

Sociology - Lithuania

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Anelė Vosyliūtė

Sociology – Lithuania

Discussant: Vladas Gaidys

1. Analysis of the pre-1989 situation

Lithuanian sociologists, representatives of a small scientific community, have produced few analyses of the development of their discipline and of the strengths and weaknesses of results in its different branches. A small number of authors have contributed general overviews (Gaidys and Vosyliūtė, 1995; Gaidys, 1996) or have written on some aspects of sociological investigation (Rapoportas, 1997; Valantiejus, 1995; Kraniauskas, 2001). Lithuanian sociology's pre-war history and its several phases in Soviet times have been described (Vosyliūtė, 1996, 1998, 2000).

Sociology in the socialist period

During the postwar period in Lithuania, Soviet Communist doctrine rejected the scientific heritage and traditions of social sciences of the inter-war period, which were publicly labeled “bourgeois science”. The problems of society were represented only through the perspective of “historical materialism”. As noted by Vaclovas Bagdonavičius and Palmyra Katinaite (1997: 7), “Soviet Lithuania had to be protected not only from the overall effects of capitalism, dangerous to the whole Soviet empire, but also from some specific attributes conditioned by her own spiritual heritage and historical path. Catholic faith, which the occupational structures failed to subdue, and a strong emigration community, whose relations with the oppressed homeland were never severed completely despite harsh restrictions, constituted two major ‘domestic’ issues of concern for the Soviets.” Philosophy and social sciences were therefore obliged to criticize “harmful bourgeois ideology”, the religious worldview and the “reactionary nature of nationalism”.

The exclusive approach in the social sciences was to analyze the historical and national aspects of Marxism-Leninism (as the heritage of the country's thought and social movement) as the theoretical background of social theory in the postwar period. Sociology was regarded as an empirical way to prove the theses of socialist thinking. On the one hand, because the Soviet authorities held power alone, this science had an apologetic function, and consequently its research was dependent and lacked neutrality; on the other hand, the development of the logic and creative power of sociology led to new separate projects and approaches.

In the post-war period, sociological research was carried out in the Sociological Research Laboratory (established in 1965 at Vilnius University), the Sociological Research Laboratory in the Kaunas Polytechnic Institute (since 1966), and the Department of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (Institute since 1977). Sociological investigations addressed the social problems of socialist production (mostly in industrial enterprises) and the socialist way of life (Grigas, 1972; 1974) or the creation of social development plans for the collectives and towns (Morkūnas, 1985; Jonaitis, 1980). Later, the national comparative longitudinal research on youth orientations (Matulionis et al., 1983) and other (family, recreation) investigations were started.

Sociology was treated as one of the preconditions for the creation of the “Soviet people's community” – the new way of life in the Soviet Union. But society mostly perceived sociology as an empirical science divorced from ideological ideas. The foundations of sociological writings were the concepts of Marx and Lenin; for example, authors analyzing the popular problem of social activity (a subject permitted by the Soviet authority) used Marx's and Lenin's definition of this phenomenon as “the manifestation of free will”. One of the first collective works by

Lithuanian sociologists was the book *Social activity of workers* (Morkūnas, 1977), in which they analyzed the following issues: the theoretical problems of prevailing social activity, historical change in social activity, the development of work and professional activity, the moral encouragement and motives of work, the influence of team spirit on social activity, the socio-psychological features of passivity, and workers' cultural activity and forms of leisure.

The practical work and experience sociologists accumulated enabled them to undertake theoretical research and find solutions. At that time, the first theoretical books on industrial sociology, time budgets, and youth problems were published; and the materials of the Baltic States' and republican conferences of sociologists were also collected and published.

As Gaidys and Vosyliūte (1994) noted, sociologists' writings in the socialist era were required to stress the concepts of collectivism, a socialist type of personality, and the cult of work and to avoid numerous themes such as religion, politics, and national memory. In the complex of social stratification problems, various groups' statistical differences in living and working conditions (e.g. town versus village and physical versus mental work) were analyzed. But only the horizontal social structure was studied; elite groups were not investigated.

The impact of Western theories

In the Soviet Union, sociology was based on the division between Soviet and bourgeois society. Few Soviet sociologists (only those considered ideologically reliable, not those from national republics) had the chance to analyze Western sociological theories in the scientific centers (Moscow, Leningrad). Translated into Russian, the works of "bourgeois" sociologists, for example the books *Amerikanskaja sotsiologiceskaja mysl* (American Sociological Thinking) and *Sotsiologija segodnia* (Sociology Today) reached Lithuanian researchers only sporadically. It was impossible to use Western knowledge in pure form, because this raised ideological suspicion. Ordinary sociologists were obliged to do mostly empirical research. In every branch of sociology (leisure, work, family, youth), national sociologists took a leaf from the central (Russian) scientists' works (the positivistic paradigm dominated). The latter were regarded as authorities in the methodological and methodical formulation of investigation for national sociologists; sometimes leading sociologists in the centers were regarded as mediators between Western and Soviet sociology experience. Consequently, Soviet sociological thought was compounded of different parts: Marxist-Leninist ideas, some elements of Western theories, and autonomous sociological thinking. Sometimes no one knew the title or origin of some concept or theory; the ideas of social attitude (the authors Znaniecki and Thomas), social values (authors Durkheim and Parsons), the humanization of work (Friedman), and others concepts were used without reflecting on their genesis. Very popular concepts in the field of work sociology, like "job satisfaction", "job motivation", and "work content", were adapted in the usual way "from the West to Russian, later to Lithuanian sociology", as well. In Lithuanian sociology, the use of Western theoretical approaches (functionalism, phenomenology) and theories gradually increased when the political atmosphere became more open and the sociologists themselves became more qualified and their interests broader. The sociologists had some familiarity with the theories (of recreation, leisure, industrial society, consumption, social perception, personality, social conflict) of authors from socialist countries (Jan Szczepański, Eliška Rendlova, Stanisław Czajka, Radovan Richta, Stanisław Widerszpil, Ximena Gliszczynska), since they read journals like *Studia socjologiczne* (Sociological Studies) and *Sociologický časopis* (Sociological Journal) and some books in foreign languages. After 1980, Lithuanian sociologists were familiar with such concepts as Max Weber's on the organization of bureaucracy, Marx's on alienation, concepts of human relations, adaptation, authority, social structure, and conflict. The theories of Freud, Skinner, and Piaget were used in family sociology, in youth research (Walter Friedrich's concept of disposition), and in education sociology (theories of personality). Tamotsu Shibutani's ideas ("social world", "attitude", "social climate", "delinquent behavior") were very popular (his book "Social Psychology" was translated into Russian in 1969). Russian sociologists' theory of disposition and ideas like the "socialistic

way of life” and the “socialistic style of life” were adapted to socialist society from the Western pattern of investigation.

Oppositional activities

The sociology community was divided on lines corresponding to the level of identification with the communist regime. Some sociologists played the role of “controllers” (sometimes they were constrained to do so); social scientists of a different mentality and wider outlook were in opposition. The latter avoided joining the Communist Party; their dissident role consisted of skepticism about the regime and the search for a broader object of investigation (they didn’t identify with such a narrow concept of social life as socialism). In the scientific collective, such “unbelievers” were marginal persons, ideologically dangerous ones, “others”. Their careers were suspended. Their independent thinking and desire to work in another way were labeled “bourgeois” science and criticized. No social science workers left the country, because control was strong and the desire to live in their native land was great. Memory of the brutal Soviet repressions since 1940 was still alive – it had affected practically every family. Sociologists participated in the distribution of illegal and critical social literature, and they cultivated oppositional reflections on society, but had no hidden writings or manuscripts about socialist reality.

Sociology in the pre-war period

Sociological thought in pre-war Lithuania was often linked to the social and national movements. It appeared after the First World War as a branch of science at Kaunas University and at the Theological Seminary. Sociology reflected on the problems of the nation’s economic, social, and political situation and sought and discussed ways to implement social (agrarian, cultural, and educational) reforms in the new state. Some groups of intellectuals discussed and interpreted the issues of society using the concepts of Comte, Marx, Spencer, Darwin, or Morgan. Teaching sociology in institutions of higher education was based on Western sociological ideas and knowledge. For example, the basis for the author of the first Lithuanian textbook *Sociologija*, Kazimieras Šaulys (Šaulys, 1920), was the ideas of the French author Charles Antoine as expounded in his book *Cours d’économie sociale*, which had a Catholic perspective. There was no pure sociological education or profession at that time. Sociology was partly an intellectual expression of and answer to social challenges. The problems of integrating people in the active social life of the independent Lithuanian Republic (1918-1940), the formation of civilized humans, and orienting society toward national meanings appeared to be key concepts. Some sociologists participated as leaders in political and social life, like Jonas Aleksa and Petras Leonas. *Sociology Lectures* (Leonas, 1939) analyzed such categories of sociology as social phenomena, social relations, social value, and some more important contradictions of social life like progress and regression, collective and private ownership, freedom and captivity, morals and immorality, and democracy and autocracy. Leonas based his investigation of theoretical problems on the concepts of Maxim Kovalevskij, Comte, Maunier, Peter Lavrov, Ludwig Gumplowicz, Sorokin, Spencer, Tönnies, Fouillée, and others. His analysis revealed urgent social questions. His concept of society is related to the methodological principles of evolutionism and neopositivism; the construction of his model of society is based on pluralism, social solidarity, and democracy. Kazimieras Paltarokas investigated the history of Lithuanian land ownership and land reform preconditions, and he advocated increasing agricultural productivity. The famous Lithuanian thinker Vydūnas developed a social conception connected with national problems and the spiritual perfection of man. Authors of a social democratic or communist bent analyzed social life, especially the living and working conditions of poor people and workers in villages and in industry.

The social issues related to the stratification of society, social justice, and the improvement of the quality of life were characteristic of the positivist and Catholic thinkers Antanas Maceina, Siman Schulte, and Petras Leonas. Most Lithuanian intellectuals’ and sociologists’ works critically

evaluated capitalist and socialist ideas and doctrines; they were searching for a third, middle, “happy medium” way to develop society.

The search for a “good” society (in a material and spiritual sense) was characteristic of their social ideas. Reflectiveness and a focus on human values, participation in various networks of social life and in the moral development of society, and confronting forms of social injustice made the sociology of that time a kind of moral science.

The development of national sociology and the sociological investigations started by the first scientific generation after World War I were interrupted by the outbreak of World War II. The German and Russian invasions inaugurated a dramatic period of occupation; the life of the nation and scientific work were interrupted. Some sociologists emigrated; others were either forced into Siberian exile or killed. For example, Fabijonas Kemėšis, who investigated national solidarity and the factors of the realization of democracy, was arrested in 1946 and died in a Soviet prison.

In the Soviet era, strong ideological control in the social sciences rendered the use of the ideas of the national sociological heritage unthinkable; reference to theoretical problems of pre-war thinkers was possible only when tied to a critique of their ideas. Directly or indirectly, the tradition of the social democratic approach was transmitted to Soviet sociology. The main representatives of pre-war leftist social thought – Vincas Mickevičius Kapsukas and Zigmās Aleksa Angarietis – devoted many works to the problems of Lithuania’s economic and political situation and to criticism of bourgeois society from the viewpoint of radical leftist ideals.

2. Redefinition of the discipline since 1990

The change of paradigms

The decline of the hegemony of the socialist paradigm started in sociology with the period of searching for new transitional theories and diverse and contesting models of understanding. Theoretical eclecticism, pluralism, and competition arose; the maintenance of disciplinary coherence was related to the recognition and integration of diverse and contesting models of understanding and intellectual approaches.

Lithuania’s independence brought radical changes to the environment of social scientific thought and its paradigms. The new structures and features of society demanded a change in sociological research methodology and the rethinking of the subject matter of sociological investigations. The epistemological foundations of science and the theoretical and methodological problems of sociology are analyzed in the journal *Sociologija* (Valantiejus, 1999; see also Grigas, 2001).

Post-socialist Lithuania is involved in a process of democratization, national freedom, economic, social, and cultural reforms, and new reality. Social scientists became the “keepers” of these categories, which reflected people’s new practices, the importance of theoretical discussions on citizenship and democracy, and new social mobilization. Such concepts as “modernization”, “pluralism”, “democracy”, “the nation-state”, “civil society”, “new identity”, and “social change” appeared in sociologists’ analyses and in common use as well. Sociologists expanded their knowledge into entirely new fields; it was their collective attempt to refine and change the identity of this science.

At the beginning of the decade, sociologists’ writings were more descriptive; now their better qualifications are leading them to use in their analyses such concepts as social change (Taljūnaitė 1995), the post-communistic revolution (Šaulauskas, 1998), the gender approach (Juozeliūnienė, 1995, 1996), social mobility, the welfare state, Pierre Bourdieu’s field of power, Anthony Giddens’ theory of structuration, Zygmunt Bauman’s postmodern theory (Grigas, 2001), and others. The concept of the small nation was developed to characterize Lithuania.

Intellectual freedom is characteristic of the young generation of sociologists, which is more open to foreign influences. They pursue more individualistic scientific goals (unrelated to former national achievements, problems, and contradictions), considering only the modern situation. Noticeable is the augmentation of research presenting some theories that are new in the country, but lack factual data and reflection.

The change of elites

Because few people were qualified sociologists, at the beginning of the decade there was no change of elite in our country; only the orientations and problems of investigations changed. In the process of nostrifying the members of the scientific community (the revision of academic degrees and titles obtained in the Soviet period), practically all dissertations were accepted as relevant to an academic title. Few sociologists (mostly leaders) were active members of the communist party in the pre-1989 period, but even during the Soviet period they were not ideological bigots. The sociologists of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law (since 1995, the Lithuanian Institute of Philosophy and Sociology) played a leading role; members of the younger generation (mostly from universities) were later incorporated in the elite and obtained professional or administrative status.

New institutional structures

The Lithuanian Institute of Philosophy and Sociology is the main and the oldest (opened in 1977) scientific institution addressing methodology and conducting empirical research. The Institute became the most important center of intellectual activity and the place where sociology adopted theoretical and methodological innovations. Later came the process of decentralization; the reconstruction of sociology in this period brought new institutions – departments of sociology at universities and research centers. Structural changes were related to the demand for sociologists in new topics that had been forbidden before (politics, religion, inter-ethnic relations); Western scientists and politicians and state institutions needed empirical data about the real situation. Empirical fieldwork has concentrated in three private public opinion and market research companies and at the Lithuanian Department of Statistics. In Lithuania, there are also some NGOs conducting projects based on empirical research (the Free Market Institute, the Women's Information Center, the Lithuanian Human Rights Center).

Repatriation, new departures

Of the famous social scientists who had emigrated to America after World War II, only Vytautas Kavolis and Antanas Paškus returned to work in Lithuania. A few young sociologists (mainly students and graduates) continue their studies in Europe and America.

3. Core theoretical and methodological orientations

The influence of pre-war traditions

Knowledge of the ideas and development of national sociology did not become available to Lithuanian sociologists until this decade. Familiarity with the national roots of sociology has several effects. First, these roots have a clear symbolic value, if we recognize national sociology as an element of the nation's social and cultural capital (it can help us mobilize efforts for work in the field of sociology). The existence of "fathers" of the discipline affirms the legitimacy of national sociology and is the basis for sociologists' solidarity and commitment. Second, these roots interest some professionals with critical opinions about the level of pre-war sociology. Third, appealing to past authorities extends the real and imagined community of (different generations of) sociologists

as participants in similar experience and a common destiny. The images of past sociologist-personalities create models for modern conduct.

The sociological ideas and research orientations of the 19th and 20th centuries were evaluated and analyzed in three volumes on the history of sociology in Lithuania (Vosyliūtė, 1996; 1999; 2000). The prevailing sociological perspectives included positivism, liberalism, and Marxism. Only the decline of the socialist paradigm's hegemony made it possible to restore the national roots of sociology.

Knowledge of the materials of the history of sociology allows sociologists to think about stable features of national society, to understand them, and to investigate socially accepted behavior that occurs repeatedly. These materials, as the memory of various periods of society's development, are the defining features of nationhood and national identity. Current concepts of the nation and nationality are impossible to construct without the ideas and definitions of pre-war authors like Petras Leonas, Stasys Šalkauskis, and Mykolas Riomeris. The fostering of particular worldviews and social ideas is the primary function of the history of sociology. Modern scientific researchers and mass media representatives use the works of pre-war sociologists as challenges in discussions on many social (especially national, political, agrarian) problems of the post-socialist country.

The leaders of modern movements like liberalism, Catholicism, and social democracy are appealing today to the works of the history of sociology: they are searching for their roots and the answer to the question: What ideological and political ideas are applicable and useful today in creating a "good society"?

The monographic approach has deep roots in the heritage of Lithuanian sociology. In Oskaras Kolbergas', Teodoras Narbutas', and Simonas Daukantas' ethnographic descriptions of localities, we can see the first features of the monographic approach. The social monograph of Vitoldas Stanevičius (Vilnius University, 1923), who continued the work of the Polish historian and rural sociologist Franciszek Bujak, was based on participant observation, data from questionnaires, and statistical material on the locality. The history of place, the set of relations, and the forms of life are the main elements of the social monograph. The social space is the construction and outcome of various processes, the result and product of social activities.

Now, using the case study method, the ethnographers, sociologists, and historians in the socio-ethnographical monographs of localities ("Žiobiškis" 2000; "Veliuona" 2001; "Lygumai. Stačiūnai" 2001; "Raguva" 2001; "Musninkai Kernavė" 2002) examine the features of small towns, people's attitudes toward culture, the physical environment, and social life. The renewed interest in localities coincides with the rebirth of national sovereignty, with the tendencies to the decentralization of life, and with the new distribution of social power in the postmodern period. In social praxis, written texts about villages and towns stimulate people's identification with these places, facilitate the rebirth of national memory, and stimulate the understanding of the village or town as a place of authenticity. Such investigation shows the old tradition of the relationship between social, human sciences and geography, which is now reappearing in Lithuania.

New East-West asymmetries

Since 1990, Lithuanian sociologists gradually received the "universal experience" of world sociology and understood that they are part of something greater. The sociologists began to feel stability because they were able to identify themselves with the whole world of the sociological community. They took the entire sociological heritage as a point of reference. Important was the emergent possibility to analyze Western sociological writings, which helped to create independent works. The relations and contacts of the scientific community with representatives of various branches of Western sociology and their active participation in sociological practice ensure the growth of the national discipline; these contacts became a positive factor for the appropriation of new methodological elements that enliven the discipline. However, this also creates a situation in which the national community is constantly borrowing theories and approaches from the West.

This phenomenon could also be perceived as interference in national science, as a kind of “colonization” of Lithuanian social sciences.

Scientific and cultural exchange is very important for the development of social and cultural capital of small countries. But indigenous authors have reason to be worried by foreign competition, because the materials of the imported texts can force them out of the social science and culture field; in the long run this can lead to an erosion of the mother tongue and of domestic culture.

A small country has specific problems in the process of representing its scientific results. For example, texts written in “less important” national languages have less chance of being published, their authors tend to be regarded as second string, and they are accustomed to paternalistic treatment by Western editors.

The changes in sociology and the transition from one situation to another are related to the change of language – from Lithuanian-Russian to Lithuanian-English – accompanying the change in the balance of power after 1989. The English language provided access to Western sociological knowledge and dominates over others. The national language does not have power in intercultural communication with West and East. More intensive participation in sociological events in Europe and the world depends on the possibility of presenting national works in English.

Quantitative vs. qualitative approaches

The tradition of positivistic, empirical, measurement-related sociological research is vital; it is used mostly in public opinion (i.e., election analysis), market research (by private companies), and social research at the Department of Statistics. The quantitative approach (which includes factorial, regression, and statistical analysis) is also used in research on the family, unemployment, youth, and the community. Though this kind of research represents the professional standard of sociology, the state institutions cannot afford to apply this expensive scientific strategy. Trust in the qualitative approach is increasing among young social researchers who want to do deep investigations (for example, in existential sociology), for example using the life history method as recognition of the subject’s competence. Informal interview and biography, as qualitative methods, are popular in sociological studies of culture, women, rural communities, identity, etc.

4. Thematic orientation and funding

Transition as an object of study

In sociologists’ writings, transition is considered an important process related to economic reforms, privatization, the emergence of new institutions, restructuring practices, and the recognition of new social actors. The concept of transition is used alongside the categories of “social change” and “transformation”. According to Marius P. Šaulauskas (Dobryninas, 2000, 36), various orientations (toward imitation, restitution, continuation, and innovation) of social change are taking place in Lithuania. Initially, transition toward a new social order meant separation from the hegemonic Soviet Union and moving to national independence and democracy. The problems of transition were deeply analyzed in a monographic book, *Social Changes: Lithuania 1990-1998* (Dobryninas, 2000). In this field, Taljunaite edited four volumes of *Social Studies* that include the most important Lithuanian authors writing on problems of transitional society. It is also important that Western scientists took an active part in preparing these editions: Richard Rose (Strathclyde University) organized five waves of the *New Baltic Barometer* (1993, 1995, 1996, 2000, 2001). The questionnaire of this sociological research, devoted to measuring changes in society, includes more than two hundred indicators.

Public opinion changes are analyzed by Vldas Gaidys (1994, 2000, 2000b) and Danutė Tureikytė.

Choice of themes. The main research areas

Researchers at state institutions have relative autonomy in choosing research themes. The main factors influencing this process are the scientists' orientations and qualification, the fashionability of topics in international sociology, the current demands of various state institutions, and sociologists' ability to participate in the competitions for grants.

After the re-establishment of independence, sociologists' new orientations have been related to problems of the nation and state. Romualdas Grigas (1995) analyzes the situation and role of the nation and of nationhood in the state and in the globalized world. He stresses (1993) the idea of the nation's self-defense, focusing especially on the citizens' inner activity, and of the vital interests and the consolidation of a small nation and state in the process of its integration in the world system. Juozas A. Krikštopaitis analyzes the causes of the decay of trust in the post-totalitarian condition when painful processes of value change take place (Krikštopaitis, 1997). The researcher Lina Astra comparatively analyzed national value types and their features (Astra, 1996). Sociologists characteristically focus on value problems (changes; value conflicts; the manifestation of political, material, and ethnic values) in transition periods (Mitrikas, 1999). The problem of openness is a new phenomenon in post-war Lithuanian philosophical and sociological thinking. The definition of the open society includes the problems of democracy and social identity (Juozeliūnienė, 1993). Very popular objects of Lithuanian sociologists' studies are knowledge of and experience with Western culture. Sociologists take part in research investigating national minorities in civil society and in ethnic processes (Kasatkina, 2000; Motuzas, 2000). What forms of relationship (of emotional depth, moral commitment, social order and authority, esteem for the other, respect for authenticity, social help, and cohesion) are characteristic of modern communities in Lithuania? Modern man is confused by his self-orientation, his desire to articulate his original identity, and his dependency on its confirmation within a community (Karalius, 2000; Grigas, 1996; Grigas, 2000).

In their analyses of the level of religiosity and of religious minorities (sects), sociologists present the changing strength of the role of religion (Juknevičius, 2000); the dynamics of religious values after the fall of socialism were analyzed in terms of such dimensions as church attendance, the importance of religious beliefs and rites, and attitudes towards religion (Žiliukaitė, 2000).

Characteristic norms of evaluation of the country's development are: the possibility of integration in the EU, people's positive or negative attitudes toward the EU and future activities in it, and the stability of the new democracy (as a basis for EU membership). The collection of articles *The Way to Europe* (Krukauskienė, 2000) analyzes some aspects of inhabitants' images and views of the EU. Public opinion centers ("Vilmorus" and "Baltic research") periodically analyze opinions on the EU.

As Irena Štutinienė noted, the attitudes of Lithuanian youth toward European integration are among the most positive and least critical in the Eastern and East-Central European region. The initiators of the international research were Bodo von Borries from Hamburg University and Magne Angvik from Bergen, Norway; the research was carried out in 1993-1996 in 26 European and 2 Asian countries (Krukauskienė, 2000).

The sociology of culture is an important research topic analyzed mostly at the Institute of Culture and Arts. The sociologist and culturologist Vytautas Kavolis (Kavolis 1992; 1994; Valantiejus, 2000) greatly influenced the methodology of investigations in the social and human sciences. The monograph *Sociology of Art* (Gaižutis, 1998) shows the theoretical ideas of the art sociologists and the importance of cultural factors in society. Arvydas Matulionis (2000) studies cultural identity, the evaluation of culture and its values, and the population's cultural needs.

Investigation also focuses on the reforms of the market economy and businessmen's problems in Lithuanian society (Kličius, 2001). Sociologists reflect on the creation of an effective private sector with liberal values as an essential goal of economic reforms in the country and on people's attitudes toward ownership (Taljūnaitė, 1995) and analyze the new social structure (the formation

of the middle class and the expression of different social groups), social mobility, and occupational changes (Taljūnaitė, 1999).

The role of various elite groups (political, economic, bureaucratic, public and private enterprise, banking) in society is examined. Kęstutis Masiulis (1997) and Irmina Matonytė (2001) analyze the problems and worldview of the Lithuanian elite.

The orientation of family research changed in the last decade. The sources of the national science of family study and the main methodological and theoretical trends of social and sociological investigations are analyzed in a monograph by Juozas Uzdila (2001). Several sociologists (Stankūnienė, 1997) are investigating new features of the Lithuanian family, households and families (a socio-demographic view), the ethnic composition of families, the child as a value, fertility changes (regulation), support for families, the dilemma of a housewife's status, and value preferences. This research was part of the international project "Population activities unit of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe" in which 20 countries participated in 1989-1995.

Divorces are gaining more acceptance by young people; attitudes toward women who wish to raise children by themselves are growing more favorable. On the whole, material conditions are widely considered significant for successful marriage (Mitrikas, 2000). Family sociology is investigating new topics, for example, the concept of the foster family and the peculiarities of families with disabled children.

Social workers, politicians, and sociologists are devoting much attention to children and the phenomena of childhood. Children are often taken as objects for social, educational, and political projects and interests. Children often serve as emblems of poverty and social decline or as signs of society virtue or irresponsibility. Lithuanian researchers are analyzing childhood as a part of the socialization taking place in our society and in the family (Ona Jacikevičienė, Julija Litvinienė).

Sociologists, especially at the Institute of Labor and Social Research (Aktualūs 1999), are paying attention to rapidly growing unemployment (Gruževskis, 2000). The survey the Institute carried out in 2000 as part of the Lithuanian Labor Exchange project analyzed the characteristics of unemployed youth (Pocius et al., 2001).

Since 1990, new works on urban sociology have appeared: social monographs about Vilnius (Krukauskienė, 1995) and about Vilnius and Kaunas (Krukauskienė, 1997). Since 1990, the authors of urban sociology have increasingly examined the population's way of life, the reorganization of old social structures, social memory, the relationship between the various ethnic groups, social mobility, cultural attitudes, and values. Sociological research in the region of Ignalina Nuclear Power Station (analyzing the risk for inhabitants) has been carried out since 1989 (Čiužas, 1998).

The women's social movement and women's studies (gender research) in Europe and the USA influenced a new feminist perspective in choosing research problems and methods. Traditional epistemologies exclude the possibility that women can be agents of knowledge; gender research takes gender/sex into account as the most significant variable. In the Lithuanian society, we can see the formation of new roles for women (Juozeliūnienė, 1996; 1999; Purvaneckas and Purvaneckienė, 2001) and their changing socio-economic status (Danutė Tureikytė); some researchers (Kanopienė, 1998) stress women's segregation in the labor market and such negative phenomenon as violence against women (Šeduikienė, 1999). A significant orientation of studies of women deals with their existential problems, which are connected to the analysis of women's life stories (Vosyliūtė, 1999).

In Lithuanian society, new styles of life are forming and consumer needs and interests are changing. After long years of ascetic socialist consumption, the beginning of the new era can hardly be imagined without the explosion of consumer "hedonism" or without the development of mechanisms enabling people to satisfy long-restrained needs and desires (Vosyliūtė, 2001).

The impact of thematic orientations on institutional structures

The situation of the social sciences in Lithuania is unstable because reforms in this sphere are still incomplete. Thematic orientations define the character of the activity, profile, and structure of sociological institutions in a country now being re-organized. The structure of university research teams is always shifting, depending on the themes investigated. Leaders' discourse (the thematic orientations they consider) determines institutional structures. For example, the Lithuanian Institute of Philosophy and Sociology was oriented toward such problems as ethno-sociology, social changes, the problems of regions, cities, and identity. As a result of the science reform, a new Institute for Social Studies is now being created whose aim is to harmonize a theoretical and empirical approach and to gather the best productive sociological forces of Lithuania. The Institute's investigations will focus more on social policy – social programs related to diagnosing the quality of life, social transformation, social structure, the standard of living, and demographic problems. This change of thematic orientations was necessary for the survival of sociological institutions under the conditions of a market economy.

Private vs. public funding

The cutting of the state science budget since 1990 was characteristic of many post-socialistic countries. Budgetary resources were sufficient only for the survival of state institutions and their staff, but not for empirical research. A new phenomenon appeared in this decade – financial support for social science by some non-state funds. The Lithuanian Scientific Fund, the Soros Foundation (Open Society Fund – Lithuania), and various Western assistance programs were the main contributors to research projects and academic exchanges processes.

The State Science and Studies Fund of Lithuania has supported many sociological projects (in 1995 the research project *Social, cultural, and educational needs of the Lithuanians living in the neighboring countries*; in 2000, *The social memory of women, The problems of national minorities in Lithuania*, and others) and four conferences (including publication of collections of articles) of the Lithuanian Sociological Society in 1990-2001. Soros' Open Lithuania Fund provided financial support for sociologists to participate in world conferences.

National resources are quite modest and Western funds are playing an important role in sustaining sociology (especially its empirical branch) in Lithuania. This support has been an important factor in the individualization of sociologists, but hasn't helped consolidate their community. "Vertical" relations have intensified instead of "horizontal" ones, i.e., Lithuanian sociologists communicate intensively with Western colleagues, but it is very difficult to get information about projects carried out by Lithuanian colleagues.

5. Public space and academic debates

Sociologists as actors of social change. Debated problems

The broadening of social horizons and the diversification of patterns of economic, political, and cultural life in the country increased the dynamic of change in sociological science. Sociology's relationship with and ideological influence from the Soviet Union declined, and the necessity to be autonomous and to be oriented toward Western scientific standards increased. In the initial period of social transition, the socio-political context dominated in sociology. Together with politicians, sociologists were active participants in creating a new social order whose goal was to help the nation-state to become a respected member of international society.

Some researchers were active participants in the main social and political movement, Sąjūdis (three scientific workers from the Lithuanian Institute of Philosophy and Sociology are signatories of the Independence Act); most investigators welcomed the ideas of a democratic, free society (later on these ideas were their research orientation). Sociologists were active as researchers, too –

they analyzed the participation of leaders and other people in the political events, transformation actions, and changes of attitudes toward the new reality (Lietuva, 1990).

Discussions of national identity, citizenship, political culture, civil society, globalization, and the nation-state are very popular in the mass media and in social analyses. The radically new opportunities emerging in the evolution from a closed to an open society demand sociologists' responsibility; the problem of openness is a new phenomenon in Lithuanian theoretical and sociological thinking (coming from a totalitarian socialist, closed society). The definition of open society tackles the problem of social identity; the examination and experience of Western culture are very popular subjects in Lithuanian sociologists' studies.

After 1990, the restoration of civil society started with the foundation of mass organizations (the re-establishment of societies that functioned before 1940); de-Sovietization closed some large quasi-voluntary organizations and split others into smaller units. New cultural or social societies were established. Many of them stressed national, political, and cultural values. The country's voluntary organizations facilitated the processes of restitution and de-Sovietization and the construction of a democratic, pluralistic society.

Sociologists were involved in new administrative, communicative, and educational structures; they participated actively in the public sphere (the mass media), where new meanings of social change and cultural life were discussed. The writings and the data of sociologists in the virtual space have a chance to influence public opinion and civil society. Journalists; the leaders of social movements, associations, and political parties; and, as experts, sociologists are participating in the creation of an open public sphere. Sociologists debate with representatives of civil society, politicians, and economic actors. Public opinion surveys, questionnaires, and the results of research are discussed in the mass media (newspapers, radio, TV, public conferences).

Sociology (as society's self-knowledge and the possibility of deeper reflection on society's development) in Lithuania is now a hard agent in the struggle against civilizational and cultural backwardness. The significant function of sociology (and social science) in democratic society is to provide people with modern categories of thought, which means the extension of their understanding and activities (being in the network, in circulation, in a variety of changing forms and fashions of behavior, in a variety of perceptions of feelings). The sociological imagination is a very efficient form of self-consciousness that helps the individual to conceptualize himself, especially under the new conditions of the free-market economy and democracy. Seen from another side, sociology can offer individuals a unified view of the world and a factor deleting the peculiarities of dominant traditional thinking from memory.

Under postmodern conditions, it is important for sociologists to define and explore cultural identity (how traditional values, past narratives, the relation between sacred and profane, the modern spirit, and elements of ways of life coexist) and the new challenges of postmodern secularity (the fragmentation or division of the subject, alienation, inconsistency of goals). It is important for society under democratic conditions to understand the social sciences and the role of the scientific community and the media in public debate on social issues. The vocabulary and concepts of the social sciences are becoming one of the ways we perceive, describe, and analyze the world around us. But we can see the influence of some concepts in other spheres; for example, young artists use and embed in their conceptual artworks the postmodern issues of feminism, marginalism, alienation, and space. But we lack comprehensive information about the influence of sociology and other social, human sciences on the way people think and understand human life.

Principal academic journals

Two scientific journals publish sociological papers: *Filosofija. Sociologija* (Philosophy. Sociology), published four times a year by the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences since 1990 and dealing with philosophy, sociology, and demography; and *Sociology*, published four times a year by the University of Klaipėda and Vytautas Magnus University since 1997 and dealing with social theory, sociology, and social philosophy. Publications in world languages: Gaidys and Vosyliūtė

1995; Gaidys 1996; Gaidys 2000b; Juozeliūnienė 1993; Juozeliūnienė and Kanopienė 1995; Juozeliūnienė and Kanopienė 1996; Juozeliūnienė 1997; Juozeliūnienė 1999; Norkus 2001; Rinkevičius 1998; Rinkevičius 2000; Šeduikienė, 1999; Šutinienė 1998a; Šutinienė 1998b; Taljūnaitė, 1995; Taljūnaitė, 1996; Taljūnaitė, 1997; Taljūnaitė, 2000; Vosyliūtė 2001; Žvinklienė 1997, and others.

New manuals, databases

Few manuals have been published to fulfill the demands of teaching sociology in Lithuania (Luobikienė, 1997; Luobikienė, 2000; Matulionis, 2001).

Before 1990, data from investigations were concentrated only at the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law and at the Laboratory of Sociological Research of Vilnius University. The data from the first empirical surveys were held on magnetic tape: later, some of this data was rewritten onto floppy disks, hard disks, and CD-ROMs. Some of the methodological information on the parameters of surveys is irrecoverably lost, since the programs for data entry were changing; at present, much of the information is not accessible for ordinary users.

There is still a lack of well-organized databases for several reasons: 1) Empirical surveys are financed by various institutions, funds, etc., and the scientists participating in research are unwilling to share information with others. People do not want to transmit their data to a center accumulating information, because they don't want others to easily use it ("use one's work"). Other scientists cannot access the data and check conclusions or look for methodical and methodological errors; 2) The creation of a database is complicated and expensive work. Sociologists prefer to conduct new, current research than to employ financial and intellectual resources for depersonalized work.

At present, the creation of databases is not finished; the important centers for gathering data are: 1) the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology (data on values system, social change, regional development, the situation of the family, demographics), 2) the Institute of Labor and Social Research (data on unemployment), 3) the Lithuanian Department of Statistics (data on social indicators of the quality of life), and 4) the bigger private public opinion research centers (Wilmorus, Baltic research), which possess greater resources of information on the evaluation of social changes and social actors.

6. Views on further development

Globalization is influencing the economic and social subsystem; this affects the interpretation of organization, social actions, and the situation of others. Sociologists are responsible for their research analyzing the reaction of social and political institutions and human behavior to globalization. This is a rich field of interest that may increase knowledge and improve both the interpretation of and the methodologies used in the analyses of and research on social phenomena. Scientific relations were extended in two ways: 1) in traditional meetings with foreign sociologists and 2) in increasing anonymous acquaintance with their books and works and with internet information. Academic contacts and cooperation with international research communities made it possible to be conversant with Western countries' research projects and ideas of research and of teaching sociology. Scientific, academic, and educational institutions maintain close relations with the country's research and study institutions and governmental and non-governmental organizations and participate in international projects. There is active cooperation with Latvia (Daugavpils) and a common project with Scandinavia and other countries. Younger scientific researchers or lecturers who spoke English (or German or French) were the first to take advantage of such possibilities.

International cooperation was important not only because it provided Lithuanian sociologists with methodological support and helped them understand new sociological trends, but also

because it provided economic support to academia during a hard transitional time (especially from 1990-1995). Lithuanian sociologists got financial support for various studies, grants, scholarships, and possibilities to participate in international conferences, to buy books, etc. Western sociologists sometimes played the role of experts, strict teachers, or “judges” evaluating the situation in Lithuanian sociology.

The training of sociologists at universities was successfully introduced with the help and influence of the Western educational system; the quality of education improved. One problem is the lack of Lithuanian textbooks in general sociology; and in most cases, universities use books by Leonard Broom, Charles M. Bonjean, Dorothy H. Broom's *Sociology*, Peter Berger's *Sociology* translated from English into Lithuanian, and some others. Selected works of Western sociological classics have been translated into Lithuanian: Anthony D. Smith, Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Peter Berger, Anthony Giddens, and others.

The independent Lithuanian Sociological Society was established in 1989 and now has approximately 120 members. Four LSS conferences were organized in this decade; sociologists analyze the important problems of Lithuanian society in the materials from conferences, which have been presented in Grigas, 1996b and Vosyliūtė, 1998; 2001. In 1992, the LSS was involved in the ISA; the Lithuanian Sociological Association is also a member of the European Sociological Association (ESA). In this decade, a few Lithuanian sociologists participated in every sociological congress and conference abroad – of the ISA, the ESA, and the International Institute of Sociology (34th congress 1999 in Israel, 33rd in Cologne).

Lithuanian sociology is now searching for new orientations (the proliferation of eclecticism is characteristic) and identities; it is always “under construction”. Lithuanian social scholarship has tried to develop sociological research and to teach sociology, but new financial limitations have appeared.

Market relations and interest buttressed the reformation of scientific institutions and the new work identities of sociologists. The new historical context led to flux in people's national, cultural, religious, and political identities; new meanings and narratives of belongings that were in hiding because they were dangerous to their holders in Soviet time (expatriates, religious believers, dissidents) brought new issues to public discourse and enriched social investigations. Sociologists' scope to choose their own field of research became more extensive. At the same time, an internal “brain drain” was noticeable; people were able to move from academic work to politics or business careers. The opening of sociology departments at universities provided new opportunities, especially for senior sociologists with academic degrees, some of whom became professors or lecturers. Since the state has limited its subsidies of scientific investigations, teaching jobs now seem more stable and promising for the future to sociologists. Scientific researchers are paid poorly; state subsidies of empirical representative sociological research have been greatly reduced.

The sphere of sociologists' employment has changed: in the Soviet era, sociologists were hired only under the pressure of Communist Party decision, and now the possibilities of working in industrial and agricultural enterprises are reduced; sociologists are hardly ever needed in private business firms, very few of which operate research projects. All the same, the young sociologists are in demand in social practice, in administrative institutions, and in social organizations; in the future, they will be needed as experts even more. Society will need the expertise and scientific authority of sociologists when their qualifications improve and the prestige of the discipline rises.

The modernizing processes in post-socialist Lithuania have not led to a higher degree of social equality; instead, the determining power of social structure is operating as a reproductive mechanism of inequality. New social chances and social positions and the number of individualized orientations in society are increasing. New impressions and possibilities of participation are contributing to a new image of modern society as more open and pluralistic. Increasing flexibility and isolation from traditional sources of security and traditional certainties disorient the individual, who suffers from inconsistency. This situation increases people's self-

reflectiveness and the disintegration of society. Sociologists' discussions and works on the processes of personal and collective identity formation are very important.

National science may become mature by integrating knowledge of national attitudes, the character of social relations of locality, and the heritage of international sociology. The intensification of relations among sociologists, the representation of their research projects, the mutual evaluation of their writings, and wholesome competition among theoretical orientations and in the quality of their work are the main criteria to confirm that their community has taken up and is the place for the national sociological discourse.

The future of sociology depends on the development of the educational system, and it ought to influence the quality of studies and scientific research at universities where the staff is young. The state cannot finance empirical surveys, because they are too expensive; empirical studies will concentrate in the private market and at public opinion research centers. Making Lithuania a member of the EU will improve scientific standards, the exchange of ideas, and participation in international projects. Empirical sociological studies will develop in the context of European integration.

The development of sociology is related to the change in its community, which plays an important role in making this discipline attractive for society. The process of creating an informational society and the development of people's intellectual culture will demand more knowledge and reflection about social processes and their roots. Sociologists will be useful in modern society as experts in various spheres and as social leaders, magi, and critics; the prestige of the sociologist will increase and his writings will be regarded as a form of symbolic capital for society.

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