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ETHNIC STRUCTURE, INEQUALITY AND GOVERNANCE OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN LITHUANIA

NATALIJA KASATKINA
&
VIDA BERESNEVICIUTE

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1. Introduction: Argument, Conceptual Framework and Methodology

Ongoing changes in contemporary society make its members adapt themselves to mutability of conditions, new challenges, look for new adaptation strategies, concentrate all skills in order to take advantage of current opportunities. Social, political, economic changes that took place ten years ago have influenced the situation of all ethnic groups (including both majority and minority groups) when choosing their strategies of acting in social sphere, adapting themselves to new requirements (citizenship, civic loyalty, knowledge of the state language, value changes, participation in the newly formed bodies, e.g. the private or non-governmental sector) in a more active or passive way or avoiding adaptation (emigration, segregation, life in closed communities).

Overall, in Lithuania issues of national minorities are not urgent and sensitive within the whole context, including both public opinion and governmental policy. Discourses of silence, invisibilisation or even exclusion (e.g. issues of ethnic pureness, negative attitudes) dominate. The declared universal equality creates symbolic boundaries and obstacles for minority groups acting in society. One of illustrations of this could be an analysis of mass media in which principles of being noticeable/unnoticeable or visible/invisible are dominant. The research of the main dailies of Lithuania has disclosed that texts on ethnic groups quite often portray them as groups that are not integrated into the society's life, as criminal, socially unprotected or "exotic" groups and the problems of the members of these groups are presented by emphasising their nationality or politicising them (Beresneviciute, Nausediene, 2002). The urgency of the issue is determined by political matters and is therefore frequently politicised. To put it in another way, unnoticeable means that on the one hand, there is no public discourse on the issue or the discourse of silence exists, or, on the other hand, examples of stigmatisation (especially in the case of Roma/Gypsies people) are presented. To illustrate a notion of visible/invisible, a metaphor of a "good citizen" could be used to define a person who behaves under rules and regulations and is visible in that way, but s/he causes no problems and therefore becomes invisible, and the other way out. In its own turn, politicised ethnicity tends to encourage xenophobia, blocking the evolution of citizenship that is essential for the growth of democratic institutions.

When discussing the issues of ethnicity and national minorities in Lithuania, a discourse of civil loyalty and political loyalty has been dominating, the content of which is usually politicised, especially in the framework of public opinion and public discussions. Therefore, the issues of political integration of national minorities are mainly discussed and developed (legal instruments, laws, etc.) and less attention is paid to the issues of social integration. These considerations provide primary insights into the hypothetical cleavages of ethnic minorities in different spheres of society. Also, they reveal expectations of both minority and majority groups.

In the context of the UNRISD project *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector*, the case of Lithuania will be studied in respect of public reforms that have been implemented during the last decade and their impact on political and civic participation of majority and minority groups will be discussed. The general objective of the project is to analyze and assess distribution and management of power in multi-ethnic settings: ethnic structure, inequality and governance of the public sector.

Political, social and civic participation of minority groups is determined by several factors. On the one hand, it depends on legal and institutional mechanisms and instruments, and, on the other hand, on the "quality" and development of civil society, i.e. on its identities and abilities to harmonise competitive regional ethnic, religious and other identities and to tolerate differences and on the will and readiness to participate in political, social and civil processes in achieving common goals and accountability of the

government. Civil and political participation, besides other things, aims at ensuring equal representation of interests in public life. An important issue is related to the criteria (parameters) applied in measuring participation and in this research project it would be ethnicity, which affects identities of states and the allocation of public resources.

Ethnic groups are, however, structured differently in national political economies because of their history, markets and resource endowments and, in some cases, overtly discriminatory public policies. In Eastern Europe, the ethnic understanding of a nation has deep roots, whereas the civic concept is likely to have very few adherents. In Lithuania, like in other countries of this region (e.g., Serbia, Hungary, Latvia), statehood or the process of nation-building has been constructed rather on the ground of experience of the independent state and resistance to oppression, ethnocentric inheritance by developing common ethnic romantic historic descent (ancestry), common culture of language, religion, traditions and customs, than on the ground of institutes of civil society that ensure development of representative democracy.

Nationalistic movements of Eastern Europe were grounded on culture and headed by scientists and poets who strongly focused on the past and national traditions of their country. Western nationalisms were distinct in their civic nature, grounded on rationalism and values of individual freedom (Kohn, 1946). In Lithuania, from the 19th century to the times of *Sajudis*, a movement of the early 1990s, most nationalistic movements were of cultural rather than political nature, in which cultural activists (scientists, intelligentsia) took the leaders' role.

On the other hand, ethnic nationalism, in contrast to civic nationalism, which usually appears in well-institutionalised democracies, appears in an institutional vacuum and through lack of civic experience, when alternative structures are not readily available, and places the titular nation in the centre of the project of nation-building providing with certain prerogatives, implicitly and explicitly (e.g., language). In the perspective of cultural nationalism, state authorities tend to create maximum correspondence between the ethnic and political "nation" (the symbols and traditions of the titular nation become equated with the symbols and traditions of the state, thereby they become the norm for the entire population). Although after the restoration of Lithuania's Independence along with the ethnic model, the newly established structures embodied elements of the civic model, the model of a civic state, i.e. the state for its citizen, irrespective of their ethnicity, has been developed (e.g., the Law on Citizenship in 1989). On the other hand, ethnic diversity, as well as the ethnic structure, does not shape political behaviour deterministically. Ethnicity is constantly adapting.

Studies of ethnicity issues in Lithuania are based on traditions widely prevalent in Eastern Europe, i.e. focusing on studies of the ethnocultural identity by revealing the main features of this identity. These traditions could be treated as an organic constituent of Eastern European cultural nationalism, as the present ethnic majorities, which had been under the status of minorities on the strength of empires, have gone through the stage of the nation-building process. Hence, applying a mirror image, minorities are ascribed a paradigm of cultural nationalism that is the best conceived and supported by the majority. Studies of culture (language, historical consciousness, values and religion) persist as a core of minority surveys. Once again, it is an essential constituent dimension of a collective identity of a minority, still focus on other elements, such as social and civic expression and participation, should not be excluded from these studies.

Taking into account the broader context of Eastern Europe, a question could be raised how much the European and the broader international context would influence and change the situation, how the agenda of international organisations would cover the issues of ethnic minorities and what impact to national policies could be.

In the context of the typology of ethnic structures, Lithuania has a unipolar structure, in which one ethnic group, Lithuanians, accounts for an overwhelming majority of the population and comprises more than 4/5 of the whole population. The typology is developed to aid understanding of ethnic behaviour and the choices of citizens and policy-makers in governing the public sector.

A broader context of statehood, aged history of independence and its development have their impact on a relatively young history of Lithuania's democratic state and its political environment. Premises and hypotheses concerning the present ethnic cleavages are based on two major arguments. The first argument is related to the ideology of cultural nationalism, i.e. that cultural nationalism overshadows the impact of social-economic factors and thereby tends to complicate the elaboration of the influence of those factors on economic inequalities. The second argument is related to the general historic trends of the ethnic composition of the state and the impact of the Soviet period, during which ethnic groups were formed as a result of the flows of labour migrants (specialists and qualified workers). Later on, tendencies of emigration of those persons with higher qualifications were pertinent to the first years of the independent state. On the basis of the aforementioned arguments that cover the trends of society's development, we maintain that political competition is still ethnically fragmented in the unipolar setting of the state.

Other premises are based on several assumptions. The unfolding process of assimilation, development of democratic values and equal opportunities press for identification of ethnic cleavages. However, the lower levels of minorities' participation in the higher levels of political and governmental institutions, as well as social differences, which are not striking among certain ethnic groups even though certain groups dominate in some sectors, enable us to hypothesize on unequal distribution of power in the public sector. Minorities and the majority organize themselves separately for political power, but they do collaborate in the processes of election and formation of political bodies. Although there are a few examples that could be defined as conflicting, political bodies are still not open to ethnic diversity.

It is possible to maintain that the political field of the state is dominated by a monoethnic minority of the majority rather than by an inclusive minority based on the interests and perspectives of different minority (including ethnic) groups. These statements will be treated as hypotheses for the analysis of the Lithuanian context, raising a question what behaviour is prevalent in Lithuania. If ethnic boundaries are definable, what characteristics are the most significant, who the key players are and play the central roles in politics: representatives of majority or minorities, etc.

The tendencies towards politicisation of ethnic issues or ethnic politicisation, to put it in another way, correspond to the existing political parties based on ethnic affiliations in Lithuania. Taking into account the aspect of politicisation, the research project will focus on issues that contribute to fragmentation: equality of opportunities or the sense of inclusion in the formation of the public agenda, governmental bodies.

Besides the main focuses of the research project on ethnic inequalities and cleavages in the public sector, a particular situation of the country should be taken into account and discussed in a broader context. In this paper, concepts "ethnic group" and "national (ethnic) minority" are used as synonyms. The authors of this report, however, do see a difference between these concepts defining the ethnic group as part of society, whose members identify themselves (or agree to be identified by others) with the culture and/or real or implied ethnic origin common to that part of society. An ethnic (national) minority

consists of legal permanent residents of a state, who differ from the society's majority in their distinctive culture (language, religion, customs).

The research report consists of four main parts related to the ethnic composition of Lithuania and its impact on different policy issues that will be covered in the perspective of the unipolar ethnic structure of Lithuania. The first section deals with the general situation in relation to the ethnic composition and its changes in the last decades. It covers issues of migration processes, focusing on peculiarities of both the Soviet period and the independent state. It includes a discussion of distribution of ethnic minorities throughout the country and a short overview of peculiarities of ethnic minorities of Lithuania. Also, a short overview of four administrative units to be analyzed further is presented. As a separate chapter, this section includes elaboration of social and cultural cleavages of ethnic minorities that are disclosed within the discussion about the aspects of social adaptation focusing on the issues of social relations of minority groups, educational attainments and differences among ethnic groups. When analyzing social disadvantages, emphasis is placed on the matters and trends of employment, labour market segmentation, unemployment rates and some aspects of the ethnic structure in the private sector. A separate chapter covers a short overview of the Soviet period focusing on its impact on the ethnic structure of the state.

The following section of the report deals with ethnic cleavages in the public sector. The legal mechanism and framework of ethnic minority issues, mostly related to the protection of minority rights, will be shortly reviewed at the beginning. This part of the section reflects an official attitude of governmental institutions towards the rights and opportunities of ethnic groups. With reference to the issues of ethnic cleavages in politics, the main emphasis will be placed on election rules and the following key public institutions, both on the national and local levels: parliament (the Seimas) and political parties, executive bodies of the government, civil service and electoral, administrative bodies on the local level of municipalities. The analysis will further elaborate on the issues regarding representation or uneven distribution of offices and posts and on how this could be viewed and treated; and conclusions on possible determinants of the situation and their relation to the public at large will be made.

The final chapter is related to the public policy on civic and political participation of ethnic minority groups. The latter will cover major institutions and documents related to the ethnic policy and its strategic perspectives. Also, taking into account the main findings of the report, recommendatory notes are presented, which mainly focus on the measures aimed at increasing and encouraging visible participation of minorities.

Although different research studies related to the ethnic dimension of Lithuania's society have been carried out at different times, there is no sufficiently comprehensive and full-scale research data on ethnicity in Lithuania. Separate research studies, the majority of them being quantitative, provide with fragmented perspectives of the issues analyzed. In this case, efforts were made to collect and relate a variety of sources of information and data presenting the most relevant pieces related to the issues considered. A secondary analysis of the research that had been carried out, studies and documents dominates in the report. Also, fragmented research of the qualitative nature was carried out individually in order to decrease the existing gaps in volumes of data and to increase possibilities for interpretation of the results of the research.

In the entire document, descriptive data, factual description and analysis is combined with analytical procedures and interpretations.

The report includes an annex, where tables and diagrams appropriate to the text and analysis are presented. Also, a list of bibliographic references is included.

2. Ethnic Cleavages

2.1 Trends in Ethnic Composition

Lithuania has a unipolar ethnic structure. One ethnic group dominates the ethnic structure of Lithuania and accounts for an overwhelming majority of the population. For more than one century Lithuanians have comprised four fifths of the whole population, in 2001 the portion of Lithuanians reached 83 per cent of the whole population. At present, representatives of 115 nationalities live in Lithuania. Lithuania has always been a multinational state. An impressive variety of nations have lived together in Lithuania for many centuries. Ancestors of the Roma people and Karaites, as well as of part of the Russian, Polish, Jewish and German ethnic groups lived in the territory of Lithuania more than five hundred years ago, however, they are not considered to be indigenous people, since they had settled in or had moved to the territory of Lithuania in the early Middle Ages. In 1996 and 1997, the 600th Anniversary of the Settlement of Karaites and Tatars in the Great Duchy of Lithuania was widely celebrated and relevant activities and events organised.

The current ethnic composition of Lithuania has suffered great changes due to historical development. The main role in the process of formation of ethnic communities in Lithuania, in changes of numbers and settling is ascribed to migration. The first waves of migration or mass emigration began in the 19th century (after the abolition of slavery). Due to World Wars I and II and their aftermath, there was decrease in Lithuania's population in the first half of the 20th century.

During World War I, mass emigration from Lithuania stopped and did not reach the previous level during the first post-war years. The main reason of that was a very strict immigration law, passed by the USA Congress, establishing an immigration quota for Lithuanians, therefore, the USA lost their leading position as the main country of destination for people from Lithuania. Emigration to other countries continued, but its scope was much smaller and immigration even exceeding the outflows from Lithuania.

The population of the interwar period could be illustrated by the data of the 1923 census, although the data did not include the Vilnius Region, which was occupied in 1920 by neighbouring Poland, the occupation lasted until 1939. During the period of occupation, many Poles moved to Vilnius. The data of the 1923 census showed that the majority of the state was comprised of Lithuanians (84 per cent of the whole population). The second minority was the Jews (7.6%), then followed by the Poles (3.2%) and Russians (2.5%). (*See Table No. 2.1, 2.2)*.

According to the 1931 census of Polish population, Poles in Vilnius amounted to 65.9 per cent (128,600), Jews 28% (54,600) and Lithuanians only 0.8% (1,579). Assumptions are made that during this census the number of Lithuanians living in Vilnius was considerably reduced because of such circumstances as the policy of the occupational regime, intensive polonisation, the principle of language knowledge determining the nationality, participation of the Polish clergy in the census activities (Stankuniene, 1995). In 1939, Vilnius became part of Lithuania again and since 1940 it is the capital of Lithuania. At the beginning of 1940, Lithuanians comprised 19.2% of the Vilnius population (Poles 39.3%, Jews 34.2%).

Considerable changes in the number of population began in 1940 when the Soviet Union occupied and annexed Lithuania. All in all, in 1940-1958 Lithuania lost about one million people (who were killed, deported or left the country for various reasons). The pre-war level of the population was reached only in 1969. In the Soviet period, about 150,000

Russians and people of Russian-speaking nationalities were moved to or began to settle in Lithuania themselves. Historical changes in the number of the Lithuanian population are presented in *Tables No. 2.1, 2.2.*

*Lithuanian Population by Nationality, 1923-2001 (thousand) **
Table No. 2.1

Nationality	1923	1959	1970	1979	1989	2001
TOTAL	2,021.8	2,711.4	3,128.2	3,391.5	3,674.8	3,483.9
Lithuanians	1,701.9	2,150.8	2,506.8	2,712.2	2,924.3	2,907.3
Russians	50.5	231.0	268.0	303.5	344.5	219.8
Poles	65.6	230.1	240.2	247.0	258.0	234.9
Belorussians	4.4	30.3	45.4	57.6	63.2	42.9
Ukrainians	0.0	17.7	25.1	32.0	44.8	22.5
Jews	153.7	24.7	23.6	14.7	12.4	4.0
Latvians	14.9	6.3	5.1	4.4	4.4	2.9
Tatars	1.0	3.0	3.5	4.0	4.4	3.2
Roma	0.3	1.2	1.9	2.3	2.7	2.5
Germans	29.2	11.7	1.9	2.6	2.1	3.2
Armenians	-	-	-	-	-	1.5
Other	7.5	16.3	8.6	13.8	16.9	6.1
Not indicated	-	-	-	-	-	32.9

**Data for 1923-1989 from: Population Censuses in Lithuania. Statistics Lithuania, Vilnius 1999.*
**Data for 2001 from: Population by Sex, Age, Ethnicity and Religion. Statistics Lithuania, Vilnius 2002.*

*Lithuanian Population by Nationality, 1923-2001 (per cent) **
Table No. 2.2

Nationalities	1923	1959	1969	1979	1989	2001
Lithuanians	84.1	79.3	80.1	80.0	79.6	83.45
Russians	2.5	8.5	8.6	8.9	9.4	6.31
Poles	3.2	8.5	7.7	7.3	7.0	6.74
Belarussians	0.2	1.1	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.23
Ukrainians	0.0	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.2	0.65
Jews	7.6	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.12
Latvians	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.08
Tatars	0.04	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.09
Roma	-	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.07
Germans	1.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.09
Armenians	-	-	-	-	-	0.04
Other	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.18
Not indicated	-	-	-	-	-	0.94

**Population Censuses in Lithuania. Statistics Lithuania. Vilnius, 1999.*
**Data for 2001 from: Population by Sex, Age, Ethnicity and Religion. Statistics Lithuania, Vilnius 2002.*

The 2001 Population and Housing Census recorded nationality (ethnic origin) as indicated by the respondent. Parents indicated the nationality of their children. In 2001, the size of population was 3.5 million and representatives of 115 nationalities lived in Lithuania, only 29 nationalities accounted for one hundred or more people. According to the data of the Census, Lithuanians accounted for 83.5% of the population, Poles made up 6.7%, Russians 6.3%, Belorussians 1.2% and the Ukrainians 0.7%. Jews, Germans, Tatars, Latvians and the Roma people made up 0.2%, while 0.9% of the population did not indicate their nationality at all.

Citizens of the Republic of Lithuania make up 99% of the population, citizens of the Russian Federation account for 0.4%, citizens of other countries make up 0.2% and those without citizenship 0.3%, whereas 0.1% of the population did not indicate their citizenship. 659 persons had double citizenship.

The composition of population in rural areas is more indiscrete (monoethnic) than in urban areas. In rural areas, the comparative part of Lithuanians comprises 87.7%, in urban 81.4%; Poles 6 and 8.4%, accordingly, and Russians 8.2 and 2.4%.

It should be noted that the 2001 Census recorded the highest specific weight of Lithuanians throughout the history of Lithuania. Poles, being the second minority, became the first one. Russians became the second minority, as the decrease of the Russian population was determined by emigration, the decrease of the Lithuanian and Polish population by decreasing natural increase of population.

Ethnic specificity is characteristic to certain regions of Lithuania. One of the distinctive features of Eastern Lithuania is the multi-ethnic composition of its population: a half of it is Lithuanian, and one third is Polish. One fifth of Lithuania's Belorussians and one tenth of Lithuania's Russians are concentrated in Eastern Lithuania. Poles constitute an absolute majority in the region of Salcininkai (the Polish population comprises here 79.5%, Lithuanians 10.4%, Russians 5.0%) and the region of Vilnius (where the Polish population comprises 61.3%, Lithuanians 22.4%, Russians 8.4%). Russians live mostly in the regions of Zarasai, Svencionys, Trakai, but they do not constitute a majority in any of these regions. Lithuanians comprise a minority in the regions of Salcininkai, Vilnius, Svencionys and the town of Visaginas (where the Russian population comprises 52.4%, Lithuanians 15.0%, and Polish 8.6%).

The census of 2001 has indicated that certain changes in the ethic composition during the period of the Independence of the Republic of Lithuania have taken place. Some of them were implicit, e.g. emigration of Russians and other residents who came to Lithuania during the Soviet period, although its impact on other ethnic groups, their composition and organisational potential should be analysed separately.

The composition of population and processes of migration are objective elements of the context of adaptation. When discussing the migration tendencies in 1940-1990, it is possible to distinguish several stages. The first stage covers 1940-1945 and is related to the losses of the population due to the World War II, demolition of towns and depopulation. Also, this period covers the Holocaust, emigration of the Polish intelligentsia and Soviet deportations that predominantly addressed the majority group, but also minority groups (e.g., Russians). The next stage is related to the period of 1945-1979 and covers the industrialisation and centralisation of the Soviet economy. Groups of labour migrants appeared and this phenomenon was determined by the forced military and economic migration. In industrial centres of the Baltic States, heavy industry was being developed that caused immigration of the Russian speaking population. The population of the Baltic region has changed (the region of Kaliningrad in particular). The third stage covered 1980-1988 and was related to the industrialisation of the agricultural sector and decentralisation of economy, which caused further migration of the Russian-speaking population to remote areas of the Baltic States. This period is defined as stagnation of the Soviet economy. However, the migration of labour force of other nationalities formed an ethnic group of the immigrants of the first generation. Since 1990 until now, the process of restoration of independent states has stimulated emigration (and re-emigration) of the population of non-titular nationalities from the Baltic States. Ethnic groups of the other nationalities faced a perspective of acculturation, social and political adaptation. The policy (or ideological perspective) of nationalism has taken over Russification, being more intensive and more liberal in some cases. Aiming at economic autonomy and reorientation of the industry and its restructurisation became sensitive issues for economic and military immigrants from Russia, Belorussia, Ukraine and other Soviet republics.

Ethnic composition and peculiarities of the minority situation in Lithuania

In order to evaluate and interpret numeric data of the composition of population, ethnic and social structure, the researchers refer to or create certain schemes for interpretation and understanding of demographic changes, ethnic structure, defining legal protection of the minorities and regional policy. Construction of typologies is an especially popular methodological idea in ethnic studies, although they do not necessarily provide thorough explanations. When focusing on the ethnic processes, we will refer to the classification of ethnic groups' categories defined by Runblom (Runblom, 1993) on the basis of the experience of the Baltic States. Taking into account premises and reasons of different migrational flows, it is possible to distinguish the following minority categories and specific ethnic groups in Lithuania.

Territorial minorities

Territory of the ethnic group is clearly defined, traditions and customs in the territory have been enshrined for a historically long period. Members of the territorial minority are treated as long time residents (indigenous people). Sometimes historical diasporas became territorial minorities. In Lithuania Karaites and, Tartars with some limitations, would be an example.

Borderline (periphery) minorities

These ethnic groups have gained the status of minorities because of the changing borders of the states (it is very peculiar to Eastern Europe). As the borders have been shifted, a part of an ethnic group finds itself in the territory of another state, given rise to racial, ethnic or civic discrimination from the majority groups. Lithuanian Poles and part of the Belorussian community could be defined as borderline minorities.

Post-colonial minorities

These ethnic groups emerged as the status of subordination to the Russian Empire has been changing since the 18th century. The previously dominant culture of the Empire State, because of its expansive outspread, has found itself in the status of a subordinate (or minority) culture in a new sovereign state after the national movements. Russians and Russian-speaking minorities in the Baltic States could be classified as post-colonial minorities.

Non-territorial minorities

This category includes ethnic groups that have been historically migrating (usually avoiding repression). In the Baltic region, it includes the Roma people and the Jews. Since the Middle Ages European Jews have been settling in the territory of the Lithuanian-Polish State.

Labour migrants

After the territorial annexation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia by the USSR, the industrialisation of the Baltic States has caused migration of workers from Ukraine, Belorussia, Russia and Transcaucasia. In addition to traditional nationalities of Lithuania, the ethnic variety was supplemented by various nationalities of the USSR.

Refugees

Having been forced to leave their country in order to avoid terror, discrimination or war refugees usually do not loose hope to return to their native environment. Members of such groups aim at preserving their culture and are hardly assimilated. Post-revolutionary (mainly in 1918-23) immigration to the interwar Lithuania could be ascribed to this category.

At present, the Baltic States face flows of illegal migrants and have problems in defining a status of a "real" migrant. In dealing with illegal migration, the importance of

readmission treaties should be mentioned. In the meantime, these treaties are not signed between Lithuania and Belorussia. The Government continues its efforts to stop illegal migrants by negotiating readmission agreements with Russia and Belarussia. The readmission agreement with Russia was signed in the middle of May 2003 and Lithuania was the first state with which Russia signed such agreement.

Such typology is based on both historical and contemporary development of ethnic groups. This typology is not a strict one as the same ethnic group could be ascribed to one or several positions. The dynamic interplay of the structures of ethnicity and the social context varies. Different types of ethnic structures may demand different combinations of reform instruments in building stable and inclusive societies and public sectors. In the general analysis the main focus is made on traditional minority groups in Lithuania and issues of non-citizens (Russian and Russian speaking former residents of the Soviet Union and new diasporas, such as the Chinese, Chechens, etc.) are not covered. Also, issues related to the Roma community are not specifically elaborated as this group could be defined as being socially excluded from the whole range of societal fields.

2.2 Migration Trends in the Soviet Period

In 1989, the Russian population comprised 344.5 thousand people in Lithuania. In thirty years, from the first Soviet census in 1959, the number increased by one and a half. As in other Soviet republics, excluding Russia (the territory of the present Russia), the pace of the growth of the number of the Russian population in Lithuania was higher than in Russia.

In 1979-1989, the relative growth of the Russian population in Lithuania was one of the highest in the former USSR, resigning only to Belarussia and Estonia only. This could be related, first of all, to the construction of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant and some other large industrial enterprises. In other Baltic Republics, where this process of growth was more intensive in the 1960s (the peak of intensiveness of the soviet industrialization), but significantly decreased in the 1970s and even more in the 1980s. In Lithuania, these processes were the lowest in the 1960-1970s, but more stable during the said three decades (Litva…, 1996). In comparison with the majority of other Soviet Republics, such low and stable growth could indicate the fact that the increase of the Russian ethnic group in Lithuania to a greater extent was because of the natural growth, and the factors of migration were not so significant and more stable in time.

From 1959 to 1989, higher rates of growth of the number of Russians are more peculiar in Lithuania's urban areas rather than all over the Republic. In 1959, 77% of Russians lived in Lithuania's cities, in 1989, this number reached 90%. In 1970, in Lithuania's rural areas 40,354 Russians lived, whereas in 1979 the number was 40,486. The situation slightly changed in 1989, as the number of Russians living in rural areas decreased by 12.5% as compared to 1979 and comprised 35,339 persons (Demograficheski…, 1990). Consequently, the rates of growth and portion of residents of the Russian population were slower and lower than in other neighbouring republics, therefore, Lithuania was one of the least Russificated Soviet republics in the Baltic. For Russians of Latvia and Estonia, striving for capital cities was more characteristic: more than a half of all urban Russian residents of Latvia lived in Riga (56%), in Tallinn the number was a bit lower than a half, but still it comprised a significant part of the Russian population, i.e. 45%. In Lithuania this indicator (the number of Russians living in the capital city) was the lowest and comprised 38% of all urban Russians and this in its own turn comprised 20% of all population of Vilnius (Lithuanians comprised 50.5% of the residents of the capital city). (*See Table No. 2.3)*

*Dynamics of Russian Migrants to the Capital Cities of the Baltic Republics**
Table No. 2.3

Capital cities	Arrivals			Departures			Mechanical increase		
	1975	1980	1989	1975	1980	1989	1975	1980	1989
Vilnius	3,797	2,680	2,318	2,920	1,891	1,834	+877	+789	+484
Riga	17,768	12,391	7,447	13,431	10,165	7,344	+4,337	+2,226	+103
Tallinn	8,423	5,970	3,460	6,018	3,777	3,404	+2,405	+2,193	+56

**Ruskije. Etnosociologicheskije ocherki. M., Nauka, 1992. p. 49.*

The above-discussed peculiarities of Lithuania's Russians in Lithuania suggested that local Russians, in comparison with the other former Soviet Baltic Republics, were more adapted and more involved in the local cultural and linguistic environment. These statements could be supported by the data of the census in 1989 regarding bi-lingual level of the Russian population in former the Soviet Republics. In Lithuania, 37.8% of Russians could speak fluent in the language of the titular nation or treated it as their mother tongue, while in Latvia and Estonia these indicators were significantly lower: 22.4% and 15.15% respectively.

Particular attention could be paid to changes in the trends of migration of the Russian population. Obviously, the more intensive wave of migration of Russians was during the post-war period when a significant part of the population of the Russian Federate Soviet Republic moved to other Soviet republics. In the 1960s and 1980s, Lithuania also had a positive net migration from Russia. In 1959-1989, net migration to Lithuania comprised 228 thousand persons or 23% of the overall increase of the population. In terms of migrational increase of the Lithuanian population in 1980-1987 Russians comprised over one fourth (27%) of the overall number, followed by Belorussians – 11%.

According to the data of the Governmental Committee of Statistics of Russia, the number of Russians emigrating from Lithuania began increasing since 1989. In 1989, 9,196 persons left Lithuania for Russia and in 1993 this number reached 19,407. A significant part of emigrants was obvious after 1991. Although the number of the Russian population in Lithuania comprised a small part (1.36% of all Russians of the former USSR, except for Russia), in the overall flow of migrants to Russia from Lithuania it comprised a bit more, i.e. 2%. In 1993, the migration flows to Russia from Lithuania reached a peak (Litva. Problemi…, 1996).

From 1989 to 1993, the portion of Russian immigrants to Russia changed from 65.4% to 75.9%. Domination of Russians in the flow of immigrants to Russia are characteristic to all Baltic States. Part of departing representatives of the titular nation was higher in Lithuania than in Estonia and Latvia *(See Diagrams No. 1, 2 in Annex*).

Migration of other nationalities was slightly different from the Russian population: Lithuanians became less mobile among those leaving for Russia. Also, Russia's Lithuanians were even less active in returning to their ethnic homeland. Therefore, net migration in exchange between Russia and Lithuania was quite low and comprised 18 persons in favour of Russia. In 1993, Ukrainians were next to Russians leaving Lithuania for Russia. In four years, the number of them increased three times and reached 2,096 persons or 10.8% of all migrants leaving for Russia. The number of Ukrainians leaving Russia for Lithuania decreased from 441 people in 1989 to 129 persons in 1993. Belorussians and Tatars were other nationalities whose migration trends could be distinguished.

The industry of Lithuania was developed in accordance with a certain scheme, providing for continuous economic development and simultaneous creation of a unified settlement system, where urban and rural areas were complement to each other. Such a situation

enabled the development of industry based mainly on the local labour market. Lithuania's rates of immigration were considerably lower than in the other two Baltic States. Due to certain industrial developments, certain towns and the capital served as places of destination for immigrants, e.g. Visaginas, Vilnius.

The general Soviet policy or labour recruiting system could be defined as promoting expressed migration, where migrants were often treated better than the local population (e.g., better wages and housing conditions).

2.3 Migration Trends after the Restoration of the Independence (1990-2000)

One of the main reasons for current changes of ethnic composition was the process of migration that was critical in 1992, to note a migration wave in 1990-1992, which was followed by the ebb of the migration processes since 1993. The departures increased approximately twice during 1989-1992 and reached the peak in 1992 (increased from 15-16 thousand to 29 thousand in 1992). International migration flows had essentially been ethnic migration flows: emigration of ethnic minorities: Russians and other Slavic nations to the East and Jews to the West. In 1989-1994, 93% of the emigrants from Lithuania to the Republics of the former Soviet Union were non-Lithuanians. Non-Lithuanian emigrants to the Western countries amounted to 86% (*See Tables No. 2.4, 2.7)*. Up to now, the largest part of emigrants consists of the so-called Russian-speaking population (Russians, Ukrainians, Belarussians). Russians alone comprise 30-40 percent of emigrants. An exceptional case is the emigration of the Jewish population, which started during the Soviet period, but because of the striking decrease of the numbers of this group, the number of emigrating Jews has been decreasing from 1992. Migration of representatives of other ethnic groups is not so significant. (*See Tables No. 2.6, 2,7*). For example, at the beginning of the last decade (in 1990-1992), the annual emigration of the Polish population used to be 1,000-1,500 thousand, now it has decreased significantly and at the moment it is quite symbolic: in 1999, 53 Poles emigrated, compared with 112 in 2000. These flows do not account for a greater impact on the processes of international migration in Lithuania. In 2002, 2,616 people legally emigrated from Lithuania and this number is nearly ten times less than during the highest peak of the migration in 1992.

The flows of immigrants to Lithuania mainly consist of the following three categories of arriving persons: returning citizens (i.e., Lithuanians whose arrival is unlimited), reunion of family members (limited, although the priority is given to their arrivals) and migration on business (the number is not high). Among the immigrants, Lithuanians and relatives of the former migrants, i.e. Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians, prevail. In 1993, Lithuanians comprised the majority among the immigrants and accounted for 41.5% and in 2000 – 44.1%.

This indirectly suggests that repatriation of Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians is one of the most important aspects of the legal emigration from Lithuania, although it is decreasing, but still even in 1999 and 2000 the data confirmed this tendency. Among the destination countries, Russia takes the first place, followed by Ukraine and Belorussia.

Emigration to Western countries is not very intensive, although its share in the overall emigration is increasing. In 1990, emigration from Lithuania to the West accounted for 12.3% of the entire emigration, in 2000 it reached 45.5%. The countries of destination remain the same: Germany, the USA and Israel. In the 1980s Poland was one of the most attractive countries to Lithuanian emigrants, but in 2000 only 25 persons emigrated there. The majority of immigrants come from Russia and the CIS countries.

Processes of migration have had a significant impact on the ethnic structure of Lithuania. A separate issue for discussions is illegal migration, the scale of which could be hardly evaluated in numbers, but it has been increasing apace during the last decade. Researchers of migration agree that the significant decrease of the population during the last decade is also explained by illegal migration, which mainly takes a direction westwards.

Migration Tendencies: Emigration to the West by Nationality in 1988-1994 (per cent)
Table No. 2.4

Nationalities	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Lithuanians	14.9	17.3	8.0	10.4	22.7	22.1	20.2
Russians	35.5	21.8	10.0	9.4	14.2	12.5	6.2
Ukrainians	8.5	7.6	4.0	1.5	3.6	2.4	1.1
Belorussians	6.3	3.8	2.0	1.9	2.2	1.8	1.5
Jews	21.2	34.4	66.0	43.3	39.7	42.3	38.0
Polish	3.4	6.5	6.0	28.5	11.0	5.1	6.6
Others	10.2	8.6	4.0	5.0	6.6	13.8	26.4

*Source: Sipaviciene, *1995:*106 b).

Migration Tendencies: Emigration to the Former USSR by Nationality in 1988-1994 (per cent)
Table No. 2.5

Nationalities	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Lithuanians	18.5	11.9	8.0	8.0	5.0	3.4	4.7
Russians	48.4	52.3	60.0	56.2	9.1	61.4	61.3
Ukrainians	11.3	13.4	13.0	12.1	13.9	15.8	10.6
Belorussians	9.3	10.6	9.0	12.5	12.8	11.0	10.1
Jews	0.4	0.3	1.0	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.6
Polish	5.1	4.5	4.0	5.1	3.9	2.8	3.7
Others	7.0	7.0	5.0	5.7	5.1	5.4	9.0

**Source: Sipaviciene, 1995:153, a).*

Migrants by Nationality 1990-2000 (numbers)
Table No. 2.6

	Total	Lithuanians	Russians	Belarussians	Ukrainians	Poles	Jews	Other
Immigration								
1990	14,744	3,407	6,294	1,102	2,034	1,504	135	268
1991	11,828	2,998	5,121	761	1,190	849	110	799
1992	6,640	2,266	2,667	437	525	357	39	349
1993	2,850	1,184	992	152	146	185	16	175
1994	1,664	551	593	128	101	98	17	176
1995	2,020	543	829	150	127	91	32	248
1996	3,025	1,009	1,079	154	238	144	19	382
1997	2,536	885	876	143	165	124	28	315
1998	2,706	862	910	186	186	131	22	409
1999	2,673	805	885	136	185	113	10	539
2000	1,510	666	326	30	74	69	7	338
Emmigration								
1990	23,592	1,887	12,273	1,859	2,727	1,019	2,683	1,144
1991	20,703	1,725	10,409	2,304	2,237	1,664	1,210	1,154
1992	28,855	1,726	16,380	3,528	3,862	1,230	676	1,453
1993	15,990	723	9,423	1,668	2,403	476	414	883
1994	4,246	329	2,145	358	373	183	334	524
1995	3,773	350	1,942	246	293	124	274	544
1996	3,940	328	1,790	268	414	105	272	763
1997	2,457	299	1,099	177	153	111	234	384
1998	2,130	295	827	196	126	100	109	477
1999	1,369	231	470	118	71	53	106	320
2000	2,616	795	787	185	122	112	131	484

Source: Population of Lithuania 1990-2000. LFSI. Demografiniu Tyrimu Centras. Vilnius, 2002. p. 92.

Main Nationalities in the Flows of Immigration and Emigration, 1990-2000 (per cent)
Table No. 2.7

	Lithuanians	Russians	Ukrainians	Belarussians	Poles	Jews	Other
Immigration							
1990	23.1	42.7	13.8	7.5	10.2	0.9	1.8
1991	25.3	43.3	10.1	6.4	7.2	0.9	6.8
1992	34.1	40.2	7.9	6.6	5.4	0.6	5.3
1993	41.5	34.8	5.1	5.3	6.5	0.6	6.1
1994	33.1	35.6	6.1	7.7	5.9	1.0	10.6
1995	26.9	41.0	6.3	7.4	4.5	1.6	12.3
1996	33.4	35.7	7.9	5.1	4.8	0.6	12.7
1997	34.9	34.5	6.5	5.6	4.9	1.1	12.4
1998	31.9	33.6	6.9	6.9	4.9	0.8	15.1
1999	30.1	33.1	6.9	5.1	4.2	0.4	20.2
2000	44.1	21.6	4.9	2.0	4.6	0.5	22.4
Emmigration							
1990	8.0	52.0	11.6	7.9	4.3	11.4	4.9
1991	8.3	50.3	10.8	11.1	8.0	5.9	5.6
1992	6.0	56.8	13.4	12.2	4.3	2.3	5.0
1993	4.5	58.9	15.0	10.4	3.0	2.6	5.5
1994	7.7	50.5	8.8	8.4	4.3	7.9	12.3
1995	9.3	51.5	7.8	6.5	3.3	7.3	14.4
1996	8.3	45.4	10.5	6.8	2.7	6.9	19.4
1997	12.2	44.7	6.2	7.2	4.5	9.5	15.6
1998	13.8	38.8	5.9	9.2	4.7	5.1	22.4
1999	16.9	34.3	5.2	8.6	3.9	7.7	23.4
2000	30.4	30.1	4.7	7.1	4.3	5.0	18.5

Source: Population of Lithuania 1990-2000. LFSI. Demografiniu tyrimu centras. Vilnius, 2002. p. 79.

2.4 Ethnic Cleavages in Regions and Towns

Due to historic and other causes, the majority of Lithuanian residents belonging to national and linguistic minorities live close together in certain areas. The Russian minority is mostly distributed in urban areas, cities of Vilnius, Klaipeda and Visaginas (the town where the nuclear power plant is situated). In the eastern and south-eastern part of Lithuania, the Polish community is concentrated, i.e. the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region, Salcininkai region (*See Tables No. 2.8, 2.9*).

*Population by Ethnicity in 2001 (number)**
Table No. 2.8

	Vilnius city	Vilnius region	Kaunas city	Visaginas city	Salcininkai region
Lithuanians	318,510	19,855	352,051	4,419	4,086
Poles	104,446	54,322	1,600	2,541	31,223
Russians	77,698	7,430	16,622	15,491	1,948
Belorussians	22,555	3,869	1,142	2,862	1,139
Ukrainians	7,159	619	1,906	1,583	253
Other	8,042	726	2,255	924	235
Not indicated	15,494	1765	3,367	1734	398
Total	553,904	88,586	378,943	29,554	39,282

*Population by Ethnicity in 2001 (per cent)**
Table No. 2.9

	Vilnius city	Vilnius region	Kaunas city	Visaginas city	Salcininkai region
Lithuanians	57.8	22.4	92.9	15.0	10.4
Poles	18.7	61.3	0.4	8.6	79.5
Russians	14	8.4	4.4	52.4	5
Belorussians	4.0	4.4	0.3	9.7	2.9
Ukrainians	1.3	0.7	0.5	5.3	0.6
Other	1.4	0.8	0.6	3.1	0.6
Not indicated	2.8	2	0.9	5.9	1.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

**Population by Sex, Age, Ethnicity and Religion. Statistics Lithuania, Vilnius 2002*

Four administrative units have been selected for the purposes of the analysis of political and civic participation. The selection is primarily based on ethnic composition and structure of these cities and regions. Vilnius is the capital city of Lithuania and has been exclusively multiethnic in its nature for several centuries. During all changes in the State's dependency, cultures and languages (from the Lithuania's capital city founded in the 14th century, to one of the capital cities of the Lithuanian-Polish State Zhechpospolita, later a center of the North Western region occupied by the Russian Empire, then in the 1930s occupied by Poland; during the interwar period Vilnius was famous for its Jewish community and gained a name of the Lithuanian Jerusalem), Vilnius has remained a multicultural and multilingual city, which has had a significant influence on its ethnic composition and structure. According to data of the 2001 Census, Lithuanians comprise 57.8%, Poles 18.7%, Russians 14% of Vilnius' population.

The portion of Lithuanians in the Vilnius region, which is a rural area, is even lower and accounts only for 22.4% of the population. Kaunas (the second biggest city of Lithuania) is mono-ethnic in its nature and the majority of its population is Lithuanian, accounting for 92.9% of population. Salcininkai and its region are dominated by Polish population. In Salcininkai, 89.5% of population is non-Lithuanian. A distinct feature of this region is the fact that it is a rural area. Both in Vilnius region and Salcininkai region education attainments are the lowest among the discussed areas. (*See Table No. 5, 6 in Annex; also some of the socio-economic indexes of these regions are presented in the Annex.)*

The town of Visaginas was built after the decision of the government of the former Soviet Union in 1970s as a town for the employees of the nuclear power. People from distant corners of the Soviet Union came here both to the site of construction of the plant and all the infrastructure of the town (houses, shops, schools, kindergartens, etc.) and as nuclear power specialists to work at the pant. This determined a multi-ethnic structure of the population. Visaginas in its turn is predominantly dominated by Russians and other minority groups' population, non-Lithuanians account here for 85% (*See Table No. 2.8*). The nuclear power plant has been operating since 1983, although following the regulations of the EU, the reactors of it should be stopped in the nearest future, starting in 2005. In short, the employees of the plant account for over 38 per cent of the whole employment in the town. The other distinct feature of the town is that due to the specialists working at the plant, over 40 per cent of the population have the higher education, this rate is the highest all over the Lithuania.

There is no doubt that the capital city is the centre of attraction in several aspects. First of all, young people move to Vilnius for their studies and make efforts to get jobs here. As Vilnius attracts foreign and national investments, it becomes attractive for employable people. It becomes the most intensively developing city of the Republic of Lithuania.

In terms of dominant religious confessions of these regions, the most Roman Catholic regions are the Polish ones: the Vilnius region and Salcininkai (here Roman Catholics account for 86.4% and 91.6% of the population respectively). The highest number of non-religious peoples is characteristic to Visaginas city and accounts for ¼ of population. In this city Orthodox believers (37.2%) and Roman Catholics (25.6%) prevail. Vilnius has about two thirds of Roman Catholics and about 10 percent of Orthodox believers and nearly 13 percent of the population is non-religious (*See Table No. 2.10*). In the latest census, even 93% of Poles, 85% Lithuanians and 47% Belorussians, 13% of Ukrainians ascribed themselves to Roman Catholics, whereas 52 % of Ukrainians, 46% Russians and 32% Belorussians to the community of Orthodox believers. 11% of Russians ascribed themselves to the Old-believers. Representatives of different ethnicities ascribed themselves to other religious communities, however, they account for a small part.

*Population by Religious Confession in 2001 (per cent)**
Table No. 2.10

	Roman Catholics	Orthodox Believers	Old Believers	Evangelical Lutherans	Other	None	Not indicated
Vilnius city	66.2	9.8	1.2	0.2	1.1	12.9	8.6
Vilnius region	86.4	5.9	1	0.1	0.8	4.0	1.9
Kaunas city	76.7	2.5	0.6	0.3	0.8	8.9	10.3
Visaginas city	25.6	37.2	2.6	0.3	1.2	25.1	8.1
Salcininkai region	91.6	3.9	0.3	0.02	0.3	1.6	2.3

**Population by Sex, Age, Ethnicity and Religion. Statistics Lithuania, Vilnius 2002*

Being different in ethnic composition and nature, these four cities and regions could provide reasonable information and data for the general interpretations on the whole country.

2.5 Socio-Economic, Social and Cultural Cleavages: Ethnic Relations, Trends in Education and Employment

2.5.1 Social Relations: Social Adaptation of Ethnic Groups

With reference to cleavages in the socio-economic areas of society among different ethnic groups in Lithuania, it is important to note that although they are not sharp, social research indicates that social differences among ethnic groups do exist. These issues could be further elaborated while focusing on data of the following topics: social relations among the majority and minorities, educational attainments, trends in employment and unemployment of ethnic groups. However, all these issues will be based on different resources and data, including Census 2001, statistical data and social research.

A discussion on ethnic relations could be grounded on a distinction between primary and secondary relations. The primary relations are related to the sphere of private life of a person (family, friends, etc.) and secondary relations to the social aspects of one's life (membership in professional bodies, civic organisations, etc.), the latter being more occasional or impartial than the first ones.

In 2000–2001, a survey *Context and Process of Adaptation of the Ethnic Groups in Lithuania*[1] was carried out concerning different ethnic groups of Lithuania (Lithuanians, Russians, Poles, Jews, Tatars and other) and their strategies of adaptation to new social conditions. The research data indicate that an absolute majority of non-Lithuanians have primary relations with Lithuanians (Kasatkina, Leoncikas, 2003). Nearly one third of non-Lithuanians have Lithuanians among their relatives, with whom they are on good terms (*See Tables No. 10, 11 in Annex*). This should lead to a premise that this factor makes adaptation or at least identification with Lithuanian society easier. There are no differences between Poles and Russians, although they are differently represented in the public sphere, e.g. in the mass media marriages between Lithuanians and Russians are more frequently discussed than those between Lithuanians and Poles. The media focuses on Russian identities by covering successful stories of business and private life or emphasising the status of being somebody's wife (husband) much more that on the Polish identity, i.e. the Russian identity is more noticeable and recognisable than the Polish one.

Also, one third of non-Lithuanians have Lithuanians among their personal friends. Beside, a small but a significant segment, which has limited relations with the ethnic majority, could be identified. Nearly a quarter of Russians and one fifth of Poles do not have relatives of other ethnicities or do not meet them; among Tatars this part comprises 16 percent, among Jews – 18 percent. Also, 21 percent of Jews, 17 percent of Tatars and 17 percent of Russians and Poles do not have personal friends among Lithuanians (*See Tables No. 10, 11 in Annex*).

While analysing the sphere of secondary relations, the business relations could be a case for an illustration. The data of the same research have revealed that nearly half of Russian and Polish respondents (44–45%) work in ethnically homogeneous environment, among Jews this accounts for 30%, Tartars – 23% (in most cases with the same ethnicity). The impact of ethnic relations in business relations is universally suppressed, though presumably significant. (*See Table No. 12, 13 in Annex*). Although all conditions are favourable for structural assimilation in Lithuania (avoiding ethnic division or dissociation on the level of secondary relations), on certain levels, social spheres and ethnic segments do overlap.

[1] A short description of the research can be found in the Annex, page 2.

The research was based on a premise that although there are some restrictions and constraints (both subjective and objective, e.g. regulations on knowledge of the State language), the private sector could be appropriate for employment, self-realisation and finding one's social position. Results of social research indicate that a mono-ethnic model is characteristic to small scale, small size enterprises in Lithuania.

Mono-ethnic environments at the place of work are mostly found in areas where population of respective ethnicity is concentrated: Russians and Tartars in Vilnius and Visaginas; Poles in Salcininkai and Jews in Vilnius and Klaipeda (*See Table No. 13 in Annex*). Communication and relations with Lithuanians in business is closely related to the status in the case of Jews and Russians, i.e. the higher the status, the more relations with Lithuanians respondents maintain (*See Tables No. 12, 13 in Annex*). This also suggests that groups with a higher social status include higher proportions of Lithuanians. As far as Russians are concerned, education plays an important role. It is important to note that, according to the research data, in business and professional environment open and ethnically diverse relations prevail.

The majority of mono-ethnic work relations are observed in small businesses, such as shops, barber's shops, repair shops, garages, taxi companies, etc. In most cases these enterprises are organised on the basis of family or primary relations. On the whole, the norm of declaring ethically diverse relations is quite strong and common.

Besides, the same research on the adaptation of ethnic groups in Lithuania has analyzed data on income and changes of the social status. The data of the survey show that there are no statistically significant differences in income levels among ethnic groups. However, when comparing self-assessment of changes in the social status among different ethnic groups, a conclusion could be made that non-Lithuanians tend to assess their social status as getting worse than that of Lithuanians (*See Tables No. 7, 8, 9 and Diagram No. 5 in Annex*). This leads to a conclusion that self-assessment is not related to the level of income, but rather to social or symbolic cleavages in the social structure.

The results of the aforementioned research enable us to identify a certain tendency of exclusion/ ethnic closure in terms of limited primary and secondary relations, however, the reasons for this could be entirely different and should be dealt separately (specific individual attitudes, social mobility limited by environment, etc.). Also, it suggests that the tendency towards ethnic closure exists as one of the forms of adaptation of non-Lithuanians in Lithuania. These data should not be interpreted as an expression of organised separatism. Limited contacts represent the actual network of personal social relations, but not the assessment thereof. On the level of professional (business) relations, all respondents tend to deny premises of mono-ethnic relations; however in reality it is quite common that primary relations are transformed into secondary relations. Therefore, it should be emphasised that the tendency observed in professional relations regarding ethnic closure is not dominant as open and ethnically diverse relations prevail.

It is important to note that no research has ever been carried out and no data is available on the ethnic structure in the private sector. On the other hand, research of this issue would be quite complicated, labour-intensive and would violate human rights in a certain sense. However, there are several examples of success stories in business of people of other ethnicity (Russian, in most cases), whose life and "phenomenon" are widely covered in the mass media. With reference to the public opinion, on the level of everyday life consciousness, there is a feeling of prejudice by representatives of other ethnic origin (nationality. For example, one of the banks operating in Lithuania, bank *Snoras*, is usually associated with Russian capital due to its Russian and Russian

speaking owners, shareholders and significant part of staff. The managing structure of the bank also includes persons of non-Lithuanian origin.

Of course, relations with representatives of different ethnic groups and management of enterprises are different issues and do not represent an internal structure of an enterprise, although several tendencies can be observed and some conclusions could be made. To get the picture of the private sector in Lithuania, the data provided in the publication *Business Leaders* issued by the daily *Verslo Zinios* (*Business News)* was reviewed and analysed. This daily focuses on issues of economics and business, prepares special supplements on specific fields and branches of economics. Also, data on the market share, sales and other economic indexes is generalised and presented. In this case only the most successful cases are analysed and presented. For the purposes of this report, an analysis was made solely on the basis of the surnames of executives (general directors, general managers, presidents or chairpersons of boards) of the most successful enterprises, including public companies, private companies, personal enterprises, etc. It should be noted again that this criterion is not valid and is based on a certain presumption, but this primary analysis could lead to further analysis (*See Table 2.11 below and Diagram No. 13 in Annex).*

As mentioned earlier, these data represent only stories of successful activities in the private business, although some aspects are interesting and could be studied further.

Executives by Presumed (Implied) Ethnicity in the Biggest Companies by Sales and Services in 2002 (number)
Table No. 2.11

Lithuanians	Russians and Russian Speaking	Poles	Others	Foreigners	Total
348	18	8	9	17	400
87 %	5 %	2 %	2 %	4 %	100

Analysis of different spheres of activities has indicated general tendencies applicable nearly to all spheres. Out of the top 20 executives of enterprises, on the average 2 are non-Lithuanian, usually one foreigner or a local Russian or Pole. This applies to advertising, marketing, business consulting, constructing, sales, etc. Auditing services could be an exception, where out of 21 national biggest companies, 5 are run by non-Lithuanians (2 by Russians and 3 by Poles).

Also, these success stories do not tell anything about relatively successful companies and small enterprises that are not included in the list of the leaders.

For a deeper analysis of the ethnicity in the private sector, several interviews were carried out and some elaboration will be presented below.

> An owner of a very successful and famous private hotel, which is one of the first private hotels in Vilnius and also includes restaurants, bars and shops, refused the interview, although agreed on an informal conversation. Her unwillingness to give an official interview is also an indicator of certain sensitivity of the issues discussed. At the beginning of the conversation, the owner of the hotel denied that ethnicity could be a factor influencing recruitment of staff. During the conversation, when trying to describe the ethnic structure of the hotel staff, she mentioned that in her opinion non-Lithuanian employees comprised somewhat about 40 per cent of the total number. Also, she recognised that usually non-Lithuanian women work as chambermaids, cleaners or kitchen staff, i.e. in those spheres where direct contacts with clients are limited. She could hardly evaluate the ethnic structure of the bar and restaurant staff, guessing that Lithuanians dominate there, but the main requirement in this field (direct contacts with clients) is related to the command of foreign languages. As a separate case, she

> mentioned two staff managers with international qualifications and added that in this case ethnicity would not play any role. (An interview made on 11 April, 2003).

These considerations are closely related to assumptions provided by a professional psychologist of a career portal providing agency services to employers looking for staff and jobseekers. This online career portal is quite popular as provides with a possibility to save all information about a jobseeker anonymously. The majority of applicants are young people, graduating students and representatives of the most employable group, i.e. persons up to 35 years old.

> The professional psychologist interviewed has emphasised that her observations will be based on subjective impressions and practice rather than on statistical data or research. People of the non-Lithuanian origin who apply to this portal comprise a significant proportion of all applicants. However, in the words of the respondent, if there are 5 candidates to one position and one of them is Russian, the probability of the latter to be chosen is not equal to 1/5 and is lower. If there are 2 candidates, one Russian and one Lithuanian, probably the Lithuanian will be chosen. The same situation could be observed in case of Polish people. Some employers even ask not to offer Russian of Polish candidates to them, others (and this is the majority) behave under a kind of veiling, providing no specific explanation. The most vulnerable and sensitive positions in terms of social categories are those of management and leaders. The most valuable and successful candidate could be described as a young Lithuanian man, aged 27–35, in contrast to disadvantaged women, senior citizens or non-Lithuanians. Also, it could be mentioned that ethnicity has no special social loading in case of job positions that involve fewer direct contacts with clients, e.g. IT, technical and engineering specialists and related professions. Ethnicity plays its role in the case of direct relations, i.e. relationship with the external world. Consequently, this leads to a conclusion that the employer reflects generally prevailing attitudes, which could be defined as traditional, conservative and intolerant. The answer to a question regarding a Roma person as a jobseeker and his/her chances in the labour market was definitely negative. Once again this confirms the absolute exclusion of the Romany people in terms of education, labour market, social services and other spheres (An interview made on 25 April 2003).

On the other hand, these considerations confirm a tendency towards mono-ethnic structures dominating in the whole society. Also, this once again validates premises that special studies of the ethnic structure in the labour market and unemployment are necessary.

Besides, it is worth noting that data of the aforementioned research on adaptation of ethnic groups in Lithuania indicate that one fifth of respondents maintain that it is important to be a Lithuanian if one wants to get a good job. Moreover, those who mentioned that they have experienced violation of their rights as minority members, tend to indicate that this happened in the sphere of employment. This arouses concern about unequal chances for minorities during the process of adaptation.

Also, one of the main issues of data in the aforementioned study is a clear difference in the perception of how one's social status has changed. The majority of Lithuanians think that their personal situation has improved. Russians have an opposite opinion (*See Table No. 9 and Diagram No. 5 in Annex)*. This opinion among Russians is noticeable in all towns and leads to a conclusion that the social status and the issue of recognition rather than formal political rights is a barrier to the successful adaptation of Russians. While analyzing data of this research on personal and family income, it is possible to conclude that the differences are not very significant, although Russians have relatively lower income rates than other ethnic groups *(See Tables No. 7, 8 in Annex).* Of course, additional representative research could provide more reasonable results, as at present it is really complicated to maintain differences on incomes.

2.5.2 Educational Attainment

Education attainments of different ethnicities could be discussed as a separate issue. The data of the latest Census in 2001 indicate that the highest level of education is attained by representatives of the Jewish community. The second place is taken by the Armenians, the majority of whom have came to Lithuania after graduating from the universities in Moscow or other Soviet cities. Then go Ukrainians, Russians, Germans, Tatars, and Latvians. Lithuanians rank ninth-tenth by higher education in the country. The Polish community and especially the Roma community have the lowest rates of people with higher education. Some differences at the level of secondary education in certain ethnic groups, e.g. Jews, could be explained by the demographic characteristics of a certain group. In case of the Jewish community, people of elder generations prevail, therefore the rate of secondary education is lower in comparison with higher (*See Table No. 2.12 below and Diagram No. 3 in Annex*).

*Population by Educational Attainment and Some Ethnicities in 2001 (per 1,000 residents aged 10 years and older)**
Table No. 2.12

Ethnicity	Education					Not finished primary	Literate**	Illiterate***	Not indicated
	Higher	Higher non-university	Secondary	Basic	Primary				
Lithuanian	128	198	257	151	216	39	5	3	3
Pole	63	145	352	161	216	48	8	4	5
Russian	159	189	340	138	140	22	3	3	6
Belarussian	112	198	370	147	138	21	4	3	6
Ukrainian	203	241	342	117	79	8	1	1	7
Jew	385	171	249	85	86	7	2	3	11
German	155	170	256	170	200	34	6	3	6
Tatar	155	210	319	139	132	31	4	3	6
Latvian	134	200	291	164	174	23	7	4	3
Roma	41	18	223	149	310	184	39	31	4
Armenian	271	188	314	98	103	22	-	-	4

**Population by Education, Mother Tongue and Command of Other Languages. Statistics Lithuania, Vilnius 2002.*

The Census 2001 data have revealed that illiterate people are of different ethnicities. The Roma people had the highest rate of illiteracy: as many as 31 illiterate persons for every 1,000 of the Roma people aged 10 and over (*See Table No. 4 in Annex*). Among other ethnic groups, this index rates from 1.3 to 4.0. The largest number of illiterate persons was in the municipalities of Vilnius and Kaunas: 2 per 10,000 population aged 10 and over.

On the whole, urban areas have most literate populations. That could be said about the four analysed regions. Vilnius, Kaunas and Visaginas cities have the highest numbers of people with higher (23%, 21%, 16% respectively) and higher non-university degrees (20%, 18%, 21% respectively). In rural areas, including Vilnius region and Salcininkai, the portion of people with higher education stands at 8% and 6% of all population aged 10 and older (*See Tables No. 5, 6 in Annex*).

Comparing the age structure of the said cities and regions, Visaginas is the youngest one and only 8.7% of its population are of the retired age, while 72.4% are of the

** In the questionnaire of the Census 2001, literate persons are defined as able to read and write in any language, half-literate persons – able only to read or write their name.

*** Illiterate was marked for a person unable to read (with understanding) or write a simple sentence on topics of everyday-life.

working age. In other areas, the situation is slightly different and the population of working age accounts from 57% in Salcininkai to 65% in Vilnius. In its own turn, Salcininkai has the highest rate of people of retired age (21%), while in other mentioned areas this number is 17-19%. This is closely related to the average annual number of employed people, while in the perspective of the last decade, this number is increasing in Visaginas, Vilnius city, Vilnius region, and in Kaunas city, Salcininkai it is decreasing. In 2001, the unemployment rate was the highest in the Vilnius region (21.4%) and in Salcininkai (20.6%). In Visaginas it stood at 12.9%, in Kaunas 8.5% and in Vilnius 7.2% (*See Tables No. 1, 2, 3 in Annex*).

In the context of the policy on ethnic minorities, Lithuania recognises and supports efforts of its ethnic minorities in sustaining their language, religion, and development of peculiar identity by means of education. All largest groups of ethnic minorities are provided with favourable conditions to have secondary education in their native tongue. Newspapers are published in their native tongue, as well as plays and literature works are written in the languages of national minorities. To support this policy, special funds are being assigned.

According to the data of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Lithuania, in 2001-2002, there were 1,953 secondary schools with the instruction in Lithuanian. In the same year, there were 206 secondary schools with the instruction in the languages of ethnic minorities. These schools operated in eight cities and sixteen regions.

Out of these 206 schools, there are 61 schools with the instruction in Russian, 80 in Polish, 65 with several languages of instruction, e.g. Lithuanian & Russian, Lithuanian & Polish, Polish & Russian, Lithuanian & Polish & Russian, etc. Also, schools with the instruction in the languages of other minorities, Belorussian, Jewish and German, were established during this period.

Since 1990, the number of schools with the instruction in Russian and Polish has changed. In the period of twelve years, the number of schools with instruction in Russian has decreased from 85 in 1990-1991 to 68 in 2000-2001 and 61 2001-2002. Meanwhile, in the same period the number of the schools with the instruction in Polish has increased from 44 in 1990-1991 to 74 in 2000-2001 and 80 in 2001-2002 (*See Table No. 2.13 below*).

In order to learn and impose the mother tongue of ethnic groups that are small in numbers and do not live in compact areas, compulsory and optional are organised at public secondary schools. Also, up to now, 38 Sunday schools have been established at which students' mother tongue, history, religion and the subject of ethnic culture of the nation are taught. Sunday schools of Armenians, Belorussians, Greeks, Karaites, Latvians, Poles, Roma, Tatars, Ukrainians, Germans and Jews were opened in Lithuania. Besides, all over Lithuania, in 2002 there were 19 non-public schools of general education, few of them private educational institutions with the instruction in a minority language. Also, there are several schools that are not maintained by the state, providing education of a non-state standard, e.g. the schools of general education with the Russian language of instruction of Marina Mizigurskaja, the Jewish Secondary School Manachem Home in Vilnius (a religious one), private Jewish kindergartens, etc.

*Distribution of schools according language of instruction 1995-2002 (number, %)**
Table No. 2.13

Languages of instruction	*1995-1996*		1998-1999		1999-2000		2001-2002	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Lithuanian	2,038	89.4	2,066	90.1	2,054	90.1	1,953	90.5
Russian	89	3.9	76	3.3	70	3.1	61	2.8
Polish	55	2.4	71	3.1	73	3.2	80	3.7
Belarussian	1	0.0	1	0.0	1	0.0	1	0.0
Lithuanian & Russian, Lithuanian & Polish, Russian & Polish, Lithuanian & Russian & Polish, Lithuanian & English, Russian & Belorussian, etc.	97	4.3	81	3.5	82	3.6	64	3.0
Total	2,280	100	2,295	100	2,280	100	2,159	100

* Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Lithuania, 2001. Statistics Lithuania. Vilnius, 2001. Data on 2001-2002 provided by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Lithuania.*

The proportions of schoolchildren and students taught in Lithuanian and minority languages have changed. In 1990/1991 nearly 83% of pupils were instructed in Lithuanian and the rest in the languages of minorities. During the period of ten years, the number of schoolchildren taught in Lithuanian has been increasing and in 2001 it reached 89%. In 2002, one tenth of Lithuania's schoolchildren studied in the languages of ethnic minorities. (See *Table No. 2.14*).

*Distribution of students by language of instruction (at the beginning of the academic year; per cent)***
Table No. 2.14

General schools	Students, by Language of Instruction				
	Lithuanian	Russian	Polish	Belorussian	English
1990-1991	82.6	15.1	2.3	-	-
1993-1994	85.1	11.8	3.1	0.0	-
1995-1996	85.9	10.6	3.5	0.0	-
1997-1998	87.2	9.1	3.7	0.0	0.0
1999-2000	88.5	7.7	3.8	0.0	0.0
2000-2001	89.1	7.1	3.8	0.0	0.0
2001-2002	89.7	6.5	3.8	0.0	0.0

***Education 2001. Statistics Lithuania. Vilnius, 2002.*

The numbers of those who study in Lithuanian are higher on the level of higher education. For example, at vocational schools the portion of the students studying in minorities' languages has decreased from 11% to 7% in between 1991-2000. The situation has considerably changed at vocational colleges, where in 1991, 12% students studied in minority languages and in 2000 only 1%. At the moment, 99% of students study in the state language at vocational colleges. At universities, in ten years the number of students studying in Lithuanian has increased from 90% to 98% (See *Table No. 2.15*).

*Distribution of Higher Schools' Students by Language Of Study (at the beginning of the academic year; per cent)***
Table No. 2.15

Universities	Students, by Language of Study						
	Lithuanian	Russian	Polish	Belorussian	English	French	German
1990-1991	90.1	9.5	0.4	-	-	-	-
1992-1993	94.0	5.5	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	-
1994-1995	95.8	2.9	0.3	0.1	0.8	0.1	-
1996-1997	97.6	1.1	0.3	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.1
1998-1999	97.6	1.0	0.2	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.1
1999-2000	97.7	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.1

** Source*: Education. Statistics Lithuania. Vilnius, 2001.*

Among other reforms and transformations, significant changes in the educational system took place. There are both objective and subjective reasons for the above-discussed tendencies in changing numbers of schools and languages of instruction. Schools are reorganised because of the general decrease in numbers of children (and schoolchildren) all over Lithuania. In general, mostly the schools with the instruction in Russian have been reorganised. Some of them have been reorganised by merging them to other schools or moving out of their premises and providing these premises to overcrowded Polish or Lithuanian secondary schools. On the other hand, more students and their parents of the Russian origin (and the Russian speaking population) tend to choose attending schools where subjects are taught in Lithuanian as they believe that in such a way they will gain better knowledge of the State language, i.e. they will have better opportunities to enter universities in Lithuania, which will increase their chances of getting a better job later and achieving a higher status in society. On an official level, this is presented as successful integration of ethnic minorities into Lithuanian society, but representatives of ethnic groups are scared that schoolchildren will lose their ethnicity, cultural identity and therefore a new civic identity will be not created. Another important aspect is that problems of education, school reorganisation, etc. are much politicised and become an object of international disputes, e.g. between Lithuania and Poland or Lithuania and Russia.

In recent years, the number of Russian speaking pupils at schools with the instruction in Lithuanian has increased and this fact poses a certain challenge to such schools in respect of ethnic diversity, escaping exclusion or marginalisation, ensuring tolerance and a sense of inclusion, recognition of conditions for development of an individual ethnic identity. Social surveys carried out in schools identify and define these problems. Whereas, in both the public discourse and discourse of the specialists of education tend to identify the language of instruction with students' identity, defining schools as Lithuanian, Polish or Russian as if they were represented by only one ethnicity. Also, these factors can be interpreted as pressure for choosing an assimilation strategy.

2.5.3 Trends in Employment

Social surveys indicate that education correlates with employment and is definitely of major importance. The more educated person, the more likely that s/he will be employed, all other background characteristics being equal. The NORBALT survey conducted in 1994 in the three Baltic States focused on unemployment of Russians in the Baltic labour markets, stating that ethnicity has a considerable effect on the credibility that a person will be unemployed after controlling for other variables. The researchers concluded that the ethnic affiliation did not have a significant effect on the probability of being unemployed in Lithuania and the level of education was the most important explanatory factor and educational attainment rather than ethnic affiliation had a greater effect on employment figures. Even if a relationship between age and unemployment existed in Lithuania, but it was not statistically significant. The research suggested that Lithuanian unemployment rates were rather similar for Russians and ethnic Lithuanians (Aasland, 1998).

While analysing the data on unemployment of the Census 2001 and statistics on year 2002, it seems that situation has had changed. However, based only on the statistical data and not on a specific research, which could identify correlation of unemployment and ethnicity, it is quite difficult to conclude on the nature of the unemployment, but still some of the trends are noticeable (*See Tables No. 2.16, 2.17 below*).

*Economic Activity by Ethnicity (15 years and older) (population Census 2001)**
Table No. 2.16

	The whole population	Including							
		Employed		Unemployed		Non-active		Not indicated	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Total	2803988	1273820	46	308377	11	1189232	42	32559	1
Lithuanian	2308694	1056581	45	243705	11	986047	43	22361	1
Pole	196028	85284	44	26222	13	82613	42	1909	1
Russian	194702	82972	43	26527	14	82458	42	2745	1
Other	81588	36482	45	10422	13	33508	41	1176	1
Not indicated	22976	12501	54	1501	7	4606	20	4368	19

**Data provided by the Statistics Department of Lithuania under a request of the Institute for Social Research.*

Unemployment figures for 2002 indicate quite significant differences in the rates of unemployment among ethnic groups. Comparing the total rate of unemployment in 2002, which was 13.8 per cent, with the rate among three ethnic groups, the unemployment rate among Lithuanians is lower than the average and comprises over 12 per cent, while unemployment among Poles reaches almost 18 per cent and is the highest among Russians, over 20 per cent. The fact that Russians, who have higher educational attainments than other ethnic groups, at the same time have the highest unemployment rate also contradicts possible elaboration on correlation between the level of education and employment. Gender differences among ethnic groups are also quite eloquent. In general, women's unemployment is lower than men's, 12.9 and 14.6 per cent, respectively. As far as the rates of men's unemployment among ethnic groups are concerned, the lowest is among Lithuanians (almost 14 per cent), the highest among Russians – over 20 per cent. In this aspect Poles are in between these two extremes and their rate is up to 16 per cent. While comparing women's unemployment among ethnic groups, the rate of Polish and Russian women is the same – 19.9 per cent, although among Lithuanian women it is nearly 12 per cent. This could lead to a discussion on a special status of women in minority communities as being more active or more disposed to adapt to new demands of the market (*See Table No. 2.17 below.*)

*Employment by Ethnicity (%) (2002)***
Table No. 2.17

	Labour force activity rate 15-64 years	Employment rate 15-64 years	Unemployment rate
Total	**69.3**	**59.6**	**13.8**
Lithuanian	69.5	60.5	12.8
Russian	68.2	54.3	20.3
Pole	67.6	55.5	17.8
Other	70.1	57.6	17.4
Women			
Total	65.7	57.1	12.9
Lithuanian	66.2	58.4	11.6
Russian	63.5	50.8	19.9
Pole	62.4	49.9	19.9
Other	67.4	56.5	15.8
Men			
Total	73.2	62.3	14.6
Lithuanian	73.0	62.7	13.9
Russian	73.5	58.2	20.6
Pole	74.2	62.5	15.5
Other	72.9	58.7	19.1

**Source: Labour Force, Employment and Unemployment in Lithuania (research data). Statistics Lithuania, Vilnius, 2003.*

In general, it is possible to conclude that Russians, while being a relatively younger and educated community, are facing the most unfavourable situation in terms of employment. Unfortunately, up to now no recent survey has been carried out on the ethnic structure of unemployment, although it is possible to hypothesize that people of ethnic groups have a considerably higher probability of being unemployed than do people of the majority ethnicity. This could be relied on subjective notions expressed by representatives of ethnic groups. The question remains open whether relatively higher odds of representatives of ethnic groups of being unemployed can be explained by reference to gender, age, education or geographic characteristics in respect of urban and rural distribution.

*Employment by Professions and Ethnicity (15 years old and older) (population Census 2001)** Table No. 2.18*

	Total employed	Lithuanian	Pole	Russian	Other	Not indicated
Total	100	82	7	7	3	1
Legislators, senior officers (servants) and clerks	100	89	4	5	2	0
Specialists	100	88	4	6	2	0
Junior specialists and technicians	100	87	5	6	2	0
Junior officers (servants)	100	85	7	6	2	0
Employees of services and trade	100	82	8	7	3	0
Skilled workers at marketable agriculture and fishery	100	89	7	3	1	0
Skilled workers and craftsmen	100	78	9	9	4	0
Operators and assemblers of machines and mechanisms	100	81	9	7	3	0
Unskilled workers	100	79	10	7	4	0
Armed forces	100	86	6	5	2	1
Not indicated	100	74	5	9	4	8

***Data provided by the Statistics Department of Lithuania under a request of the Institute for Social Research.*

Recent data of the Census 2001 on profession groups and ethnicity provide with important information (*see Table No. 2.18*). The structure of employed citizens by different ethnic groups almost exactly corresponds to the ethnic composition of Lithuania, i.e. Lithuanians comprise 82 percent of all employed, Poles and Russians – 7 per cent each, others comprising 3 per cent of all employed. However, analysis of separate positions requires additional comments. In general, the data presented on employment by profession groups and ethnicity indicate that the higher the professional category, the higher rate of Lithuanians employed and vice versa, although in some spheres such differences cannot be identified. Lithuanians prevail among legislators, senior officials and clerks, as well as specialists, comprising 89 and 88 per cent in these two groups, respectively. Poles comprise 4 per cent in each of the said groups and Russians 5 and 6 per cent, respectively. Also, Lithuanians comprise up to 89 and Poles up to 7 per cent in the sphere of agriculture, as these two groups live in rural areas. Consequently, Russians, as representatives of urban population, account only for 3 per cent. Traditionally, during the Soviet period, non-Lithuanians were numerously employed in the sphere of services and trade, and at present, Poles and Russians in these sectors comprise 8 and 7 per cent, respectively. The greatest differences among ethnic groups could be observed on the lower levels of education, i.e. workers. Among skilled workers and craftsmen, Poles and Russians are represented in equal shares – 9 per cent each group, while Lithuanians account for 78 per cent. One tenth of unskilled workers comprises Poles, 7 per cent Russians and 79 per cent Lithuanians. Besides, primary premises were held that the army could be a relevant route for non-Lithuanians

and a successful strategy of adaptation and assimilation, however, statistical data do not confirm these premises as in the armed forces Lithuanians account for 86, Poles for 6 and Russians for 5 per cent. It is worth noting that although certain professional categories are similar among different ethnic groups, their educational attainments are different.

Comparisons of the same data among ethnic groups enable the analysis of a certain level of concentration of representatives of ethnic groups in different positions within the structure of the employed population. Nearly one tenth of Lithuanians (9%) work in the highest positions of legislators, senior officers and clerks, while among Poles and Russians this percentage comprises 5% and 7% respectively. While 16% of Lithuanians work as specialists and 10% as junior specialists, these percentages among Poles are 9% and 7% respectively and among Russians 14% and 8% respectively. Due to the geographic concentration of the Polish population in rural areas, 10% of Poles are employed in agriculture, whereas among Russians this number is half lower – 5%. Poles and Russians outnumber Lithuanians as skilled workers (18%, 19% and 13%, correspondingly) and as unskilled workers (11%, 8% and 7%, correspondingly). Less significant differences are observed in the sphere of services and trade. With regard to junior officers and armed forces, the numbers by professional categories do not differ among three ethnic groups (*See Table No. 2.19*).

*Employment by Professions and Ethnicity (15 years old and older), Comparison among Ethnic Groups (population Census 2001)***
Table No. 2.19

	Lithuanian	Pole	Russian	Other
Legislators, senior officers (servants) and clerks	9	5	7	7
Specialists	16	9	14	13
Junior specialists and technicians	10	7	8	8
Junior officers (servants)	5	5	4	4
Employees of services and trade	11	14	12	11
Skilled workers at marketable agriculture and fishery	11	10	5	4
Skilled workers and craftsmen	13	18	19	19
Operators and assemblers of machines and mechanisms	11	16	12	14
Unskilled workers	7	11	8	9
Armed forces	1	1	1	1
Not indicated	7	6	11	12
Total	100	100	100	100

***Data provided by the Statistics Department of Lithuania under a request of the Institute for Social Research.*

A few words could be said about the situation of employment of the Roma people. At the end of 2001, the *Institute of Labour and Social Research*[2] carried out a sociological survey of social conditions of the Roma who live in Vilnius (three settlements outside the city of Vilnius were covered). 151 respondents (each representing a separate household) were interviewed. The research dealt with the family structure, housing, employment, income, education, etc. At present, only a small part of Vilnius' Roma, 7%, indicated having a profession: 14% men and 2% women. The following professions were mentioned: woodworkers, welders, smiths, and tailors. It is complicated to indicate the exact number of employed Roma, but, the researchers maintain that 30-50% of the Roma men and 20-30% of the Roma women have some job as a source of income. The most popular work place is the market (about 25% of all employed). Almost 16% are involved in individual activities (most often trading, selling), nearly 9% work as hired

[2] *Sociological Research of Roma, Living in Vilnius City's Tabors*, Report of the Second Stage Survey. Institute for Labour and Social Research. Vilnius, 2001.

employees, 8% could not indicate their work place. According to the research data, the main source of living for the majority of Roma (over 60%) is comprised of occasional earnings. Also, more than half of the Roma people (53%) mainly survive on social benefits (as single mothers, families with many children, etc.) provided by the Municipality of the city. In short, the conclusions of the survey confirm the exclusion of the Roma from the societal spheres of activities and their very limited participation in the labour market.

Analysis of particular aspects of social environment, i.e. social relations, educational attainment and trends of employment, enables us to conclude on present social cleavages. Although there are differences among professional categories and specialization among ethnic groups, no relation (or correlation) between the level of education and unemployment can be proved. Despite democratic legislation, preconditions created and propagation of equal rights, correlation between ethnicity and social cleavages could be observed. Russians and Poles hold quite similar positions in the structure of employment and unemployment, although their attainments in education are quite different as Russians hold higher education but are more disadvantaged both in the labour market and in the structure of professional categories. Such situation of Russians has been influenced by the impact of the Soviet period, its developments and later perspectives of migration, as tendencies of emigration of Russians with higher qualifications were pertinent to the first years of the independent state.

It should be emphasized again that only specific representative research could confirm a correlation between ethnicity and the nature of social cleavages in terms of objective indicators and subjective perceptions.

3. Impact of the Soviet Period on Ethnic Structure: *Characteristics of Employment of Russians in Lithuania (to 1990)*

According of the data of the 1989 Census (the last census in the territory of the former Soviet Union), Russians comprised about 13% among the employed urban population of Lithuania and reached only 3% among rural population. Such a relatively low portion of employed Russians did not play a significant role in the economic and cultural life of the Republic. Moreover, like in other former Soviet Republics, Russians residing in Lithuania, mostly worked as specialists and qualified (skilled) workers of various branches of industry, first of all mechanical engineering and metal working, railway and water (water-carriage) transport, communications, etc. Many Russians were employed in the fields of electricity, power or radio electronics in huge enterprises located mainly in Vilnius and administered directly from Moscow (subordinate to the Soviet economy), or in military-industrial complexes. Nearly the whole staff of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant was comprised of the so-called Russian-speaking population. Russians and Russian-speaking population of Lithuania represented a significant part of employees at Klaipeda's port and watercraft (Ostapenko, 1997).

At the beginning of the 1990s, the number of Russians was smaller in other branches of economy, because of the relatively wide representation in the majority of professions by Lithuanians (and Polish to some extend). Lithuanians comprised the majority of employees in the following branches of economics: light industry and food processing, construction and transport, agriculture, where more than 20% of all employed population was Lithuanian and Russians comprised only 5%.

As far as education, health care, science, culture, art, jurisprudence and governance is concerned, in Lithuania the leading positions were taken by Lithuanians (a titular nation), however, in the majority of the former Soviet Republics Russians played and still continue to play a more or less significant role in these spheres.

An interesting phenomenon is the case of the Communist Party of Lithuania (LCP). Lithuanisation of the Communist Party is not only an outcome of ethnic composition, but also a successful expression of communist nationalism (along with successful governance).

Ethnic composition of the Baltic Communist Parties in 1989 (per cent)
Table No. 3.1

Members of the CP per 1,000 adult population	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania
	98	92	78
Representatives of titular nations in the CP (%)	50	40	71
Russians (%)	39	43	17
Others (%)	11	17	12

Krupavicius, A. The Post-Communist Transition and Institutionalisation of Lithuania's Parties. Political Studies (1998), XLVI, 465-491.

The crucial distinguishing feature of the LCP role was its ethnic composition. The LCP was a "Lithuanised" party in contrary to the "Russified" communist parties in Estonia and Latvia (*See Table No. 3.1*) The LCP was not only dominated by the native population, but the rate of membership to population was lower than in Estonia or Latvia. Institutions of the public sector during the Soviet period were mainly grounded and formed on the dependence and loyalty to the Communist Party. Top persons and executives had to be members of the Communist Party (with a few exceptions). Consequently, a hypothetical statement could be made that appointment of the posts was based on political rather than ethnic motives. As it has been already mentioned, in the case of Russians and other Russian-speaking population, the majority was concentrated in plants and

industrial enterprises, which was one of the determinant factors for lower involvement in the LCP and more favourable Lithuanisation of the LCP.

In the perspective of the Restoration of Lithuania's Independence, ethnicisation of the LCP has led to a relatively high degree of legitimacy of the party on the domestic political stage compared to the other Baltic States, where the communist parties were perceived mostly as external and alien institutions. Lithuania's reformist communists were supported by opposition forces from the very beginning, and they came to the top of the LCP easily in 1988. Furthermore, in 1989-1990 the LCP was able to transform itself into a representative parliamentary party, while all attempts to form more or less lasting ex-communist parties had failed in Estonia and Latvia.

At the end of the 1980s, per 10 000 employed urban population there were 56 Lithuanians and 47 Russians employed in governmental institutions; 103 Lithuanians and 63 Russians in literature and art; 121 Lithuanians and 65 Russians worked as scientists and scholars, etc. With respect to all groups of intelligentsia, excluding production (engineering), the Russians (in urban areas) were underrepresented if compared to the general number of the population of the Republic (Ruskije…, 1992).

It should be noted that at the beginning of the 1990s, the industrial composition of Lithuania's Russians could be described as "one-sided". It has had an influence on the peculiarities of adaptation of Russians to the new social-economic conditions of the State. Nearly 60% Russians were employed in industry and this fact exceeded the respective indexes in all other former Soviet republics, including Russia. Among the Russian intelligentsia of the Soviet Lithuania, the industrial personnel comprised 53%.

In terms of the numbers of scientists and scholars of Russian origin, Lithuania ranked one before the last among the other former Soviet republics, and in terms of artists and representatives of creative intelligentsia Lithuania ranked last (Ruskije…, 1992).

Although, namely because of the high number of Russians among the industrial intelligentsia, the social status of the Russian population (urban) was not lower than that of Lithuanians. Russians "outnumbered" Lithuanians in terms of proportions of population with higher or high education (at the end of the 1980s, among employed urban population, the aforementioned part of Russians comprised 23%, Lithuanians 19%, Polish 7%). According to the data of the Soviet Census of 1989, the proportions of persons employed in intellectual work were equal: 38% of Lithuanians and 42% of Russians and the proportions of intelligentsia (employees of intellectual work taking positions that required higher or special/vocational education 29,5% and 28%, respectively. Among unskilled or low-skilled workers, Lithuanians comprised 23% and Russians 19%.

Similar peculiarities of socio-professional composition of Russians and Lithuanians had been prevailing in Lithuania for many years and became typical to socialist society. Although insufficient participation (or representation, as the society was totalitarian) of Russians at governmental structures, and among representatives of humanities and creative intelligentsia raised some discontent by some part of the Russian population (actually, this discontent has never been expressed in societal petitions or declarations; these were private appeals to the central structures of the Communist Party or the government), the prevailing majority of the society did not treat the discussed distribution of professional spheres among Russians (and Russian-speaking population) and Lithuanians as discrimination of the ones or privilege of the other. On the contrary, because of a certain stable niche in the economic structure of socialist Lithuania, Russians treated their positions as considerably stable, which in part was expressed by a comparatively low level of emigration from Lithuania. A significant factor of this was

the fact that Russian (Russian speaking) residents who worked at large industrial enterprises in most cases were provided with good housing and material everyday life conditions, as well as salaries higher than paid to Lithuanians who were employed in the fields of education, science or health care, i.e. non-industrial spheres.

During the Soviet period, a strong process of Russification took place. As a component part of it, in the 1970s the Russian language was gradually introduced into all stages of the educational system, starting from primary schools, with compulsory weekly lessons of the Russian language, the number of which was increasingly growing in the higher grades, up to the level of Universities: doctoral thesis had to be published in Russian. Also, the Russian language was widely used in public, mass media, etc. This has had a huge negative impact and depreciated the cultural national spirit of the Lithuanian population.

The other characteristic of the Soviet Lithuania was that a significant part of Russians knew the Lithuanian language and that was related both to a relatively low number of the Russian population in Lithuania and to the necessity to raise their social status, enter universities of Lithuania, etc. under the conditions of the prevailing Lithuanian language. According to the data of the census in 1989, 41% of urban employed population of the Russian nationality could speak the language of the titular nation (knew the language of the titular nation) (in comparison, in Latvia this comprised 27%, in Estonia 17%) (Ostapenko, 1997). Obviously, knowing the Lithuanian language helped Russians in their professional activities, and later in adaptation to new conditions in sovereign Lithuania

4. Ethnic Cleavages and Inequalities in the Public Sector

4.1 Legal Framework for Protecting Minority Rights

Since the re-establishment of the independent state in 1990, the Republic of Lithuania has been pursuing the policy of promoting cultural identity of all the ethnic groups living in the country and respect for human and civic rights. The policy of Lithuania concerning ethnic groups (national minorities) is related to foreign policy based on the principles of national egalitarianism, co-operation and good relations with neighbouring countries. From the first days of the restoration of independence the establishment of a legal basis for the possible protection of national minorities was considered very important. The main guidelines for the proceedings in that dimension are laid down in the Helsinki Final Act, and the Lithuanian Government has accepted them fully. Individuals belonging to national minorities are guaranteed legal equality and the possibility to enjoy all human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The legal documents discussed in this section present the official point of view of Lithuanian institutions on the rights and opportunities of ethnic minorities.

The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania
The Preamble and Chapters II, III, IV, XIII of the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania which was adopted in 1992 enshrines the rights of Lithuania's national minorities. The Preamble states that Lithuania has been fostering harmony for national minorities for ages. In accordance with the Constitution, freedom to express one's convictions or impart information shall be incompatible with criminal actions – the instigation of national, racial, religious or social hatred, violence or discrimination, the dissemination of slander or misinformation (Article 25). Article 29 of the Constitution prohibits any discrimination or granting any privileges on the basis of ethnic background (nationality) along with discrimination based on race, sex, language, origin, social status, religion, convictions or opinion. According to Article 37, citizens who belong to ethnic communities shall have right to foster their language, culture and customs. Ethnic communities of citizens shall independently administer affairs of their ethnic culture, education, organisations, charity and mutual assistance (Article 45). The Constitution binds the State to support national minorities.

Other National Laws Related to the Issues of Ethnic Groups
The main laws regulating ethnic minorities' status in Lithuania are the following: the Law on Ethnic Minorities, the Law on the Official Language of the Republic of Lithuania, the Law on Education, the Law on Citizenship, the Law on Non-Governmental Organisations, the Law on Public Information, the Law on Religious Communities and the Law on Political Parties and Organisations. Also, the Law on Migration and the Legal Status of Aliens could be mentioned.

One of the important legal documents on the status of minorities is the Law on Ethnic Minorities of the Republic of Lithuania, which was enacted in 1989, i.e. even before the restoration of Independence. This law and subsequent amendments to it established a whole system of legal protection of the rights of national minorities and communities. During the period of twelve years it was amended three times. In 2001, a new draft of the Law on Ethnic Minorities was drafted and passed through the Parliament. The latter was prepared by the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad by the Government of Lithuania and the Co-ordination Council of 17 national minorities. The new draft states that a person can freely decide weather s/he wants to be treated as

a member of national minority[3]. This provision raises a question on the preconditions of such decision whether a person must be a non-Lithuanian. Also, it questions the legal presumption whether the state presumes that non-Lithuanians belong to an ethnic minority until declared otherwise. A clear answer is not provided. Besides the aforementioned provision, in general, the law provides for a full capacity of rights for citizens of Lithuania as well as for non-citizens, establishes the right of ethnic minorities to receive state aid for fostering their culture and education, right for the members of ethnic minorities to impart and exchange information in their own language, possibility to have information signs in the minorities' languages in the areas densely populated by ethnic minorities, etc. Also, minorities that constitute a high percentage of the population of a region, enjoy the right to speak and write in their own language when dealing with political, administrative and judicial authorities of the region (mostly it is related to the Polish minority).

Just recently, in 2002, a new work group was formed to prepare some amendments and finally approve the earlier prepared law. The final version of the law has not yet been passed by the Seimas (Lithuania's Parliament).

By the 1989 Law on Citizenship the Republic of Lithuania did not set any special prerequisites for acquiring citizenship (so called "zero-option"). Almost all permanent residents of the country who sought for Lithuania's citizenship could become Lithuania's citizens, irrespective of their nationality, duration of residence in the country, or knowledge of the state language. Consequently, from the very first days of the restoration of Independence all permanent residents (with the exception of restrictions provided for by the law) were granted the same and equal civil rights. The determination to receive the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania was expressed by the absolute majority of the country's residents, including more than 90% of all national minorities residing there. A more stringent Citizenship Law was introduced in 1991, according to which applicants for naturalisation must have lived for ten years in the country, and must be permanently employed (or have other legal source of income), and must pass an exam testing their knowledge of the Lithuanian language and provisions of the Constitution. Upon the Government approval in 1992, the State Language Instruction Programme, as well as qualification categories for knowledge of the state language, the status of the state language was enforced in practice. The Law on the State Language foresees three qualification categories for knowledge of the state language and they are applied to employees who hold or seek to occupy certain official posts. According to the data provided by the Department of the State Language of the Teacher Professional Development Centre, 90% of the applicants who take the Lithuanian language examination for the purposes of acquiring the citizenship have passed it successfully.

At the end of 2002, a draft Law on the Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania was prepared and passed in the parliament of Lithuania. It even gave rise to some international resonance due to its discriminatory provisions in making distinction on ethnic origin. This Law provides for a distinction between "Lithuanians" and "non-Lithuanians", i.e. distinction on the basis of Lithuanian descent. Comparing the latter draft with its earlier version, the latter distinguishes between two types of citizens. According to the authors of this Law, this provision is related to Lithuanians living abroad while providing them with an opportunity to retain their Lithuanian citizenship. The Lithuanian Jewish community and Polish organisations of Lithuania expressed a public

[3] This provision will probably have an impact on the existing practice of having a mandatory registration of ethnic origin in passports. At the beginning of the Independence, policy of declaration of nationality was dominant and expressed by mandatory registration of ethnic origin. This mandatory regulation has been annulled recently, but the concepts of citizenship and nationality have not become yet closer, especially in the level of social consciousness.

resentment concerning this Law. *Article 17, Retention of the Right to Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania states* that the following persons shall retain the right to citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania for an indefinite period: 1) persons who held citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania prior to 15 June 1940, their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren (provided that the said persons, their children, grandchildren or great-grandchildren did not repatriate), who are residing in other states; 2) persons of Lithuanian descent who are residing in other states. Legally one theoretic group, which could not retain the citizenship, is comprised of those who came to Lithuania during the Soviet period and admitted the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania in the 1990s. For example, Russians or other Lithuania's citizens of non-Lithuanian origin are leaving for Russia or any European State and disclaiming the Lithuanian citizenship in favour of the citizenship of the Russian Federation or of that European State (as double citizenship is not provided for by the law) shall not retain the right to the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania. Afterwards, some editorial amendments were made, but the aforementioned provisions on Lithuanian descent remained in the text of the law.

Emergence of this Law on Citizenship and associated considerations once again confirm that issues of ethnicity and nationality are of a special sensitiveness, although they are not widely discussed and considered in public.

The Penal Code provides for a sentence of from 2 to 10 years' imprisonment for the incitement of racial or national hatred or incitement of violence against foreigners. This provision of the Penal Code is used to discourage racial or national hatred. The State Security Department initiated several investigations into reports of acts of tending to initiate racial or national hatred but closed them either because the suspects apologised or because cases would have been difficult to prove in court. However, in its report on minority rights in 10 EU candidate countries, the Open Society Institute stated that the country did not have a comprehensive anti-discrimination law that expressly prohibits discrimination in specific areas of public activity[4].

International Covenants and Conventions
The Republic of Lithuania has signed and ratified various international covenants and conventions: the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, UN International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights. In 1992 the Republic of Lithuania signed the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities of the United Nations. In enforcing the provision of the latter instrument, Lithuania is also guided by the recommendations of the Vienna Declaration by the World Conference of Human Rights. In 1995, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms was ratified. Also, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities was ratified the same year. On 23 December 1997, the Seimas adopted the Law on Petitions under Articles 25 and 46 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. By this law, the Republic of Lithuania recognised the competence of the European Commission on Human Rights to accept petitions from individuals, non-governmental organisations and groups of persons claiming that their rights under the Convention have been violated; Lithuania also recognised the jurisdiction of the Court of Human Rights in all cases related to the interpretation and application of the Convention.

Among other international documents, Lithuania has ratified bilateral agreements with Russia, Belarussia, Poland and Ukraine on the protection of national minorities. The

[4] Country Reports on Human Rights and Practices – 2002, Lithuania. Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labour March 31, 2003; by the U.S. Department of the State. http://www.state.gov/g/rls/hrrpt/2002

effective examples of institutional co-operation are various bilateral councils between Poland and Lithuania on minorities' issues, i.e. the Parliamentary Assembly of Lithuania and Poland, the Committee of National Minorities of the Council, and the Advisory Committee of the Presidents of Lithuania and Poland. In 1997, the National Committee on National Minorities and Migration of Ukraine and the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad under the subordination of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania signed an agreement on co-operation in the affairs of national relations. In 1999, a similar agreement was signed with the National Committee on Religions and Nationalities of the Republic of Belorussia.

In general, as far as laws and legal mechanisms are concerned, the laws of the Republic of Lithuania ensure equal political, economic, and social rights and freedoms for all its citizens, irrespective of their nationality, as well as the right to be represented at all levels of institutions of state power on the basis and principals of general, equal and direct elections, the right to hold official posts, etc. The country's government has acceded to the key international standards for minority protection.

4.2 Electoral Rules

From the beginning of the Restoration of Lithuania's Independence, transition from a one-party communist state to a multi-party system has begun. Revival of parties and development of the multi-party system is one of the important factors of the post-communist democratization. Generally speaking, the most significant process in the post-communist democratization was the development of political parties and organisations and multi-party system. Political parties comprise an important part of an institutionalized democracy, they also provide citizens with opportunities for the expression of their views, opinions, demands, interests. These organisations, along with others, especially the NGO sector, can be intermediate channels in the framework of the civil society.

The Constitution provides citizens with the right to freely to unite themselves into communities, political parties and associations, to be represented on different levels of governmental and authority institutions and to change their government peacefully, and citizens exercise this right in practice through periodic, free, and fair elections held on the basis of universal suffrage. The first post-communist election law was passed by the Constituent Parliament in July 1992, and a mixed majoritarian-proportional electoral system was introduced in Lithuania. *The Law on the Seimas Elections* established that 71 members would be elected in single-mandate constituencies, and 70 seats of the parliament would be filled on a proportional basis, i.e. out of 141 seats in the Parliament, 71 are elected directly, and 70 are elected through proportional representation. All parties needed 4% of total votes to enter the Seimas, except for political organisations representing ethnic minorities. After the amendments to the Law in June of 1996, the threshold for a single party was increased to 5% and for an inter-party coalition to 7%. The special threshold of 2% for minority ethnic parties was abolished. These changes reflected a desire to tighten the circle of electoral competition around a small set of competitors. In all last elections only 5 political parties entered the Seimas through the proportional formula. The increased threshold for inter-party coalitions has almost eliminated opportunities of smaller parties to compete with their bigger competitors.

The *Law on Local Elections to the Municipal Councils*, passed by the Seimas in 1994, adopted proportional representation, with parties as the only entities able to nominate candidates. A 4% threshold was set for entry into local self-government bodies.

4.3 Political Parties and Organisations of Ethnic Minorities

At the end of 2002, the general list of political parties and organisations of the Republic of Lithuania included 37 bodies. The first political parties and organisations were founded in 1990, in 1992 more than 30 political associations and parties were registered at the Ministry of Justice, the last political party was registered in September 2002. Among the present 37 political organisations, 5 are bodies of ethnic minorities. The Polish minority was the first to form a mobilised organisation of ethnic groups and in 1992 the Polish Union was registered (in the Seimas of 1990, it had 8 representatives, in 1992 4 representatives, that reduced to 2 in 2000). In 1994, it was been transformed to the Polish Election Action that took part in the elections of 1996 and had 2 representatives in the Seimas. In the Seimas of 2000, it has also 2 representatives. In 2002, a new Polish political party was registered, the Lithuania's Polish People Party, and it was successful only in the municipal elections.

In 1996, the Union of Lithuanian Citizens was registered, later it was transformed into the Alliance of National Minorities, the candidates of which participated in the elections but the party had no representatives in the Seimas. This body perhaps was the most multi-ethnic, as it included representatives of Jewish, Russian, Polish and other origin. Mainly it united businessmen of the establishing private sector of non-Lithuanian origin, and represented the interests of business. Later on some of these business got bankrupt, some of them developed into broader structures or emigrated and in fact the organisation lost its connecting axis. In addition to the aforementioned political organisations, the Union of Lithuanian Russians was registered in 1995, but it did not have any representatives in the Seimas until 2000. In 2002, a new Political Party Russian Alliance Union was registered in Klaipeda and took part in the municipal elections. The membership of the ethnic minorities' parties rates from 500 to 1,000. (*See Table No. 4.1 below*).

Political Parties of Ethnic Minorities (1989–2002)
Table No. 4.1

Political party	Established on	Registered on	Earlier established as	Membership	Chairperson	Representation in the Seimas			
						1990	1992	1996	2000
The Polish Election Action	28 Aug 1994	21 Oct 1994 / 10 Aug 1992	The Polish Union 05 May 1989 registered on 10 Aug 1992	1,000	Valdemar Tomashevski	8	4	2	2
The Union of Lithuanian Russians	28 Oct 1995	28 Dec 1995	-	500	Sergejus Dmitrejevas	–	–	–	3
The Alliance of Lithuanian Citizens	29 Jul 1996	06 Feb 1997	29 Jul 1996 The Alliance of National Minorities	800	Viacheslav Shkil	–	–	–	–
The Polish People's Party	*	23 Sep 2002	-	*	Antonina Poltavec	–	–	–	–
The Political Party Russian Alliance	*	16 Oct 2002	-	*	Tamara Lochankina	–	–	–	–

** No data available*
Source: data on 1990-1996 from Lietuvos Politines Partijos ir Partine Sistema. VU TSPMI Studiju saltiniai'6. – Kaunas: Naujasis lankas, 1997, p. 1090. Data on 2000 from www.vrk.lt; www.is.lt/tmid

The main characteristic of the political parties of ethnic minorities is that they are mainly regional (i.e., represent the areas densely inhabited by representatives of national minorities) or marginal. For example, the Polish Election Action mainly represents regional interests and its activities are the most notable in the regions. Also, it has stable

voters in the regions (Salcininkai and Vilnius). On the other hand, the Union of Lithuanian Russians could be defined as a marginal political party that bears no distinct ideology and could not be characterised as socially effective or representative. The latter is accompanied more by an accidental success either in regions or by formation of a successful coalition with other political parties. During the last parliamentary elections in 2000 or municipal elections in 2002, coalitions of "traditional" parties (based on ideological background) with parties of national minorities were formed and they were successful: the Union of Lithuanian Russians formed a coalition with the Lithuanian Socialdemocratic Party.

When discussing the formation of political parties in respect of Lithuania's ethnic structure, it is worth noticing that a mono-ethnic model was followed by all parties established at the beginning of the independent Lithuania. Special elaboration could be made on the present Socialdemocratic Party that has had particular characteristics. As it was transformed from the former Soviet Communist party into the Democratic Labour Party (later on, its name was changed into the Party of Socialdemocrats), historically, through the network of the Soviet Communist Party, it had relations with representatives of ethnic groups, therefore, minorities tended to participate in it, or at least they were involved in the general network of the party.

It is important to note that the formation of ethnic minorities' parties took place in a specific context, in which political organisations of Lithuanians were dominant in the period of the national rebirth and restoration of the independent state. The overall focus on national Lithuanian values in the country, radical (sometimes dramatic) changes in identities from that of a Soviet citizen (loosing the status of "the elder brother" in case of Russians and Russian-speaking populations) to a Lithuanian citizen, hardly understandable independence of the state, on the other hand, certain exclusion from the public sphere of communication, poor political and civic encouragement of ethnic groups to participate in the field of politics, and other reasons have determined a relatively weaker political self-organisation and mobilisation of minority groups than of Lithuanians. However, strong identification with the territory and the state was demonstrated by the members of the ethnic groups by the acceptance of the Lithuanian citizenship in the 1990s. As mentioned before, political parties of national minorities were established and participated in political processes of the democratic state a little bit later, but the Polish community and its organisations have become objects of political manipulations from the very beginning. On a theoretical level, in order to achieve effective political participation and representation, they had several options: establishing political organisations of ethnic minorities, following the ethnic boundaries or entrance and co-operation with the existing political parties. The first perspective was chosen at the beginning of the independent state.

4.4 Ethnic Structure of the Seimas and Turnout in Elections

On the one hand, the Seimas of the Independent State of Lithuania since 1990 (including the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania in 1990-1992) has always had representatives of national minorities, although the proportion of them is nearly two times lower than the ethnic composition of the State. On the other hand, it is possible to claim, that between 1990 and 2000 Seimas elections, opportunities for the representatives of national minorities to be elected and receive a seat have decreased. If in the Seimas of 1990, representatives of national minorities accounted for 13.5%, having 19 seats, in the Seimas of 2000-2004 they only account for 9.9% (14 members) (*See Table No. 4.2*). In 1992, as well as in 1996 Lithuania's Parliament was becoming more and more homogeneous by nationality – in every new parliament there are less representatives of national minorities. The number of parliamentarians of the Polish

nationality most significantly decreased in 1996, and of the Russian nationality in 1992. The number of Lithuanians slightly increased in 1992, compared to 1990, and remained similar in 1996. In 2000, the number of representatives of national minorities increased twice as compared to 1996.

*Legislative Institutes of Lithuania and their Ethnic Composition (1920-2000)**
Table No. 4.2

The Seimas	Number of representatives	Number of representatives of national minorities	Date of elections
The Consitutive Seimas	112	11	14-15 Mar 1920
The 1st Seimas	78	8	10-11 Oct 1922
The 2nd Seimas	78	14	12-13 May 1923
The 3rd Seimas	85	8	9-10 Jun 1926
The 4th Seimas	49	-	9-10 Jun 1936
People's Seimas	79	11	14-15 Jul 1940
The Supreme Soviet of the 2nd call	180	No data	09 Feb 1947
The Supreme Soviet of the 3rd call	205	No data	18 Feb 1951
The Supreme Soviet of the 4th call	209	53	27 Feb 1955
The Supreme Soviet of the 5th call	209	33	15 Mar 1959
The Supreme Soviet of the 6th call	290	Representatives of 7 nationalities	17 Mar 1963
The Supreme Soviet of the 7th call	290	Representatives of 8 nationalities	19 Mar 1967
The Supreme Soviet of the 8th call	300	58 representatives of 6 nationalities	13 Jun 1971
The Supreme Soviet of the 9th call	320	63 representatives of 8 nationalities	15 Jun 1974
The Supreme Soviet of the 10th call	350	75 representatives of 9 nationalities	24 Feb 1980
The Supreme Soviet of the 11th call	350	75 representatives of 6 nationalities	24 Feb 1985
The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania	141	19	24 Feb 1990
The Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania	141	10	25 Oct 1992
The Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania	141	6	20 Oct 1996
The Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania	141	14	08 Oct 2000

**According to: Krupavicius:2000.*

The data provided in the table above indicate that the minorities were quite widely represented in the interwar democratically elected Seimas of Lithuania. When analysing the ethnic composition of the members of the pre-war Seimas, the Supreme Council of the Soviet period and present Seimas, a relative (gradual) decrease of the representation of the national minorities in the Lithuanian Parliament could be observed.

During the Soviet period, representation of the minorities was based on a certain "quota system" that was grounded on a mechanical reflection of demographic composition of population in institutions of authority. The one-party regime was thus considered as a cure for the illness of ethnicity. For more than 40 years, such a situation created an illusion of participation among some of the minority groups. Democratic and competitive elections in 1990 have destroyed the communist quota system in representing ethnic minorities.

*Ethnic Composition of the Seimas (numbers)**
Table No. 4.3

	1990-1992	1992-1996	1996-2000	2000-2004
Lithuanians	123	131	127	127
Poles	8	6	3	6
Russians	9	3	2	8
Jews	1	1	1	-
Belorussian	1	-	-	-

* http://www.is.lt/tmid/anglo/minorities.htm; www.vrk.lt

In the first official election to the Seimas in 1992, the number of candidates of national minorities was lower. Besides the changing institutional structure of the State, such processes as migration, repatriation or retirement from the active participation in politics could be mentioned. In 1992, when the left-wing parties came to power, the majority of

the representatives of national minorities were elected through the lists of the Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party and Lithuanian Social Democratic Party. In 1996, when the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives) got the majority votes in the Seimas, the number of the representatives of the minorities decreased in the Seimas. In 2000, the turnout was slightly higher (in 2000 58.63%; in 1996 53%) and more coalitions, new political powers were competing in the political arena, this Seimas has the largest number of MPs elected for the first time (12), including representatives of ethnic groups (*See Table No. 4.3).*

Representation of Political Parties and Coalitions in the Seimas
Table No. 4.4

Party/coalition	1996		2000	
	Number of seats in the Seimas	Number of non-Lithuanian MPs	Number of seats in the Seimas	Number of non-Lithuanian MPs
The Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives)	70	2	9	
The Lithuanian Socialdemocratic Party	12	1	7	
The Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party	16		1	
The Lithuanian Centre Union	13		2	
The Lithuanian Christian Democratic Union	1		1	
The Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party	12	2	13	
The National Party *Young Lithuania*	1			
Coalition of the Lithuanian Nationalists and Party of Lithuanian Democrats *	3			
The Lithuanian Polish Election Action	2	2	2	2
The Lithuanian Christian Democratic Union	1			
The Lithuanian Liberal Union	1		33	
The Lithuanian Union of ex-Political Prisoners and Deportees	1			
The Lithuanian Party of Peasants	1		4	
Run for MP themselves	4		1	1
The New Union (Socialliberals)			19	4
The Lithuanian Freedom Union			1	
The Union of the National Party *Young Lithuania,* New Nationalists and ex-Political Prisoners and Deportees			1	
The Party of New Democracy			2	
The Party of Moderate Conservatives			1	
The Modern Christian Democratic Union			16	
The Socialdemocratic Coalition of Mr. A.M.Brazauskas (unites The Lithuanian Socialdemocratic Party, the Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party, the Union of Lithuanian Russians and the Party of New Democracy)			28	7

With reference to the election and entrance to the Seimas, two different models related to ethnic minorities and their participation in the field of politics could be distinguished and defined as “Russian dispersional” and “Polish regional”, both referring to the geographical distribution of ethnic groups.

The Russian electorate is mostly spread in the larger cities of Lithuania and usually comprises a small part in the whole number of the electorate. There are a few constituencies where Russian electors would have enough votes to support their candidate, especially when the turnout in the elections is around 50%. Therefore, representatives of Russian political parties enter the Seimas in coalition with the other major political parties that are left-wing in most cases (or Russians are included in the lists of other parties). In case of the Polish minority, the situation is different. The electorate of the Polish political parties is compact in terms of territory and is quite stable. In every Seimas, the Polish Election Action has several mandates. It is possible to make an assumption that in the 1996 elections the Polish candidates lost the votes

because of a relatively low turnout (in “Polish” constituencies it ranged from 35% to 43%, in some places it even does not account for the required 40% and reelection had to be held. On the other hand, based only on geographics, because of ethnic groups’ dispersion by place of residence, ethnic political organisations could potentially win places in the Seimas just in a few single-mandate districts).

The researchers accept that a mixed system of election has reduced the opportunities of national minorities living in geographically concentrated areas to win the ballots in single-mandate electoral districts (*See Krupavicius, 1998, 2000; Zvaliauskas 2000*). Also, one of possible interpretations of the changing proportions in the last elections could be the fact of changing strategies for participation in elections, i.e. from trying to compete in small parties to forming inter-party coalitions and integrating members of ethnic minorities into other existing political parties. Of course, these data need further analysis and more grounded explanations in a perspective of time.

On the whole, the initiatives of coalition making could be related to the legal amendments of election rules, as the competition among the smaller parties significantly reduced. These recent coalitions as well as the parties itself are not stable and depend on a specific situation on a specific time. Up to now the majority of the coalitions have been formed after the elections as no party received an absolute majority. Coalitions are much more popular in municipal elections (*See on Municipal elections*), however they are inevitable both on national and municipal levels.

Results of public opinion polls and the analysis of the results of the elections enable to conclude that non-Lithuanians tend to support left-wing parties (Socialdemocrats) or political parties of national minorities. Poles tend to provide more support to Polish parties than Russians to Russian parties (Russians tend to choose other parties). These facts suggest weaker mobilisation power of minority parties or weaker identification of minorities’ interests. Non-Lithuanians tend to support other parties, especially in the elections to the Seimas. The influence of minority parties is much stronger in local (municipal) elections, particularly in the areas densely populated by representatives of ethnic groups.

*Voting patterns of Ethnic Groups in 1998 (N=8015; %)**
Table No. 4.5

Party	Ethnic group		
	Lithuanians	Russians	Poles
The Lithuanian Centre Union	94.1	3.8	1.6
The Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party	75.6	10.9	12.0
The Lithuanian Polish Election Action	0.0	2.3	96.0
The Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party	94.2	1.9	3.4
The Lithuanian Christian Democratic Union	95.8	2.2	2.0
The Lithuanian Women Party	84.5	5.7	8.7
The Lithuanian Socialdemoratic Party	89.2	6.2	3.8
The Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives)	96.8	1.1	1.7
Don't intend to vote	72.2	9.1	16.3
Don’t know	77.8	9.9	10.3
Total	82.9	6.4	9.4

** Socialiniai pokyciai: Lietuva, 1990/1998. Vilnius, Garnelis 2000, p. 171-176.*

*Voting Patterns of Ethnic Groups (June-October, 2003; percent)**
Table No. 4.6

Political Party	Lithuanians (n=3675)	Poles (n=163)	Russians (n=258)	Other (n=95)
The Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives)	9.7	.6	1.2	3.2
The Lithuanian Freedom Union	1.0		1.2	2.1
The Lithuanian Socialdemocratic Party	15.4	15.3	25.2	27.4
The Lithuanian Polish Election Action	.1	14.7		2.1
The New Union (Socialliberals)	6.9	6.1	4.7	5.3
Union of the National Party *Young Lithuania* and the New Nationalists Union	.9	.6	.8	
The Liberal and Centre Union	10.2	4.9	4.3	4.2
The Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party	5.0		.8	
The Union of Lithuanian Russians	.1	1.2	12.4	9.5
The Party of Moderate Conservatives	.8		.4	1.1
The Union of Peasants and the New Democracy Parties	4.0		1.2	
The Liberal Democratic Party	9.7	6.7	6.2	8.4
Other party	.5		.8	
Don't intend to vote	13.2	23.9	19.0	14.7
Don't know	21.4	22.7	20.2	20.0
No answer	1.3	3.1	1.9	2.1

*Data provided by *VILMORUS, Market and Opinion Research Centre, Vilnius.*

While analysing the ethnic structure of the Seimas, factions and committees could be mentioned. During the Seimas election, not a single party receives the absolute majority, therefore, the essential structure of representation of parties in the Seimas is parliamentary factions comprised of several parties. All factions have chairpersons of Lithuanian origin. In September 2002, Valdemar Tomashevski, a chairperson of the Polish Election Action, became chairperson of a united faction consisting of representatives of the Centre Union, the Modern Christian Democratic Union and the Polish Election Action.

Parliamentary factions have significant influence on the committee system in the Seimas. The committees of the Seimas are formed along party lines, including the chairperson and the deputy chair from representatives of different factions. Other members of the committees are delegated by the parties on the basis of their professional experience and the political importance of a particular committee. The committee system increases the importance of collective decision-making. In the present Seimas, 14 committees have been formed. One of the committees, the committee on Human Rights, deals with the situation of human rights, including the rights of ethnic minorities, in the State. In the previous Seimas, the chairperson of this committee was a representative of an ethnic minority, a member of the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives). On the whole, the chairperson of the committee is an important figure in the Seimas' structure. Representatives of ethnic minorities play an active role in the work of different committees. During two terms of office, MPs of non-Lithuanian origin have headed the following committees: Economics (an independent MP, a Russian, belonging to the faction of the New Union (Socialiberals), Human Rights (a Jew, a member of the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives), Committee on State Administration and Local and Authority Affairs (a member of the Lithuanian Socialdemocratic Party), Commission on NATO Affairs (a member of the Polish Election Action).

Inclusion of representatives of ethnic groups and their representation in the highest structures of parliamentary parties and in political parties of national minorities, could be

separate issue. Political parties are the main players in politics, which form the government and are responsible for its politics, therefore, participation of national minorities in the highest administration structures (institutions) is a significant factor in representing their interests.

Political scientists maintain that the main organisational resources are concentrated in the hands of a small group of members of a political party. This group consists of national and local leaders of the party and is the most powerful institution of the party. (Zvaliauskas, 2000:163). In Lithuania, the most popular political structures operating between conferences and congresses are: political councils and boards and presidiums. As an illustration, institutions of several parliamentary parties will be reviewed and presented.

The Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives). The Presidium of the party consists of 7 members, all Lithuanian. The Council of the Conservative Party consists of 25 members, including one Jewish representative. The party has sections in all regions of Lithuania. The structure of the sections is comprised of co-ordinating councils and chairpersons of the sections. The list of the chairpersons includes 91 party members and all of them are Lithuanians. The data provided by Zvaliauskas on the membership in the party's organisational structure in 1996-1999 support the same tendency – the national composition has not changed and the representatives of national minorities are not represented in the highest structures of the party (See Zvaliauskas, 2000).

The Lithuanian Social Democratic Party. The Social Democratic Party is governed by the Presidium and the Council. The Council consists of 202 members of the party, representing different regions of Lithuania. 14 members of the Council are non-Lithuanians, comprising about 7 percent of the whole institution. The Presidium is elected from the members of the Council and consists of 28 members who all are Lithuanians. Hence, there are no representatives of ethnic minorities in the presidium. Comparing the data of the previous governing structures of the Party, it is possible to state that the situation is relatively stable and the minorities have several representatives in the structure of the party (in 1996, the Council consisted of 142 members, including 9 non-Lithuanians; in 1999 the Council consisted of 147 members, including 8 non-Lithuanians; the previous Presidiums included 1 Russian representative).

The Lithuanian Liberal Union. The Lithuanian Liberals are governed by the Party's Board, Committees and has sections all over Lithuania. The Board consists of 16 members, all of them being representatives of the majority. The same is with the Committees: all of the 16 chairmen are Lithuanians. The list of the chairpersons of the sections includes 96 persons and only the chairman of the Salcininkai section is non-Lithuanian. Hence, the structure of the party is mono-ethnic.

The New Union (Socialliberals). This is a new political power founded a few years ago. The party is governed by the Council and its Presidium. The Council consists of 85 members, 8 of them being non-Lithuanian. It could be noted that non-Lithuanian members represent regions that are densely populated by ethnic groups of Lithuania. This could be an illustration of a more or less adequate representation of minority groups. However, the highest level of the organisational structure, the Presidium of the Council, consists of 18 members, all of them being Lithuanians. This fact again shows the mono-ethnic tendencies in the political structure of Lithuania.

The Polish Election Action. This political party is governed by the Council that consists of 18 members who all are non-Lithuanians, the majority being Polish (including one Belorussian since 1994). The same could be said about the Russians' political parties,

which are governed the Councils comprised only from Russians and Belorussians. This confirms the statements on the mono-ethnic nature of political parties.

The aforementioned and analysed party structures, as well as the Seimas' structures, confirm the mono-ethnic structure of the political parities of Lithuania that is dominated by the majority groups. To recapitulate, representatives of ethnic minorities are not given important positions in party bodies and structure, factions and coalitions. The mono-ethnic nature and structure of minorities' political parties could be treated as a response to the mono-ethnic structures of the majority and its political structure.

Some parties supported by the minority groups of Lithuania have representatives of ethnic minorities in their organisational structure (on lower levels), although representatives of minority groups are not vested with any posts in the highest governing bodies of the parties. Here, based on the example the New Union (Socialliberals) certain elaboration could be made. It is a new party and as other newly established parties (e.g. the Women Party) tends to mobilise social groups that have not yet participated in politics. On the whole, such categories as age, gender and ethnicity are sensitive and vulnerable in the sphere of politics as these groups tend to be underrepresented or even excluded from the political arena. Although socially vulnerable categories, ethnic groups, in this case, are included in the early period of establishment and development of parties, these young parties tend to exclude representatives of the aforementioned groups if they achieve success. To this end, it could be noted that such parties as the Homeland Union or the Social Democratic Party have hardly made any attempts to include representatives of ethnic minorities (as well as other groups, e.g. only after a few years of their activities sections of women or youth were organised) in their activities and bodies.

It is possible to conclude that political parties are instruments for political participation of ethnic groups on the grounds of the ethnic borders, i.e. representing different ethnic groups. The parties of ethnic minorities become an instrument for participation for minority groups, while the other (ideological) parties are dominated by the majority ethnic group of Lithuania. The political parties of minorities could be effective agents in putting their issues and interests on the public agenda, taking a role of interests lobbyists, although attempts should be made in identifying minorities' interest and mobilising various social groups.

The analysis of the election results indicate that there is no significant difference for non-Lithuanians candidates entering the Seimas in terms of single-mandate or proportional system districts. Of course, the question of representation could be raised whether they are just non-Lithuanian members of other political parties or whether they are representatives of ethnic groups. The left-wing, centre political parties, such as the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party or the New Union, are relatively favourable to representatives of ethnic minorities by providing them with an opportunity to enter the Seimas by way of the proportional election system through including them in the party election lists. Members of ethnic groups are included in the lists of the Lithuanian Liberal Union. In the present situation, representation of the minorities' political parties in the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania first of all is ensured by single-mandate districts (constituencies) densely populated by the ethnic groups, mainly by Russians and Poles. On the other hand, cases and examples of several "Lithuanian" districts where non-Lithuanians were elected (in Siauliai, Kaunas, Kedainiai[5]) indicate that these candidates

[5] The most interesting is the case of Mr. V.Uspaskich who is one of the leading businessmen in Lithuania. He is also perhaps the biggest employer in Kedainiai region. Mr. Uspaskich has run for the MP post himself and received over 60 percent of votes in the single-mandate district. Just recently in 2003 he has established a new political party – the Labour Party. In other cases, e.g.

were supported not only by people of their ethnicity or other non-Lithuanians, but also by a significant part of the Lithuanian electorate. There are examples that cross the ethnic borders. The implication could be that in further perspective, personal features and qualification of a candidate, as well as his/her preparation for electioneering, would be a more important factor than ethnicity.

When discussing the results of elections, the most important issues are related not to legally defined opportunities to participate in elections and referendums or the right to run for a seat in the parliament or municipal council and be elected, but to the turnout in the elections, which is lower in Lithuania compared to other European states. According to the data of the General Election Committee (www.vrk.lt), the turnout in the Seimas' 1996 elections in the first round reached 53% and in the second round only over 40%. In 2000, the turnout was 58.63%. In the presidential elections, which are of great significance in the public life of the state, the turnout used to be higher: in 1993 – 78%, in 1998 – 74%, but in 2002 it decreased to 54% in the first round and to 53% in the second one.

At the beginning of 2003, public opinion polling on voting motives at the presidential elections was carried out by the *Market and Opinion Research Centre Vilmorus* and the results showed that 39% of Russians, 27% of Poles and 23% of Lithuanians did not vote at all[6].

The referendum on joining the European Union could be noted because of the relatively high turnout (up to 64%). Again, the turnout percentages in Salcininkai Region (56%), Vilnius Region (52%) and Visaginas (37%) were among the lowest. These examples could lead to a concluding assumption on political passiveness of ethnic minorities.

Political parties formed on the basis of ethnicity (as well as other socially vulnerable categories, such as gender, age, etc.) could be treated as a peculiarity of young democracies, especially in unipolar ethnic structures and are vulnerable to political principles. Parties, established on the basis of one specific feature or interest, are short-lived and their disappearance could be treated as a certain level of maturity of a democratic civic society. On the other hand, professional minority parties could be a competing political power, putting issues of minorities on the public agenda.

On the other hand, the absence of minority parties in parliament or other electoral bodies does not necessarily mean that minority interests are not represented. Members of minorities may pursue minority interests being members of general political parties. If this approach works and minority interests are respected, it may be considered as a positive sign to the end that political preferences are no longer following ethnic or linguistic boundaries. Particular interests of minorities may also be reflected in the structure of a party or parliamentary group, for instance, if these parties nominate a minority spokesperson. However, this perspective is not characteristic to the Lithuanian political field. There is no doubt that the situation in the political sphere is determined by a broader context of society, which is currently dominated by the perspective of the majority.

Siauliai, the candidate Mr. V.Simulik represented the newly established political power – the New Union (Socialliberals).

[6] Data of the research could be obtained at www.osf.lt/policy .

4.5 Ethnic Structure in Governmental Bodies (Cabinet)

In the broadest sense, the efficiency of political parties in the government could be assessed by analysing their influence in the Seimas. The simplest indicator of a party's parliamentary influence is the number of seats in the Seimas, formation of factions, their size, etc. Another significant sphere is formation of the government, as the appointment of ministers is controlled by the ruling party or the ruling faction in the Seimas. The ruling political party puts attempts to have "their" Prime Minister and at least the most important ministerial positions (Finance, Economy, Internal Affairs and Foreign Affairs). Posts of ministers are divided among the ruling political parties on "proportional" basis. Usually ministers are members of political parties or at least significant figures in the structure or governing bodies of the party. On the basis of the analysed ethnic structure of the governing bodies of political parties, a conclusion could be that ministers are certain representatives of political organisations, which generally include very few representatives of ethnic minorities. As a rule, the latter do not take significant posts in the parties' structure.

Since the Restoration of Lithuania's Independence, eleven governments were formed. The shortest term of the government's office lasted three months, others varied between half a year and one year and a half. During this time, new ministries were established, certain ministries were restructured or liquidated. The last, i.e. the twelfth government of the Republic of Lithuania, has been in power since 2001. From all ministers of all twelve governments, there were two representatives of ethnic minorities serving as ministers of the Ministry of Management Reforms and Municipal Affairs.

The present Cabinet consists of 13 ministries. This Cabinet includes the highest number of women ministers in the history of Independent Lithuania, although it has no representatives of ethnic minorities.

This section of the research report is based on scare data. In this field no specific research studies have been carried out, neither secondary data is available. Initial interviews and analysis of the sphere enable us to state that these bodies are primarily dominated by the representatives of the ethnic majority.

The key source of information remains the lists of employees in governmental bodies. Although they are not sufficiently informative or comprehensive, combined with other materials (e.g. interviews with employees), they could provide with appropriate insights. It should be noted that the majority of the interviews are carried out in the form of informal conversation.

Below a table on the top positions (ministers, vice-ministers and secretaries) of all present ministries is presented *(See Table No. 4.7).* For a deeper analysis, the main emphasis will be placed on the ethnic structure of the employees of certain ministries of the Republic of Lithuania, namely the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Education and Science and the Ministry of Interior.

As the main criterion for the primary analysis, the name and surname was used, this is not reliable and comprehensive. A question regarding collection of objective and valid information is open. A person's self-identification and self-affiliation should be taken into account. In our opinion, it is not worth counting or trying to determine any proportions of representatives of Lithuanians and non-Lithuanians. It should be noted, however, that the structures of the three ministries are totally different: the Ministry of Interior comprises 31 departments, while the other two – only 4 departments each. Therefore, the comparison is complicated.

When analysing the structure of the employees of the ministries other issues come to view. First of all, possible representatives of national minorities are mainly found at the end of the list, i.e. in the positions of office-cleaners, yard-keepers, woodworkers, plumbers or electrical engineers. Another peculiarity is that positions taken by representatives of national minorities usually are those of financial officers, bookkeepers, etc. Also, positions of secretaries or assistants are popular among representatives of ethnic minorities working in the governmental bodies. Based on the lists of the system of interior, it is possible to state that this system is more favourable to the non-Lithuanian professionals, including officers of police. Hypothetically, this system includes more ethnic variety from the Soviet period. However, the analysis of the top persons of the structure does not prompt any differences and maintain the mono-ethnic structure of these institutions.

*Ethnic Structure of the Ministries**
Table No. 4.7

Ministries	Ministers, Deputy Ministers, State secretaries	
	Lithuanian	Implied non-Lithuanians
Ministry of Environment	5	-
Ministry of Finance	5	-
Ministry of Social Security and Labour	5	-
Ministry of Transport	3	2
Ministry of Health Care	6	-
Ministry of Science and Education	5	-
Ministry of Justice	4	-
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	7	-
Ministry of Economy	7	-
Ministry of National Defence	6	-
Ministry of Agriculture	6	-
Ministry of the Interior	7	-
Ministry of Culture	4	-

**Data from official websites of the ministries compiled.*

Some Characteristics of Governmental Bodies
Table No. 4.8

Ministries	Ministers, vice-ministers, secretaries		Heads, deputy heads of departments	
	Lithuanians	Implied non-Lithuanians	Lithuanians	Implied non-Lithuanians
Ministry of Science and Education	4	-	4	-
Ministry of Culture	4	-	13 (divisions)	-
Ministry of the Interior	7	-	31	1

The considerations based more on observations and conversations with former or present employees of the ministries support the fact that the positions of specialists are very rarely held by representatives of ethnic minorities. On the other hand, on the level of the public opinion it is supposed that everyone is Lithuanian (with the exceptions, of course) claiming that the ethnicity of their co-workers is not an important issue or that it does not matter. On the other hand, representatives of other nationalities are easily identified. Also, specialists of human resources who are responsible for organising competitions for job vacancies claim that ethnicity is not a criterion when selecting a candidate and plays no role and that the candidate's professional qualifications are at the most important. Another popular opinion is that non-Lithuanians do not or rarely apply for the competitions held.

For primary methodological purposes interviews were held with two women: one working in the administration of the Seimas, another in at the administration of Vilnius municipality.

> The first interview was held with an employee of the Seimas administration. A woman of 30 years old of the Polish origin has been working in the administration for the several last years. She was asked whether her ethnicity adversely affected her holding at post. According to this woman, it was quite complicated to answer this question because she had made her way to that post with the help of a distant relative. She mentioned that this post was very important to her and she would like to preserve it. She said she talked in Lithuanian with everybody at her workplace, even with the above-mentioned relative. By the way, they talk in Polish outside the Seimas. She had no information about other Polish people working in the Seimas, except for the well-known deputies. Incidentally, she mentioned that she had never voted for the Polish Election Action because of their scare public activities. She tends to be not identified with her ethnicity and said that she had never been mocked at because of her nationality, but felt uncomfortable because of the mocking remarks in respect of Poles living in the region of Vilnius regarding their local dialect (An interview made on 10 April 2002).
>
> The second interview was held with an employee of the Vilnius municipality administration. A woman of 38 years old has a surname prompting of her Russian origin. She was also asked whether her nationality adversely affected her holding that post. According to this woman, she could not have any troubles because she was Lithuanian and her Russian surname was "inherited" from her father who was Russian. She argued stating that she had graduated from a school with the instruction in Lithuanian and she used to speak Lithuanian at home. She said she talked in Lithuanian with everybody at her workplace. She said she was not interested in the nationality of her co-workers although she thought them being Lithuanians. She said her boss was Lithuanian and had emphasised that several times. The woman told she had never been mocked at because of her ethnic origin (An interview made on 5 April 2002).

To put it hypothetically, nationality (ethnicity) is a delicate and sensitive issue in governmental structures and bureaucracies. Those who do achieve higher positions, allegedly choose not to identify themselves openly with the nationality, nationality (ethnicity) is as if denied or negated. However, it is difficult to argue that ethnicity blocks carrier opportunities. Nevertheless, participation opportunities of representatives of these ethnic groups which have characteristic external features (e.g. Roma people) are practically limited in comparison to the largest ethnic groups. On the other hand, certain symbolic domination of the dominant nationality is expressed by the existing pressure for public denial, hiding or invisibilisation of the ethnicity (nationality), other than the nominal nationality, could be treated as internalisation of dominant rules and a certain of price to pay being included in the system of public sphere.

Other issues related to the participation of ethnic groups in the public sector is the state language and its command, as many non-ethnic employees of Lithuanian public sector are required by law to attain a functional knowledge of the Lithuanian language. Knowledge of the state language became urgent to representatives of national minorities just after regaining the Independence.

Upon the Government's approval in 1992 of the State Language Instruction Programme, as well as qualification categories for knowledge of the state language, the status of the state language has been enforced in practice. The Law on the State Language establishes three qualification categories for knowledge of the state language and they are applied to employees who hold or seek to occupy certain official posts in the public sector. The first category implies ability to understand the state language and speak Lithuanian on the issues of work of low qualification and to fill in ordinary typical documents. It is applied to low-skilled employees of banks, post-offices, police and other offices, junior medical staff, shop-assistants, waiters or waitresses, etc. The second

category implies an ability to communicate with visitors orally and in writing and to maintain documentation in the state language. It is applied to middle-range supervisors, managerial staff and employees of different spheres of higher qualification, e.g. intermediate medical staff, specialists of higher qualification (middle-range medical staff, employees of non-Lithuanian institutions of culture and education, middle-range specialists, etc.). The third category implies abilities of carrying out managerial functions and office-work in the state language. It is applied to employees of the highest governmental structures and authorities, ministries, departments and other state services, heads of regional and local municipalities, institutions, enterprises and organisations and other authorities. These categories are not applied to persons who have graduated from schools instructed in Lithuanian or graduates of Lithuanian groups of higher educational institutions. Also, it is not applied to persons who graduated from schools instructed not in Lithuanian in 1991 and afterwards.

According to the data provided by the Department of the State Language of the Teacher Professional Development Centre, in 1993–2001, 81,160 citizens of Lithuania took the examinations of the state language in three categories and 86% of them passed them successfully. The great majority of the applicants (72%) took these exams in 1993–1997. From the total number of applicants, 40.7% passed the examination for the first category, 49.1% for the second and 10.2% for the third one. The highest rate of passing the examinations is in the third category, i.e. only 7% of all applicants fail. In the remaining categories 12-18% of applicants fail in their examination. (See *Table No. 4.9*)

*Testing by the Qualification Categories of the Knowledge of the State Language**
Table No. 4.9

Years	Total		1st category		2nd category		3rd category	
	Took examinations	Passed examinations	Took	Passed	Took	Passed	Took	Passed
1993-1994	19.282	17.331	5.605	4.984	10.447	9.273	3.230	3.074
1995	13.360	11.688	5.210	4.316	6.924	6.208	1.226	1.164
1996	13.186	11.122	5.623	4.426	6.661	5.876	902	820
1997	12.871	10.948	5.858	4.681	5.941	5.302	1.072	965
1998	8.440	7.075	4.013	3.247	3.682	3.213	745	615
1999	6.921	5.828	2.929	2.411	3.319	2799	637	618
2000	4.346	3.605	2.239	1.783	1.817	1.544	290	268
2001	2.754	2.401	1.525	1.296	1.055	937	174	168
1993-2001	81.160	69.998	33.002	27.144	39.846	35.152	8.276	7.692

** provided by Department of the State Language of the Teacher Professional Development Centre.*

In the present situation, several segments of ethnic communities could be distinguished when assessing the level of knowledge of the state language and development of its teaching, e.g. students of secondary and vocational schools, younger and older population, urban and rural population. Knowledge of the state language is not a problem for students of higher grades of secondary schools (including those with the instruction in minorities' languages). It is a problem in rural areas and small towns of Vilnius County. However, there is no documented evidence of job dismissals based on the language law. The authorities have indicated that the purpose of the law is to establish motivation to learn Lithuanian as the official language of the State; they have also asserted that no one would be dismissed solely because of inability to meet the language requirements. To conclude, the command of the state language is not a problem or an obstacle for ethnic minority groups to be employed in the public sector.

4.6 Civil Service at Municipal Level

The law on local elections to the municipal councils, passed by the Seimas in 1994, adopted proportional representation, with parties as the only entities being able to nominate candidates (the electorate has a right to rank the party' members according to their preferences). A 4% threshold was set for entry into local self-government bodies. These regulations are favourable to political parties of national minorities. The municipal elections are held every three years. In 2002, an amendment to the Law on Local Elections was made to provide residents of an electoral district who are not admitted to citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania vote in the running elections.

Local self-government means that the local authorities in the legally defined framework have a right and capacity to administer and manage most public affairs, assuming full responsibility and acting in accordance with the interests of the local population. List-based voting makes the local population get interested in the ideologies and programmes of the parties that offer certain solutions to the existing problems of local communities. On the other hand, results of local municipal elections usually reveal what is the most urgent and important to the local population and indicate which political powers they tend to trust most. Also, based on election results, one can form an opinion about the popularity of operating political parties and their professional "weight", as well as about their capabilities corresponding to the key expectations of the local population and their ability to solve main problems of the local population. On the other hand, the turnout in the elections is an indicator of the intensiveness of interests of the local population and their attitudes towards local governing.

While analysing the data of separate electoral districts, it is possible to state that representatives of ethnic minorities are more passive in elections. The turnout in the municipal elections is constantly decreasing, although namely the higher turnout is the most important factor in the municipal elections. These statements could be illustrated by the turnout in the municipal elections of the four analyzed regions, paying special attention to the turnout of Salcininkai region, Visaginas city, where the majority is comprised of the representatives of ethnic groups.

Turnout in the Municipal Elections (1997-2002) (%)
Table No. 4.10

	1997	2000	2002
Vilnius city	36.77	53.18	52.23
Vilnius region	43.76	51.90	50.67
Salcininkai region	52.67	57.83	49.85
Kaunas city	36.50	53.66	53.61
Visaginas city	39.87	49.59	40.95
General	**50.67**	**49.63**	**49.23**

www.vrk.lt

After the municipal elections in 2002, the political parties of ethnic minorities are represented in the following localities: the Polish Election Action (PEA) has a majority in Vilnius Region and Salcininkai Region municipalities (16 members [59% seats] and 17 members [68% seats] respectively). Also, the PEA has delegated its members to the councils of the following municipalities: Vilnius city (6 members), Svencionys region (4), Trakai region (6) and Sirvintai region (1). The Polish People's Party has one place in Vilnius region municipality's board. The Union of Lithuanian Russians has its representatives in three councils of the municipalities, namely Vilnius city (6 members), Klaipeda city (3 members) and Visaginas city (2 members). The Political Party Russian Alliance has 2 representatives in the Klaipeda city council. It could be noted that in the analysed localities (Vilnius city and region, Salcininkai, Visaginas), ethnic minorities also

represent other political parties. The tables presented below illustrate a political structure of the last three municipal elections. A more detailed ethnic structure of the councils in 2002 is provided (*See also Diagrams No. 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 in the Annex)*.

Results of Municipal Elections from 1997 to 2002: Political Parties and Seats in the Municipal Councils Received (data from the Central Electoral Committee, www.vrk.lt)

Vilnius City Municipality (51 mandates)
Table No. 4.11

Political parties	1997	2000	2002
The Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives)	19	-	6
Coalition of The Alliance of Lithuanian Citizens and the Union of Lithuanian Russians	10	-	-
The Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party	5	3	
The Lithuanian Socialdemocratic Party	5	6	6
The Lithuanian Polish Election Action	5	5	6
The Lithuanian Centre Union	4	4	
The Lithuanian Liberal Union	3	18	
The Coalition of the Lithuanian Liberal Union and the Modern Christian Democratic Union			18
The New Union (Socialliberals)		8	3
Coalition of Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives) and the Lithuanian Union of ex-Political Prisoners and Deportees	-	7	-
The Liberal Democratic Party	-	-	6
The Union of Lithuanian Russians	-	-	6

According to the questionnaires submitted by the candidates to the Central Electoral Committee, in 2002, the Vilnius city Council, consisting of 51 members, includes 34 Lithuanians, 6 Poles, 3 Russians and one Jewish person. 7 members of the Council have not indicated their nationality in the questionnaires (from which 4 represent the Union of Lithuanian Russians; 2 represent the Coalition of the Lithuanian Liberal Union and Modern Christian Democratic Union) (*See Diagram No. 6 in the Annex)*.

Vilnius Region Municipality (27 mandates)
Table No. 4.12

Political parties	1997	2000	2002
The Lithuanian Polish Election Action	23	20	16
The Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives)	3		2
The Lithuanian Centre Union	1		
The New Union (Socialliberals)		3	1
The Lithuanian Liberal Union		2	2
The Lithuanian Socialdemocratic Party		2	5
The Lithuanian Polish People Party			1

According to the questionnaires submitted by the candidates to the Central Electoral Committee, in 2002, the Vilnius Region Municipal Council, consisting of 27 members, includes 9 Poles, 6 Lithuanians. 12 members of the Council do not indicate their nationality in the questionnaires (from which 10 represent Lithuanian Polish Election Action; 1 represents the Lithuanian Polish People Party and 1 the Lithuanian Socialdemocratic Party) (*See Diagram No. 7 in the Annex)*.

Kaunas City Municipality (41 mandates)
Table No. 4.13

Political parties	1997	2000	2002
The Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives)	17	7	7
The Lithuanian Freedom Union	6	11	3
the National Party *Young Lithuania*	4	3	
the Lithuanian Union of ex-Political Prisoners and Deportees	3		
The Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party	3		
The Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party	3		
The Lithuanian Socialdemocratic Party	3	3	7
The Lithuanian Centre Union	2	4	
The New Union (Socialliberals)		8	
The Lithuanian Liberal Union		5	8
The Lithuanian Centre Union			6
The Liberal Democratic Party			5
The Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party			3
Union of the National Party *Young Lithuania* and the New Nationalists Union			2

Based on the questionnaires submitted by the candidates to the Central Electoral Committee, in 2002, the Kaunas City Municipal Council, consisting of 41 members, includes 37 Lithuanians, 1 Russian and the remaining 3 members have not indicated their nationality in the questionnaires (those who did not indicate their nationality are representatives of the Union of the National Party *Young Lithuania*, the New Nationalists Union and the Lithuanian Freedom Union) (*See Diagram No. 8 in the Annex)*.

Visaginas City Municipality (25 mandates)
Table No. 4.14

Political parties	1997	2000	2002
The Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party	13	8	
The Alliance of Lithuanian Citizens	9	3	
The Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives)	3		
The Lithuanian Liberal Union		7	12
The New Union (Socialliberals)		5	1
The Lithuanian Socialdemocratic Party		2	3
The Lithuanian Polish Election Action			
The Lithuanian Centre Union			2
The Union of Peasants and the New Democracy Parties			4
the Union of Lithuanian Russians			2
The Lithuanian People's Union "For Rights Lithuania"			1

Based on the questionnaires submitted by the candidates to the Central Electoral Committee, in 2002, the Visaginas city Municipal Council, consisting of 25 members, includes 12 Russians, 7 Lithuanians, 2 Ukrainians, 2 Poles, 1 Belorussian and 1 Jewish (*See Diagram No. 9 in the Annex)*.

Salcininkai Region Municipality (25 mandates)
Table No. 4.15

Political parties	1997	2000	2002
The Lithuanian Polish Election Action	20	18	17
The Lithuanian Socialdemocratic Party	2		3
The Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives)	2		1
The Alliance of Lithuanian Citizens	1		
The New Union (socialliberals)		5	2
The Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party		2	
The Lithuanian Centre Union			2

According to the questionnaires submitted by the candidates to the Central Electoral Committee, in 2002, the Salcininkai Region Municipal Council, consisting of 25 members, includes 7 Poles, 4 Lithuanians, 1 Jew and the remaining 13 members have not indicated their nationality in the questionnaires (12 of them represent the Lithuanian

Polish Election Action, 1 – the Lithuanian Centre Union) (*See Diagram No. 10 in the Annex)*.

It could be noted that the majority of those who municipalities did not indicate their national origin (nationality) are representatives of ethnic minority parties. Also, the majority of those who left the nationality box empty are members of the Vilnius Region and Salcininkai Region municipalities. To some extend it could be treated as a new shift in the ethnicity issues in Lithuania as a mandatory indication of ethnicity in the passports is cancelled.

To recapitulate, it is possible to state that the Polish minority is nearly exclusively represented by the PEA. Although the lists of other political parties, especially those which run for the mandates in "Polish" areas, include Polish representatives, local Polish people tend to support the PEA, which is distinct in its pro-Polish rhetoric.

When analysing the results of the municipal elections in the Vilnius Region, one thing comes out: the higher the turnout, the relatively lower support for the PEA. The Polish population accounts for more than 60% of the whole population in that region. In the 1997 municipal elections, 22,155 voters cast their votes for the PEA, which comprised 77% of the whole electorate of that constituency, resulting in the PEA having 23 mandates in the Vilnius Region Municipality Council. In 2000, 20,559 persons out of 31,831 voted for this political organisation, comprising 64% and giving 20 seats in the Council of the Municipality to the PEA. The PEA receives proportionally more votes than the theoretical size of this minority group in this geographical locality. Several hypotheses may be put forward as a possible explanation of this fact. On the one hand, not only the Polish community living there but also Lithuanians (22%), Russians (9%) and Belarussians (5%) located in this area cast their votes for this political organisation. On the other hand, the Polish community of this area are more active in participation in the elections and therefore this organisation receives more votes, although candidates of the Polish origin are nominated for the elections through the lists of other political parties. The latter premise can be grounded on a fact that although in 2000 and 2002, the turnout was higher, the number of votes received was even lower. It is possible to put a hypothesis that orientation of the electorate shifts from parties formed on the basis of ethnicity to the parties formed on the basis of programmes and ideologies.

Similar results are achieved by the PEA in the region of Salcininkai. In 1997, this political organisation received 20 seats, in 2000 – 18, in 2002 – 17. These changes could have been determined by a long period of governing of the PEA in this region and their inability to meet the expectations of the local electorate and therefore a will to change the political leaders emerged. Also, deeper changes could take place here. When analysing political representation based on ethnicity on the municipal level, it is obvious that not in all regions with a significant share of population of the Polish origin, they tend to support and vote for ethnic political parties (e.g. the PEA did not nominate its candidates in the regions of Moletai, Varena, Zarasai the where Polish population accounts for 7-10% of the whole population). This might be an indicator that the PEA is loosing its political weight. In Vilnius City the PEA holds a lower, though stable backing of the electorate and receives somewhere around 9% of the votes (5-6 seats).

In municipal elections Lithuania's Russians are represented by two political powers: the Union of Lithuanian Russians and the Alliance of Lithuanian Citizens. In the 2002 municipal elections, a coalition of these two parties was formed. In comparison with the PEA, these organisations are less popular. If in municipal elections the PEA receives 40-50 mandates in total, both Russian parties receive only 10-20 mandates. Several explanations are possible in this case. On the one hand, Russians are more passive in political terms and, therefore, their turnout in municipal elections (same as in other

elections) is lower. On the other hand, these two organisations might have failed to define clearly the objectives of their activity or programmes or they are not active enough in attracting their potential electorate. Also, the fact that the Russian population is geographically more dispersed with the majority living in urban areas may be an important factor as it is more difficult to reach the necessary backing of voters. On the other hand, Russians tend to support parties based on the principles of their programmes, among which the left-wing parties dominate. The case of Visaginas suggests that there is tendency among Lithuania's Russians to vote for programme-based parties that include members of the Russian origin rather than ethnically formed ones. In 1997, the Alliance of Lithuanian Citizens received 2,174 votes out of 7,415, i.e. 29%, and was granted 9 mandates in the Council of Visaginas. In 2000, this political party received 3 mandates and in 2002 it did not reach the required threshold of 4%. The situation in Vilnius is quite similar. In 1997, a coalition of these two Russian parties received 10 seats in the city council, in 2000 it received only 3.8% of votes and did make its way to the council. In 2002, however, the Union of Lithuanian Russians received 6 seats in the council.

Laws related to public service, public administration and self-governance deal with public service and employment at state (central and municipal) institutions. Under the provisions of the Law on Public Service, public servants are grouped into the following groups: civil servants (including statutory civil servants) and public employees. Civil servants are grouped into career civil servants, civil servants of political (personal) confidence, public managers and acting civil servants. Public employees are divided into public managers, those providing public services (including statutory public employees) and public employees performing economic and technical functions.

Public service of the Republic of Lithuania is based on the principles of the rule of law, equality, political neutrality, transparency and career development. Pursuant to the legal provisions, under the principle of equality, each citizen of the Republic of Lithuania shall have equal rights to enter public service, and the status of a public servant may not be restricted on the grounds of sex, race, origin, social position, religion, beliefs, political views or other subjective circumstances.

Civil servants are subject to the following requirements: Lithuanian citizenship and a command of the Lithuanian language, age limit (the minimum age being 8 years, and the maximum the retirement age); education necessary for discharging the duties of a public servant of an appropriate category; completion of the primary military service. Completion of the initial training programme for civil servants shall be a precondition for applicants seeking appointment by public competition to the positions of civil servants of the grade which is higher than the lowest grade of a particular category; completion of an appropriate training programme of the Lithuanian Institute of Public Administration or an equivalent programme shall be a precondition for applicants seeking appointment to the positions of the highest grades of civil servants.

An advertisement about the intended recruitment to the civil service is published in a supplement to the *Official Gazette*, as well as in a national newspaper chosen by competition at least 2 months before the selection of applicants to the position. Municipalities may additionally advertise recruitment to the civil service in their local press or websites.

On the municipal level, recruitment of civil servants is arranged by a person responsible for personnel management, the Municipality Controller, Administrator, Mayor or the Council. Most of the public servants are recruited on the basis of public competition, with several exceptions, e.g. positions of civil servants of political (personal) confidence are filled without organizing a competition, by the choice of state politicians. Career civil

servants can be promoted through an open or closed competition. For the selection of applicants, a Selection Commission is formed. Personnel management at municipalities is carried out by the municipal council, mayor of the municipality or, if there is a municipal board, by the board, the municipality administrator, and the municipality controller.

*Ethnic Structure of Municipal Offices (2003)**
Table No. 4.16

	Visaginas		Vilnius		Kaunas		Salcininkai	
	LT*	nLT*	LT	nLT	LT	nLT	LT	nLT
Mayer								
Director of Administration								
Heads of departments, divisions, sections	**13**		**96**		**37**		**13**	
	7	6	92	4	37	-	-	13

* www.vilnius.lt; www.kaunas.lt, www.visaginas.lt, www.salcininkai.lt
** LT – Lithuanian, nLT – implied non-Lithuanian.*

The table (*No. 4.16*) above summarizes the results of the analysis of the administrative structure of four municipalities. The official rules of administrative staff and their recruitment define formal procedures and aspects of staff formation. Within the context of the data on four different municipalities, several aspects could be mentioned. The case of Kaunas is the most obvious as it is the most Lithuanian city and the structure of all bodies is represented by Lithuanians. Kaunas is absolutely unipolar in its ethnic structure. The situation in the Salcininkai region is different. The bipolar structure of society that comprises mainly two ethnic groups is peculiar to Visaginas and Salcininkai. These regional structures of societies could be described as fragmented, where the sectors are competing for their target groups. In Salcininkai, the ethnic majority strongly dominates in the official structures of the municipality, both in elective and administrative bodies. The schooling system in the Salcininkai region could be shortly discussed as an example. In Lithuania, the majority of secondary schools are established by municipalities. Due to the ongoing conflicts and debates on educational issues, and to the general decrease of schoolchildren, in Salcininkai region schools with the instruction in Lithuanian were established and funded by the counties (a larger administrative unit). During the Soviet period the development of the infrastructure of Visaginas reflected a policy towards integration of the new residents into the social environment of the town and this has worked for quite a long period of time to become a conventional model. If the specialists working in the municipality are taken into consideration, it is also obvious that this municipality is distinct in its ethnic composition and variety. The situation in the city of Vilnius is quite an opposite one, where, despite the multiethnic composition of the population, the staff of the municipality does not reflect this. Some remarks could be made concerning the rest of the staff, i.e. lower levels of administration. It makes no sense counting non-Lithuanians as their numbers are too low to discuss their possible share in the municipality. The majority of non-Lithuanians are, however, concentrated in book-keeping divisions (most usually women), security, as well as among housekeeping, drivers, yardmen or other support staff.

Consideration of different situation in several municipalities indicate differences between electoral and administrative positions. If electoral positions could be said as more or less inclusive and representative in respect to ethnic minorities, though administrative staff of municipalities in ethnically diverse regions tend to correspond the quantitatively dominant majority. When generalizing the above statements, several aspects could be discussed. The ethnic variety and diversity could be managed and controlled in different ways, however, if special provisions for increase of minority participation are not applied in certain situations (as in the case of Visaginas in the Soviet period), the outcomes of the ethnic composition corresponds to the interests of the majority.

5. Institutional and Policy Reforms for Managing Diversity and Inequalities

The essence of public policy is related to the process of decision-making, participation in the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented). As far as minority issues are concerned, it involves a system of actions that ensures rights of a minority, including institutional reforms for management of diversity and inequality.

This section of the report focuses on formal actors of the public sector, which vary depending on the level of government (national, local or international). Besides formal or directly related actors, media, lobbyists, national and international donors, etc. may play a role in decision-making or in influencing the decision-making process. Participation of minorities could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. The essence of participation is involvement, both in terms of an opportunity to make substantive contributions to decision-making processes and in terms of the effect of those contributions.

According to the data and considerations presented in the report, the major problems relevant to minority issues in the public sector are related to low levels of minority's participation in the electoral bodies and government. In further perspective, special attempts should be made to increase the level of minority's participation in the process of decision-making. Several aspects could be distinguished: on the one hand, the quantitative level of participation related to an increase in the number of minority representatives in the public sector; and, on the other hand, the qualitative level related to increase of their impact on the work of elected and formed bodies.

At the beginning of the independent state of Lithuania, an opportunity for minorities to organize themselves as a "particular" group, to reflect on their own interests through their independent organizations, to establish political parties based on communal identities was an important factor. This was a decisive aspect in the trends of policy formation: establishment of the *Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad* as a body responsible for issues related to ethnic minorities as well as serving as a channel for a dialogue between governmental authorities and ethnic minorities, support for education and instruction in minority languages (following the Soviet model as well), mass media in minority languages, etc. These means were used as instruments, policy tools for construction of a minority's identity and provided support of the government for maintaining minority identity. The state supported minorities' participation in the political arena, as well as in the area of civic society and others, along the ethnic borders. At the same time, minorities, same as the majority, lacked skills and needs to create organizations, which was partly the reason of their ineffective and inefficient nature.

5.1 The Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad

The first governmental body for the protection of ethnic minorities, the Nationalities' Committee, was established in 1989 and organised within the Council of Ministers. In 1990, it was reorganised into the Department of Nationalities, a ministerial-level agency of the Government of Lithuania. This was the first structure of such nature in the Eastern Europe. In present, the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad is an official governmental institution for protection of ethnic minorities. Its main objectives are to formulate and implement governmental policy on harmonious (coherent) inter-ethnic relations; grant opportunities to ethnic minorities in preservation of their identity; encourage participation in social, political and cultural life of the state; promote civic education and education of tolerance; encourage mutual understanding

and trust of people of different nationalities; induce respect for cultures, customs, traditions and religions of different nationalities of Lithuania; eliminate reasons for instigation of ethnic hatred, etc. Within the Department, the Council of National Associations has been established since 1995. The Council consists of leaders and representatives of 17 national communities and is responsible for co-ordinating the activities of communities of ethnic minorities, maintaining harmonious inter-ethnic relations in Lithuania and overseeing participation in the implementation of the state policy on minorities. The Council is earmarked to afford minority representatives the opportunity to discuss with political and municipal officials in order to raise social, educational and other issues important to their communities and to participate in drafting legislation and monitoring its implementation. Also, the Department is responsible for public relations with civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations and provides grants for implementation of different projects of the NGOs of ethnic minorities.

In further perspective the *Department* should focus on effective coordination of activities related to ethnic issues of all state institutions and extent its activities with regard to implementation of equal opportunities and overcoming of new challenges of ethnic variety.

In 1991, ethnic associations obtained office space for their activities in Vilnius. The Government provided separate facilities to the cultural organisations of Poles, Russians, Belorussians, Jews, Armenians, Tatars, etc. at the House of National Communities in Vilnius.

The state financial support is earmarked to meet cultural and educational demands of national communities: development of cultural activities of ethnic minorities; maintenance and development of cultural international relations with ethnic minorities abroad; restoration and supervision of the cultural heritage, subsidising books, periodicals and other publications in the languages of ethnic minorities; establishment of and assistance to interregional Sunday schools of ethnic minorities; scientific research dealing with the history and culture of national minorities.

However, ethnic processes are not limited to legally defined relations or formally embedded rights. In the current situation, issues of socio-cultural development, aspects of political participation and representation of ethnic groups and problems of expression of individuals belonging to ethnic communities become more relevant.

Recently the Lithuania's Government has adopted a *Programme for the Integration of Roma into Lithuanian Society 2000-2004* prepared by the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad. In its initial phase, the programme concentrates largely on improving living conditions (problems of housing, education, health care, social benefits, etc.) of Roma "tabor" of Kirtimai, which is an industrial area of Vilnius inhabited predominantly by the Roma population. In the framework of the programme, in 2002 a new building for the Centre of Roma Community was built and opened in the area of "tabor". The main activities of the Centre cover consultation of the community, preschool education and other educational projects for Roma children and adults, cultural events and meeting take place here, too. There are plans to expand the Programme and involve the Roma population living in other areas of Lithuania, but these have not been yet elaborated in detail. According to the report of the EU Accession Monitoring Program[7], while the Programme is a laudable step in addressing the particularly marginalized situation of Lithuania's small Roma community, it suffers from two distinct drawbacks. First, the Programme has been developed without adequate

[7] Monitoring the EU Accession Process: Minority Protection 2001. Country Reports. OSI/EU Accession Monitoring Program, 2001.

consultation with the Roma community and therefore the Roma representatives claim that it does not reflect the priorities and perspectives of the Roma community. Second, the Programme does not adequately acknowledge or address the existence of discrimination, which representatives of the Roma NGOs claim is a determining factor in their exclusion from employment, housing, education, or health care.

In June 2003, a report on Lithuania prepared by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance covering the Roma situation in Lithuania will be presented and discussed. It should be mentioned that international organizations and bodies play an important role in monitoring the implementation of different programmes and putting the Roma issues on the public agenda.

5.2 The Conception of Ethnic Policy

Preparation of the *Conception of Ethnic Policy* has been initiated and co-ordinated by the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad. In 2002, the document was prepared by a group of experts that included government employees, representatives of ethnic minorities, scientists and other experts. After its preparation, the document was discussed at different audiences, comments were provided by NGOs, specialists of different fields, groups of citizens, including communities of ethnic groups.

The Conception of Ethnic Policy is a document for policy planning that reflects the state's vision of the ethnic policy and is based on analysis of economic, social, cultural and political development of ethnic relations. *The Conception* is a background for preparation of a specific programme of ethnic policy, which should include concrete measures, responsible institutions and terms of implementation. *The Conception of Ethnic Policy* provides ministries and governmental institutions with concrete guidelines for preparation of strategies and other planning documents at relevant sectors.

Development of democracy, prevention of exclusion, harmony and dialogue among different ethnic groups and individuals – these are the main principles based on which the state is creating and implementing its ethnic policy. These principles are important for the whole society of Lithuania and all ethnic groups. *The Conception* addresses ethnic problems and policy of the whole society, not only of ethnic minorities. The contents of *the Conception* could be described as follows. At the beginning, the general situation of ethnic relations and main features of Lithuania's ethnic structure is considered and the existing problems are presented. Henceforward, the course of social adaptation of ethnic groups, educational matters, protection of cultural heritage and cultural expression of ethnic groups are analyzed. The section that addresses civic and political participation of ethnic minorities deals with evaluation of the forms of political participation, institutional environment of political activities, opportunities for non-governmental organizations of ethnic minorities in civil society of Lithuania. Also, *the Conception* considers issues of tolerance and ethnic hatred and manifestations thereof in Lithuanian society, issues of citizenship and ethnic identity. International aspects of Lithuania's ethnic policy are covered, too. Finally, priorities of the implementation of the ethnic policy and recommendations are included.

The main priorities in the development of the ethnic policy are defined as follows: assurance of equal opportunities, development of the non-governmental sector, encouragement of civic participation, support for co-operation of ethnic groups, prevention of exclusion and discrimination, and education of tolerance. As interrelated objectives, these priorities are to be implemented in achieving the main goals of the ethnic policy, such as development of democracy, prevention of exclusion and assurance of harmony and dialogue. Based on these priorities, activities and specific

programmes of the state's institutions should be planned and evaluated. *The Conception* does not foresee a radical change in the current ethnic policy of the state. On the contrary, it aims at focusing on its priorities that have been successfully taken into account from the beginning of the independent state.

The Conception should address different spheres of public life and avoidance of possible tensions. The principle that has not been clearly defined in the public policy until now is the following: harmonic relations, equal rights and co-operation of different ethnic groups should concern all citizens without excluding any ethnicity. This *Conception* should encompass all ethnic groups, not only minorities or the majority.

Regulations and procedures for preparation, approval, implementation and supervision of the state's *Conception of Ethnic Policy* should be established by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania. Although the document has been prepared, it is still in the process of consideration. It has not been adopted yet.

5.3 Recommendatory Considerations

To create more favourable conditions for the participation of ethnic minorities in the public sector, measures for influencing the whole society and social consciousness should be taken. These measures include a lot of things, such as analysis of the current situation, monitoring of ethnic tolerance, encouragement of civic participation and cooperation, support for preservation and development of cultural heritage, mass media in minority languages, prevention of potential hatred and discrimination. In this section, however, the main focus will be made on several issues discussed in the report, mainly education and civic participation.

5.3.1 Educational Issues

Official documents concerning education of ethnic minorities are quite abstract and do not identify concrete measures for achieving their goals. Several years ago, a new model of bilingual education was introduced, mostly focusing on schools with the instruction in the Russian language, where different subjects are instructed in a bilingual way – in Russian and Lithuanian. According to representatives of the Ministry of Education and Science, schools with the instruction in the Polish language are more passive in getting involved in projects of such type. The model of bilingual education is applied in several schools with the instruction in the Russian language, also in a few schools with special courses in English, French or German. As a foreign language, in most cases English, German or French is studied, in some schools Russian is studied as a second foreign language.

The strategy of education of ethnic minorities, development of concrete measures should be based on an analysis of the specific situation, including regional aspects of infrastructure, ensuring quality and accessibility of education.

In the framework of the ethnic policy, it is important that ethnic identity of students would not limit their opportunities to obtain high-quality education and further self-realisation in social life. However, it is possible to state that at the moment accessibility of education and its quality are more determined by other factors, e.g. differences in the infrastructure of urban and rural areas, family values and social differentiation, rather than the language of instruction.

A possible friendly atmosphere of co-operation could be developed by teaching languages of minorities at schools with the instruction in Lithuanian, especially in regions where minorities are concentrated. Until now, in the general context of educational system this has had little sense, although it could lead to new opportunities in the market of employment, especially in the context of the processes of globalisation.

In regard to education, the following measures could be recommended:

- Recognition and development of ethnic variety at secondary schools through retaining and supporting education institutions, especially those that have educational and cultural traditions. In this respect measures of positive discrimination should also be included. For example, in the case of Roma children, as their living standards are very low, not only development of infrastructure, but also support for their teaching materials and means should be covered;
- Introduction of a model of bilingual education in secondary schools with the instruction in Lithuanian applied at minority schools or in the areas of concentrated minorities), where some subjects could be instructed in Polish or Russian;
- Support for schools provided on the basis of project activities that operate across ethnic boundaries, promote tolerance, cultural dialogue, prevent discrimination and exclusion.

5.3.2 Political and Civic Participation of Ethnic Minority Groups

To increase minority participation, some measures could be applied exclusively to minorities, as when these are applied as general rules equally to all groups, minorities are usually disadvantaged. This principle would be similar to the present election system, which establishes some special provisions to minority parties. The present system is generally less favourable to smaller parties. The main recommendatory provisions are focused on the municipal level, where the empowerment of ethnic groups could be a starting point and background. This level could provide with basic skills and competences in representation of minority needs and interests.

Development of wider representation of ethnic minorities' interests through mainstream political parties is another important issue. Political parties that are responsible for seeking out qualified candidates and persuading them to run for office have a role to play in encouraging more participation of ethnic minorities in the political process. Political parties of all wings could become better acquainted with their supporters within ethnic minorities to make the most of the potential of well-qualified minority candidates.

In regard to political and civic participation, the following measures could be recommended:

- Introduction of a quota system (including up to 10% of minority representatives) at the municipal elections;
- Lower threshold to the coalition that includes a minority party;
- The coalition should have a joint list of candidates (instead of two separate lists) in order to avoid possible inclusion of minorities just for the purpose of jumping the threshold. This could be applicable to the Russian community in particular, which is scattered all across the country (territory) and is politically more dispersed and fragmented than the Polish one, so the majority voting systems

are not sufficient to guarantee the representation of the minority on the national level.

Within the framework of non-electoral activities and performance of local institutions the following measures could increase participation of ethnic minorities:

- Application of measures of direct democracy, such as local polling and referendums, on the level of local communities and institutions of local municipalities;
- Inclusion of highly qualified persons concerned about specific topics (issues) in different bodies, as usually they are outside the operating network.
- Nomination of a representative of an ethnic minority as a spokesperson, head of a committee, commission, task force or other formal bodies. Specific interests of minorities may also be reflected within the structure of a party or coalition, if these parties nominate a minority spokesperson, head of a committee or commission.

6. Generalisations and Conclusions

The report presents a general overview of ethnicity issues and the ethnic structure in Lithuania. Through analysing certain components of the public sector: elective bodies and governmental institutions (the parliament and municipality councils), structures and independent sectors, issues of ethnic cleavages and inequality are discussed. Although eclecticism could be observed in the report, it aims at revealing the general trends and tendencies of the issues discussed. For purposes of the illustration of certain aspects, mainly secondary data available from the previously performed research and surveys is used, combining it with individually aggregated and collected data. This section provides generalisations and conclusions based on the issues considered in the report.

The main role in determining the ethnic composition in Lithuania is ascribed to migration, issues of political transformations and developments are not considered in this context. Due to historic and other causes, the majority of Lithuanian residents belonging to ethnic and linguistic minorities live close together in certain areas. The ethnic composition, as well as the typological ethnic structure brings different aspects to view.

During the first decade of the Independence of the Republic of Lithuania, many steps have been taken to ensure the civic integration of representatives of Lithuania's ethnic groups. The passed laws, defined the legal mechanisms and ratified international conventions and treaties provided citizens with bunches of rights and created favourable conditions for social life and personal expression. Although legally defined mechanisms are crucial to the development of civic society, they are not sufficient for social development and social relations in society and the issue of ethnic processes, as a social challenge, still has not yet been overcome.

Social research indicate existing social cleavages among the ethnic groups, although they are not sharp. Statistical data on unemployment show differences in unemployment rates among ethnic groups of Lithuania. However, based only on the statistical data and not on a specific research, which could identify correlation of unemployment and ethnicity, it is quite difficult to conclude on the nature of the unemployment. For example, it is possible to conclude that Russians, while being a relatively younger and higher educated community (in comparison to Poles) are facing the most unfavourable situation in terms of employment. The question remains open whether relatively higher odds of representatives of ethnic groups of being unemployed can be explained by reference to gender, age, education or geographic characteristics in respect of urban and rural distribution. However, despite democratic legislation, preconditions created and propagation of equal rights, correlation between ethnicity and social cleavages could be observed.

Several observations on the private sector imply that a mono-ethnic model is characteristic to small scale, small size enterprises in Lithuania, and activities of ethnic groups in different economic niches could be observed. Also, premises on unequal opportunities in the labour market could be elaborated further. In its own turn, these considerations should be grounded on special studies of the ethnic structure in the labour market and unemployment.

With regard to politics, a conclusion could be made that political parties are instruments for political participation of ethnic groups within the ethnic borders: parties of ethnic minorities become an instrument for participation for minority groups, whereas the other parties are dominated by the majority ethnic group of Lithuania. However, political parties formed on the basis of ethnicity (as well as other socially vulnerable categories, such as gender, age, etc) are vulnerable to the political principles and could be treated

as a characteristic feature of young democracies, especially in a unipolar ethnic structure of society. Parties, established on the basis of one specific feature or interest, are short-lived and their disappearance could be treated as a certain level of maturity of a democratic civic society. On the other hand, professional minority parties could be a competing political power, putting issues of minorities on the public agenda, taking a role of interest lobbyists, although they have to make attempts to identify minorities' interests and mobilise various social groups.

At present, representation of the minorities' political parties in the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania first of all is ensured by single-mandate districts, densely populated by ethnic groups, mainly Russians and Poles. On the other hand, cases and examples of several "Lithuanian" districts where non-Lithuanians were elected indicate that their candidates were supported not only by people of their ethnicity or other non-Lithuanians, but also by a significant part of the Lithuanian electorate. A presumption could be made that in a further perspective, personal features and qualification of a candidate, as well as his/her preparation for electioneering, would be a more important factor than ethnicity.

Although at present minorities and majority organise separately for political power, another factor that has demonstrated success for political participation of ethnic groups is related to recent phenomena of coalition making and collaboration in the processes of election and formation of political bodies.

On the other hand, the absence of minority parties in parliament or other electoral bodies does not necessarily mean that minority interests are not represented. In particular, members of minorities may pursue minority interests as members of general political parties and their structures, whereas the election results indicate that political preferences do not always follow ethnic or linguistic boundaries. Therefore, specific public policy attempts to increase participation and representation of ethnic minorities in the mainstream parties could be a significant factor in contributing to future developments. There is no doubt that the situation in the political sphere is determined by a broader context of society, which at the moment is dominated by the perspective of the majority.

The analysis of several governmental bodies and institutions is likely to confirm the dominant mono-ethnic structure of the whole society, low levels of participation and weak representation of ethnic minorities in higher levels of political parties and government. Higher posts taken by non-Lithuanians (e.g., ministers, vice-ministers, head of departments) are rare cases and could be treated as exceptions. Processes of assimilation, symbolic domination of the dominant nationality is expressed by the existing pressure for public invisibilisation of ethnicity, which could be treated as internalisation of dominant rules and a certain price for access to being included in the system of public sphere. However, it is difficult to argue that ethnicity blocks carrier opportunities.

Consideration of different situation in several municipalities indicate differences between electoral and administrative positions. If electoral positions could be said as more or less inclusive and representative in respect to ethnic minorities, though administrative staff of municipalities in ethnically diverse regions tend to correspond the quantitatively dominant majority. When generalizing, if special provisions are not applied in the certain situations, as in case of Visaginas, which reflects the former Soviet traditions of integration, the outcomes of the ethnic composition corresponds to the interests of the majority.

The material presented in the report reveals certain differences in participation of certain ethnic groups' in political, social and economic spheres of society, however, only specific

representative research could reveal the existing differences among the ethnic groups in the distribution of social prestige, power, status of an individual in the social structure of Lithuania's contemporary society. Nevertheless, different capacities and opportunities of ethnic groups in participation (the outcome of which may be either proportional or disproportional, representative or uneven) may indicate syndromes of diasporas and misbalance rather than a representative democracy.

In the current situation, interests of ethnic communities, including both the majority and minorities, have not yet shifted from symbolic, cultural and psychological spheres (preservation of cultural values and group identity, enshrine of customs, traditions, etc.) to the civic, social and economic spheres. For example, findings of several studies testify that ethnic NGOs limit their activities on the grounds of interests and needs of a separate ethnic group, what leads to a relatively closed nature of the ideology and activities of the organisations focused on cultivation of ethnic consciousness through organisation of cultural events. Such organisations do not operate as agents for protection of human rights and interests of minorities, but merely as bodies for cultural cultivation. While discussing the possible determinants of the cleavages, inequality in respect of ethnicity, the following items should be considered: state's policy, market competition, access to power, prestige, social status and social consciousness.

On the background of the report, public policy recommendations, first of all, should be applied in the field of education and civic participation. To create more favourable conditions for the participation of ethnic minorities in the public sector, measures for influencing the whole society and social consciousness should be taken. These measures include a lot of things, such as analysis of the current situation, monitoring of ethnic tolerance, encouragement of civic participation and cooperation, support for preservation and development of cultural heritage, mass media in minority languages, prevention of potential hatred and discrimination.

According to the data and analysis presented in the report, the major problems relevant to minority issues in the public sector are related to low levels of minority's participation in the electoral bodies and government. The main recommendatory provisions are focused on the municipal level, where the empowerment of ethnic groups could be a starting point and background. To increase minority participation, some measures should be applied exclusively to minorities, because when these are applied as general rules equally to all groups, minorities are usually disadvantaged. In the framework of educational policy, development of concrete measures should be based on an analysis of the specific situation, including regional aspects of infrastructure, ensuring quality and accessibility of education, promoting principles of positive discrimination of ethnically diverse environment. In further perspective, special attempts should be made to increase the level of minority's participation in the process of decision-making, including the quantitative level of participation related to an increase in the number of minority representatives in the public sector; and, the qualitative level related to increase of their impact on the work of elected and formed bodies.

Integration, not only political or social, but also interethnic, in many respects depends on the model of a broader social structure and context, the system of social relations between different social groups establishes in society, on people's ideas about these established relations. Traditions and development of Eastern European nationalism, as well as the post-Soviet experience (including peculiarities of communist nationalism) are key determinants in the case of Lithuania. The unipolar structure of Lithuania does not prevent from avoidance of ethnic fragmentation and to some extent even encourages it.

For the sake of constructive development of the state, prevention of interethnic opposition, it is very important that possible tensions caused by a variety of reasons

(such as competition on the labour market, participation in political decision-making processes, threats to individual's safety and also a loss of cultural distinctiveness) should be revealed as they could be treated as source for intentional discrimination or cleavages among certain ethnic groups.

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Annex

*Number of Old-Age Pensioners Paid by State Social Insurance (average annual number; data provided by the Board of State Social Insurance Fund)**
Table No. 1

Regions	Old-age pensioners per 1000 population at working age
Vilnius city and region	253
Kaunas city and region	288
Visaginas city	129
Šalcininkai region	343

*Municipal Budgets Expenditure on Social Benefits (data provided by the Ministry of Social Security and Labour)**
Table No. 2

Regions	Per capita, litas
Vilnius city	18.23
Vilnius region	25.17
Kaunas city	11.59
Visaginas city	17.12
Šalcininkai region	52.76

Unemployed Rate 1994-2001 (average annual; in per cent) *(Represents the ration of unemployed to labour force)**
Table No. 3

Regions	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Vilnius city	2.6	4.5	6.5	6.0	4.8	5.8	8.0	7.2
Vilnius region								21.4
Kaunas city	1.4	4.0	5.0	3.7	3.8	5.8	8.5	8.5
Visaginas city								12.9
Šalcininkai region	6.4	9.5	13.4	10.9	13.9	16.7	20.3	20.6

*Counties of Lithuania: Economic and Social Development in 2001. Lithuanian Statistics. Vilnius, 2002.

*Illiterate population by ethnicity (aged 10 years and older) in 2001***
Table No. 4

Ethnicity	Total illiterate population	Per 1,000 population aged 10 and over
Lithuanian	8,614	3.4
Pole	848	4.0
Russian	584	2.8
Belarussian	104	2.5
Roma	60	31.3
Other	73	1.3
Not indicated	41	3.2

***Population by Education, Mother Tongue and Command of Other Languages. Statistic Lithuania. Vilnius, 2002.*

*Population by Educational Attainment in Regions (aged 10 years and older), 2001***
Table No. 5

Ethnicity	Total	Education					Not finished primary	Literate	Illiterate	Not indicated
		higher	Higher non-university	secondary	basic	primary				
Vilnius city	498708	115051	97557	150596	49000	69275	10269	966	639	5355
Vilnius r.	78000	6109	11049	25784	13045	16446	4371	596	319	281
Kaunas city	337821	69973	60598	100964	44866	51403	6720	703	607	1987
Visaginas city	26902	4228	5706	8847	3082	4414	524	37	16	48
Salcininkai r.	34436	2263	4485	11139	5388	8292	2242	406	136	85

*Population by education (aged 10 years and older), 2001***
Table No. 6

Regions	Total	Higher		Higher non-university		secondary		basic		primary	
		number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Vilnius city	498708	115051	23	97557	20	150596	30	49000	10	69275	14
Vilnius r.	78000	6109	8	11049	14	25784	33	13045	17	16446	21
Kaunas city	337821	69973	21	60598	18	100964	30	44866	13	51403	15
Visaginas city	26902	4228	16	5706	21	8847	33	3082	12	4414	16
Salcininkai r.	34436	2263	7	4485	13	11139	32	5388	16	8292	24

**Population by Education, Mother Tongue and Command of Other Languages. Statistic Lithuania. Vilnius, 2002.

Kasatkina, N., Leoncikas T.
Research project at the Institute for Social Research
"Adaptation of Ethnic Groups in Lithuania: Context and Process"

Methodological note. The specific sampling approach was worked out in order to achieve reliable cross-group comparison of 5 ethnic samples (Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, Jewish, Tatar). A model of disproportional stratified sample (non-probability sampling) was applied: 5 ethnic groups were pre-selected and then approximately the same number of respondents was chosen in each of them. Sampling takes sex, age, and particular survey locations (i.e. towns with relatively high concentration of a given ethnic community) into account, but the central emphasis in the logical model of this research is on the status groups. Each of the 5 samples consists of the respondents of the same 9 status categories. Expert groups were used for foreseeing and assigning particular individuals to particular status group; in some cases, the locations rather than individuals were specified (e.g. for finding the unemployed). Fieldwork was carried out in 2001 in towns of Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Salcininkai, and Visaginas. Total number of respondents: 559.

The samples are not representative of the entire ethnic groups they come from, instead, every attempt was given to make all the 5 samples similar in terms of the social characteristics such as status, income, education. This model allows assessing how the same variables (various indicators of adaptation) differ in different samples (in our case, in different ethnic groups). In other words, when social differences are controlled, it is more likely that the differences between the samples are due to the ethnicity factor (i.e. the effect of ethnicity is maximized). Whether and how the ethnic groups differ in their adaptation has been the main issue of this research project.

Tables with the data of the research are presented below.

Family income (mean, median)
Table No. 7
Question: Please, note your family's average monthly incomes (summing up all salaries, pensions, social benefits of all family members)

1. (A) up to 200 LTL
2. (B) 201–300
3. (C) 301–400
4. (D) 401–500
5. (E) 501–600
6. (F) 601–700
7. (G) 701–800
8. (H) 801–900
9. (I) 901–1000
10. (J) 1001–1200
11. (K) 1201–1400
12. (L) 1601–1800
14. (N) 1801–2000
15. (O) 2001–2500
16. (P) 2501–3000
17. (Q) 3001–3500
18. (R) 3501–4000
19. (S) 4001–5000
20. (T) > 5000 LTL

Ethnic group	Mean	Median	Frequency
Lithuanians	11.2	11	109
Russians	9.9	9.5	84
Poles	11.0	10	69
Jews	11.1	11	74
Tatars	9.2	10	75
Other	11.3	10	38
Total	10.5	10	449

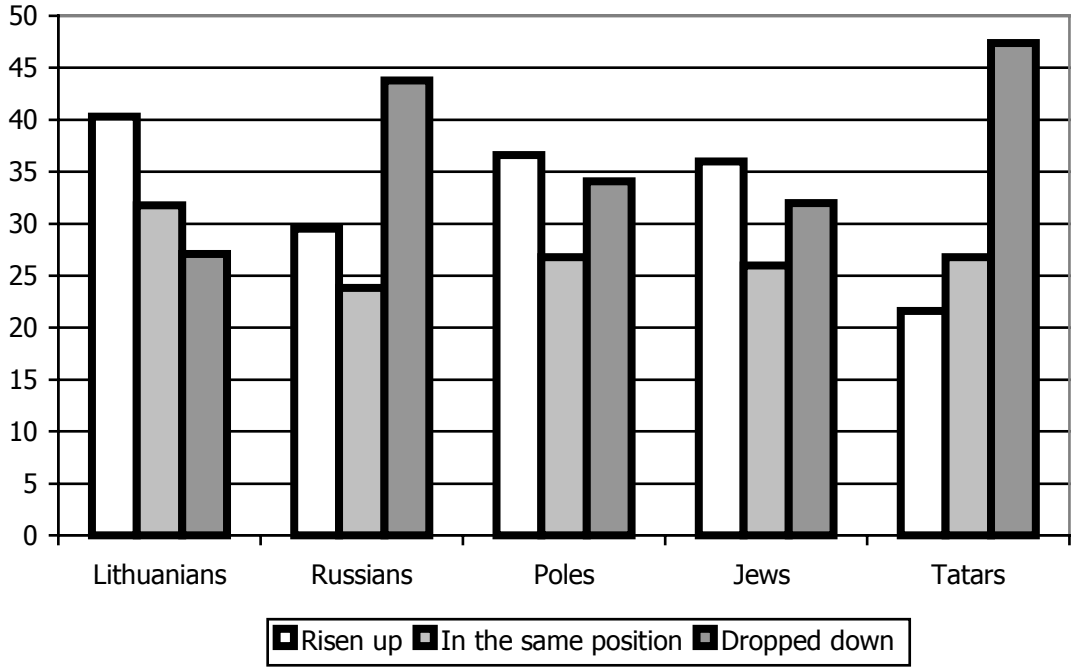
Personal incomes (mean, median)
Table No. 8.
Question: What are your personal average monthly incomes?

Ethnic group	Mean	Median	Frequency
Lithuanians	1228	900	97
Russians	996	800	71
Poles	1006	825	58
Jews	1182	790	65
Tatars	920	650	67
Other	1089	815	30
Total	1081	800	388

Evaluation of Changes in Social Status (pair frequencies lines per cent)
Table No. 9
Question (51): Have you personally risen up or dropped down in the steps [of social hierarchy] in last 10 years

		Shift in steps			No answer	Total
		Risen	Dropped	Being in the same place as 10 years ago		
Ethnicity	Lithuanians	40	27	32	1	100
	Russians	30	44	24	3	100
	Poles	37	34	27	2	100
	Jews	36	32	26	6	100
	Tatars	22	47	27	4	100

Changes of Social Status in last 10 years
Diagram No. 5



Circle of personal friends. Row percentages
Table No. 10
Question: Please choose a statement that best corresponds to your opinion

	Statements				No answer	Total
	Most of my friends are Lithuanian	About half of my friends are Lithuanian	Some of my friends are Lithuanian	I have almost no Lithuanian friends		
Russians	12	20	54	13		100
Poles	23	11	50	13	2	100
Jews	22	18	36	21	3	100
Tatars	25	20	38	17	1	100

Relatives. Row percentages

Table No. 11
Question: Do you have relatives of another ethnicity? Please choose a statement that describes your situation (there can be up to 2 answers in case statements 1 and 6 are not selected).
1. None of my relatives live in an ethnically mixed family.
2. I have relatives whose parent or spouse is Lithuanian but I do not meet them often (or at all).
3. I have relatives whos

Ethnic composition and peculiarities of the minority situation in Lithuania 10
Territorial minorities 10
Borderline (periphery) minorities 10
Post-colonial minorities 10
Non-territorial minorities 10
Labour migrants 10

Refugees 10
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e parent or spouse is Lithuanian and I am on good terms with them.

4. I have relatives whose parent or spouse is of another ethnicity (other than respondent and other than Lithuanian), but I do not meet them often (or at all).

5. I have relatives whose parent or spouse is of another ethnicity (other than respondent and other than Lithuanian) and I meet them and am on good terms with them.

6. I am not in touch with my relatives and cannot answer this question.

	Number of an answer										No answer	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	2&3	3&4	3&5	4&5		
Russians	19	3	30	7	32	6					4	100
Poles	12	4	37	7	29	5					6	100
Jews	15	2	24	6	36	3			8	2	4	100
Tatars	16	2	29	3	38		1	1	10			100

Business relations. Row percentages

Table No. 12

Question: *In my business (work, business etc.) … (please choose one statement that describes your situation):*

1. I communicate almost entirely with my coethnics.

2. I communicate with people of different ethnicities, but *my coethnics* prevail.

3. I communicate with people of different ethnicities, but Lithuanians prevail.

4. I communicate almost entirely with Lithuanians.

5. I have much business communication with foreigners.

6. Other:.....

	Number of an answer							No answer	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	3&5		
Russians	5	40	35	1	2	16		1	100
Poles	5	39	29	4	6	13		4	100
Jews	1	29	37	3	3	16	6	5	100
Tartars		23	32	6	2	35	1	1	100

Business Relations by Towns. Row percentages and frequencies[*]

Table No. 13

Question: *In my business (work, business etc.) … (please choose one statement that describes your situation):*

1. I communicate almost entirely with my coethnics.

2. I communicate with people of different ethnicities, but my coethnics prevail.

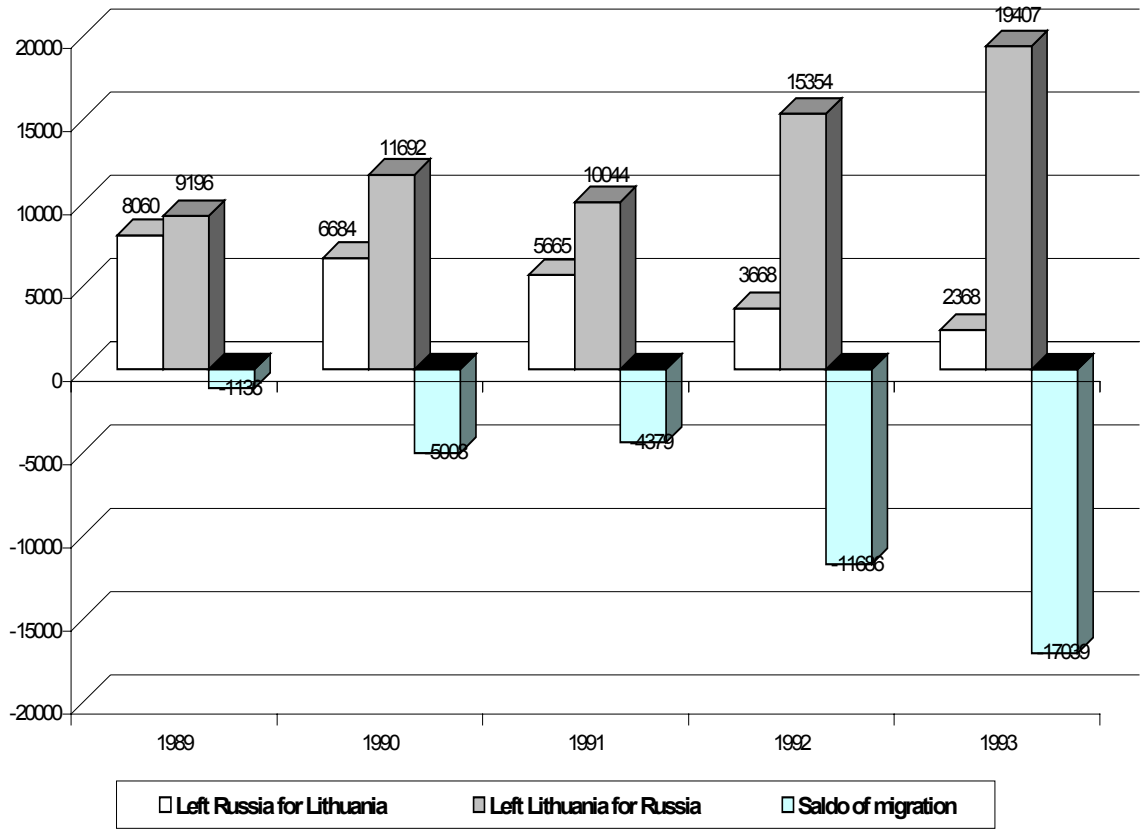
3. I communicate with people of different ethnicities, but Lithuanians prevail.

[*] Answers 5 and 6 are not included in calculation.

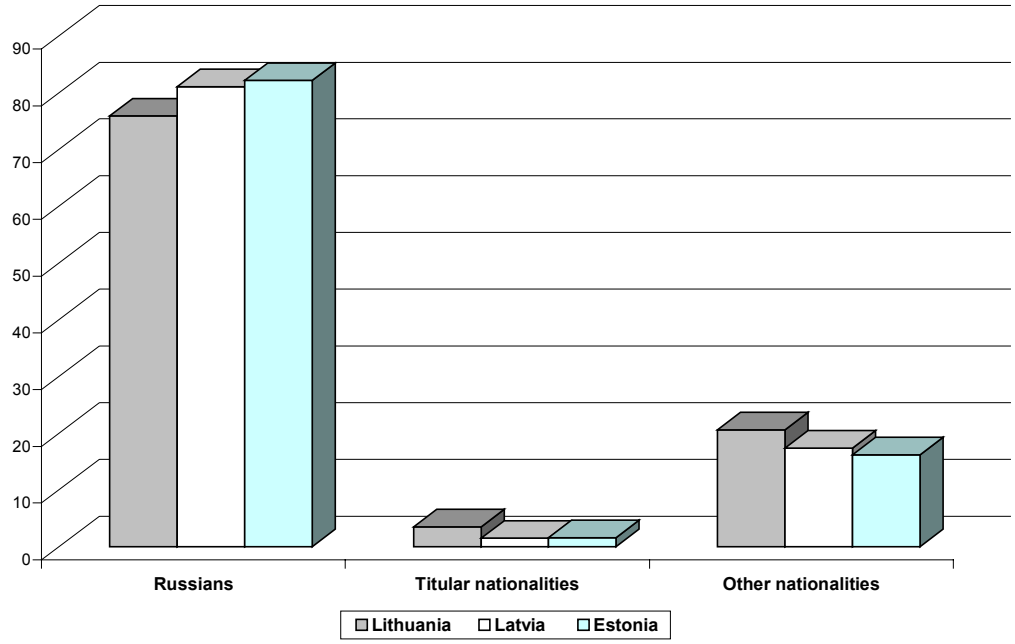
4. I communicate almost entirely with Lithuanians.
5. I have much business communication with foreigners.
6. Other:.....

Ethnic group	Town	Character of business relations			
		Coethnics prevail		Lithuanians prevail	
		%	n	%	n
Russians	Vilnius	64	18	36	10
	Kaunas	39	11	61	17
	Visaginas	62	18	38	11
Poles	Vilnius	42	11	58	15
	Salcininkai	79	23	21	6
Jews	Vilnius	57	13	44	10
	Kaunas	16	4	84	21
	Klaipeda	62	13	38	8
Tatars	Vilnius	50	10	50	10
	Visaginas	67	6	33	3
	Alytus	21	6	79	23

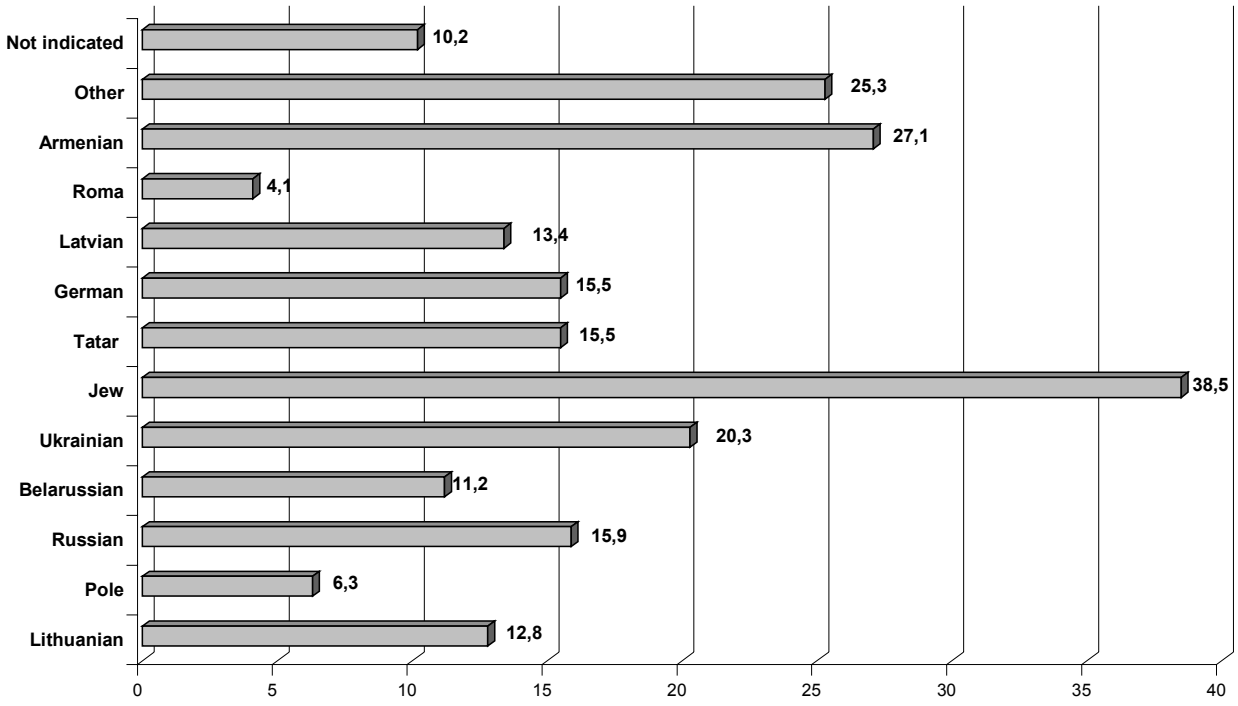
Migrational Exchange Between Russia and Lithuania in 1989-1993 (numbers)
Diagram No 1



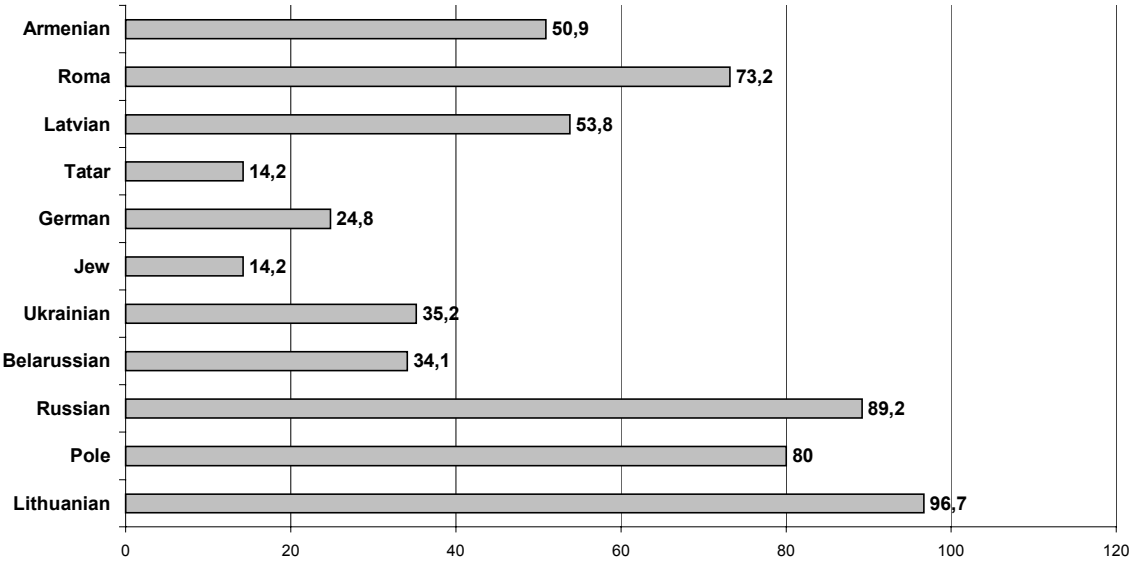
Ethnic Composition of Arrivals to Russia from the Baltic States in 1993 (%)
Diagram No 2



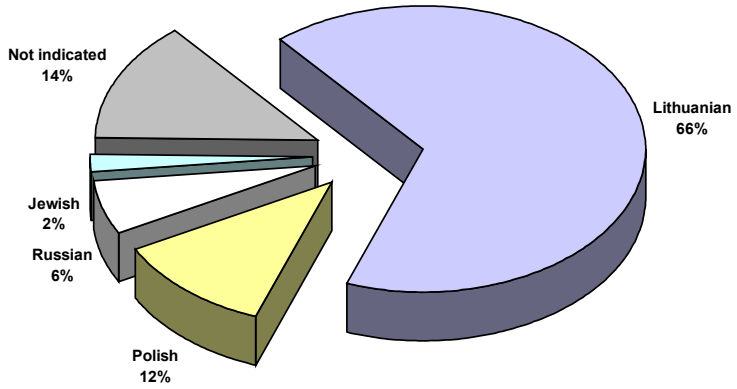
Population with Higher Education by Ethnicity (aged 10 years and older), in 2001 %
Diagram No 3



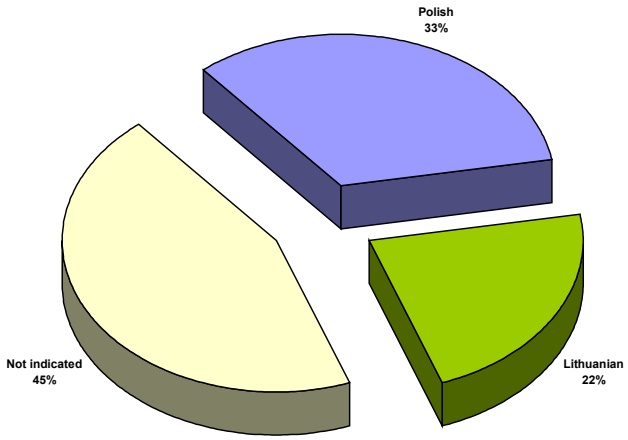
Population who Indicated the Language of their Ethnicity as their Native Language, in 2001 %
Diagram No 4



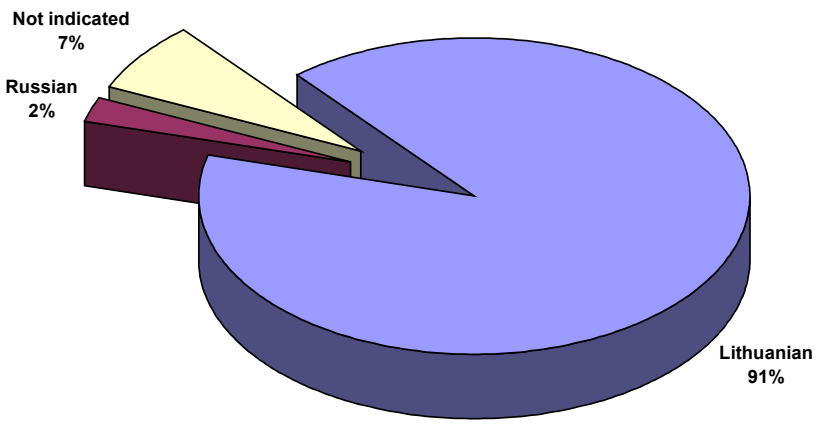
Ethnic Structure of Vilnius City Municipal Council, 2002 (%)
Diagram No 6



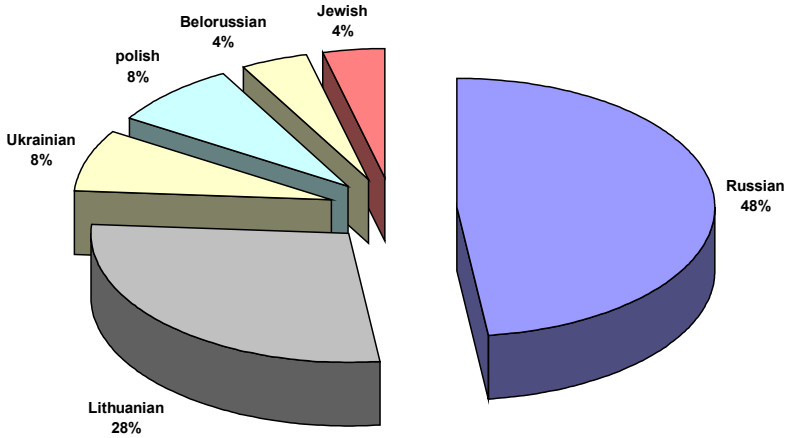
Ethnic Structure of Vilnius Region Municipal Council, 2002 (%)
Diagram No 7



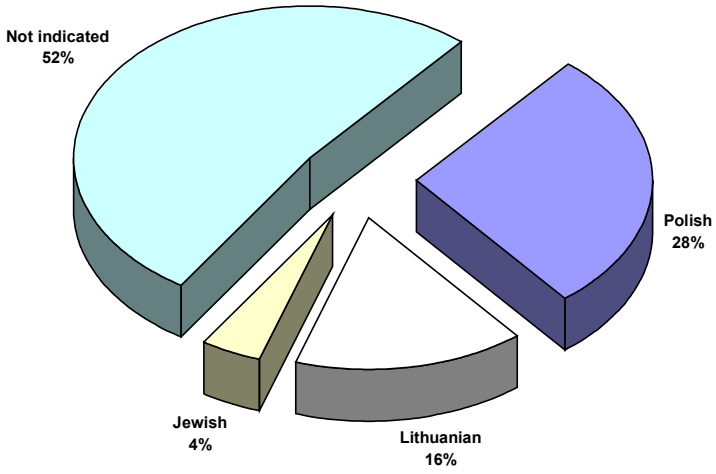
Ethnic Structure of Kaunas City Municipal Council, 2002 (%)
Diagram No 8



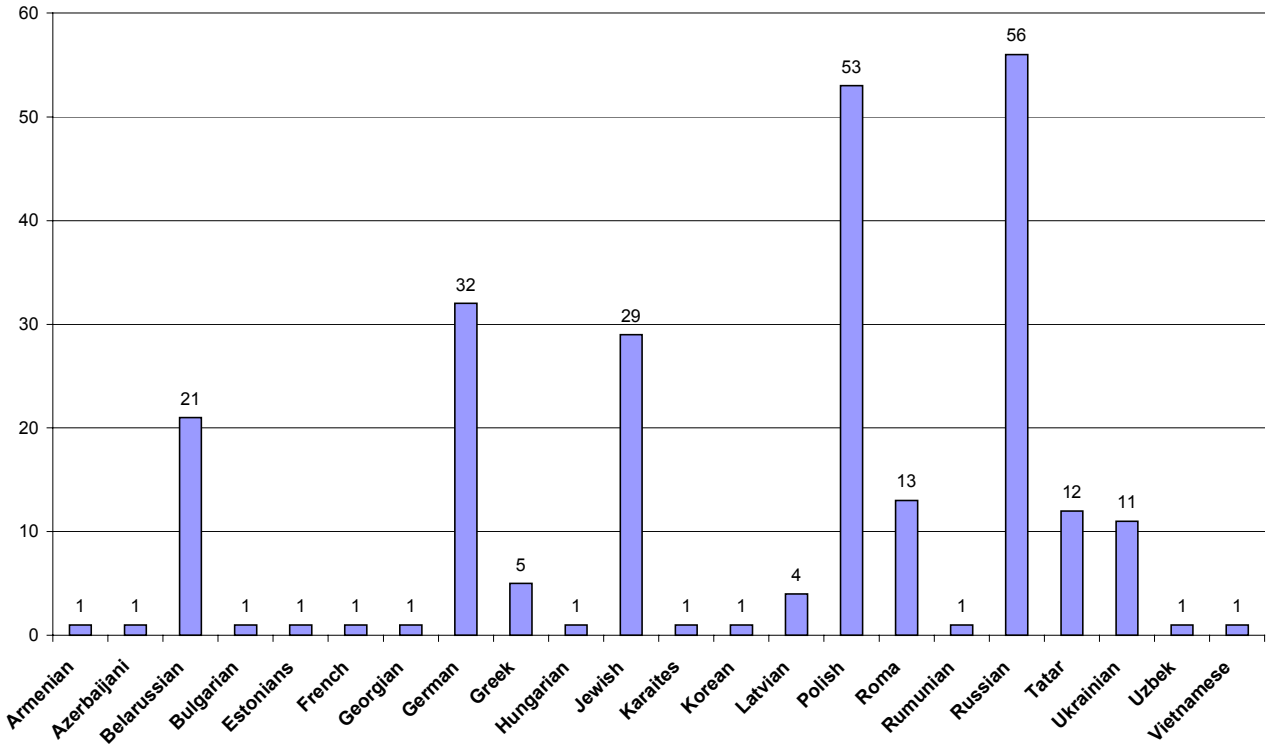
Ethnic Structure of Visaginas City Municipal Council, 2002 (%)
Diagram No 9



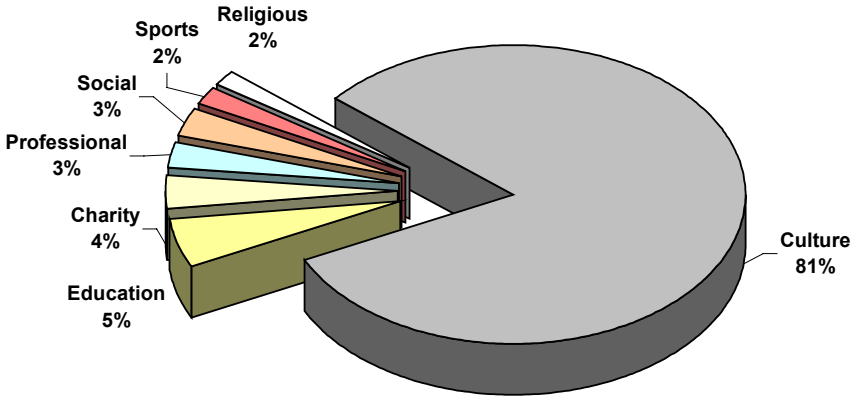
Ethnic Structure of Salcininkai Region Municipal Council, 2002 (%)
Diagram No 10



Number of the NGOs of Ethnic Minorities, 2001
Diagram No 11



Distribution of NGOs' of Ethnic Minorities by the Nature of Activities, 2001 (%)
Diagram No 12



Executives by Implied Nationality in the Biggest Companies by Sales and Servises in 2002 (%)
Diagram No 13

