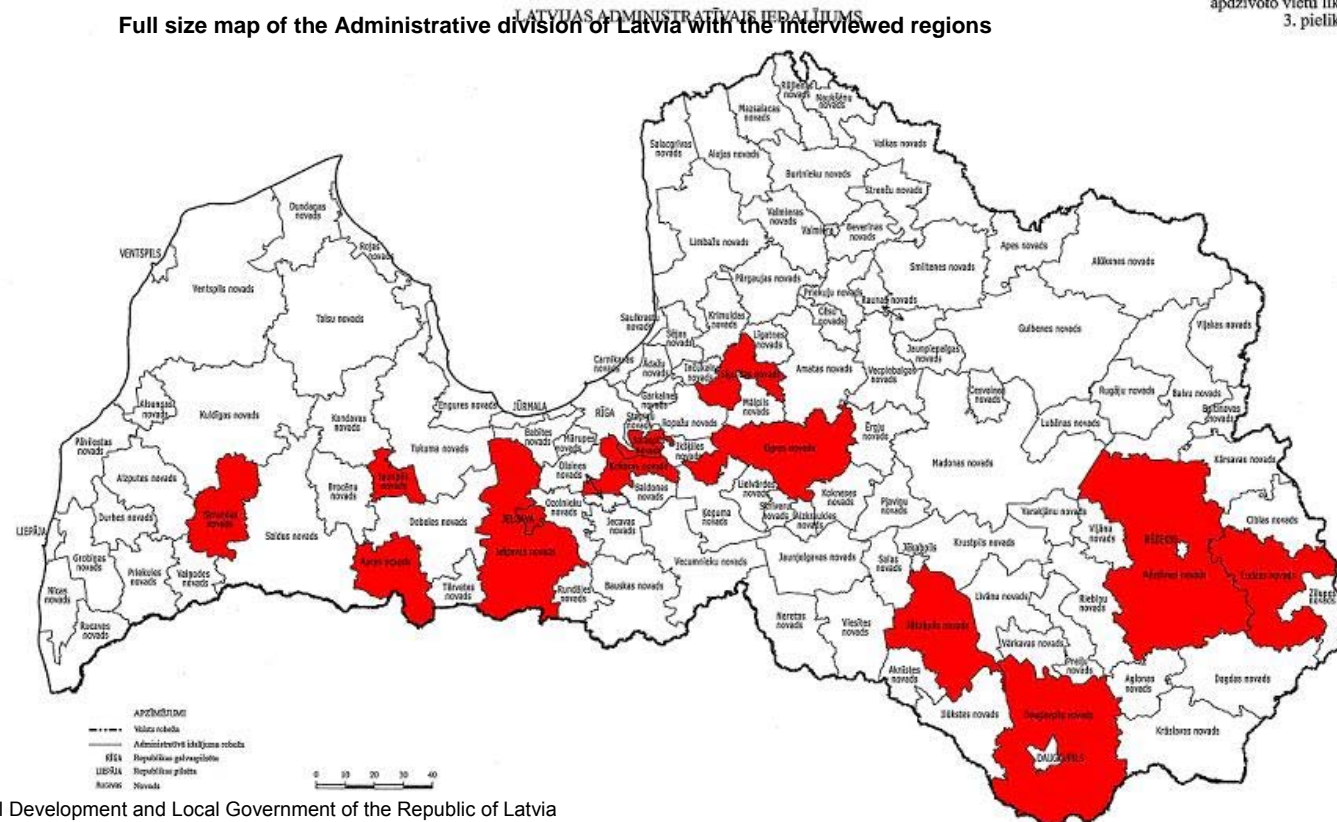
- EU influence on Latvian development cooperation.
- Change in development cooperation with accession to EU in 2004?
- The influence of other international partners on development cooperation.
- Role of international development donors who worked in your municipality during Latvia's transition.
- Which international partners have had the biggest influence on your work?
- Which are your closest international partners?
- Role of other international institutions, LALRG on international cooperation.

D

Administratīvo teritoriju un apdzīvoto vietu likums

Administratīvo teritoriju un
apdzīvoto vietu likuma
3. pielikums

Full size map of the Administrative division of Latvia with the interviewed regions



E

Overview of Ministry of Foreign Affairs financed bilateral development cooperation projects

| | Moldova | | | Georgia | | | Belarus | | | Ukraine | | | Afghanistan | | | Kyrgyzstan | | | Total | | |
|------|---------|------|--|---------|------|-------------------|---------|------|------------------------|---------|------|-------------------|-------------|------|-------------------|------------|------|-------------------|-------------|------|-------------------|
| | Total | LARG | Local Govern-ment | Total | LARG | Local Govern-ment | Total | LARG | Local Govern-ment | Total | LARG | Local Govern-ment | Total | LARG | Local Govern-ment | Total | LARG | Local Govern-ment | Grand total | LARG | Local Govern-ment |
| 2005 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 11 | 3 | 0 |
| 2006 | 9 | 1 | 1 (Ogre LG) | 6 | 1 | 1 (Sigulda LG) | 1 | 0 | 0 | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 16 | 2 | 2 |
| 2007 | 15 | 1 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 1 (Ludza City Council) | 9 | 1 | 1 (Ogre LG) | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 42 | 2 | 2 |
| 2008 | 9 | 1 | 0* (foundation "Valmiera Local Government Fund") | 8 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 37 | 3 | 0* |
| 2009 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 112 | 10 | 4* |

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia 2011a

F

Overview of LALRG Development cooperation



Development Cooperation – Experience of the Latvian Association of Local and Regional Governments (LALRG)

Mrs. Mudite Priede
Secretary General of the LALRG



“I am convinced that local authorities can be key actors for enhancing democracy and local governance, delivering public services and enhancing local economic development. Local authorities may thus effectively contribute to poverty reduction and achievement of the MDGs.”

Commissioner for Development
Mr. Andris Piebalgs, 29 March 2011



Models for development cooperation

- Cooperation with other LGs' associations in Europe
- Projects funded by the MFA of Latvia
- Projects funded by USAID, UNDP, NED, etc.





Target countries

Belarus

Tajikistan

Moldova

Kyrgyzstan

Ukraine

Turkmenistan

Georgia

Iraque

Azerbaijan

Armenia

Uganda



Methods

- research
- recommendations
- study visits
- promotion of twinning activities





Issues

- Cooperation issues
- Reform issues
- Skills and competences in different fields



Cooperation issues

- establishment/development of LGs' associations (of different levels)
- negotiation system/lobbying
- cooperation with line ministries
- participation in social dialogue
- cooperation with NGOs



Reform issues

- experience in administrative territorial reform
- development of local government real estate
- regional development
- employment
- education



Skills and competences

- territorial planning and development
- financial management, budgeting
- organization of public utilities
- different social models
- climate change (energy efficiency)
- migration policy



Georgia



Georgia: activities funded by the MFA of Latvia

| Year | Activity | Main Issues |
|------|--|--|
| 2004 | Study trip to Latvia of Georgian municipal representatives | Issues related to establishment of local government association in Georgia |
| 2005 | Study trip to Latvia of Georgian municipal representatives | Sharing Latvian local government experience in the implementation of administrative territorial reform, as well as provision of public services and establishment of service centres |
| 2006 | Pre-examination visit of LALRG to Georgia “Competence and Capacity Raising of Executive Power in Municipalities in Georgia” | promotion of competence and knowledge in efficient service provision, financial and budget management, as well as training of local government politicians and personnel |
| 2006 | Study visit to Latvia | Experience of developing self-governments in Latvia (Handbook) |



Georgia

| Year | Activity | Main Issues | | Funding |
|----------------|--|--|--|-------------|
| 2009 - 2010 | Promoting Cooperation among Migrants communities and Local Governments for Local Development | Objective – to facilitate local-government development using knowledge and financial resources of migrants | L e a d p a r t n e r - L o c a l g o v e r n m e n t a s s o c i a t i o n o f G e o r g i a | UNDP /EU |



Moldova

2005 – “Support for Association of Mayors and Local Chancellors of Moldova (AMLCM) in capacity strengthening”

Study visit of AMLCM representatives on self-government system and reform processes; issues of budget and finances Funding – funded by UNDP of Latvia



Moldova

2008 – “Assistance for self- government development in Moldova”

Objectives:

- to share experience and practical examples; possibility of their implementation in Moldova
- foster Latvian-Moldovan municipal cooperation

Activities:

- study visits
- development and preparation of publications covering relevant issues



On 21 March 2010 the General Assembly for the establishment of the Congress of Local Authorities from Moldova (CALM) took place in Chisinau and the CALM was established serving as a platform for unitary, consolidated and apolitical representation of all local municipalities from Moldova.



PLATFORMA

Aim – strengthening the role of NGOs and local governments in implementation of development cooperation activities, promoting international cooperation and raising awareness of best practice examples.

25 project partners involved



WTD

(Working Together for Development)

Aim – to strengthen the role of local government associations in implementation of development cooperation policy, promoting international action on European and broader level.

21 project partners involved



Examples of Latvian municipalities: Ogre municipality

2006 Moldova

Promotion of the development and strengthening of the administrative capacity of Ogre and Basarabeaska municipalities

2007 Ukraine

Promotion of the sustainable development of Chernigovs city, using the strategic planning approach and establishing the framework for sustainable cooperation between municipalities.



Ogre municipality

2010 -2011

Maiman, Afganistan

- Humanitarian aid;
- Paintings of the Afghanistan`s children
- Visit to Ogre and signing of the cooperation agreement
- Exhibition of photos of the Afghanistan children made by vice-mayor in Latvia and Brussels



Jelgava municipality Capacity Strengthening and Awareness Raising in Cahul Region, Moldova

Financed by the EuropeAid Program



OBJECTIVES

Overall objective

to promote democratization and sustainable development of Cahul region in Moldova

Specific objective

capacity strengthening of local authorities and awareness rising of non-state actors and young people, by transferring the experience and good practices from EU member states to Moldova



ABOUT...

Implementation period: 30.12.2008. – 29.12.2010.

Budget: 73 411 EUR

Partners: Jelgava Municipality Council (LV), Cross-Border Cooperation and European Integration Agency (MD), Downpatrick Listowel Linkage Group (UK, North Ireland)

Target groups: NGOs and local authorities (decision makers on local level), children and young people, as well local initiative groups



EXHIBITION OF CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

Competition in schools (LV, MD, UK)

Common exhibition in MD

(20 best drawings from each country) -
November 2009





TRAININGS FOR MUNICIPALITIES

- System of social services and social assistance in Latvia & Local government system in Latvia. Financial system of local governments - May 2009
- PPP, credits and stabilization of local government finance system in Latvia & Sustainable development and planning processes, spatial development - November 2009
- Environmental issues & EU issues - April 2010



TRAININGS FOR NGOS

- Democratization Issues, Public Involvement in the Decisional Process, Encouraging Local Initiatives, Working with the Most Vulnerable Groups in the Population - November 2009
- Cooperation of youth organizations with education establishments & local authorities - May 2010





YOUTH FORUM

- Youth NGOs – step for young people development
- Be a volunteer – challenge for active participation – 2011 Year of Voluntary work
- EU program Youth in Action
September 2010



ADDITIONALLY...

- Popularization of charity
- New knowledge and wider horizon
- New friends and contacts
- Intent Protocol of future cooperation
between JM and Cahul municipality





Conditions for success

- common experience to share
- Russian language
- responsive and competent self-governments
- contacts – existing and new
- succession of activities
- cooperation with other countries



Main benefits

For experts – an opportunity to share experience and skills

For local governments – an opportunity to make contacts and develop twinning relations

For the target groups – an opportunity to learn from our successes and mistakes



Join us!



G

Twinning cities

| | Town twinnings within European Union | Outside European Union |
|-------------------------------|---|--|
| Sigulda Local Government | 6 (7) Lithuania- Birstonas, Scotland - Angus, Denmark -Vesthimmerlands Kommune, Germany- Stuhr, Sweden- Fälvä, Estonia - Keila, "Douzelage" - European Town Twinning | Georgia - Chiatura |
| Ludza City Council | 4 –Germany - Bad Bodenteich (18.10.2005.), Italy - Giacciano con Baruchella (27.09.2005.), Poland– City Council of Miedzyrzec Podlaski (02. 09. 2008.), Lithuania- District Council of Rokishki (02. 02.2010.), Latvia- Saldus city (2007) | 7–Russia (Pskov oblast, administration of Ostrov district (01.02.2006.), Pskov oblast, administration of Nevel district (01.02.2006.)). Belarus (Executive committee of Novopolock city (18.05.2007.), Executive committee of Brest city (17.05.2007.), Executive committee of Zaslavye city (02.05.2007.), Ukraine- City council of Truskavec (23.03.2007.), Georgia -City council of Batumi (05.02.2007.). |
| Ogre Local Municipality | Sweden–Bollnäs (1992); France - Joué lès Tours (1996); The Netherlands - Hengelo (1993); Lithuania - Kelme (2010). | Moldova- Basarabeasca (2006), Ukraine–Chernigov (2007) |
| Valmiera City Council | Germany- Halle (Westfalen), county of Gutersloh (1994); Sweden–Solna (1991); Estonia–Viljandi (1992); Denmark - Hoje-Taastrup (1995.); France–Marly (1992); Poland - Zdunska Wola (2002). | Russia- Pskov (2001. g. decembris) |
| Jaunpils Local Government | Italy–Perano (official signing of intent for town twinning (28.05.2011.)) | n.a. |
| Riga City Council | 17- Lithuania–Vilnius; Poland- Warsaw; Estonia- Tallinn, Tartu; Finland- Pori; Denmark- Aalborg; Sweden–Norkopping, Stockholm; The Netherlands- Amsterdam; Italy- Florence; USA- Dallas; Australia- Cairns; France- Calais, Bordeaux; Germany– Bremen, Rostock; Japan- Kobe | 12 –Georgia- Tbilisi; Uzbekistan- Tashkent; Taiwan- Taipei; Chile- Santiago; China- Beijing, Suzhou; Belarus–Minsk; Russia- Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Kazakhstan- Almaty, Astana; Ukraine- Kiev. |
| Daugavpils Local Municipality | Lithuania- Zarasai district (05.08.1997), Rokiskis district (30.05.2008.); Poland- Lomza district (agreement on cooperation 13.05.2002, cooperation agreement 28.01.2005.), Bielowiza district (24.05.2002); Germany - Bad Doberan district (17.11.2002.). | Belarus- Vitebsk oblast (official signing of intent for town twinning 20.12.1997), Vitebsk oblast Braslav District Council of Deputies and Braslav district Executive Committee (agreement 22.02.2008.), Vitebsk district (agreement 23.04.2009.), Braslav district executive committee (agreement on cooperation 17.11.2009.), Russia- Administration of St. Petersburg (20.12.2002), Ukraine- Chernigov oblast Ichnya district (nodomu protokol 22.07.2010). |
| Krāslava Local Government | Sweden - Vadstena (1997); Poland- Poddembice (2001), Aleksandrow (2006) | Belarus- Verhnedvinsk (n.a.), Dzerzhinsk (2006); Russia- Volokolamsk (for decades) |
| Tukums Local government | Sweden - Tidaholma (19.01.1992), Germany- Schesel (07.02.1992.), Lithuania -Plunge (26.07.1996), Israel - Bnei-Aish (08.12.2000), France–Chennevieres (2004), Poland- Andrychow (05.09.2008.) | Russia - Krasnogorsk (08.09.1996), Ukraine - Izjuma (26.08.2003.), Belarus–Korelichi (04.03.2005.) |
| Aglona Local Government | 2 | 1- Belarus - Glubokoe (01.01.1970.INTERR EG)* |
| Vījaka Local Government | 1 | 1- Russia Pytalova (01.01.1970.)* |
| Alūksne Local Government | The Netherlands- Binnenmaas (1997), Finland - Kuopio (2004), Sweden - Sundbyergs stad (1992), Estonia - Veru (2010), Vastselina (2010), Rouge (2010) | Russia - Pskov (2007), Pechory district (2010)) |
| Dobele Local Government | Sweden - Enhelgölm, Germany - Schoelln, Lithuania - Akmene district, Joniskis district, Poland - Konin, Estonia - West-Viru County | not mentioned |
| Jelgava Local Municipality | 4- Sweden –Okselösund city council and Baltic shopping centre Oxelosund, Ostershöndelskontoret, Lansstyrelsen Södermanlands Lan, Lithuania - Siauliai district administration, Taurage district administration | 4 - Russia–Kaliningrad oblast Sovetsk district (01.01.1970.), Kaliningrad oblast Nemana district (01.01.1970.), Kaliningrad oblast Slavskaja region (01.01.1970.)* |
| Gulbene Local | Denmark - Tema commune (30.04.1993.), Poland - | Russia (Pskov district, Leningrad region Muzeum's |

| | | |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| Government | Ketrzyn district (06.08.2004.), Lithuania - Rietava district (26.05.2006.), Estonia - Rapina municipality (28.11.2008.), Norway (Tynset municipality) | Union, St.petersburg Culture Collage) |
| Jēkabpils City Council | Germany -Melle (05.09.1998.), Poland -Sokolow Podaski (11.1992), Czerwionka-Leszczy (27.06.2004.), Estonia - Mardu (16.02.2003.) | Belarus - Lida (2005. - 01.01.2010.) |
| Talsi Local Government | Sweden - Söderköping (1996), Denmark -Glostrup (1992), Estonia - Kuressaare (1992), Saare (1998), Võhma (n.a.), Lithuania -Prienai district(1999), The Netherlands -Raalte (Heino) (1998 (2000)), Turkey - Alanya Municipality) | Russia - Shelkovskoy district council |
| Ape Local Government | 3* | 1-Russia -Pskov (01.01.1970.) |
| Saldus Local Government | Sweden - Lidingö (1992 (officially 01.05.2004)), Germany- Liederbach am Taunus (1992 (2004)), France- Villebon-sur-Yvette (1992), Poland - Stargard Szczeciński (1988 (1992)), Estonia - Paide(2008), Austria - St. Andrä (2005), Lithuania Mazeikiai (2008) | Russia - Sergiyev posad (1976 (1996)) |
| Aloja Local Government | 3* | 1-Ukraine -Busk |
| Viesīte Local Government | n.a. | 1- Ukraine-Zhydachiv* |
| Jelgava City Council | | |
| Skrunda Local Government | Estonia - Poltsamaa (12.10.2005); France - Saint Brice en Cogles (01.08.2006). | China - Dingzhou (23.05.2007); Georgia - Mcheta (09.08.2007.) |
| Salaspils Local Government | 3 - Sweden-Finspång; Germany-Finsterwalde; Poland - Dzierzgoń | |
| Smiltene Local Government | | |
| Ķekava Local Government | 1-Germany-Bordersholm* | |

Source: www.lps.lv

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