

THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL: A CASE STUDY ON THE LATVIAN–RUSSIAN BORDER ZONE

(*Pededze–Lauri*)

Aija Lulle

ABSTRACT

Being based on empirical material collected during field work in the Latvian – Russian border zone and theoretical border zone studies, this article analyzes the ways how the state, as well as trans-national and global factors, influence the lives of border zone inhabitants. The focus is on the interaction between the state and global agents on the one hand and the local and individual agents on the other hand within the territory, which is also the external border of the European Union and the NATO. The case study permits several theoretical and empirical conclusions about the role of the state and trans-national agents in the lives of individuals and the vision for the development of the border zone. In conclusion an author emphasizes the necessity for both practical and theoretical discussions about solidarity and the responsibility of global agents to local communities in the event that under globalization conditions places emerge that are more in the role of patients of globalization rather than beneficiaries from the process. From a periphery-centre viewpoint, the border zone may seem like the end of the Earth to people from the centre, but to those who live there it is the centre of the world.

KEY WORDS: socio-cultural anthropology, Latvia, Russia, border zone, local factors, global factors, social spaces, economic spaces.

ANOTACIJA

Remiantis empirine medžiaga, surinkta ekspedicijos Latvijos–Rusijos pasienio zonoje metu, bei teorinėmis pasienio zonų studijomis, straipsnyje analizuojama valstybinių, transnacionalinių ir globalinių veiksnių įtaka gyvenimui pasienio zonoje. Pagrindinis dėmesys skiriamas valstybinių ir globalinių veiksnių sąveikai, viena vertus, ir vietinių bei individualių veiksnių sąveikai, kita vertus, teritorijoje, kuri kartu yra ir išorinė Europos Sąjungos bei NATO siena. Socialiniai tyrimai leido padaryti kelias teorines ir empirines išvadas apie valstybės ir transnacionalinių veiksnių poveikį individų gyvenimui bei sukurti pasienio zonų vystymosi viziją. Straipsnyje lyginama, kaip pasikeitė pasienio zonų bendradarbiavimas, įvairių veiksnių tarpusavio ryšiai ir judėjimas per Rusijos–Latvijos sieną po to, kai ši nustojo buvusi vidaus siena tarp tarybinių respublikų ir tapo valstybine siena tarp dviejų nepriklausomų valstybių bei išorine siena tarp ES ir Rusijos.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: sociokultūrinė antropologija, Latvija, Rusija, pasienio zona, vietiniai veiksniai, globalūs veiksniai, socialinės erdvės, ekonominės erdvės.

*Aija Lulle, PhD Cand., Department of Sociology, University of Latvia
Dzirnavu 66-32, Riga, LV-1050, Latvia
E-mail: aijaslulles@yahoo.com*

Introduction

In early 2004 the author of this article participated in an international research project, led by University of Helsinki Research College research fellow Laura Assmuth. The project involved researchers from Finland, Russia, Estonia, Latvia and the USA. The field work has been conducted in August 2004 in Pededze (Latvia); Obinitsa and Berezje (Estonia); Pechori and Lauri (Russia).

The project utilized ethnographic, sociological and anthropological methods. It encompasses observations, participation in the everyday lives of border zone inhabitants, observations of border crossings by individuals on both sides of the border (particular cases), life stories and thematic interviews, family interviews (24 in-depth interviews in total in Pededze and Lauri, in the Latvian

and Russian languages, and work in the local archives and libraries. Several interview texts used in this article are the author's translation from Russian.

Being based on empirical material collected during the project field work in the Latvian – Russian border zone and theoretical border zone studies, this article analyzes the ways how the state, as well as trans-national and global agents, do influence the lives of border zone inhabitants. The focus is on the interaction between the state and global agents on the one hand and the local and individual agents on the other hand within the territory, which is also the external border of the European Union and the NATO. The case study permits several theoretical and empirical conclusions about the role of the state and trans-national agents in the lives of individuals and the vision for the development of the border zone.

The symbolic borders between communities and ethnic groups have been the subject of social science studies, while comparatively recently attention has been paid to theoretical studies of culture and identity in connection with political, national and international borders (see for example Barth 1969; Cohen 1986 study on symbolic borders and Cole and Wolf 1974; Donnan & Wilson 1999). However locality and local development under globalization conditions has attracted little interest.

Cole and Wolf (1974: 3) characterize relations between parishes, small inhabited sites and national states as a complex, multi-layered and dynamic phenomenon. Permanent residents of border zones often have trans-national lifestyles while simultaneously having very deep roots in a local community. By concentrating on this aspect and looking in depth at daily trans-national practice, the results of the analysis in this study may broaden understanding of what is trans-national, or what it could possibly be, and more generally of relations between local and global forces in today's world.

Borders have the ability and capacity to divide residents into differing geographic, political and economic spheres. Particular attention has been paid in this study to the social effects of the new political border on people's everyday lives.

Looking at the question of the impact of state and trans-national forces in the border zone and the historical development of cultural relations within the border area, we must return to localization and the meaning of a specific border within a concrete territory (Heyman 1994: 46 Studies on the Mexico-USA Border).

In themselves, borders are agents of state security and sovereignty, representing the state in its relations with its neighbours.

Empirical data provide possible answers to the study question of the impact of state and global agents on the lives of border zone inhabitants i.e. what types and what levels of activities stop at the border compared with those with the ability and capacity to cross borders.

In the last fifteen years the transition from socialism to a market economy has been very slow in both Pēdēze and Lauri. The reorientation process has also brought negative consequences: unemployment and the rejection of the old system, workplaces, service networks etc. without the creation of new networks in their place. It is therefore especially important to study the border at the micro level, examining the life stories, habits and everyday lives of the border zone inhabitants.

State and trans-national regulations, formal relationships and economic development indicators are not sufficient to explain the complex nature of the border zone and the possible dynamic of development, since the family, interest groups, the church, everyday activities etc. possess the capac-

ity to become very creative forces in changing the social and economic situation at the local level. (Moulaert 1996: 171).

About Pededze and Lauri as a study location

Pededze Parish is located in northern Vidzeme, in Alūksne District. It is 8 km from the centre of Pededze to the Russian border, but the parish extends to the border itself and local inhabitants live just a few hundred meters from it.

Pededze is a very interesting place in Alūksne District, Vidzeme and Latvia as a whole due to its ethnic composition. Over 80 percent of the inhabitants of Alūksne District are citizens of Latvia (Latvians and Latvian-speaking other ethnicities) and 16 percent are Russian speakers. But in Pededze the composition is the opposite: citizens of both Latvia and Russia are Russian speakers and they exceed 80 percent.

There are a number of small inhabited villages in Pededze Parish. In August 2004, 904 people lived in the parish. World War II, deportations and later collective farming on the *kolhozes* and Soviet farms had a significant impact on the number of inhabitants and the ethnic composition. In 1935 there were 3040 inhabitants in the parish, of whom 1322 were Latvians, 1596 Russians, with a small number of other nationalities. Now Latvians comprise 18 percent.

Lauri is in Russia, in Pechori District, seven kilometres from the Latvian border. Around 1,000 people live in Lauri itself, and there are over 2,000 inhabitants counting the surrounding villages.

Over the course of the 20th century, at the beginning Lauri was within the Russian Empire, then independent Estonia, then the Soviet Union, and since 1991 the Russian Federation. From the early 20th century Lauri was considered to be a Latvian colony.

The inhabitants are mainly Russian-speakers and citizens of Russia, but it also has Latvians, Estonians, and representatives of the small Setu nation. The Russian-speakers in Lauri also include people who regard themselves as Latvians in terms of culture and identity, although they do not speak Latvian and are citizens of Russia.

Latvian roots and origins are highly regarded by the local Russians. There is also a symbolic border between those locals who have lived in Lauri for many generations – regardless of whether they are Russians, Latvians or Estonians – and the more recent arrivals who moved to Lauri in the Soviet period.

The geopolitical significance of the border

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Soviet Union are frequently cited in globalization literature as turning points, or sometimes even as the moment of birth of globalization, at least with regard to the withering of borders. Clearly defined borders were the central idea of the Cold War. On the other hand, the foundations of the concept of globalization are concepts such as openness and integration, as symbolized by the tearing down of borders, the free market and new technologies.

However, the collapse of the USSR resulted in a new border – politically, legally, administratively, culturally and symbolically. In the Soviet era, only a road sign would show a traveller that he had entered a different republic. The physical border only functioned as an administrative division, and there were no border crossings or checkpoints. After the restoration of Latvia's independence in 1991, the establishment of the borders of the independent country was one of the state's fundamental, primary tasks.

For Russia, the border with the independent Baltic countries is a manifestation of the new political reality, which it has been (and manifestly still is) hard to accept for both Russia and its inhabitants. A small country's border with the Russian Federation has special political and symbolic meaning which is a powerful divide between the people living on either side.

Shortly after regaining independence, Latvia declared that its priorities were integrating into the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, symbolizing its movement away from Russia's sphere of influence and toward integration into the Western space. This meant paying special attention to border strengthening due to Latvia's geographical location i.e. upon becoming a member of the EU and NATO, Latvia's external border also became the external border of these organizations. In this way the state cooperates or is replaced with trans-national and global agents.

State and global agents are quite active in the border zones, and as a result state structures impact on the lives of individuals there and can be directly observed (Assmuth 2003: 61.)

The new border between independent Latvia and Russia (between the EU and Russia) has had an enormous impact on the local people's lives.

The state eases or encumbers the lives of its inhabitants in very concrete ways. The inhabitants accept the required bureaucracy as a law that has to be obeyed.

There are examples of **negative** impacts on individual's lives, since state structures control these too strictly and force people to change their everyday practices (fishing regulations, the need to carry passports, the need for guests to obtain passes, forestry and land working restrictions etc.):

When I go to work in the fields I have to take the permit with me. If my relatives come to help me, I need a statement from Pededze Parish affirming that the help is really needed and stating who will be helping. (Pededze, everyday practice 2 km from the border).

An official in Pededze:

In 2003 many people were taken into custody, driven to the border control post, questioned, all manner of information is sought from them, and they can be fined 10 lats and this can be *published in the newspaper*.

This is shameful for somebody, to have this type of information published about them. It makes them seem like a criminal when in fact they were just someone picking berries that got lost. But we know – *we have this zone and this law which we must obey.*”

Local people not infrequently have to have dealings not only with the institutions of their own country, but also with the institutions and sovereign forces of the country on the other side of the border. The presence of these two sovereign state agents has a direct impact on relationships at all levels in the border zone. (Wilson & Donnan, 1998: 8).

Crossing was simpler from 1994 to 2000 when the countries went over fully to the visa regime.

However, even before this the locals characterized the existing system of passes as complex, despite the fact that a considerable number wanted to cross the border every day.

An official in Pededze:

That was messy as well. It took one month while the parish collected the lists and they were checked by the Alūksne police and the Security Police. Quite often there were 100 people on the lists.

As EU and NATO accession approached, the rules for crossing the border became more and more strict.

A Latvian woman from Pededze who visits relatives and tends graves in Russia about twice a year:

There are long queues in Riga for visas, and you either have to stand in them yourself or you have to pay the girls in Alūksne to take them to Riga and hand in the visa documents. In order to go over twice a year for five days each time without a visa you need to get a statement issued in Pechori that you have relatives on the other side of the border.

A Pededze woman who doesn't travel to Russia due to the visa regime despite having relatives and family graves there:

In essence our cooperation on the one hand is closed off, and this is a discomfort, we feel bad. I'm envious of the people in Mālupe, Anna, they can go anywhere they want. For us, life only really opens up in the direction of Alūksne.

Due to the complexities, the residents of Lauri also don't go to Latvia.

A male resident of Lauri, a Latvian, a citizen of Russia:

We don't go because we have Russian citizens passports, we need to also get a foreigner's passport and a visa mums. It's too difficult and expensive. I still regret not having moved straight away to Latvia when it became free.

A female resident of Lauri, a Russian, a citizen of Russia:

It's worse now because there's a border. The border should be liquidated in a hurry otherwise we won't be able to get to Latvia at all.

Cases in which moving to Latvia has been essential, for example to permanently care for a relative, are also described as time-consuming and expensive.

The bureaucracy involved in obtaining visas scares people off trying to get one in the first place because they believe that it will take too long and will be too expensive and complex.

A Pededze woman, a Russian, hasn't been in Russia since the implementation of the visa regime:

I can't go anywhere. I've heard that in Riga you have to stand in long queues, that people take shifts to stand in line for four hours at a time."(Pededze)

The impact of the border and its rules has a highly differing impact on local lives depending on whether one looks at mobility, life improvement, trans-border cooperation, or opportunities and losses.

Not infrequently the border is also viewed positively by local people (concern about safety, new jobs as border guards, customs employees, for delivery of goods across the border etc.). However, not infrequently the people's opinions reflect assumptions and general slogans without direct evidence. The locals characterize the negative impact in a much more concrete form.

A female Latvian resident of Pededze:

There are problems with the permits, but on the other hand we have safety. A bit. We feel protected, not in a bad way. If that border wasn't protected, people would be entering, that's for sure. At least that's what I've been told.

The border is a barrier. On the other hand, it's a great opportunity because cooperation will eventually. *Sometime, maybe*. Earlier amateur cultural groups came over from Lauri and vice versa. That's something that I'd like of course, it's entirely positive. (Pededze)

On the border the existing institutions also don't live up to the assumption that, while they bring restrictions to the lives of local people, new jobs are created for them. Only one local resident was working in the Border Guards in the summer of 2004.

There are people who would like to but they don't know Latvian well enough and don't know how to work with a computer. (Pededze)

For the most part however the border acts as a barrier rather than as a new opportunity to cooperate.

The concrete border being studied is the external eastern border of the EU and NATO. As a result, during the study the attitude of the residents toward the new political reality was ascertained. It turns out there is a divided attitude toward Latvia being a member of these organizations, and this is the case with people on both the Latvian and the Russian sides.

In the 2003 referendum on joining the European Union, 203 Pededze's citizens voted for accession and 202 voted against.

The family has a greater role in formulating views than discussions between friends and acquaintances. In a three-generation family with four citizens eligible to vote the decision is made by the main breadwinner:

I said that we don't need any European Union, and we all voted against. Well, maybe things won't be any worse in that European Union, but they certainly won't be any better.

In the event of a positive vote, the dominant factor is a decision based on expectations of better economic conditions in the future, or using the *yes* as an affirmation of Latvia's integration into the European cultural sphere.

A young woman farmer:

There always has to be cooperation. As farmers we get direct payments.

A retired Latvian woman in Pededze with Estonian ancestry expressed her support for joining the EU in terms of the opportunities it would open up beyond Pededze and Latvia for her children and grandchildren, while at the same time clearly indicating the need to cooperate with European countries, which symbolizes not just belonging geographically to the continent, but also a cultural divide:

My granddaughter will study for her Masters degree in Manchester. We need contacts with other countries, we can't do without that. All the contacts will be with European countries. For me, Russia doesn't matter. Russia can't influence anything anymore.

On the Russian side, Latvia's accession to the EU is also associated with the country's joining the European symbolic space, thereby increasing its distance further from Russia, which "*is sort of in Europe, but in reality we are Russians.*"

However, in Lauri those citizens of Russia who can prove that they or their ancestors lived there before World War II are trying to obtain Estonian citizens' passports. This practical step symbolizes a desire to get the opportunity to move to Estonia if necessary, and further to the whole EU, without needless bureaucracy, while at the same time maintaining a link with a European identity as understood by the local people.

A female Lauri resident:

I got myself an Estonian passport, and for my children too. I'm a Russian, but my ancestors are Latvian and Estonian. You never know what will happen in life.

There are differing attitudes toward *NATO*: For the people of Pededze, Latvia's membership in this organization is a subject of indifference or no interest at all, aggression from Russia is not considered a possibility, and there are no ethnic disputes. Due to the stable and friendly state of inter-ethnic relations, global security issues are not relevant in the locality:

We like to joke: if they invade from Pskov, they won't notice us and will bypass us. This is because there have never been any ethnic tensions in Pededze, and our parents and grandparents said the same thing. We don't live as Latvians amongst Russians, but as neighbours with neighbours, simply people with people.

By contrast, in Russia the media has had a powerful role in shaping opinions - *NATO* is seen as a threat to Russia's greatness and is chiefly associated with the USA, rather than as a military organization of independent states.

A Lauri resident, citizen of Russia, father a Latvian, studied in Latvia:

I fully agree that the Baltic countries have fallen into America's clutches by joining NATO. Now the USA is very close to Russia's borders. But you – you'll have to do what America dictates.

In everyday conversations there is suspicion if questions are asked about attitudes toward NATO; border guards point to the visibly better equipment and uniforms enjoyed by their Latvian colleagues who are now citizens of a NATO member state.

A former border guard in Lauri:

The Latvians drive around in their new jeeps and four-wheel motorbikes, they have new uniforms. I'm ashamed to look at our guys. There's such bitterness about how they got all this from the NATO money and are now spying on us and our territory.

The new border in the context of globalization

The driving forces behind globalization are new markets, new technologies, new agents and new norms (UNDP 1999). Seen from Latvia's scale, in the 1990s the national transformation process and the driving forces of globalization came very quickly into the capital, and in some cases into the other biggest cities. But in Pededze, the site of this study, this period was different: previous networks of markets, infrastructure and agents broke down, bringing in train hopelessness, unemployment, a deepened alcoholism problem and other social consequences. The border crossing rules became more and more strict, but new networks hardly came into being at all.

In the 1990s it sometimes seemed that life was passing by. Everything happening far away and without us. There was a sense that we were living in a swamp and sinking ever deeper. People no longer knew what day it was." (Pededze).

The old system of services has been liquidated in Pededze, but a new one has not been created except for stores in which to buy things. To go to the hairdresser, tailor or to get medical services you have to travel to Alūksne or another town.

The municipality cannot survive solely from its own revenues and constantly requires subsidies.

The main factors delaying development are undeveloped business activities (even the grain grown in the agricultural cooperative is sold to locals rather than being marketed further on), big distances to centres, and poor infrastructure – especially the roads, which make the relatively short distance to Alūksne, 25 kilometres from the centre of Zaiceva village, seem great.

Nor does the Vidzeme Regional Development Plan envisage any special strategy for Pededze.

Pededze is like an empty space that you travel through to get to Russia,” (Latvian woman, 35, Pededze)

If tourist routes were developed over the border, a common element with nearby Lauri would be cycling trails (in 2004 several cycling groups stayed in Lauri). However, this possibility is hampered by the need to obtain permits to stay in the border zone, while in Lauri these are required for the whole area. Another unifying element could be sacral tourism – the Lauri church was at one time the main one in the area, and many people now residing in Latvia were christened in it.

The 1999 district development strategy spoke of the need for deeper cooperation with Lauri Parish, information exchange and usage of joint infrastructure. The introduction of the stricter visa regime has meant that information exchange has dwindled – to phone Lauri, 8 kilometres away, you have to make an international call, and much cheaper internet connections are not developed enough yet.

The majority of young Pededze residents leave for good to study or look for work in Latvia’s cities or in Western Europe. This trend – the attractive force of Riga and in some cases other Latvian cities as well as higher paying jobs in Western Europe - is typical not just of this region, and leads to population decline through natural ageing, negative demographics and emigration due to the lack of opportunities.

I don’t want my sons to remain here. They have to go away and take the opportunities the world presents today. (Latvian woman, 35, Pededze)

Globalization in the sense of new technology is very slow in entering Pededze and Lauri. The first internet connection in Pededze was not set up through state support, but rather thanks to the Queen Julianna Fund in the Netherlands, while in Lauri there was still no internet access during the field work in the summer of 2004 - a computer in the executive committee building sat in the corner of the meeting room and served as a stand for a potted plant. Other communications devices such as the telephone also worked poorly. Calls to the nearby town of Pechori only connect after several attempts, and the electricity supply is regularly interrupted. However, mobile operators were working, and furthermore in the summer of 2004 the Latvian mobile phone coverage in Lauri was better – the locals liked to joke that they would gladly use the Latvian operator’s services if only it was easier to pay for phone calls at an international level.

The trans-national lifestyle or *being stuck in the old ways*

In their everyday activities, the inhabitants of the border zone frequently fail to notice, ignore or blatantly breach the rules and regulations defining the state-level agent. This takes the form of for

example illegal border crossing, failure to carry special permits and ID documents at all times, and illegal trade over the border. The meaning given to the border by state agents and the residents of the border zone frequently differs greatly. It is possible to cross even the most tightly guarded border illegally, however the locals do not consider this to be a punishable offence, since in their view it is much more porous than the state and trans-national agents believe.

Observing the lifestyle of the border zone inhabitants, they can be divided into two groups—those belonging to the trans-national model, and those who have become *stuck in the old ways* in the border zone, with their ties to the administrative, political and commercial centres of their own country, and also to such centres on the other side of the border, becoming weaker or completely severed.

The trans-national model: Observation of crossings of the physical border reveal how the border directly affects everyday life and for what reasons the border is crossed, how this changes at various stages of life, and how it affects the regulation of statehood.

The main reasons for regularly crossing the border are legal and illegal business dealings or family connections.

Family connections are associated with both relatives living in Lauri and visits to the cemetery, because during the Soviet period most residents of Pededze were buried in nearby Lauri.

In the first half of the 1990s the Soviet era practice of selling agricultural products and domestic cattle in the Pskov market continued. The cattle could be handed over to the Pskov meat works and the money was transferred by post. In the early to mid 1990s it was also advantageous to change currency in Russia and make a profit from the exchange rates.

Currently the main business activities that prompt residents of the Latvian side to regularly cross the border are the purchase of petrol, sugar, vodka and cigarettes and reselling them in Latvia. During the research period such informal business activities were observed on both sides of the border.

On the Latvian side of the border there is often a long queue of cars, but the residents of Latvia rarely drive to the centre of Lauri, because this would involve getting a permit for being in Russia's border zone. They go no further than the nearest petrol station where they fill up their tanks, buy some cigarettes, vodka and sugar, and immediately re-cross the border to wait in the queue of cars on the Latvian side again.

The petrol is used for personal needs or sold to neighbours and acquaintances – in 2004 it was two or three times cheaper than in Latvia. But even if petrol cost about the same in Latvia as in Russia, Pededze residents cannot fill up their tanks in their own parish: the nearest petrol station in Latvia is in Alūksne, over 20 kilometres from the centres of the inhabited villages in Pededze Parish, whereas the petrol station in Russia is just 7 kilometres away.

People with multiple entry visas for Russia continue to regularly visit their relatives there after doing their regular shopping in Lauri and Pechori.

The border zone inhabitants of Lauri do not have these sorts of business interests in Latvia, therefore the trans-national model is observed much less often. Visits to relatives in Latvia are also less frequent.

However, prior to the introduction of the visa regime in the first half of the 1990s people often shopped in Latvia or went there for vacations.

The stuck-in-the-mud model: Heading over the border is not hampered by cultural differences since the communities on both sides have the Russian language, family ties, friendships and his-

torical memories in common. But they are hindered by the strict visa regulations, the lack of cooperation networks at the national level and passivity at the local agent level.

A large part of the population of Pededze last visited Riga over a decade ago, and more recently may have been to one of the nearby Russian towns – most likely Pskov as the district centre. Trips to Alūksne are also infrequent, notwithstanding that the range of services available in Pededze is poor. Many people just consider them as unnecessary, and just do without for example a tailor or hairdresser.

It is a similar case in Lauri. A businessman in Lauri:

People here are getting more and more stuck in the old ways.

A characteristic attitude on both sides of the border is “*where I was born, that’s where I’ll stay*”, without seeking closer cooperation with the economic centres of their country or trans-border cooperation, or feeling the need for greater mobility. This can partly explained by the fact that a large proportion of Pededze and Lauri residents are of retirement age, but it can also be observed amongst young people who have chosen to spend their lives in the border zone.

However, the strict border crossing rules don’t prevent the non-mobile groups from using others – mobile agents – to get something done. Cooperation also takes place through breaching the formal border crossing restrictions and developing illegal businesses.

In 2003 a buried pipeline from Lauri to Pededze was uncovered, through which alcoholic spirit had been pumped from Russia to Latvia. The case was not solved due to a lack of evidence. This illustrates that even tightly controlled borders can be circumvented, in this particular case by digging beneath them.

In some instances, informal cooperation is needed to take care of everyday matters.

One Pededze inhabitant gets electricity for his house on the Latvian side from Russia, because that’s where the nearest transformer is:

I toss the electricity book and the money across the border to them [the neighbours], and they give me a bottle of booze in return.

The locals without visas to cross the border ask the mobile ones (those with visas and who regularly go to Lauri) to bring back necessary items. A Pededze woman:

K.L. lives in Lauri. She is the only one, who knows blood healing words for cattle. I had asked her brother to bring these words for me. She wrote them down on a paper and her brother brought the paper to me, so I could heal warts on the cows udder.

An example from Lauri of closer cooperation with the Latvian side. A female resident of Lauri:

There are good drivers going to Alūksne, I give them wool and they bring back yarn exchanged which they exchange in Alūksne.

A vision for change in the border area

At present the expectations of the inhabitants of Pededze and Lauri of seeing the border zone as a gateway to Russia (from Latvia’s viewpoint) and a gateway to Europe (the view from Russia) is mostly wishful thinking and is not based on a realistic strategy to make it a reality. The cooperation

gateway strategy is threatened by the strict visa policies, poor infrastructure, and the diverging interests of agents at various levels and a lack of cooperation.

To stop the border zone inhabitants from being even further deprived of the benefits of globalization, the region requires an understanding of globalization from the perspective of national development based on several components i.e. through creating preconditions and promoting long-term development, creating preconditions and encouraging local, state and trans-national initiatives for the emergence of a productive and secure market in the concrete region, and implementing deeper cooperation between agents at various levels. This, for its part, means putting another understanding of globalization – globalization through greater solidarity – to the fore (ILO 2004)

Economic activity based on a bottom-up approach to using and quickly realizing local resources - forests – and also for attracting external sources (state, trans-national resources) to develop economic and social capital is based more on private initiative, for example investments by foreign Latvians in starting businesses by local inhabitants, material support for the school, and volunteer English-language teachers who have worked in Pededze. A top-down strategy is more likely to result in additional restrictions on locals rather than providing new opportunities.

Development-centered cooperation at the Pededze-Lauri, Latvia, Russia and global agent levels is weak. There is a lack of the required institutional density at various levels i.e. interactions between private enterprises, interest groups, public agencies, various educational institutions and others, which would work together to develop the local environment and trans-border cooperation. Currently it is just wishful thinking based on murky expectations that the situation may improve in the unspecified future.

Local and regional societies and economies possessing the required institutional density are best able to position themselves in the age of globalization. This density, thickness makes locality itself an agent with the capacity and ability to determine its own development trajectory within global processes, and makes it difficult to bypass it and cut it off from the flow of global and local resources. (Amin & Thrift 1994),

The development of Russia's border zone as a trans-national social and economic space requires the development of infrastructure, which the local agents are unable to do without the initiative and assistance of state and trans-national agents. This is frequently discussed in theoretical literature (for example Brezinski & Fritsch 1996). This combination of agents is necessary not only to promote economic development, but also for restructuring the social environment to reduce unemployment and support private initiative, which are of fundamental importance for developing a functioning democracy.

Within the confines of a single country, it is important that there is cooperation with other municipal governments and towns in the same region in order to develop local networks, for example Pededze as a gateway to an international cooperation strategy.

Given the current situation, there are few opportunities to develop tourism, due to both poor infrastructure and the visa policies mentioned previously.

Neither Pededze nor Lauri currently have the preconditions to develop into vacation areas for wealthy city residents (the reality of the globalization-era consumer society in relation to remote regions), as has happened in the border zone between Estonia and Russia at Beresje and Repina. There, Western Europeans are actively buying land due to the beautiful natural attractions (tidy landscapes, lakes, Russia can be seen on the horizon, in the mornings Russian church bells can be heard) and the free EU market.

In conclusion, I would like to stress the necessity for both practical and theoretical discussions about solidarity and the responsibility of global agents to local communities in the event that under globalization conditions places emerge that are more in the role of patients of globalization rather than beneficiaries from the process. From a periphery-centre viewpoint, the border zone may seem like the end of the Earth to people from the centre, but to those who live there it is the centre of the world.

Literature

- Amin, A. & Thrift, N. 1995. Globalisation, Institutional 'Thickness' and the Local Economy. *Managing Cities: The New Urban Context*. Ed by Healey, P., Cameron, S., Davoudi, S., Graham, S., Madani-Pour, A. John Wiley & Sons: Chichester, 91–108
- Assmuth, L. 2003. Nation building and everyday life in the borderlands between Estonia, Latvia and Russia. *Focaal: European Journal of Anthropology* No. 41: 59-69.
- Barth, F. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Differences*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Berdahl, D. 1999. *Where the World Ended: Re-unification and Identity in the German Borderland*. New York and London: University of California Press.
- Berg, E. 1998. National Interests and Local Needs in a Divided Setumaa: Behind the Narratives. H. Eskelinen, I. Liikanen, J. Oksa (eds.) *Curtains of Iron and Gold: European Peripheries and New Scales of Cross-Border Interaction*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishers.
- Borneman, J. 1998. Grenzregime: The Wall and its Aftermath. Thomas Wilson and Hastings. *Border identities. Nation and state at international frontiers*, ed by Donnan. Cambridge University Press.
- Brezinski, H. & Fritsch, M. 1996. Bottom-up transformation: prerequisites, scope and impediments. *International Journal of Social Economy* (23), 297-310
- Cole, J. & Wolf, E. 1974. *The hidden frontier: ecology and ethnicity in an Alpine valley*. New York: Academic Press.
- Cohen, A. P. 1986. *Symbolising Boundaries: Identity and Diversity in British Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Donnan, H. & Wilson, T. 1999. *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State*. Oxford & New York: Berg.
- Heyman, J. 1994. The Mexico-United States border in anthropology; a critique and reformulation. *Journal of Political Ecology* 1: 43-65
- ILO, 2004. *A fair globalization*. International Labour organization.
- Moulaert, F. 1996. Rediscovering spatial inequality in Europe: building blocks for an appropriate „regulationist” analytical framework. *Environment and Planning: Society and Space* 14:2, 155-179.
- Thomassen, B. 1996. Border studies in Europe. *Europaea* 1996, II-1.
- UNDP, 1999. *Human development report*. United Nations.
- Vereni, P. 1996. Boundaries, Frontiers, Persons, Individuals: Questioning “Identity” at National Borders. *Europaea* 1996, II-1.
- Wilson, T. M. & Donnan, H 1998. Nation, state and identity at international borders. *Border identities. Nation and state at international frontiers*. Ed. by Wilson and Donnan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LOKALU IR GLOBALU: LATVIJOS–RUSIJOS PASIENIO ZONOS (Pededze–Lauri) ATVEJO ANALIZĒ

Aija Lulle

Latvijas universitetas

S a n t r a u k a

Remiantis empirine medžiaga, surinkta ekspedicijos Latvijos – Rusijos pasienio zonoje metu, bei teorinėmis pasienio zonų studijomis, straipsnyje analizuojama valstybinių, transnacionalinių ir globalinių veiksmų įtaka gyvenimui pasienio zonoje. Pagrindinis dėmesys skiriamas valstybinių ir globalinių veiksmų sąveikai, viena vertus, ir vietinių bei individualių veiksmų sąveikai, kita vertus, teritorijoje, kuri kartu yra ir išorinė Europos Sąjungos bei NATO siena. Socialiniai tyrimai leido

padaryti kelias teorines ir empirines išvadas apie valstybės ir transnacionalinių veiksnių poveikį individų gyvenimui bei sukurti pasienio zonų vystymosi viziją.

Straipsnyje lyginama, kaip pasikeitė pasienio zonų bendradarbiavimas, įvairių veiksnių tarpusavio ryšiai ir judėjimas per Rusijos–Latvijos sieną po to, kai ši nustojo buvusi vidaus siena tarp tarybinių respublikų ir tapo valstybine siena tarp dviejų nepriklausomų valstybių bei išorine siena tarp ES ir Rusijos.

Atliktas mikrolygmeninis lyginimas, tiriant mažas pasienio zonų bendruomenes, individualų iniciatyvumą bei kasdienio gyvenimo patirtį kaimynystėje esančių valstybinių sienų ir jų formuojamų sąlygų kontekste.

Straipsnio autorė bando įrodyti, jog tam, kad pasienio zonos gyventojai nebebūtų atskirti nuo globalizacijos proceso siūlomų privalumų, regionui reikėtų suvokti globalizaciją iš nacionalinio vystymosi, besiremiančio keliais komponentais, pozicijų: reikėtų sudaryti sąlygas ir skatinti ilgalaikius vystymosi planus, sudaryti sąlygas ir skatinti vietines, nacionalines ir transnacionalines iniciatyvas kuriant produktyvią ir saugią rinką konkrečiame regione, taip pat įgyvendinti glaudesnę bendradarbiavimą tarp įvairių lygmenų veiksnių. Tai reikėtų išskirti į pirmą vietą naują globalizacijos supratimo formulę: globalizacija per solidarumo augimą.

Vystymąsi skatinantis bendradarbiavimas Pededze–Lauri zonoje Latvijos, Rusijos ir globalinių veiksnių lygmeniu yra silpnas. Jaučiama glaudesnio įvairių lygmenų institucijų bendradarbiavimo stoka tarp privačių įmonių, finansinių interesų grupių, valstybinių agentūrų, įvairių švietimo sistemos institucijų ir pan., kurios turėtų kartu užsiimti tiek savojo regiono, tiek pasienio teritorijų vystymo klausimais. Vietinės ir regioninės bendruomenės ir ekonominės struktūros, sudarančios vieną bendrą sistemą, globalizacijos amžiuje sugeba užimti geriausias pozicijas. Dėl tokios sistemos pati teritorija virsta svarbiu veiksniu, leidžiančiu savarankiškai apsispręsti dėl savo vystymosi krypties globalinių procesų kontekste. Tokio veiksnio neįmanoma ignoruoti ar atsieti tiek nuo globalinių, tiek nuo vietinių išteklių.

Rusijos pasienio zonos transnacionalinės socialinės ir ekonominės erdvės prasme vystymas reikalauja infrastruktūros vystymo, o to negalima daryti be valstybės ir transnacionalinių veiksnių iniciatyvos ir pagalbos. Toks bendradarbiavimas būtinas ne vien ekonominiam vystymuisi skatinti, bet ir socialinės aplinkos pertvarkai bei privačioms iniciatyvoms pasienio zonose remti.

Received in March 2006