CULTURAL AND ARTS CONSUMPTION AS A SOURCE OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY: THE CASE OF THE LATVIAN CENTENARY PROGRAMME[1]

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Abstract

In 2017–2021, Latvia celebrated its centenary with a wide-ranging cultural programme. The Centenary programme was announced as "the biggest event in the history of modern Latvia" providing 22.3 million euros over three years for more than 800 festive events "to strengthen the spirit of nationhood and a sense of belonging amongst the people of Latvia, and to promote collaboration and self-organization within the community" [Ministry of Culture 2020]. In this paper, we explore the ways in which this cultural policy initiative worked as a form of social solidarity building in the Latvian society, where there is a large Russian-speaking community. We are interested in examining the public's participation and perceptions of the Centenary cultural programme, focusing specifically on the differing patterns and effects in the Latvian and Russian-speaking communities. The analysis draws primarily on a representative survey, designed and conducted in the autumn of 2021 by the authors as part of a larger research project. The survey was designed to

enable analysis of the perceptions of the Centenary programme, participation and consumption patterns among different social groups and cultural communities, and experiences and perceptions of social solidarity (or lack thereof) in the context of the Centenary programme. The survey has provided new data on the links between cultural and arts consumption practices in an ethnically diverse society, as well as on the perceptions of effects of arts consumption on social solidarity and sense of belonging. On the basis of quantitative analysis of the survey data, we study the patterns of cultural consumption and its social impact, given the ethnic diversity of the society in question. We explore, firstly, how cultural and arts consumption is influenced by ethnic belonging and, secondly, how the effects of this consumption differ among ethnic groups. Based on this empirical analysis, the paper contributes to the wider, ongoing interdisciplinary debates on cultural and arts consumption, societal diversity and inclusion. Furthermore, the paper offers a novel approach to exploring, both theoretically and empirically, the effects of cultural and arts consumption on social solidarity.

Keywords: *cultural participation, arts consumption, social solidarity, social inequality, ethnic groups.*

Introduction

In 2017–2021, Latvia celebrated its centenary with a wide-ranging cultural programme. The Centenary programme was announced as "the biggest event in the history of modern Latvia" providing 22.3 million euros over three years for more than 800 festive events "to strengthen the spirit of nationhood and a sense of belonging amongst the people of Latvia, and to promote collaboration and self-organization within the community" [Ministry of Culture 2020]. In this paper, we explore the ways in which this cultural policy initiative worked as a form of social solidarity building in the Latvian society, where there is a large Russian-speaking community. We are interested in examining the public participation and perceptions of the Centenary cultural programme, focusing specifically on the differing patterns and effects in the Latvian and Russian-speaking communities. The analysis draws primarily on a representative survey, designed and conducted in the autumn of 2021 by the authors as part of a larger research project. The survey was designed to enable analysis of the perceptions of the Centenary programme, participation and consumption patterns among different social groups and cultural communities, and experiences and perceptions of social solidarity (or lack thereof) in the context of the Centenary programme. The survey has provided new data on the links between cultural and arts consumption practices in an ethnically diverse society, as well as on the perceptions of

effects of arts consumption on social solidarity and sense of belonging. On the basis of quantitative analysis of the survey data, we study the patterns of cultural consumption and its social impact, paying particular attention to the ethnic diversity of the Latvian society. We explore, firstly, how cultural and arts consumption is influenced by ethnic belonging and, secondly, how the effects of this consumption differ among ethnic communities. The paper presents an original theoretical and empirical approach developed to study the links between cultural and arts consumption, ethnic diversity and social solidarity. The analysis shows that a cultural policy programme aimed at fostering a sense of belonging and social solidarity was more successful for ethnic Latvians. We argue that cultural and arts consumption can have a positive effect on social solidarity, but that this differs across different ethnic communities and across different types of cultural and arts consumption. Based on this empirical analysis, the paper contributes to the wider, ongoing interdisciplinary debates on cultural and arts consumption, societal diversity and inclusion. Furthermore, the paper offers a novel approach to exploring, both theoretically and empirically, the links between cultural and arts consumption and social solidarity.

Researching arts consumption, diversity and inclusion
Arts consumption and social inequality

A prominent line of scholarship in sociology has focused on the ways in which cultural consumption is linked to processes of social exclusion and reproduction of inequality. Bourdieu showed how cultural tastes and practices of cultural consumption served as a hidden form of reproduction of inequality in outwardly meritocratic democratic societies [Bourdieu 1973, 1984]. Rather than treating culture and the arts as an independent reality, Bourdieu's analysis revealed how arts production and consumption was a social practice, shaped by and, in turn, shaping the social structures of a given society. To the extent that individual or group practices of ensuring cultural distinction serve to reproduce a doxa, a symbolic system that normalizes inequality, discrimination, and oppression, arts and cultural practices can act as forms of symbolic violence. Since Bourdieu's writings, social inequality and its links with both cultural production and consumption has become an increasingly popular topic of study by sociologists [Allen et al. 2017]. Bourdieu's analysis has been developed and challenged by Bennett et al. [2009], Friedman, Savage and Hanquinet [2015], Allen et al. [2017], Brook, O'Brien and Taylor [2020], and others. As Brook et al. sum it up in their recent book "Culture is Bad for You", both "[w]ho produces culture" and "[w]ho consumes culture reflects social inequality" [2020: 2]. Social class but also gender, religiosity, and race/ethnicity have been shown to link to different patterns of cultural consumption and participation [Katz-Gerro 2002, Chan and Goldthorpe 2007, Bull and Scharff 2017, Howard 2022].

Arts consumption and race/ethnicity

The role that cultural and arts consumption plays in the production of racial boundaries has lately been examined in a number of contexts. In the UK, Saha [2017] studies "racialized governmentalities", i. e. how cultural production is a form of producing political subjects and creating and sustaining particular racial subjectivities. Saha shows how "cultural industries continue to make race in a remarkably consistent and homogenous fashion, despite the attempts of cultural producers – not least those from minority racial and ethnic backgrounds – to subvert and destabilize the reproduction of racist and Orientalist tropes" [Saha 2017: 113–4]. Similarly, Belfiore [2020] examined how a reality TV show – a product of a thriving creative industry – stigmatized Roma in the UK. In the US, Dorinne Kondo has done ethnographic research of the theatre field to study how race is produced through cultural practice [2018].

The connections of cultural and arts consumption to racial identity construction have also increasingly been gaining attention. In a seminal paper, Lamont and Molnar [2001] have shown how consumption plays a role in producing collective identities, focusing in particular on black Americans. Building on this earlier research, Banks [2010] has studied how elites construct their racial-ethnic identity through practices of cultural consumption and participation. She explored, with the help of in-depth interviews, how middle-class blacks used cultural consumption and participation as a way to "articulate racial unity through the consumption of black visual art" [2010: 273]. Patterson [2020] has examined how arts participation differs among Whites and non-Whites in the USA depending on their education qualifications. He shows, with the help of statistical analysis, that education has less effect on arts participation among non-Whites and seeks to interpret this vis-à-vis the "[c]ultural and structural biases" prevailing in the US society that emerged during the historical monopoly of European Royal Academies in defining high-brow cultural tastes [Patterson 2020: 26].

Studies from other national contexts similarly show that race/ethnicity is a crucial factor of social stratification that affects arts consumption and reflects power relations and social hierarchies. Thus, in the UK, "[t]Those in working-class occupations, ethnic minorities, and those without wealth, have significantly less formal cultural engagement as compared to their wealthy, White counterparts" [Brook, O'Brien and Taylor 2020: 78]. In the case of the Netherlands, Van Wel et al. [2006] found that young people from ethnic minorities had similar levels of "active cultural participation" as Dutch youth but lower levels of "receptive cultural participation", i. e. "going to museums, theatres, and buildings of cultural interest" [2006: 79]. In the case of Israel, Katz-Gerro, Raz and Yaish [2009] find, based on a representative survey data, that Ashkenazi Jews, who have an overall higher social

position in the Israeli society, exhibit higher levels of cultural engagement [2009: 16]. They emphasize the importance of understanding how factors other than social class shape cultural behaviour as societies across the world are becoming increasingly multi-cultural and multi-ethnic [ibid: 15–16].

Cultural and arts consumption has been shown to play a role in fostering social inclusion. Meghji argues that black middle class in various ways "use cultural consumption to contest the racial hierarchy" [2020: 595]. Her interviews with the black middle-class show that arts consumption is used by them as a tool to achieve greater symbolic equity with the Whites. Similarly, Wallace [2017] has done ethnographic research with Black Caribbean middle class in the UK showing how Black Caribbean middle class youth challenge existing assumptions about relation between cultural capital and whiteness. Warren and Jones point to the potential of cultural participation to foster more inclusive and socially cohesive communities, both in terms of ethnicity/multi-culture and class. Focusing on the case of Birmingham, they experimented with organising focus groups for cultural programming in multi-cultural neighbourhoods and observed how such a form of inclusive, participatory cultural governance organised at the neighbourhood level can foster diversity and inclusion within a city. As they put it, "The central contention of this paper is thus, that instead of planning on behalf of local actors, the emphasis should instead lie on enabling local actors in a pluralised cultural governance with distributed and discursive strategies of public decision-making for more effective policy-making" [Warren and Jones 2018: 33].

Diversity, inclusion, and social solidarity

A number of studies have explored the positive social impact of cultural production and consumption, exploring e. g. socially engaged arts projects as a form of caring [Alacovska 2020], as a means to participative/inclusive governance [Warren and Jones 2018], and as a way to achieve greater democratic legitimacy [Wilson, Gross and Bull 2017]. Links between arts consumption and social solidarity have been less explored in literature so far. Solidarity effects are occasionally mentioned in studies of cultural participation, whether with regards to class solidarity [Yaish and Katz-Gerro 2012: 170] or racial solidarity [Patterson 2020: 27]. Solidarity is understood here as a sense of belonging and unity and actual practices of creating and maintaining such sense of belonging and unity. Citing Bonilla-Silva, Patterson notes that there is a "white culture of solidarity" among the white Americans in the US and, similarly, black arts consumption practices seek to strengthen a black solidarity. As Patterson writes, "African-American solidarity through arts patronage exemplifies a form of counter-framing that resists the prejudice and discrimination supported by the White racial frame" [Patterson 2020: 27]. Thus, the social construction of racial

difference through cultural practices, including arts consumption and participation, enforces social boundaries and creates/maintains different cultures of solidarity and social belonging.

Effects of identity construction and group belonging and unity have also been highlighted, empirically revealing manifestations of social solidarity without using the concept. E. g., Banks [2010], in a study examining art collection practices among black middle class in the US, emphasizes the "racial unity" that such arts consumption creates among middle-class blacks. In another study, focusing on museum patronage, she shows, how "black museums are a site of social cohesion for the black elite and mainstream museums foster social ties among the white elite" [Banks 2017: 98]. She argues that "growth in African-American museums not only adds diversity to the field of arts institutions, but that it also fosters cohesion within the black middle and upper class" and strengthens "social bonds among the black elite" [Banks 2017: 98]. Warren and Jones also point to effects of cultural participation for social belonging:

> "empirical research 'from below' with minority groups in this particular neighbourhood reveals the ways in which cultural co-commissioning and delivery is regarded as an important arena in which relationships between different social groups and authority can be renewed. We argue that providing resourcing to enable a more democratically realised culture – avoiding polarising arts and everyday life [Griffiths 1993] – can serve as a conduit for enhancing a sense of belonging in society" [Warren and Jones 2018: 33].

We are interested in examining connections between art consumption and solidarity building in the case of the Latvian society where the Centenary cultural programme was attempted as a cultural policy tool for strengthening social belonging. In our understanding of the concept of solidarity, we draw on Lynch and Kalaitzake, who define solidarity as "a macro-level expression of collective caring" and a "the commitment and capacity to collectively nurture and contribute to the welfare of others" [2018: 2]. Lynch and Kalaitzake argue that,

> "As living to be with and for others plays an important role in the structuration of social life [Vandenberghe, 2018], love, care and solidarity are matters of political import. (..) Given its embeddedness in social life, the commitment and capacity to collectively nurture and contribute to the welfare of others, can, however, be both culturally and politico-economically fostered or undermined" [Lynch and Kalaitzake 2018: 2].

Similarly, Craig Calhoun points to the importance of feelings of solidarity in a democracy, emphasizing that "[w]e are poorly prepared to theorize democracy if we cannot theorize the social solidarity of democratic peoples" [Calhoun 2007: 153].

To think about solidarity in the context of culture and the arts, we are drawing also on Martha Nussbaum's [2013] discussion of the importance of political emotions in a democratic society and on the role that culture and the arts play in this regard. Working in the tradition of normative philosophy, Nussbaum has written about the solidarity effects of culture and the arts at the nation-state level. In her book "Political Emotions", Nussbaum explores "ways in which emotions can support the basic principles of the political culture of an aspiring yet imperfect society"" [Nussbaum 2013: 6]. She argues that various other art forms can play a central role in establishing feelings of closeness, care and compassion towards others. In Nussbaum's words,

> *"If distant people and abstract principles are to get a grip on our emotions, (..) these emotions must somehow position them within our circle of concern, creating a sense of "our" life in which these people and events matter as parts of our "us," our own flourishing. For this movement to take place, symbols and poetry are crucial"* [Nussbaum 2013: 11].

She argues that "the public culture [in a democracy] needs to be nourished and sustained by something that lies deep in the human heart and taps its most powerful sentiments, including both passion and humour. Without these, the public culture remains wafer-thin and passionless, without the ability to motivate people to make any sacrifice of their personal self-interest for the sake of the common good" [Nussbaum 2013: 43]. She analyses, for example, the power of music to foster such sentiments, essential in a democratic society.

Nussbaum's analysis aligns with the report on cultural democracy by Wilson, Gross and Bull [2017] where they emphasize the potential of cultural participation to strengthen the political legitimacy of a democracy. As Wilson, Gross and Bull note, drawing on an analysis of numerous case studies and best practice examples in the UK, "Promoting cultural capabilities (..) involves providing conditions in which people can exercise their voices – individually and collectively – and do so in a way that is explicitly connected to considerations of place making and local identity" [Wilson, Gross and Bull 2017: 50]. They employ Nussbaum and Sen's concept of "capabilities" to advance the idea of "cultural capability", as opportunities to take part in and co-create versions of culture as a form of "substantive freedom" in a democracy [Wilson, Gross and Bull 2017: 4–5]. Thus, Nussbaum and Wilson et al. highlight the importance of culture and the arts in fostering a democratic public culture. The Latvian Centenary cultural programme can be seen as an example of a state's attempt at using culture and the arts to foster political emotions. But, going back to the earlier studies linking ethnicity/race to cultural consumption, we are interested in asking how different ethnic groups consume art differently and therefore with different effects in terms of social solidarity.

Research assumptions

Based on the research questions and the findings of previous studies, we formulated four assumptions that we set out to test with the help of quantitative empirical data:

I. There are statistical differences (average values differ by at least 5%) in the division of opinions of various ethnic groups on issues of cultural and arts consumption.

II. The participation levels in cultural and arts consumption practices linked to national culture differ among different ethnic groups.

III. The perceptions regarding the solidarity effects of culture and the arts differ among different ethnic groups.

IV. There are different effects among different ethnic groups (1) on a sense of belonging to the Latvian state, and (2) on a sense of solidarity with other members of society.

In order to answer the research questions, we used both primary and secondary quantitative data that were obtained from both cross-sectional and longitudinal empirical studies. First, the differences in cultural and arts consumption between different ethnic groups are analysed with the help of secondary data that were obtained in a series of nation-wide cultural consumption studies, as well as primary data on cultural and arts consumption during the Latvian Centenary programme. We then turn to the links between cultural and arts consumption and a group's sense of solidarity and belonging, which are described on the basis of primary data that were obtained in a longitudinal study on the Latvian Centenary programme, designed and conducted in 2021.

Data on cultural and arts consumption and the methods of data gathering

Patterns of cultural consumption in Latvia have been studied regularly and with similar methodology since 2006.[1] Initially funding had to be secured from various sources but since 2016 nation-wide cultural consumption monitoring every two years has been funded by the Latvian government. The key indicators of cultural consumption that have been used in almost all of the studies are: the attendance of specific cultural and arts events and the frequency of attendance over a 12-month period; satisfaction with cultural events; who a person attends a cultural event with; attitude towards cultural events and factors that influence it; evaluation of cultural events and reasons for it; readiness to spend money on cultural events, etc. In all of the studies, several socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents were measured that enabled a comparison of cultural consumption patterns among

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[1] Nation-wide quantitative studies on cultural consumption have been conducted in Latvia 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020, most of them with the participation of the authors of this paper.

different ethnic groups. Given the historical specificity of the ethnic composition and the formation of the sense of national belonging in the Latvian society, data were gathered not only on one's "ethnicity" but also on "the language used in the household" and "citizenship". These three characteristics were measured with the help of two variables: the characteristics "ethnicity" and "language used in the household" were measured with the help of variables "Latvian/other", while citizenship was measured as "Latvian citizenship/citizenship of another country". The choice of the variables was determined by the ethnic composition of the Latvian society. According to national data from 2021, there were 1 893 223 inhabitants in Latvia in total, of which 62.7% were Latvian while 37.3% belonged to other ethnicities. Russians are a numerous ethnic group in Latvia, constituting 24.5% of the population and 65.7% of those inhabitants that have other ethnic belonging than Latvian.

In this study, to test the first assumption, we mostly use data on cultural consumption from 2018, as well as comparative data. The data from 2020 study are less useful because the Covid-19 pandemic and the related restrictions significantly impacted cultural and arts consumption. The data on cultural consumption in the series of studies were obtained with the help of representative quantitative surveys. In all cases the general population of the survey included all of the permanent inhabitants of Latvia between the ages of 15 and 74. The sample of the survey was selected to ensure representative data for the entire general population. In 2018, the data collection technique was face-to-face interviews in the respondents' homes. The sample was 1040 respondents. The data on cultural consumption are used in this paper to discover lasting trends in cultural and arts consumption among Latvians and other ethnic groups. We place particular emphasis on the differences in patterns that can form a fact-based foundation for interpreting the primary data.

Data on cultural consumption that test Assumption I (There are statistical differences (average values differ by at least 5%) in the division of opinions of various ethnic groups on issues of cultural and arts consumption.)

The 2018 study on cultural consumption reveals that there are no significant differences among ethnic groups regarding 11 of the 22 cultural and art consumption activities that were included in the survey. Differences in opinion division are not observable in the variables regarding attendance of museums, entertainment parks, zoos, watching movies, attending events for children or families with children, attending classical or contemporary music concerts, music festivals, opera or ballet, and reading books. However, an equal number of cultural consumption activities significantly differ among Latvians and other ethnic groups. These are activities related to specific traditional cultural practices and activities related to cultural heritage. These were mostly attended by Latvians (for example, attending a cultural

event in the local cultural centre, a local city or village festival, an event in the local city or village where an amateur cultural group performed, including an amateur theatre group, and attending a traditional ball). Differences were also observable in activities that are linked to language use, such as visiting a library, attending a popular music concert, a circus show, a professional theatre performance, watching a cultural programme on the TV (see Figure 1 below).

Ethnic belonging is linked also to the language that a respondent ordinarily uses at home. Ethnic belonging in many cases indicates also a particular language use, while language proficiency, or lack thereof, can be a significant barrier for accessing and consuming the kinds of cultural products where language is important for perception. Data show that cultural consumption habits for those respondents that use Latvian language at home and those that use another language differ even more. Such differences are observable with regard to 16 (out of 22) cultural and art consumption activities, whereas in the case of 6 forms of activity there is no such difference (these are "visiting a museum", "visiting an entertainment park", "watched a movie", "attended a music festival", "finished reading a book", "visited opera and ballet"). We find it significant also that, among those Latvian inhabitants for whom Latvian language is not their everyday household language, a smaller percentage attend amateur (folk) art performances. While we are not focusing on differences with regard to particular types of cultural products in this paper, it is possible to assume that cultural consumption habits among different ethnic and language groups differ. This brings forward questions not only about accessibility of culture and art but also about differing tastes and cultural needs, which form the basis for the ways that cultural events are experienced, including the values communicated through them.

Even more significant differences are evident in the cultural consumption patterns among those respondents who have a Latvian citizenship compared to those who do not. While the inhabitants without a citizenship constitute a relatively small share of the Latvian society (14.4%), it is remarkable that their cultural consumption is significantly lower than for the rest of the society.[1] 16.9% of respondents without the Latvian citizenship had not attended any cultural activities over the course of the last year (while for the rest this figure stands at 8%). Out of the 22 activities measured, the habits differ in 17 activities (within 6–30% range). The consumption

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[1] 85.6% of all the Latvian residents have Latvian citizenship, 9.6% are Latvian non-citizens or aliens and 4.8% have a citizenship of another country (data for January 2022, available: https://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/media/8190). The non-citizens are a category of Latvian residents that was created in 1991, when the Soviet Union was dissolved and Latvia declared independence. Citizenship of the Latvian state was then granted to those inhabitants who had been Latvian citizens prior to the Soviet period, or their descendants.
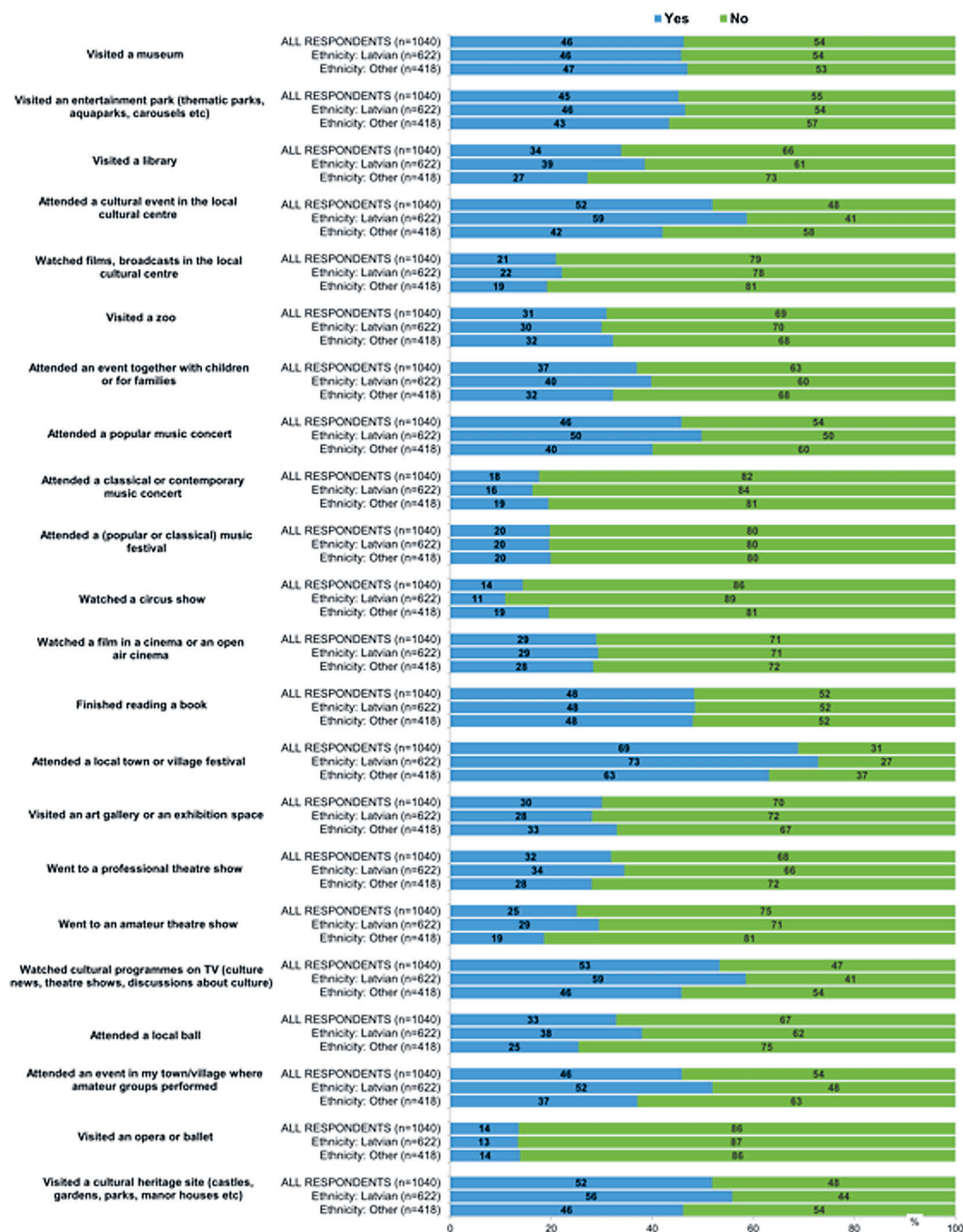
Figure 1. Cultural and arts consumption, 2018.

habits do not differ between these two groups only in 5 types of activities (attending a zoo, a classical or contemporary music concert, a circus show, an art gallery, an opera or ballet).

In conclusion, the cultural consumption data show that the differences among ethnic groups are not universal across all forms of culture and the arts. The differences are evident in particular types of cultural practices, where some are more inclusive and some are less inclusive for different ethnic groups. The trend in these differences is durable and characterizes the entire period under consideration (2016–2020).

Data on participation in the Centenary celebrations that test Assumption II (The participation levels in cultural practices linked to national culture differ among different ethnic groups.)

The fact that the differences in cultural consumption among ethnic groups are linked to the content of cultural products and their symbolic meanings is confirmed also by data on the cultural consumption during the Latvian Centenary celebrations. These data were obtained with the help of a survey and the data collection technique was an internet survey (CAWI). The survey was conducted in 2019 with the help of a nation-wide representative sample, where the general population was all of the Latvian inhabitants aged between 18 and 75. It was a quota sample and the sample size was 1005 respondents. In this study, too, the independent variables were the responses to the characteristics on "ethnicity", "language used in the household" and "citizenship". The focus of this study was the forms of cultural participation and activity during the Latvian Centenary celebrations.

Compared to the surveys on cultural consumption habits, this study was aimed at exploring the participation in cultural and arts activities that were produced as part of the Centenary programme. The aims of these activities were derived from the Centenary programme, i. e. they were related to strengthening Latvian statehood and national cultural values. While the producers of particular events of the Programme had creative freedom, the events and activities were aimed at cultivating patriotism and a feeling of belonging to the Latvian state. In other words, their content was symbolically and ideologically charged. To test whether the participation of different ethnic groups differs with regard to cultural and arts consumption of activities related to manifesting national cultural values, we conducted a comparison of participation and consumption models of various ethnic, language-use and citizenship groups during the Centenary programme. The programme included nearly 300 various events in 2017–2021 but we are focusing on the events with the largest budget and scale (the so-called "Grand events", or *Lielnotikumi* in Latvian).

While the Centenary celebration events, funded by the state, were intended to attract, engage and bring together Latvians home and abroad, various socio-

demographic groups had different levels of engagement and participation in these events. The participation was considerably lower among non-Latvian ethnic groups and among people with lower income. The participation was measured with the help of three variables:

1. This is the first time I hear about such an event.
2. I have heard about such an event but I did not participate myself.
3. I myself participated in this event.

Representatives of non-Latvian ethnic groups had significantly lower participation levels in almost all of the large-budget celebratory events and particularly so in watching films from the Centenary film programme "Latvian films for the Latvian Centenary", Latvian Independence Day celebrations on 4 May, centenary events of key national cultural institutions (theatres, universities, etc). Likewise, views on the lasting effect of the Centenary cultural programme differ among Latvians and other ethnic groups. A smaller number of respondents among the non-Latvian ethnic groups think that there will be a lasting effect when asked about almost all of the major large-budget cultural events of the Centenary. There is one exception – the lasting effect of the exhibition "Latvian century", created by a group of Latvian museums, is positively evaluated by a similar percentage of Latvians and other ethnic groups.

A particularly telling example in terms of the differences in participation among different ethnic, language, or citizenship groups are the films produced as part of the Centenary programme (see Figure 2 below). Whereas 50.2% ethnic Latvians said
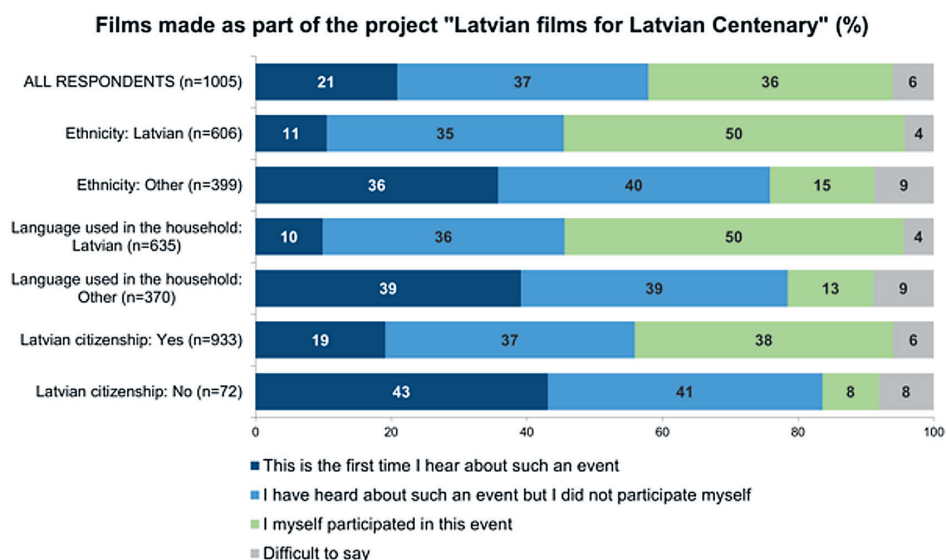

Figure 2. Films made as part of the project "Latvian films for Latvian Centenary".

they had seen at least one of these films, only 15.2% respondents from other ethnic groups, 12.6% of non-Latvian language users and 8.3% of respondents without Latvian citizenship did. Furthermore, 35–40% of respondents from these groups said they heard of these films for the first time. Notably, the cultural consumption survey data showed that there were no significant differences among these groups with regard to watching films. In both segments, about 30% of respondents said they had seen a movie over the course of the last 12 months. This shows that consumption differences are to be analysed not so much in terms of interest in the particular type of cultural activity (in this case, films), but rather in relation to the authorship of the cultural product and its symbolic content.

Similar differences can be observed also with regard to other "Grand events" of the Centenary programme. Belonging to a Latvian or other ethnic group significantly impacts not only the patterns of cultural consumption but also different participation forms in cultural practices linked to the national culture and its symbolic content. Non-ethnic Latvians were more critical of the ability of the Programme to "reach, engage and bring together a large number of Latvian inhabitants and Latvians abroad". We can conclude that the value framing of certain cultural and arts products has a significant impact on the cultural consumption patterns of different ethnic groups. This is particularly the case where this value framing has to do with national culture. This can create barriers for consuming particular cultural and arts products or even exclude certain ethnic, language-use or citizenship groups from cultural experiences.

Data on cultural and arts consumption and social solidarity – testing Assumptions III and IV (The perceptions regarding the solidarity effects of the arts differ among different ethnic groups; There are different effects among different ethnic groups (1) on a sense of belonging to the Latvian state and (2) on a sense of solidarity with other members of society.)

Data on the differing cultural experiences among different ethnic groups due to the symbolic content of the cultural and arts products enabled us to formulate a new assumption, namely, that the cultural experiences that enable (1) a feeling of belonging to the state, and (2) a feeling of solidarity with other members of society are different for various ethnic groups. To develop an instrument (survey) for testing this assumption, we selected indicators that would allow assessing the links between a sense of belonging and solidarity, cultural consumption experiences and different ethnic groups' cultural experiences. Data were collected with the help of face-to-face interviews in respondents' homes. The general population of the survey were Latvian residents aged 18–75. The stratified random sampling was applied, where the stratification indicator was territorial belonging. The sample was 1015 respondents. In this survey, the ethnic belonging was measured with the help of three

variables: Latvian (58.9% respondents), Russian (32.4% respondents) and other ethnicity (8.7% respondents). The data allow a comparative analysis of the three ethnic groups' opinions regarding cultural consumption, belonging and solidarity. We pay particular attention to the comparison of responses between Latvian and Russian ethnic groups. We chose several dependent variables. To test Assumption III, we focus on the following dependent variables: (1) assessment of the solidarity of the Latvian society, (2) a sense of belonging in society, in Centenary celebrations, in cultural and arts events in Latvia, (3) attitude towards statements that cultural and arts events have a power to bring society together, (4) factors that have made a respondent feel solidarity with those different from him/her, (5) whether they have or have not been part of a cultural event that has made them feel a sense of belonging to Latvian state or society, (6) an opinion on whether a film made in Latvia can help bring Latvian society together.

Data show that the overall "temperature" of the Latvian society with regard to a sense of belonging and solidarity is low. 60% of respondents believe that the society is split. Rural inhabitants are more critical than average (68%). Furthermore, more Russian respondents believe that ethnic belonging is a reason for this split (24%). In response to another question, only 30% of the respondents believe that Latvian society is characterized by a sense of solidarity and unity. Although the assessment of social solidarity is low, different opinions emerge when certain features are measured that touch more upon personal, individual sense of belonging and solidarity. Here a relatively large share of the population believe that they personally feel a sense of belonging to the Latvian social and cultural environment. 72% Latvian residents say they feel (quite or fully) that they belong in the Latvian society. 61% say they feel (quite or fully) that they belong in national celebrations and 54% feel (quite or fully) that they belong in cultural and arts events. These average figures, however, do not allow reaching compelling conclusions because indicators of belonging differ significantly between Latvian and Russian ethnic groups. 85% Latvians and only 51% Russians feel (quite or fully) that they belong in the Latvian society; 76% Latvians and 38% Russians feel (quite or fully) that they belong in Latvian national celebrations. 69% Latvians and only 31% Russians feel (quite or fully) that they belong in cultural and arts events that take place in Latvia. So, the share of the ethnic Russian respondents that feel they belong to the Latvian society and cultural environment is about 30% lower than that of ethnic Latvians. Less than a third of all ethnic Russians express a sense of belonging to the Latvian cultural environment.

These data only indirectly point to the fact that a lack of supply of certain cultural and arts consumption and participation forms can cause a sense of not belonging not only to the cultural environment but to society at large. A more precise argument regarding the correlation between cultural and arts consumption

and differences among ethnic groups with regard to social solidarity can be made when looking at a statement "Cultural and art events have a great power to bring people together". 80% Latvians and only 59% Russians agree with this statement. Although both groups show high support for the statement, the difference between the two ethnicities is significant. Such statistical evidence shows that there are beliefs of different intensity among Latvians and Russians with regard to the role of culture and the arts for creating an inclusive society. In this study we tried to measure even more precisely the role of personal cultural experiences in strengthening the sense of belonging and solidarity. We studied whether respondents had experienced a cultural event in Latvia that had made them feel personally belong to the Latvian state and to other members of society. Data show that 78% Latvians and only 37% Russians believe they have had a cultural experience that had strengthened their belonging to the Latvian state while 73% Latvians and 41% Russians say they have been part of an event that has strengthened their sense of belonging to other members of society (see Figures 3 and 4).
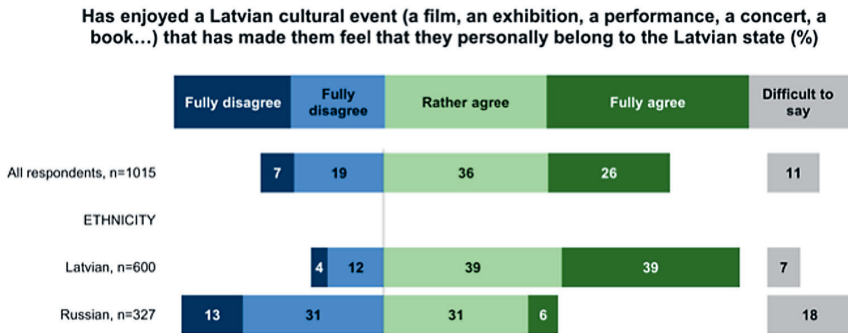
Has enjoyed a Latvian cultural event (a film, an exhibition, a performance, a concert, a book…) that has made them feel that they personally belong to the Latvian state (%)

	Fully disagree	Fully disagree	Rather agree	Fully agree	Difficult to say
All respondents, n=1015	7	19	36	26	11
ETHNICITY					
Latvian, n=600	4	12	39	39	7
Russian, n=327	13	31	31	6	18

Figure 3. Attending a cultural event that made the respondent feel that they personally belong to the Latvian state.

Has enjoyed a Latvian cultural event (a film, an exhibition, a performance, a concert, a book…) that has made them feel that they personally are connected to other Latvian inhabitants (%)

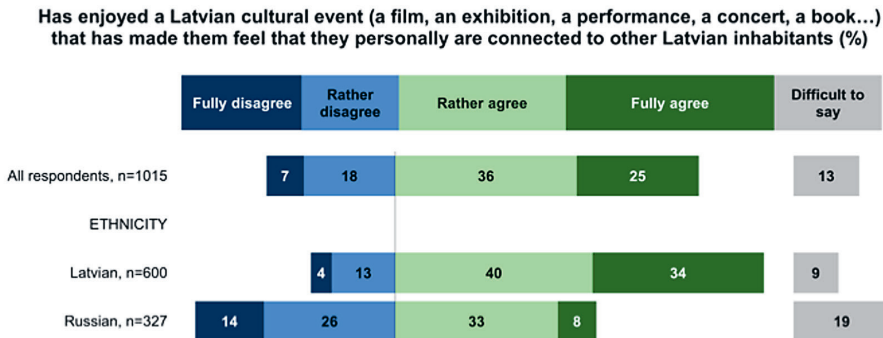|	Fully disagree	Rather disagree	Rather agree	Fully agree	Difficult to say
All respondents, n=1015	7	18	36	25	13
ETHNICITY					
Latvian, n=600	4	13	40	34	9
Russian, n=327	14	26	33	8	19

Figure 4. Attending a cultural event that made the respondent feel personally connected to other Latvians.

Thus, it is possible to observe not only different cultural experiences among different ethnic groups but also different beliefs with regard to the links between one's personal experiences of culture and a sense of solidarity with others. To reduce the level of generalization, we studied respondents' subjective beliefs regarding the impact of specific types of cultural consumption – watching films made in Latvia – on the sense of belonging and solidarity, i. e. the experiences of solidarity. Whereas about 46% of all respondents say that they can think of a film that makes people feel more united and solidary, the figures differ in different ethnic groups. 60% ethnic Latvians can think of a such a movie while only 22% Russians can.

Respondents from different ethnic groups not only have different cultural consumption habits but also construct differing views on the role of culture and the arts in creating a sense of belonging and solidarity in society. Here we can speak of a certain "self-exclusion" syndrome among the ethnic Russian population group with regard to both the cultural and arts market and practices but also with regard to the potential effects of belonging and solidarity that the cultural experiences create. Cultural and arts practices are a significant source of a sense of solidarity, belonging, unity and inclusion, provided that these practices contain a symbolic content that is important for a particular group. As the data show, there is a part of the population that recognizes the power of culture and the arts to create these political emotions. Yet, it is problematic that respondents of different ethnic groups experience these emotional effects differently and cultural experiences can thus work as both a tool for inclusion as well as exclusion.

Conclusion

The focus of this paper has been to chart a theoretical and empirical approach for examining how different ethnic groups consume culture and the arts differently and how these different consumption practices are linked to differing social solidarity effects. If solidarity – understood as a sense of "collective caring" for fellow members of one's society – is a key political emotion in a democracy, as Lynch and Kalaitzake, Nussbaum, Calhoun and others argue, it is important to probe in more empirical detail how cultural and arts consumption is linked to solidarity effects in contemporary societies. In this paper, we have brought together existing research on cultural and arts consumption with sociological and philosophical studies regarding the role of feelings of solidarity and belonging in a democratic society. To test four assumptions about cultural and arts consumption, ethnic diversity, and solidarity and belonging, we drew on quantitative data from several representative surveys. Primary data were collected with the help of a survey designed to study cultural and arts consumption in the context of the Latvian Centenary cultural programme, while secondary data were used from earlier studies on cultural and arts consumption in

Latvia more generally. Based on analysing these data, this paper has shown, firstly, that cultural and arts consumption plays a role in the creation of feelings of solidarity within ethnic groups, thus contributing to a line of scholarship that investigates links between racial/ethnic diversity and the social effects of arts consumption [Banks 2010, 2017; Meghji 2020; Patterson 2020]. As a range of primary quantitative data reveal, the different cultural and art consumption practices are linked to different perspectives on the role of culture and the arts to create feelings of solidarity and belonging. Comparable to Patterson's [2020] discussion of different "cultures of solidarity" in different racial-ethnic segments of society, we find that culture and arts consumption creates differing cultures of solidarity in the ethnically diverse Latvian society. Secondly, we find that it is specific types of cultural and arts consumption that create particular effects with regards to social solidarity and that these differ between different ethnic groups. While for the majority group, the ethnic Latvians, a cultural policy like the four-year Centenary celebration programme can stir political emotions [Nussbaum 2013] of belonging and solidarity (e. g., when watching a locally made film), for other ethnic groups such effects were less apparent. Thus, different cultural and arts consumption experiences likely further enforce symbolic boundaries in an ethnically diverse society.

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