Aleida Bertran
PhD in culture theory;
Latvian Academy of Culture
PhD kultūras teorijā;
Latvijas Kultūras akadēmija
E-mail / e-pasts: aleida.bertran-salceda@lka.edu.lv
ORCID: 0009-0000-7151-9238

DOI: 10.35539/LTNC.2025.0057.05

Theorizing Festival Programs as Manifestos: The International Folklore Festival *Baltica* During the Singing Revolution (1987–1991)

Veidojot teoriju par festivālu programmām kā manifestiem: starptautiskais folkloras festivāls *Baltica* Dziesmotās revolūcijas laikā (1987–1991)

Keywords:
folklore revival,
critical discourse analysis,
Baltic identity,
cultural resistance,
symbolic power,
legitimation

Atslēgvārdi:
folkloras atdzimšana,
kritiskā diskursa analīze,
Baltijas identitāte,
kultūras pretestība,
simboliskā vara,
leģitimācija

Summary The International Folklore Festival *Baltica* was founded at the dawn of the Singing Revolution to be celebrated annually in a different Baltic republic (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) under the flagships of kinship, authenticity, and Baltic unity. Existing literature has explored this festival in the fields of folkloristics, ethnomusicology, cultural heritage, and performance studies. However, the analysis of *Baltica* festival programs remains under-researched. This article presents a conceptual proposal for interpreting the discourse of festival programs as manifestos legitimizing the history, heritage and knowledge of a festival community under censorship. Through the prism of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and the categories of authority and mythopoiesis, it unravels discursive mechanisms that reaffirm cultural, national, and a collective Baltic identity, and ground the enactment of discourse in social practice and performance.

Kopsavilkums Starptautiskais folkloras festivāls *Baltica* tika dibināts Dziesmotās revolūcijas sākumā ar ieceri to ik gadu organizēt citā Baltijas republikā (Igaunijā, Latvijā vai Lietuvā), par galvenajām vadlīnijām izvirzot radniecību, autentiskumu un Baltijas vienotību. Līdzšinējā literatūrā šis festivāls aplūkots folkloristikas, etnomuzikoloģijas, kultūras mantojuma un skatuves mākslas studiju kontekstos. Tomēr festivāla *Baltica* programmas joprojām ir maz pētītas. Šis raksts piedāvā konceptuālu priekšlikumu interpretēt festivāla programmu diskursus kā manifestus, kas cenzūras apstākļos leģitimē festivāla kopienas vēsturi, mantojumu un zināšanas. Piemērojot kritiskās diskursa analīzes metodi un autoritātes un mitopoēzes kategorijas, rakstā tiek atklāti diskursīvi mehānismi, kas apliecina kultūras, nacionālo un kolektīvo Baltijas identitāti, aplūkojot diskursa īstenošanas praksi kā sociālu un performatīvu fenomenu.

Introduction

Festival programs typically serve a dual function: they provide a textual analysis of what is being represented while simultaneously articulating the narrative framework of festival curators (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991). Festivals with a political agenda or social transformation goals arguably generate "spaces to create or re-appropriate, perform, and embody narratives and symbols of belonging" which, in some instances, institute "nationalist or community narratives" (Picard 2015: 603). This political nature demands a different kind of reading compared to mainstream festivals. Therefore, this article proposes (re)interpreting festival programs as manifestos – texts imbued with a political mission and vision, functioning to legitimize the resurgence of national and cultural identity movements along with their related bodies of knowledge.

This theoretical proposal is explored in this article through a complex and multi-layered case study: the International Folklore Festival *Baltica*, which emerged in the late Soviet Union during the so-called Singing Revolution (1987–1991) under the umbrella of the Baltic folklore revival. Within this socio-political and socio-cultural context, the early festival programs were officially sanctioned, and their discourse operated within a shifting ideological landscape. This situated them within a layered negotiation between compliance and resistance to late-Soviet cultural politics, amid Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika policies (see Lapidus 1992), and towards the collective pursuit of what Šmidchens (2014) referred to as "living within the truth" (Havel 1985: 47).

The history of the International Folklore Festival *Baltica* reflects this complexity, as the idea for the festival emerged from an informal discussion among delegates of the XVI World Congress of the International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Arts (CIOFF), organized under the Soviet apparatus and held in Tallinn during 3-9 May 1985 (Ojalo 2016). Amid escalating political tensions and rising national consciousness in the Baltic region (Klotiņš 2002), Festival *Baltica* was inaugurated in Vilnius (Lithuania) in 1987 under the flagships of kinship, authenticity, and Baltic unity. From its inception, the festival has rotated annually among the three Baltic countries (Ojalo 2016).

In the 1988 Latvian edition, the festival became a site of symbolic resistance: the banned national flags of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia were publicly displayed during the festival procession, prompting a "mass rehabilitation" of the Latvian national flag during the festival (Šmidchens 2014: 186). That same year, the Estonian Folklore Society was founded by Estonian Festival *Baltica* organizers, further institutionalizing

the cultural production of the Baltic folklore revival. The Estonian delegation also established close cooperation with the Norwegian National Section of the CIOFF to forge ties with the Nordic association, NORDLEK, resulting in a signed agreement on 15 December 1990 (Ojalo 2016).

The Folklore Association *Baltica* was founded on 4 April 1989 in Riga (Ojalo 2016), marking another step in the festival's consolidation. These efforts culminated in April 1990 with symbolic membership in the CIOFF, and in 1991 with full recognition as a national section representing the newly independent Baltic States (Ojalo 2016). Through these developments, Festival *Baltica* should be understood not only as a vernacular expression of cultural identity but also as an increasingly coordinated cultural resistance phenomenon, capable of articulating political aspirations through the language of folklore.

Building on this socio-political lens, this article invites new avenues of understanding the International Folklore Festival *Baltica*, expanding beyond established scholarly interpretations in folkloristics (Rüütel 2004; Šmidchens 2014), ethnomusicology (Boiko 2001; Klotiņš 2002; Muktupāvels 2011), and cultural heritage and performance studies (Kuutma 1998; Kapper 2016). The article is structured as follows: the first section reviews the existing uses and interpretations of the manifesto concept, followed by an exploration of international folk festivals as socio-cultural phenomena for fostering and disseminating socio-political discourse. The second section introduces Critical Discourse Analysis as an analytical approach to unravel the narratives of festival programs through the categories of authorization and mythopoesis, which together constitute legitimation discourse (van Leeuwen 2008). Finally, the third section examines the content of the festival programs through the prism of legitimation, considering it the main function of the narratives found in the programs under study.

Manifesto and the Festival Frame

From an etymological perspective, the term *manifesto* derives from the Latin verb *manifestare*, meaning "to bring into the open" or "to make manifest" (Puchner 2002: 449), and the adjective *manifestus*, signifying "tangible" or "taken by the hand" (Bortulucce 2015). Embedded in these terminological roots is a sense of mise-en-scène in social space – a deliberate staging or presentation. Considered a literary genre (Yanoshevsky 2009), manifestos have traditionally been divided into two main categories: artistic and political. Artistic manifestos, characteristic of 20th-century avant-garde movements, aimed to construct "a history of rupture" by actively intervening in cultural history (Puchner 2002: 451). Notable examples include Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's *Futurist Manifesto* (1909)

and André Breton's *Surrealist Manifesto* (1924). Political manifestos, on the other hand, such as Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto* (1848), function as "an act of legitimization and conquest of power: symbolic power – moral and ideological – together with political domination" (Bortulucce 2015: 15, my translation). Beyond this binary, postmodern manifestos emerged from the counterculture and socio-political activism of the post-May 1968 era in France (Pulliam 2021). Examples like Valerie Solanas' *SCUM Manifesto* (1967) and Theodore Kaczynski's *Industrial Society and Its Future* (1995) challenge traditional categories and reflect new forms of radical discourse. However, as Winkiel (2008) points out, manifestos can also be understood as liminal genres that stand between "action and theory, politics and aesthetics, and the new and the old" (Winkiel 2008: 2). This complex nature renders manifestos as formative genres "in imagining and shaping the future", while simultaneously foregrounding the present as a site where historical agency becomes thinkable (Winkiel 2008: 2). Building on this perspective, this article argues that it is possible to theorize the programs of international folk festivals as manifestos.

International folk festivals, along with other cultural, indigenous, and multicultural festivals, emerged prominently in the second half of the 20th century across various regions. They can be understood as postmodern socio-cultural phenomena influencing both Western and Eastern Europe, aiming to revive folklore and respond to a growing yearning for community and cultural identity amid a spiritually sterile, mass culture-driven environment (Mitchell 2013). The 1960s and 1970s were marked by widespread civil society protests and the rise of new social movements, which fostered a "cultural revolution" opposing postindustrial societal norms (Gassert 2008: 309). Regions grappling with national and political struggles for self-determination voiced concerns over authoritarian power (Klimke, Scharloth 2008). Scholars suggest that this social and cultural transformation was largely driven by educated, middle-class youth advocating for social change and envisioning alternative ways of life (Watson 1993). Within this countercultural milieu, folk revivalists embraced universalism by celebrating their continent as a "patchwork quilt of cultures, peoples, and societies [characterized by] infinite variety" (Mitchell 2013: 69). In the Baltic context, folklore revival was defined as "the conscious recognition and use of folklore as a symbol of ethnic, regional, or national identity" (Šmidchens 1996: xi).

Given that the International Folklore Festival *Baltica* emerged at the intersection of the Baltic folklore revival network (performers, folklorists, and ethnomusicologists), CIOFF-linked cultural diplomacy, and the late-Soviet cultural bureaucracy – articulated through a state cultural apparatus that mobilized folklore for "ideological upbringing" and Soviet unity (Klotiņš 2002) – the festival spanned artistic, political, and countercultural spheres. This complex institutional and organizational entanglement

positions *Baltica* festival programs not merely as descriptive texts, but as programmatic and manifesto-like discourses, aspiring to change reality through language and seeking to authorize visions of Baltic kinship, authenticity, and cultural sovereignty. As Yanoshevsky (2009: 264) asserts, manifestos are discourses in which "knowledge is asserted rather than developed", functioning as revolutionary tools representing the speaker's act of discovering knowledge.

Despite existing literature on international folk festivals, the application of the manifesto framework to festival programs – particularly those bearing socio-political significance during historical moments such as the Singing Revolution – remains insufficiently examined. Accordingly, this article endeavors to contribute to the scholarly discourse by analyzing the programs of the International Folklore Festival *Baltica* through this theoretical lens and applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), thereby offering an empirical perspective on manifesto theorization.

Methodological Considerations

Following studies on manifestos (e.g. Topaloğlu, Beşgen 2023), this article employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), an interdisciplinary qualitative approach developed in the late 1980s and officially established with the launch of the journal *Discourse and Society* (1990) by Theo van Dijk (Wodak, Meyer 2009). CDA provides "a form of critical social analysis" (Fairclough 2018: 13) that examines the interrelations between language, society, power, and ideology. It views discourse as a social practice, in which situations, institutions, and social structures frame specific discursive events, creating a dialectic relationship between them (Fairclough, Wodak 1997).

Although classical CDA methodologies include textual, contextual, and intertextual analysis, this study draws on the work of Theo van Leeuwen, who argues "that all discourses recontextualize social practices, and that all knowledge is, therefore, ultimately grounded in practice" (van Leeuwen 2008: vii). From this perspective, "discourse can be thought of as representing knowledge of what goes on in a particular social practice, ideas about why it is the way it is, who is involved and what kinds of values they hold" (Ledin, Machin 2018: 64). Van Leeuwen (2008) also proposes four main analytical categories for examining the discursive construction of legitimation: authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization and mythopoiesis.

From this spectrum, and considering Festival *Baltica* as a collective creative project of folklore, the present article focuses on two subcategories of authorization – expert authority and authority of tradition – and on the category of mythopoiesis. Moral evaluation and rationalization are excluded from this analysis, as they respectively depoliticize discourse by presenting values as "detached from the system of

interpretation from which they derive", and obscure contestation by framing actions as either functional and necessary (instrumental) or aligned with a supposedly natural or objective order (theoretical) (van Leeuwen 2008: 110). Given the manifesto-like character of the festival programs, this article concentrates on legitimation practices that foreground values in explicit, context-bound, and critically contestable ways.

The material analyzed consists of the *Baltica* festival programs published in 1987 (Lithuania), 1988 (Latvia), 1989 (Estonia), and 1991 (Latvia), retrieved from the *Baltica 2017* website created by the Lithuanian National Culture Center (LNKC 2017), which developed an online repository of festival archival material for the International Folklore Festival *Baltica 2017*.[1] The 1990 festival edition is not included, as it was ultimately cancelled due to the Soviet economic blockade (Šmidchens 2014).

Analysis of the International Folklore Festival *Baltica* Programs: Expert Authority

Legitimacy can be conferred through expert authority – namely, a figure whose expertise is either formally recognized or discursively constructed (van Leeuwen 2008). In the Festival *Baltica* programs, expert authority emerges in two overlapping profiles: representatives of cultural institutions, often connected to the Soviet apparatus, and folklorist scholars closely engaged with the folklore revival, who functioned as academic institutional authorities.

The *Baltica* 1987 program opens with a foreword by Jonas Bielinis, Chairman of the Organizing Committee and Minister of Culture of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR). From this institutional position, Bielinis writes that "the capital of Soviet Lithuania Vilnius has been bestowed the honor of hosting the 'Baltica' International Folklore Festival of the Baltic republics" (Bielinis 1987: 4), portraying Lithuania simultaneously as a Soviet republic and as a distinct cultural entity (see Figure 1). This phrasing, though aligned with state structures, positions the program's introductory discourse in an in-between state, mediating between official cultural policy and local cultural representation. Such ambiguity reflects the complex institutional setting from which *Baltica* emerged – shaped both by state-driven Soviet cultural programming and by the grassroots spirit of the folklore revival (see Klotiņš 2002; also Ābelkina 2025 in this issue).

A similar dynamic appears in the 1988 program. Anatolijs Gorbunovs, then Chairman of the Organizing Committee of Festival *Baltica* and a high-ranking member of the Latvian Communist Party, presents folklore as a vital source of collective joy and national identity, invoking Krišjānis Barons's folksong compilation work as an expert

1 Content available at: https://baltica2017.lnkc.lt/go.php/eng/img/131356

Figure 1. Program cover featuring Soviet symbols. Source: Eesti Folkloorinõukogu. Available: https://baltica.ee/en/history/

authority to highlight its role as spiritual solace (see Figure 2). While his position firmly anchored him within the Soviet establishment, his references to youth and community subtly legitimize the folklore revival's growing autonomy: "It is pleasant that youth is truly interested in it, that folk songs live in the community" (Gorbunovs 1988: 2). However, such figures, though prominently featured in the program, did not necessarily articulate the core revivalist discourse, and their presence should be read within the constraints of controlled publishing and official sanctioning.

By 1989, just months before the Baltic Way (August 23) and the fall of the Berlin Wall (November 9), the tone of the festival discourse had shifted. Jaak Kaarma, Chairman of the Festival Committee, Soviet-era official, and member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, adopts a more politically explicit stance, moving away from the framework of the Soviet Union: "It's an honor that interest and appreciation are shown towards the culture of our small nation, and that you are visiting Estonia". He alludes to the challenges of life under Soviet rule: "It's our concern that everything goes on well, and that the shortcomings in our material and living conditions do not spoil it for our guests or ourselves". Kaarma also directly invokes Estonia's national history and identity, expressing pride and a forward-looking vision: "We hope that the participants of the festival will realize that the Estonians want to take good care of their homeland, and the Estonian culture has respectable past, present and future" (Kaarma 1989: 5).

Similarly, Tallinn's Mayor and member of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR (1985–1990), Harri Lumi, presents Estonia as historically and culturally part of Europe:

Akadēmijas apgādā iznāca Latvju Dainu izdevums. Krišjānis Barons nomira 1923. gadā Rīgā. Bet vēsture brīžiem atkārtojas — Ļeņingradā — Ilanī pat pilsētā pie Nevas huligāņi laikā no jauna sāka iznīkt Krišjāņa Barona Latvju Dainu faksimilizdevums.

в глубокой древности, частично даже в доисторические времена, звучат и вечно, и актуально в наши дни. Современный латыш находит в дайнах ответы на изучительные вопросы, можно сказать, что дайна нас нравственно очищает. Без народной песни не было бы современной латышской литературы. Приветствуя участников фестиваля «Baltica'88», хочу сказать: то, что для христиан Библия и для мусульман Коран, то для латышей — Латышские Дайны. И, когда вы будете идти в фестивальном шествии или просто так бродить по летней Риге, зайдите в парк имени Кирова, преклоните колено и возложите цветок к подножию памятника Кришьянису Барону — он там стоит.

poignant questions, one might say, Dainas purify us. Without the folk song there would be no modern Latvian literature. Greeting the participants of «Baltica '88», I would like to say, what the Bible is to a Christian and the Koran to a Moslem, the same are the Latvian Dainas to a Latvian. And when marching in the festival procession or wandering about in summery Riga, go to the Kirov Park, bend your knee and offer a flower to Krišjānis Barons — there stands a monument to him. Krišjānis Barons, who we call the Father of Dainas, was the first in Latvian history to collect, systematize and publish books with the Latvian Dainas, till then living only in the people's memory. He started his work at the second half of the 19th century, finished in 1915, when the first volume of the Latvian Dainas

8

Figure 2. Essay by Jānis Peters featuring a picture of Krišjānis Barons. Source: Eesti Folkloorinõukogu. Available: https://baltica.ee/en/history/

> For centuries this city has connected various nations, and through Tallinn the Estonians have been in contact with Europe and the whole world. One of the aims of *Baltica 89* is likewise communication between peoples (Lumi 1989: 7).

In this framing, Estonia appears as a European actor, and the *Baltica* festival becomes more than just a folklore event – it is positioned as a means of cultural diplomacy, echoing the idea of soft power (Nye 2004: x), where influence is built through culture, values, and persuasion rather than force (Zamorano 2016). This language marks a clear shift from earlier Soviet-centered narratives and reflects the changing political climate of the time.

In 1991, a year after Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had declared independence from the Soviet Union, and prior to the failed August Coup and the *de facto* restoration of independence, the political dimension of the festival program's discourse became evident. Representing a voice from the Baltic folklore revival, folklorist and philologist Ingrid Rüütel – Chairman of the Artistic Council and later First Lady of Estonia (2001–2006) – clearly states that "the aim of the Association [Baltica] is to preserve and disseminate the ethnic culture of the Baltic nations" (Rüütel 1991a: 3). Throughout the essay, Rüütel emphasizes the *Baltica* festival's full membership within the CIOFF network, noting: "Our acceptance as a member of such a respectable organization was important not only to our folklore movement, but it also recognized our aspirations for independence in a wider sense." She further adds: "Actually, CIOFF was the first international (moreover: connected with UNESCO) organization who accepted the Baltic countries as its legal members separately from the Soviet Union" (Rüütel 1991a: 3–4).

In doing so, Rüütel highlights and legitimizes with facts the political dimension of the *Baltica* festival community. Her contribution exemplifies how folklore experts connected to the festival, unlike political appointees, articulated a discourse deeply rooted in cultural and scholarly expertise, while grounding their authority in international recognition to enhance legitimacy.

The Authority of Tradition

Tradition, practice, custom or habit function as discursive strategies of legitimation, empowering communities through the rationale "because this is what we always do" or "because this is what we have always done" (van Leeuwen 2008: 108). In the Festival *Baltica* programs, this mode of legitimation plays a significant role in articulating a sense of historical rootedness and cultural authority, reinforcing national identity through folk narratives.

In the *Baltica* 1987 program, Jonas Bielinis, Minister of Culture of the Lithuanian SSR and deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR (1975–1990) writes:

> Folklore is like a book in which every nation has been writing down for centuries its beliefs and tales, its dreams and hopes. Folk songs, dances, games, customs help a modern man of the 20th century to feel the vitality of his roots (Bielinis 1987: 4).

While this voice comes from an official position within the Soviet cultural apparatus, it exemplifies how Baltic folklore was framed as a timeless cultural asset. In an anonymous essay on Lithuania included in the program, folklore is again invoked, this time as a vital process that shapes the distinct identity of a national culture while fostering understanding and appreciation of other cultures. In both cases, folklore is presented as a source of legitimacy and belonging, situating nations within both historical and contemporary perspectives.

In the 1988 program, the authority of tradition is articulated by musicologist and key theorist of the folklore movement (see Weaver et al. 2023) – then secretary of the Board of the Composers' Union of the Latvian SSR – Arnolds Klotiņš, a known ally of the Latvian folklore movement. He describes folklore as "an artistic manifestation of traditional values of life, where aesthetic functions are not yet separated from ethical, intellectually practical, harmonizing man and mankind. This wholeness of world perception, the connection of art and life gets its most vivid manifestation in seasonal custom folklore" (Klotiņš 1988: 18). This quotation portrays folklore as a "whole way of life," namely, culture as "a state or habit of the mind, or the body of intellectual and moral activities" (Williams 1963: 18). His language affirms folklore as a moral and philosophical system, framing tradition as a source of ethical continuity.

Figure 3. Program cover featuring members of the Latvian folklore movement. Source: Eesti Folkloorinõukogu. Available: https://baltica.ee/en/history/

In the 1991 program, Klotiņš revisits this idealized past:

> And what are we looking for in ancient folklore if not for man, free of prerequisites of modern civilization? Live in accordance with nature and the natural, not dividing conscience from practice, the ethical from the healthy, and in your simplicity live a fuller, healthier life (Klotiņš 1991: 8).

Through such framing, Klotiņš reinforces the idea of folklore as a counter-model to modernity, contributing to the legitimation of alternative Baltic worldviews (see Figure 3).

Poet and First Secretary of the Writers' Union of the Latvian SSR Jānis Peters, in the 1988 program, traces a genealogy of Latvian resistance through folk songs, arguing that the wisdom ingrained in them provided "everything necessary for human life". According to Peters, folk songs are alive in the 21st century because there is the intellectual power of the unbroken early generations in them, their unusually picturesque, poetic world outlook, the pure ethics and aesthetics of the people (Peters 1988: 7). In doing so, Peters positions folklore not just as artistic expression, but as a repository of national endurance and a quiet form of resistance across generations.

The authorization of tradition also features in the program of the International Folklore Festival *Baltica* (1989) through an essay titled *The Main Principles of 'Baltica 89'* by Ingrid Rüütel, President of the Folklore Association *Baltica*. Rüütel, writing as a folklorist, states: "We will not organize grand spectacles or pompous shows, as this is not relevant to folklore, at least in our region. We do not aim at commercial profit, nor we do want to stage a demonstration of Soviet international friendship". In her discourse, Rüütel positions herself as a social actor speaking on behalf of the Estonian folklore movement:

> The folklore movement in Estonia is a revelation of the activeness in the world-wide folklore movement during the last decades. On the one hand, it is connected with the ideals of national identity, home feeling, preserving historical and cultural memory of the nation; on the other hand, with the ideals of national and cultural pluralism (Rüütel 1989: 16–17).

This excerpt reveals a programmatic discourse with the vision, mission, and values of the *Baltica* festival community and, arguably, of the folklore movement more broadly.

Adding to this, Rüütel states that those principles "have been acknowledged in various countries, but they are vital to small nations incorporated in bigger states, which is also the case with the organizers of 'Baltica' – Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians" (Rüütel 1989: 17). Beyond clearly distinguishing the festival community and organizers as an 'in-group' and framing Estonia as a vulnerable small nation, Rüütel also introduces an external threat to the continuity of Baltic folklore: "Our aim is to preserve, revive and develop those national and local cultural traditions, which have already becoming extinct due to the standardization of global mass culture" (Rüütel 1989: 17). To counteract this phenomenon, Rüütel's discourse revolves around three main ideas: firstly, that "Every nation, whether big or small in number, gives the world its unique cultural experience." Secondly, that "All nations have equal rights to exist in our planet Earth. The same Sun and same stars shine to everybody, wherever our home is." And thirdly, "the idea expressed by the motto song of our festival – sing, as long as you live!" (Rüütel 1989: 18–20).

These excerpts position Baltic folklore as a vehicle for self-expression and international recognition. Tradition, far from being static, emerges as a discursive space for negotiating identity, legitimacy, and belonging.

Mythopoiesis Mythopoiesis, derived from the Greek term *mythos* (myth or tale) and *poiesis* (making or creation), confers legitimacy through storytelling (van Leeuwen 2008). Such stories may be moral or cautionary, or employ symbolic actions, offering a "mythical model of social action" (Wright 1975: 188).

In the International Folklore Festival *Baltica* (1987), mythopoiesis appears in an anonymous festival program essay on Lithuania:

> Lithuania lies on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea. Historians maintain that our ancestors, Indo-European tribes (from them we inherited one of the oldest languages in Europe), settled here as early as the 3rd millennium B.C. Since of old Lithuania is called the land of amber and songs (Lietuvos SSR mokslinis metodinis kultūros centras 1987: 10).

Despite the program's overall cautious tone, the excerpt illustrates how mythopoiesis is used to narrate the origins of the Lithuanian people and to confer cultural significance on their intangible cultural heritage, while simultaneously distinguishing Lithuania as an ancient European nation.

Mythopoiesis is also present in the program of the International Folklore Festival *Baltica* (1988), notably in the aforementioned essay by Peters. The essay delineates a narrative framework by personifying Latvia as a sorrowful child that has endured many hardships yet maintained its bond with the motherland through folk songs:

> On the dawn of the 20th century Latvia was born. And the world noticed it. Because Latvia is a child of sorrow. Sorrow, because our country Latvia, our republic Latvia, was born in great pains. We have dreamt and ached for our country. We have cherished it and fought for it. We have defended it and we still do (Peters 1988: 4).

These statements narrate Latvian endurance and spiritual resistance through folkloric memory, exemplifying mythopoiesis as a mode of affective national sentiment-building.

In the program of the International Folklore Festival *Baltica* (1989), mythopoiesis can be found in the aforementioned essay by Ingrid Rüütel, which references the Estonian emblem for the festival (see Ūdre-Lielbārde 2025 in this issue) – a tree with a star on top, designed with neo-pagan aesthetics. Rüütel explains:

> There is much in common in the ancient mythological cognition of the universe by the Estonians and by our kindred and neighboring nations. One of the central images of the cosmogonic reflections of the Finno-Ugrians, the Balts and many other European nations, as well as the North American Indians is the pillar of the world, which connects the three worlds – the world above, the world on the earth and the under world. [..]
>
> The image of the axis of the world is also connected with the axis of the conical tent (in Estonian *püstkoda*). The word stem 'koda' is traced also in the Estonian word 'kodu' (home), as the Estonians likewise lived once in the conical tent. [..] Thus the emblem symbolizes our home, its reticence and at the same time its connection with the whole world, but first and foremost with our kins in language – the Finno-Ugrians and neighboring nations on both sides of the Baltic Sea, whose cultures are connected through Estonia and Estonians (Rüütel 1989: 19–20).

This excerpt positions Baltic nations on equal footing with European nation-states. In doing so, Rüütel moves beyond framing the Baltic nations solely as modern nations, envisioning them instead as potential postmodern European nations, rendering the concept of family flexible to the cultural and political needs of the *Baltica* festival community.

The quoted excerpts reveal a clear intent to ascribe a cosmological dimension to the cultural symbols employed within the festival community. By explicating the 'grammar' of the emblem, Rüütel both interprets and renders accessible the cultural

Bērnam augot, ģimenes lokā viņš pamazām apgūst visas tās mākas, kas nepieciešamas, lai cilvēks spētu darboties sabiedrībā kā pilnvērtīgs loceklis. Pie tām pieder valoda, ko bērns sāk mācīties jau no pirmajām māmiņas dziedātām šūpuļa dziesmām. Vēlāk meitas audzināšanu pārņem māte, dēla audzināšanu — tēvs. Bet visu laiku bērnam visapkārt ir ne tikai tiešie ģimenes locekļi, bet arī vesela lielģimene un lauku sētas saime. Viņi visi piedalās bērna audzināšanā un bieži vien krietni atsver nepilnības, kas varētu piemist miesīgo vecāku audzināšanas spējām.

Lielākie ģimenes godi latviešu tradīcijās ir kāzas, par kurām ir nesalīdzināmi vairāk tautas dziesmu kā par jebkuru citu tematu. Divu jaunu cilvēku mūža derības Latvju Dainās veido plaša vēriena episku vēstījumu, kas sākas ar puiša un meitas

izjusto gatavību precību gaitām un turpinās ar raibu piedzīvojumu sēriju, kam tikai atkāzas veido pēdējo posmu. Tiešās kāzu rituāla detaļas nemitīgi mainījušās vēstures gaitā un bijušas arī katrai vietai un novadam atšķirīgas. Savā laikā līgava zagta, savā laikā pirkta, tikai vēlākos laikos saderēta. Kāzām kopumā tomēr samanāms kopējs kodols, kam tradīcija uzpotējusi saglabātus elementus no dažādiem slāņiem. Tā iznāk, ka ikkatrās kāzās no jauna tiek iedzīvināti vissenākie cilvēces arhetipi un aktualizētas top atbalsis no neskaitāmām priekšgājēju paaudzēm. Bez tam cilvēku kāzām kā modelis dievišķā plāksnē stāv latviešu Saules mita debesu kāzas starp Saules meitām un Dieva dēliem. Tās kāzu rituālam priekšķir īpašu pacilātību un eksaltāciju, kur līgava, uzmanības centrā nonākusi, uz brīdi pati it kā kļūst Saules meita un līgavainis nonāk Dieva dēla lomā.

14

Family rituals and celebrations in Latvian folklore

Folklore is a repository of collective wisdom and ritual activities, accumulated throughout the historical development of a people. As living folklore can be fully experienced only in live performance, the task falls more and more to organized groups of folklore enthusiasts in our modern times. In traditional societies, the family was the main preserver and transmitter of tradition. There was always someone around who knew just what needed to be done, how and why, in every circumstance (be it ordinary or festive), according to the dictates of local tradition. One of the major roles for the family was to mark the rites of passage of its every member, to recognize important stations in every life with appropriate communal celebrations.

According to Latvian folk traditions, the child enters into this material world through «the gates of Māras, the ancient goddess of fertility, to be received in sheets of white linen by its mother. Ideally, the child has been expected not just by his mother and father, but by the whole extended family. They have been awaiting eagerly the news that there is a «new relative» among the clan. Near-by neighbours have been watching for the tell-tale sign of smoke from the bath-house, some with the quiet hope: «If God wills it, if Laima decrees so, there comes a God-child for me» (i.e. I shall be asked to be godmother or godfather).

Each new birth is a revelation of the mystery of the incarnation. A spirit is made flesh and comes to dwell among us for a time. That is why giving birth is surrounded by awe and reverence. It happens in the bath-house — clean and quiet place, removed from the bustle and bustle of daily activities, dedicated to the goddesses Māra and Laima. The expectant mother is supported emotionally and physically by a midwife, her own mother and other mature women. They participate in a series of rituals and ensure that all is done as custom teaches and tradition decrees. The first major family feast for the newborn will be its christening, when the child is given a name and is formally received into the extended family. Long ago, that was a crucial test, for the gathered clan might have refused to accept the burden of a defective or crippled child. In later times, every new life was accepted, and the songs and rituals focused on one central thought — to bestow on the child every good wish they could muster. Every gesture, every movement, every song and every word took on magical significance and was aimed at bringing the christening child luck, health, wealth and every conceivable blessing.

The christening ritual transforms the child from an anonymous baby, a «little doll», into an individual with a personal name: «We left home with dolly, We return home with Johnny». The christening guests invent lengthy and elaborate procedures, they joke and play-act and make every effort to impart drama to the occasion, making it into a memorable happening for the family circle. This is their way of saying that the

Figure 4. Essay by Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga featuring a Latvian wedding with folk instruments. Source: Eesti Folkloorinõukogu. Available: https://baltica.ee/en/history/

universe of the festival community to its audience, while simultaneously linking Estonian folklore and national identity to a supernatural realm. This framing weaves together folklore, home, and metaphysical belonging, elevating tradition to a sacred and intergenerational domain. Mythopoiesis, as the following section illustrates, is further articulated through a Baltic ritualistic and mythical past, expressed in kinship rituals such as birth, christening, upbringing, weddings, and funerals. These rites embody a lasting cosmology and cultural memory in which the family serves as the central axis.

The Family Metaphor as Mythopoiesis

One of the most recurrent and powerful rhetorical strategies in the *Baltica* festival programs is the metaphor of the family, employed both as an ideological construct and as a symbolic instrument to articulate identity, kinship, and cultural continuity (see Figure 4). The metaphor operates on multiple levels: the biological and spiritual family, the festival community, and the Baltic nations envisioned as a united familial body. The family

metaphor functions as an effective political tool because it naturalizes "the terms of political membership" while simultaneously emotionalizing belonging, enabling abstract notions of nationhood or unity to be expressed in tangible and affective terms (Wedeen 1999: 49).

In the program for the International Folklore Festival *Baltica* 1991, folklorist and former President of Estonia Ingrid Rüütel invokes this metaphor explicitly in her essay *Family Rituals and Celebrations in Estonian Folklore*. She depicts the Baltic nations as a "united family", bonded by history and culture, standing together "in happiness as well as in distress". This familial connection is framed not only as metaphorical but also as political and performative. According to Rüütel (1991b: 23), the feelings of the family in question intensified in the late 1980s and supported the Baltic people through folklore festivals, the Baltic Chain, and politically engaged songs and dances.

Rüütel's metaphor is both retrospective and aspirational. In her essay *Association 'Baltica' Independent Member of CIOFF* that also appears in the program Rüütel is envisioning a future in which, "even if some day the door to the family of free European nations is opened for us, the traditional folk culture is still going to be of important and lasting value for us in order to retain and safeguard our national as well as cultural identity" (Rüütel 1991a: 5).

Further, Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga, then a folklore scholar and professor of psychology at the University of Montreal and later President of the Republic of Latvia (1999–2007), elaborates on the ritual dimension of kinship and family in her contributions to the *Baltica* program 1991. She describes Latvian families as "the main preserver and transmitter of tradition" and details a continuum of rites of passage – birth, christening, upbringing, weddings, funerals – framed within mythical cosmology. Birth is associated with Māra, the ancient goddess of fertility, as the child "enters into this material world through 'the gates of Māra'" to be "received in sheets of white linen by its mother," a process which she calls "a revelation of the mystery of the incarnation." Marriage ceremonies likewise participate in this sacred mythology: "Each bride becoming, for a moment, a daughter of the Sun, each groom becoming, in turn, a Son of God, [thereby forming] a new branch on the vast tree of kinship and consanguinity relations" (Vīķe-Freiberga 1991: 14–15).

A more moral-philosophical approach to family appears in the reflections of Angelė Vyšniauskaitė, leading Lithuanian ethnologist and long-time head of the Ethnography Department at the Lithuanian Institute of History. In her 1991 essay, Vyšniauskaitė presents the family not only as a symbolic unit but also as the pillar of national identity. She frames kinship relations through the lens of Christian morality, emphasizing interpersonal ethics, child-rearing, and hard work. Funerals, in her view,

are not only social rituals but also a "sacred duty" to relatives. She summarizes this moral elevation of familial responsibility by quoting the 9th-century cleric Adam of Bremen, referring to Baltic people as "homines humanissimi", the most humane of men (Vyšniauskaitė 1991: 20–21).

Together, these uses of the family metaphor do more than illustrate personal or cultural values: they legitimize political aspirations, validate symbolic resistance, and cement group cohesion under the guise of natural kinship. Whether framed as a folkloric ideal, a cosmological archetype, or a moral obligation, the metaphor of family emerges as a central organizing principle of the *Baltica* festival discourse. It reinforces a transnational identity that is intimate and resilient. In contrast, the Soviet Union carried forward the Bolshevik regime's use of kinship language, employing it to craft political discourse and to foster a community in which citizens could imagine themselves as sons, daughters, or other relatives of the state's leaders (Tikhomirov 2017).

Discussion and conclusions

The analysis above has shown that the discourse of the International Folklore Festival *Baltica* programs can be meaningfully categorized according to two primary strategies of legitimation: authority and mythopoiesis. Both categories are evident across all the analyzed programs (1987–1991), demonstrating that these documents are not merely descriptive but rather complex articulations of the festival's political, social, and symbolic functions. However, to fully assess the validity of the manifesto theoretical proposal, it is necessary to expand the interpretive framework beyond these categories by situating the festival within its specific context: the political conditions of the late Soviet apparatus and the discursive strategies available to its cultural actors – folklorists, revivalists, scholars, and performers alike.

To better understand the *Baltica* festival programs, James C. Scott's theory of public and hidden transcripts (Scott 1990) helps illuminate the festival's ambiguous political positioning. Scott argues that all subaltern groups under domination cultivate two forms of discourse: the public transcript – an outward performance of compliance – and the hidden transcript – a space, often symbolic or coded, where critique, resistance, and alternative narratives emerge outside the immediate gaze of dominant power structures. Crucially, these transcripts are not always spatially distinct but may coexist within the same discursive field, mediated through subtle rhetorical strategies.

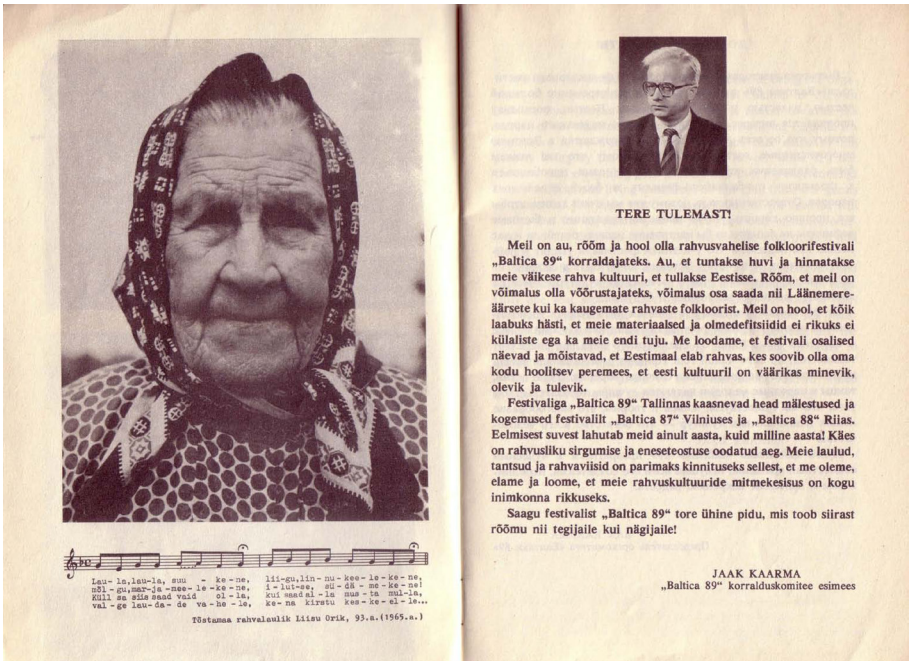
In the case of Festival *Baltica*, the programs reflect the elements of both registers. On the surface, they adhere to the expected conventions of state-sanctioned cultural programming – celebrating folklore, international friendship, and values consistent

with Soviet ideals, particularly the image of morally upright and industrious Baltic peoples. This is especially clear in the early programs (1987–1988), where high-ranking Soviet officials such as Jonas Bielinis and Anatolijs Gorbunovs appear as institutional voices, framing folklore within the context of Soviet cultural diplomacy. These contributions operate as the public transcript, aligning the festival with ideological aims such as internationalism and the instrumental use of folklore as a Soviet regional phenomenon.

Yet, embedded within this same textual corpus is a hidden transcript of resistance, which can be most productively read through the proposed notion of manifesto. In this frame, the discourse reclaims cultural, political, and historical agency. This hidden transcript unfolds in three directions. First, it manifests in the symbolic revival of pre-Christian and pagan identities, particularly through references to ancient Baltic mythology and cosmology. Second, it emphasizes national genealogies, portraying Lithuania as "the land of amber and songs" or Latvia as a "child of sorrow" born through struggle – narratives that unite Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians as long-oppressed "imagined communities" (Anderson 1983). Third, it invokes a shared Baltic cultural space, not merely as a regional construct but as a geopolitical unit advocating national emancipation. Through these mechanisms, the programs reconfigure folklore from a Soviet cultural resource into a tool of national reawakening, functioning simultaneously as historical memory and future-oriented aspiration, and embedding a mythopoetic narrative of sovereignty, resistance, and rebirth (see Figure 5).

As the political climate shifted in the Soviet Union under Gorbachev's rule, the hidden transcript became increasingly legible, blurring the boundaries between oppositional discourse and public representation. This shift is evident in the transition from the framing of national collectivities (1987–1988) to the articulation of a transnational Baltic folklore community (1989–1991). In line with this, Hall (1997) noted that "the imagined component of 'we-ness' in national identities is constantly (re)produced, negotiated, and instantiated in tangible symbols, practices, and discourses that rely on narratives of collective belonging and otherness" (Zappettini 2016: 85). In *Baltica*'s case, this process of negotiation is discursively inscribed within the programs themselves, which gradually redefine who belongs to the festival community and what that community represents.

This process culminates in what can be described as a discursive dual function. The programs serve both as public instruments for staging of a CIOFF-compliant festival and as covert declarations of Baltic cultural sovereignty (see Figure 6). The concept of family, invoked metaphorically by contributors such as Ingrid Rüütel and Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga, becomes a key site for developing this duality. On one level, the



Tõstumaa rahvalaulik Liisu Orik, 93.a.(1965.a.)

TERE TULEMAST!

Meil on au, rõõm ja hool olla rahvusvahelise folkloorifestivali „Baltica 89" korraldajateks. Au, et tuntakse huvi ja hinnatakse meie väikese rahva kultuuri, et tullakse Eestisse. Rõõm, et meil on võimalus olla võõrustajateks, võimalus osa saada nii Läänemere-äärsete kui ka kaugemate rahvaste folkloorist. Meil on hool, et kõik laabuks hästi, et meie materiaalsed ja olmedefitsiidid ei rikuks ei külaliste ega ka meie endi tuju. Me loodame, et festivali osalised näevad ja mõistavad, et Eestimaal elab rahvas, kes soovib olla oma kodu hoolitsev peremees, et eesti kultuuril on väärikas minevik, olevik ja tulevik.

Festivaliga „Baltica 89" Tallinnas kaasnevad head mälestused ja kogemused festivalilt „Baltica 87" Vilniuses ja „Baltica 88" Riias. Eelmisest suvest lahutab meid ainult aasta, kuid milline aasta! Käes on rahvusliku sirgumise ja eneseteostuse oodatud aeg. Meie laulud, tantsud ja rahvaviisid on parimaks kinnituseks sellest, et me oleme, elame ja loome, et meie rahvuskultuuride mitmekesisus on kogu inimkonna rikkuseks.

Saagu festivalist „Baltica 89" tore ühine pidu, mis toob siirast rõõmu nii tegijaile kui nägijaile!

JAAK KAARMA
„Baltica 89" korralduskomitee esimees

Figure 5. Opening speech by Jaak Kaarma.
Source: Eesti Folkloorinõukogu. Available: https://baltica.ee/en/history/

Baltic family celebrates regional kinship and shared cultural heritage. On another, it functions as a political metaphor that reimagines the Baltic republics not as administrative units within the Soviet Union, but as autonomous members of a broader European community. In doing so, this metaphor enables the redefinition of political membership and collective aspirations.

The manifesto quality of the programs is particularly evident when they articulate a vision of knowledge discovery and cultural revaluation. Drawing on Yanoshevsky (2009), manifestos do not merely reflect existing knowledge; they declare it, assert it, and in doing so, shape new knowledge-based and political realities. Contributions from ethnomusicologists and folklorists such as Rüütel, Vīķe-Freiberga, Klotiņš, and Vyšniauskaitė frame the revival not only as a return to cultural roots but also as a phenomenon worthy of scholarly intervention. Through the festival programs, Baltic cultural actors assert their authority as custodians of authentic tradition and as agents of historical transformation.

Moreover, the programs often highlight symbolic milestones such as the acceptance of *Baltica* into the CIOFF network, the public display of previously banned

Association «Baltica»— independent member of CIOFF

The first International Folklore Festival «Baltica» took place in 1987 in Vilnius, the second was held the next year in Riga. Before the third festival in Tallinn the organizers came to the conclusion that it was inevitable to found a standing festival organization in order to coordinate the conceptual and practical problems, to exchange information and consolidate the efforts of the societies promoting folklore movement in the Baltic countries.

sations de Festivals de Folklore et d'Arts Traditionnels, an organization acknowledging the principles of UNESCO), which was held in Czechoslovakia in 1989 we submitted the official application for «Baltica» being accepted as an independent associate member of this organization (separately from the Soviet Union), thus promoting direct contacts as well as supporting and stimulating the folklore movement of the Baltic countries.
After long discussions in the Executive Board and Legal Commision it was decided that our application should be supported, regardless of the fact that according to the Statute, only independent states (member states of the United Nations Organization, as a rule) could be accepted in CIOFF. In doing so they considered the high level of and the international interest towards our folklore movement, as well as the political

Asociācijas «Baltica» dibināšanas diena

On the foundation day of association «Baltica»

В день создания ассоциации «Baltica»

The Folklore Association «Baltica» was founded in Riga on April 5, 1989 on the basis of national folklore societies of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The aim of the Association is to preserve and disseminate the ethnic culture of the Baltic nations. The main activities include: the arrangement of the International Folklore Festival «Baltica», the coordination of folklore activities, exchange of information and the promotion of foreign relations.
The Folklore Association «Baltica» belongs to the first Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian joint organizations which were officially founded in order to carry out joint activities for achieving common cause. Together it was also easier to gain direct contacts with the world folklore organizations.
During the 20th General Assembly of CIOFF (Conseil International des Organi-

changes in East Europe and especially in the Baltic countries. At the 21st General Assembly of CIOFF in Quebec, Canada, in September, 1990 the Folklore Association «Baltica» was unanimously accepted as the associate meber of CIOFF. During the same Assembly CIOFF was granted Status B by UNESCO, which in its turn adds to the international importance of this organization. The members of the Northern European Sector who seconded our petition with special cordiality, invited us to participate in the activities of CIOFF. In the compartement of the Northern European Sector, CIOFF is in substance a worldwide organization, it has member states on all continents. Our acceptance as a member of such a respectable organization was important not only to our folklore movement, but it also recognized our aspirations for independence in a wider sense. Actually

3

Figure 6. Essay by Ingrid Rüütel as President of the Association *Baltica.* Source: Eesti Folkloorinõukogu. Available: https://baltica.ee/en/history/

national flags, or the rejection of staged Soviet amateur folklore to advocate for spontaneous and "authentic" folklore. These achievements are encapsulated by discourse, transforming the festival from an artistic platform into a political act: a performative space in which cultural sovereignty is enacted and legitimized. Viewing the discourse of festival programs as a form of recontextualization (van Leeuwen 2008) allows the International Folklore Festival *Baltica* to be understood as comprising several spheres – spatial, performative, discursive, and interactional – each with its own degree of representational autonomy. From this perspective, the *Baltica* programs published during the Singing Revolution reveal themselves to be more than cultural documents or archives; they operate as manifestos of symbolic resistance within a liminal historical space. They can be seen as artefacts that help frame "the power of the politics of small things", namely, a normative alternative emerging when human interaction enables a form of freedom that generates power (Goldfarb 2006: 136).

Although this study has examined only a small set of festival programs (1987–1991), the framework developed here – treating festival programs as manifestos – provides a foundation for broader inquiry. Future research could explore how these

texts functioned after the restoration of independence or compare them with programs from other international folk festivals in Europe. Further avenues might include investigating how the programs were received in local and international media or assessing their long-term influence on national narratives. Such work would deepen our understanding of these publications as both representations and enduring legacies of collective political imagination.

Sources

Bielinis, Jonas (1987). International Folklore Festival of the Baltic Republics. *Baltica '87*. Vilnius: Mintis, p. 4.

Eesti Folkloorinõukogu (n.d.). History. *Baltica*. Available: https://baltica.ee/en/history/ [Accessed 01.08.2025.].

Gorbunovs, Anatolijs (1988). Dear Guests. *Baltica '88*. Riga: E. Melngaiļa Republikas tautas mākslas un kultūras-izglītības darba zinātniski metodiskais centrs, p. 2.

Kaarma, Jaak (1989). Welcome! *Baltica '89*. Tallinn: Tallinna Raamatutrükikoda, p. 5.

Klotiņš, Arnolds (1988). Folklore Life Here, in Latvia. *Baltica '88*. Riga: E. Melngaiļa Republikas tautas mākslas un kultūras-izglītības darba zinātniski metodiskais centrs, p. 4.

Klotiņš, Arnolds (1991). When Folklore Celebrates. *Baltica '91*. Riga: E. Melngaiļa Republikas tautas mākslas un kultūras-izglītības darba zinātniski metodiskais centrs, p. 8.

Lietuvos SSR mokslinis metodinis kultūros centras (1987). *Baltica '87: Tarptautinis folkloro festivalis.* Vilnius: Mintis, p. 10.

Lumi, Harri (1989). Welcome! *Baltica '89*. Tallinn: Tallinna Raamatutrükikoda, p. 7.

Peters, Jānis (1988). To Distant Guests about a Theme Close to a Latvian. *Baltica '88.* Riga: E. Melngaiļa Republikas tautas mākslas un kultūras-izglītības darba zinātniski metodiskais centrs, p. 7.

Rüütel, Ingrid (1989). The Main Principles of 'Baltica '89'. *Baltica '89*. Tallinn: Tallinna Raamatutrükikoda, pp. 16–20.

Rüütel, Ingrid (1991a). Association 'Baltica' Independent Member of CIOFF. *Baltica '91*. Riga: E. Melngaiļa Republikas tautas mākslas un kultūras-izglītības darba zinātniski metodiskais centrs, pp. 3–5.

Rüütel, Ingrid (1991b). Family Rituals and Celebrations in Estonian Folklore. *Baltica '91*. Riga: E. Melngaiļa Republikas tautas mākslas un kultūras-izglītības darba zinātniski metodiskais centrs, p. 23.

Vīķe-Freiberga, Vaira (1991). Family Rituals and Celebrations in Latvian Folklore. *Baltica '91*. Riga: E. Melngaiļa Republikas tautas mākslas un kultūras-izglītības darba zinātniski metodiskais centrs, pp. 14–15.

Vyšniauskaitė, Angelė (1991). Family Rituals and Celebrations in Lithuanian Folklore. *Baltica '91*. Riga: E. Melngaiļa Republikas tautas mākslas un kultūras-izglītības darba zinātniski metodiskais centrs, pp. 20–21.

Bibliography

Anderson, Benedict (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Ābelkina, Ilga Vālodze (2025, this issue). International Folklore Festival Baltica '88: the Return of Latvian Folk Music from Exile. *Letonica*, No. 57, pp. 304–325. https://doi.org/10.35539/LTNC.2025.0057.12

Boiko, Mārtiņš (2001). The Latvian Folk Music Movement in the 1980s and 1990s: From 'Authenticity' to 'Postfolklore' and Onwards. *The World of Music*, No. 43(2/3), pp. 113–118.

Bortulucce, Vanessa Beatriz (2015). O manifesto como poética da modernidade. *Literatura e Sociedade*, No. 20(21), pp. 5–17. http://dx.doi.org/10.11606/issn.2237-1184.v0i21p5-17

Fairclough, Norman (2018). CDA as Dialectical Reasoning. Flowerdew, John; Richardson, John E. (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*. Routledge, pp. 13–25.

Fairclough, Norman; Wodak, Ruth (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. Van Dijk, Teun (ed.). *Discourse as Social Interaction.* London: Sage, pp. 258–285.

Gassert, Philipp (2008). *Narratives of Democratization: 1968 in Postwar Europe.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Goldfarb, Jeffrey C. (2006). *The Politics of Small Things: The Power of the Powerless in Dark Times.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hall, Stuart (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices.* London; Thousand Oaks: Sage in association with the Open University.

Havel, Vaclav (1985). *The Power of the Powerless: Citizens Against the State in Central Eastern Europe.* Keane, John (ed.). Armonk: M. E. Sharpe.

Kapper, Sille (2016). Post-Colonial Folk Dancing: Reflections on the Impact of Stage Folk Dance Style on Traditional Folk Dance Variation in Soviet and Post-Soviet Estonia. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, No. 47(1), pp. 93–111. https://doi.org/10.1080/01629778.2015.1103515

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara (1991). Objects of Ethnography. Karp, Ivan; Lavine, Steven D. (eds.). *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display.* Washington, London: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 386–444.

Klimke, Martin; Scharloth, Joachim (2008). *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977.* New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Klotiņš, Arnolds (2002). The Latvian Neo-Folklore Movement and the Political Changes of the Late 20th Century. *World of Music*, No. 44(3), pp. 107–130.

Kuutma, Kristin (1998). Changes in Folk Culture and Folklore Ensembles. *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, No. 6, pp. 20–31.

Lapidus, Gail Warshofsky (1992). From Democratization to Disintegration: The Impact of Perestroika on the National Question. Lapidus, Gail Warshofsky; Zaslavsky, Victor; Goldman, Philip (eds.). *From Union to Commonwealth: Nationalism and Separatism in the Soviet Republics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ledin, Per; Machin, David (2018). Multi-Modal Critical Discourse Analysis. Flowerdew, John; Richardson, John. E. (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies.* London, New York: Routledge, pp. 60–76.

LNKC (Lithuanian National Cultural Center) (2017). Tarptautinis Folkloro Festivalis. Available: https://baltica2017.lnkc.lt/go.php/eng/img/131356 [Accessed 28.06.2025.].

Mitchell, Gillian (2013). *The North American Folk Music Revival: Nation and Identity in the United States and Canada, 1945–1980.* Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Muktupāvels, Valdis (2011). The "Dangerous" Folksongs: The Neo-Folklore Movement of Occupied Latvia in the 1980s. *Popular Music and Human Rights.* Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 73–90.

Nye, Joseph Samuel (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* New York: Public Affairs.

Ojalo, Alar (2016). Eesti folklooriliikumise lugu. Ojalo, Anne; Ojalo, Alar (eds.). *Rahvusvaheline folkloorifestival BALTICA Eestis: Üheksa Esimest Sõnas Ja Pildis.* Tallinn: Print Best.

Picard, David (2015). The Festive Frame: Festivals as Mediators for Social Change. *Ethnos*, No. 81(4), pp. 600–616. https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2014.989869

Puchner, Martin (2002). Manifesto= theatre. *Theatre Journal*, No. 54(3), pp. 449–465.

Pulliam, June Michele (2021). *Listen to Punk Rock!: Exploring a Musical Genre.* Bloomsbury Publishing.

Rüütel, Ingrid (2004). Traditional Music in Estonia Today. *Fontes Artis Musicae*, No. 51(3/4), pp. 295–303.

Scott, James C. (1990). *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts.* New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

Šmidchens, Guntis (1996). *A Baltic Music: The Folklore Movement in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, 1968–1991.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Šmidchens, Guntis (2014). *The Power of Song: Nonviolent National Culture in the Baltic Singing Revolution.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Tikhomirov, Alexey (2017). The State as a Family: Speaking Kinship, Being Soviet and Reinventing Tradition in the USSR. *Journal of Modern European History*, No. 15(3), pp. 395–418. https://doi.org/10.17104/1611-8944-2017-3-395

Topaloğlu, Gürkan; Beşgen, Asu (2023). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the 16th Venice Architecture Biennale Manifesto. *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 47(2), pp. 106–113. https://doi.org/10.3846/jau.2023.18754

Ūdre-Lielbārde, Digne (2025, this issue). Visualizing Cultural Opposition: Folklore Movement in Late Soviet Latvia. *Letonica*, No. 57, pp. 68–100. https://doi.org/10.35539/LTNC.2025.0057.04

Van Leeuwen, Theo (2008). *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Watson, Ian (1993). Education, Class and Culture: The Birmingham Ethnographic Tradition and the Problem of the New Middle Class. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, No. 14(2), pp. 179–197. https://doi.org/10.1080/0142569930140205

Weaver, Ieva; Muktupāvels, Valdis; Grīnvalde, Rita; Lielbārdis, Aigars; Ābele, Ilga Vālodze; Jaudzema, Justīne (2023). The Power of Authorities, Interpretations, and Songs: The Discourse of Authenticity in the Latvian Folklore Revival. *Traditiones*, No. 52(2), pp. 47–68. https://doi.org/10.3986/Traditio2023520203

Wedeen, Lisa (1999). *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Williams, Raymond (1963). *Culture and Society 1780–1950*. Aylesbury: Penguin Books.

Winkiel, Laura (2008). *Modernism, Race and Manifestos*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wodak, Ruth; Meyer, Michael (2009). Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory, and Methodology. Wodak, Ruth; Meyer, Michael (eds.). *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage, pp. 1–33.

Wright, Will (1975). *Sixguns and Society: A Structural Study of the Western*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Yanoshevsky, Galia (2009). Three Decades of Writing on Manifesto: The Making of a Genre. *Poetics Today*, No. 30(2), pp. 257–286. https://doi.org/10.1215/03335372-2008-010

Zamorano, Mariano Martín (2016). Reframing Cultural Diplomacy: The Instrumentalization of Culture under the Soft Power Theory. *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, No. 8(2), pp. 165–186. https://doi.org/10.3384/cu.2000.1525.1608165

Zappettini, Franco (2016). The Construction of Transnational Identities in the Narratives of a European Civic Organisation. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, No. 8(1), pp. 84–107.