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**TITLE: FAMILY POLICY IN LITHUANIA: CHANGES
AND PROBLEMS**

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ABBREVIATIONS

APE	Allocation Parentale d'education
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDR	German Democratic Republic
LITAS	Lithuanian currency
MCC	Mbeya Cement Company (in Tanzania)
MSL	Minimum Substance Level
USSR	United State of Socialist Republics
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
TBL	Tanzania Breweries Limited
TETPO	Tanzania Education and Training Policy.

Abstract

This study endeavours to make an analysis of the major issues that Lithuanian families are facing. In doing so, it is the purpose of the research to uncover the changes and problems that have taken place in Lithuanian society since the country gained independence from the Soviet Union.

The Lithuanian case will be compared with Tanzania and other eastern and western European countries. This helps to identify and understand problems that Lithuanian society and families with dependent children have been experiencing.

The current situation of families in Lithuania is based on traditional model, where men are breadwinners and women are the ones who take care of the households. However, families are undergoing changes whereby, dual model support is taking over, especially to young generation. The two models are functioning in the country but majority of the population prefer traditional model. It is observed that, due to changes and difficulties in life, people have no other way than accepting dual model support.

Families with children are facing problems which hinder them to develop well in life style. Although the family policy in Lithuania provides family benefits to the families which deserve allowances, still children are in danger of lacking proper care and guidance. Families with dependent children have been experiencing poverty at a high rate that the rest of the population. Families with more than three children are more affected than the ones with fewer children.

The analysis of this study has shown how the issue of unemployment affects the raising of children. Many citizens have lost their jobs due to privatisation although on the other hand, privatization has been proved to increase the economy of the studied countries.

This study has also shown that women in Lithuania are more disadvantaged than men. Even if women labour force participation is quite high in Lithuania, still there are many problems. Namely, women in Lithuania have lower wages compared to men; there also few women in the decision making bodies and the parliament. Both Lithuanian and Tanzanian governments have taken measures to encourage women to participate in political arena and labour market. Good relationships within the families have proved to be crucial in good bringing up of the children. The responsibility of bringing up the children is also extended to the relatives.

All in all provision of family benefits is not the only solution but it has to be associated with education to families and community on how to raise children morally, physically and psychologically so that they become responsible adults.

1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the overview of the study is given, the purpose and aims of the study are stated as well as the reason behind the choice of case study. Likewise, the description of methodology is provided.

Making a study of the political and socio-economic implications of the family policy of a country is an exercise fraught with pitfalls, more so in an era like ours, which puts an academic premium on narrow specialisation. Studies of the social behaviour of a society in a given country like Lithuania may be suspect as indulgences of ambitious students, purveyors of simplistic models or grand theories. Nevertheless, the importance of such studies cannot be over-emphasised. They are a means of taking stock of the academic lectures and seminars attended at various moments in the development of scholarship. Ideally, they provide signposts of where a subject is, and possible directions for future research.

Family structures are an intricate integral part of society. Ignorance of the factors and responsibilities shouldered by policy makers often breeds fatuous generalisations. Besides, children deserve stable family relations, and their needs have to be fulfilled. Those in authority are burdened to make sure those family policies are applicable to the given situation. There is a Swahili proverb that says, 'It takes a village to raise a child.' In other words, there is a need of a collective effort to bring up children in a conducive environment. Governments all over the world are obliged to make a lot of contribution to ease the situation faced by families in bringing up and educating children, especially children who do not have parents or guardians, for example street children. Another group, which should be cared for, is families with dependent children, especially those with three or more children. Thus, the Lithuanian government, through its family policy, considers the necessity of encouraging families to improve their lives as well as supporting families in raising their children of paramount importance.

1.1 Aims and objectives

The overall aim of this study is to identify the kinds of problems, which are faced by families with children in Lithuania. The objectives of this study are:

- Have families with children got any assistance from family policy to solve problems?
- To what extent changes happening in families have affected families with children?
- Has the government succeed in solving the availing problems?

The study will make an endeavour to capture the interconnectedness of social processes and economic realities often hidden in micro-studies. This will be done by comparing the Lithuanian family policy and related issues with other western and eastern European countries and with the case of Tanzania. Without going into details, factors within other countries will be used only as a background for comparison in order to identify problems in Lithuania. The area of analysis will encompass the problems that families with children experience in Lithuania; poverty alleviation and other problems such as lack of accommodation, lack of food, illnesses and other social problems.

However, it should be stressed that it is quite problematic to compare Lithuania and Tanzania. The problems that these countries experience are totally different in scope and depth. Lithuania belongs to the group of highly developed countries. Tanzania, however, belongs to the group according United Nations Development Index 2005, of low human development countries. United Nations rank 177 countries each year according to various social indicators such as life

expectancy, income of the population, literacy rate, poverty levels and so on. Lithuania was ranked on the 38th place, Tanzania has occupied 164th place according to Human Development Index 2005. Thus, this tells that the depth and scope of the problems are very different in these countries. Nevertheless, since the author of this thesis is coming from Tanzania, it is very useful to compare these countries. This will help me to understand and identify problems in Lithuania.

Lithuania has been chosen as a case study because the country is going through transitional changes of an economic and politic nature. Current events and Lithuanian membership of the European Union dictate that it has a lot to learn from the EU. Being a Catholic country, Lithuania is still practicing traditional way of family relation in child bearing. This leads to the need to consider different reasons, which could indicate factors that influence the conservative tendencies in Lithuanian society. In doing this, it is essential to find similarities and/or differences between Lithuania and Tanzania in particular.

1.2 Research Methodology

The study will be based mainly on secondary sources of information. The thesis seeks to describe and identify problems mainly for the post-1991 period - the period after the fall of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. The comparison between the Lithuanian family policy and policies in other European countries will be a helpful strategy to identify problems face by families with children in Lithuania. Materials used in this study are; books, the reports and governmental journals, articles and some information from the Internet. The use of comparison in this research will base on the case of Tanzania with Lithuania, and some more data are taken from Eastern and Western countries in comparison to Lithuania. The method of comparison will help to lay down the similarities and differences between Lithuania and Tanzania. Much description is provided in the background of the study and also on what other researchers say about the study. There is no any conducted interview, however, the researcher picked up some questions, which were used in the interview by other authors who happened to write their studies on families and children in different countries. This is done purposely to support the arguments and opinions, which are provided in this study in the case of Lithuania. Tables, which are presented, were taken the way they appear from the authors' books. The figures represent the answers given by women and men were improved by the researcher (they are not found in the authors books but only data were quoted from the sources). The materials used have played a big role in clarifying the question about problems facing children and families in Lithuania.

1.3 Research Qustions

- What kind of problems which are facing children and families with children?
 - Why do families change or go under transformation in Lithuania?
 - Which models are prefered in Lithuanian's families and why?
 - How do governments (Lithuania and Tanzania) solve problems?

2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In this chapter, the study describes various problems encountered by families with children in Lithuania in comparison to Tanzania. The study describes the socio-economic situation of the families with children in Lithuania. Also economic background of the country will be discussed. It is important to know the conditions in which families in Lithuania live. The overall socio-economic situation of the country is important to understand problems that families with children are facing. Moreover, the question of privatisation in different sectors and industries in both countries will be discussed as it also affects economic situation both in positive and negative in families' life.

2.1 Socio-economic situation of the families and children

Lithuania was occupied by the Soviet Union since after the Second World War. During that period of occupation, the country had acquired features that identified it with the former Soviet system on her family policy. Since then, the Lithuanian government used to help the parents with childcare by providing them with jobs. However, it has under gone some changes in improving the way of living due to the crisis it faces on the labour market. Stankuniene admits that in Lithuania, the new system of support for families was rather inconsistent and controversial during the whole period of transformation. In spite of all the major changes in family policy, even of the motivation of family policy, its general goals with a certain degree of stability, could be defined in the following terms; to improve the economic situation of the families for the performance of their functions; to seek the responsibility of families for the performance of their functions; active or non active; successive or non-successive; harmonised or non-harmonised.¹

Lithuania adopted the principle of equal opportunities to both male and female sexes soon after the Cairo Conference of 1994. Unemployment has been a problem in different countries, Lithuania being one of them. Families have been experiencing difficulties due to the rapid deterioration of the economic situation. The families with more than three children find it difficulty to take care of the children as well as taking them to schools. Notwithstanding, the government reorganised the family policy in 1993-1994, whereby some radical changes were made. The number of children attending day care institutions started to increase. Some of the children have lost both parents, some have only single parent.

It could be claimed that, majority of people in societies, take men as breadwinners in the family. However, in the Lithuanian's families, women are also working very hard and are responsible in their own way in taking care of families. The Lithuanian government has made some changes whereby both parents are responsible for taking care of the children. Children are considered to be tomorrow's leaders in any nation; they need more attention and conducive environment for their development. No one can provide the optimal environment for children but a committed family. The family can apply the role of helping children to know their identity, and to acknowledge their responsibility. The family can help the children to grow morally and in religious matters and it helps children to grow in love. The Lithuanian government, in collaboration with families (both parents and guardians) is trying to care for children and to

¹ Stankuniene 2001: 2

provide for their physical, moral, spiritual and psychological growth. It tries to build relationships among the children themselves, the families and government institutions.

Various authors and how they affect children and families in Lithuanian Society have pointed out some problems. The Social report claims that, “quite often social tensions arising within the family, alcoholism, unstable family relations between spouses raising the children together are some of the reasons for inadequate childcare, and as a result children do not attend school, they become vagrant, and commit violations of law or offences. Some parents are failing to take care of their children and against one another”.² If parents are not aware of what is necessary for their children, they can be a problem to their children as well. Parents and guardians need to have a close relationship with children and give them priority in their life. Some families, instead of solving problems, they add problems to children. The report argues that “several of family members abuse psychotropic substances; are involved in gambling, fail to take care of their children, allow them to be vagrant, and to go begging, are incapable of taking care of their own children due to disability, poverty, lack of social skills and special knowledge, manifest psychological, physical or sexual violence; use state support provided to them for the purposes other than the interests of their family.”³

The Social report states that, “the number of families willing to take care of children is reducing because people are afraid of assuming responsibility for children, in particular for minors, because these children need greater attention and require more knowledge about how to treat young people of adolescent age.”⁴ It can be argued that the government should provide skills to the families on how to take care of children and encourage them not to hesitate to take responsibility for the children. Children need to have solid and stable family relationships even if the government helps in solving some of the problems. The government cannot satisfy all the requirements of children. Children need material as well as spiritual support. Children with one parent or with none have been the victims of alcohol problems/drunkenness, drug abuse, and crime against person, prostitution, economic crimes, and family violence. The situation like this does not only face children with single parents but even with all parents. This is caused by the lack of moral support. Some children are forced to engage in these kinds of devious activities as they also look for a way to live and support them in life. Some of these problems lead to environmental pollution, poor health sanitation and, very often, a resort to cigarette smoking.

Another problem to be discussed is connected with the relatively high rate of child mortality in Lithuania. Arunas Liubsys declares that, “the mortality of infants has steadily decline during the last seven years, reaching 9.2 per 1,000 live births in 1998. Child mortality in rural areas is noticeably higher than in urban areas. Although infant mortality in Lithuania is consistently declining, it continues to remain high in some cities and regions. For example, 31.8 for every 1,000 live births in the region of Sirvintai; 24.4 in Druskininkai; 20.3 in Silale and 17.4 in Kretinga.”⁵ It is argued that there has been a high rate of death of both children and adults in Lithuania. Diseases like malignant, tumours and external causes are the main reasons for people’s deaths although there are some other reasons as well. Liubsys claims that “although the suicide rate is gradually declining Lithuania still has one of the highest suicide rates in the world. In

² Ministry of Social Security and Labour Social Report 2003: 117

³ Ibid

⁴ ibid 2003: 118

⁵ Liubsys .A 1997: 353

1998, the major cause of death of infants up to the age of one was congenital anomalies.” Although, problems in Tanzania are different in scope, some similarities are found. For instance, in Tanzania, it is found that, a high rate of both children and adults is due to the disease of Malaria. Majority of mothers and children are dying during delivery process. Furthermore, disease like HIV AIDS has affected families and it has killed parents and leave behind orphans who need to be taken care of.

Unemployment is another problem that faces Lithuanians. The main causes are lack of working capital, loss of markets, low production quality, low productivity and backward technology (Gruzevskis 1997). Gruzevskis states that, “between 1991 and 1998 there was a significant decrease in the total number of employed people in Lithuania (nearly 241,000 or 13% of the labour force).”⁶ The above-mentioned factors hinder Lithuania to compete for markets within and outside the country. This could be linked with the economic crisis in Lithuania. This has led to drug abuse, crimes related to drugs, theft and violence by children and the youth. Unemployment that affects members of families who are supposed to take care of the children has become a acute problem not only for the adults but has had an effect on children too, and young people have become a threat to neighbours and other citizens. In spite of having a lot of NGOs, young people with education are at risk of not being employed.

In Dar es Salaam (one of the big city in Tanzania), young people pose a threat to innocent people. These young people complain that they have nothing to meet their daily needs. There are no jobs for them because most government companies and enterprises have been privatised leaving a few people with gainful employment. Thus, in order to survive, they resort to robbing people and stealing form those with plenty.

Young people in the family, relatives are expected to be willingly to give service in looking after children and guide them to attain their dreams instead of being a bad model.

Gruzeuskis argues that, “unemployment among young people is an acute problem throughout Europe. High unemployment among the youth is costly not only in the economic sectors, but also in the social sense. Unemployed young people are a favourable medium for the spread of crime and social tension.”⁷

Another problem, which can be pointed out in this study, is the poor economic situation of the women folk, especially the single mothers. Purvaneckiene claims that, “single mothers make up about 12% of all working women aged 15-54 in Lithuania. The economic situation of these women is, undoubtedly, difficult especially considering the problems associated with alimony collection in recent years. Through the shadow of the economy, individuals can hide their income as well as the very fact of their employment.”⁸

Women labour force participation is quite high in Lithuania. For instance, in Lithuania in 2000, there were 56 % who were working as compared to the total economically active population in the working age. If we look into the age 30 – 55, we find that almost 87 % of women working in this age (Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, 2000). However, there are not so many women in positions like Ministers or Members of Parliament, Directors and Managers are hold by men. The number of men is higher than that of women.

⁶ Gruzeukis B 1997: 61

⁷ Gruzeukis B 1997: 68

⁸ Purvaneckien G 1997: 147

Today's societies are dominated by class structures: higher class, middle and lower class. The disadvantaged group (lower class) finds itself on the receiving end. It is argued that privileges go to the upper classes. Professors Buracas, Larson and Kairys, Jr point out that, "Socially deprived people, the majority of pensioners and large families belong to the lowest social stratum. These have no source of additional incomes or enough money to purchase goods, receive services at lower prices (retired former officials constituted a separate group because most of the privileges they had enjoyed were maintained)".⁹ It could be claimed that the families, which do not have better economies, would be deprived of the important services that they would need. Moreover, if it happens that they would be entitled to get services, and then the quality would not be as that provided to higher classes. However, the government of Lithuania finances education, health care, training and other social benefits. This is so especially where salaries are still insufficient to meet daily needs

The country had undergone economic depression for quite some times. It can be argued that women find it difficult to take care of children because of the economic situation. Life style could not be easier for a mother with child/ children and without employment. Buracas admits that the continuing economic depression influenced the decrease in the crude birth rate to 15 promilles and total fertility rate down to 1.89 promilles in 1993. The average age of mothers delivering the first child decreased from 24.4 years in 1970 to 23.3 years in 1980 and 21.5 years in 1992. In 1995, infant mortality in Lithuania was 1.24 percent (in 1970 - 1.94 percent) while in neighbouring Scandinavian countries it is 0.6 - 0.8.¹⁰ Aidukaite J. admits that "various social problems (ageing, low fertility and poverty) suggest that issues like social security require further efforts to be made in order to reach the appropriate standard of the Western European countries. Private services, communication and higher education are some of the successful areas with a high level of performance."¹¹

Lithuania faced a post- Soviet economic depression for about five years. Professor A. Buracas, Professor, D. M. Larson and Professor J. P Kairys, Jr declare that, "due to underdeveloped means of production and low effectiveness of resource application, most Lithuanian enterprises could sell their produce only in the USSR markets or those of underdeveloped countries."¹²

Any country with underdeveloped means of production usually faces difficulties in the development of its economy. Selling its products only in the Soviet markets could not help Lithuania to improve its standard of living. Lithuanian economy depends mainly on agricultural production and agro food processing. The chemical industry also contributes to the country's economy. It could be argued that the increase in foreign investment has helped the country to boost its economic production. This has resulted in a higher percentage of produce generated by the private sector being exported.

As the government takes part in the reform of the economy, it could be said that it has tried to take difficult decisions on monetary policy in order to meet demands from the IMF and to ensure that it avoids inflation, which is already a problem. Professors Buracas, Larson and Kairys, Jr argue, "Lithuania could not pursue an independent financial and monetary policy. Banks had to observe regulations and rules common to the banks of the regions of the USSR. In spite of all the

⁹ Buracas et al 1997: 22

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Aidukaite 2003: 55

¹² Larson D M et al 1997: 22

difficulties that Lithuania faces with the liberalisation of its economy, there is an improvement towards the establishment of a market economy since attainment of independence.”¹³

The situation of children in Lithuania depends with the economic situation of the country how much it could be of a helpful to them. However, it is found that, children under 18 years are living below the poverty line. (260 Litas per month)

Young people in Lithuania are more liberal and receptive to change compared to old people. They support market economy although majority of them are in a crisis of being unemployed. For this reason it is not easy for them to take care of their young brothers and sisters.

2.2 Poverty existence

Poverty is another problem, which is facing Lithuanians like it is in other countries around the world. It was argued that during the Soviet regime, there was no problem with ‘the-have and the-have-not’. All people were equal and they all had employment and the majority had the same rate of salaries. It was difficulty to find anyone without a place to live. But now things have changed, corruption and bribery are common in Lithuania just like in Tanzania. There are those who are rich and continue to become rich at the expense of the poor. Due to unemployment and corruption, another distinct class has emerged - a class of poor people. Cesnavicius and Taljunaite declare that persistent poverty has not been noted as a phenomenon in the former Soviet Baltic Countries.¹⁴

The evidence of its presence has been the focus of common international studies and has been identified in most developed countries. It has been particularly noted in the United States as a serious problem. “Poverty among families with infants varies considerably in a cross-national perspective using the fifty percent limit (see table 5.2) in the author’s book. Countries with market-oriented family policies mostly have relatively high levels of poverty”¹⁵. Ferrarini .

The problem with market-oriented economies is that there is an effort to cut down on social services. Therefore, quite a lot of families are left in a dilemma where they have no means to support themselves. As it is said in the United State that it has the highest level of poverty among families with children, so as it has found to be in Lithuania and in Tanzania.

Ferrarini states that, “compared with the other groups of families with children, it can be noted that poverty is higher among families with the youngest children than among the families with children above the age of 17 or the total population, which most likely reflects the greater economic vulnerability of the former house-holds¹⁶. There are groups of people, which have high rates of poverty. Wennemo states that, “one group of households with severe economic problems was constituted by female-headed households. This group consisted of divorced, deserted and unmarried mothers and of widows with dependent children.” “One reason for poverty in families headed by single mothers was the problem for mothers to combine the caring of children with paid work, when the working-day exceeded eight hours and public child-care was nearly non-existent. Another important circumstance was that women had lower wages than men. Another group of households with insufficient income consisted of families where the fathers for any

¹³ Buracas et al 1997: 22

¹⁴ Cesnavicius & Taljunaite 1997: 33

¹⁵ Ferrarini 2003: 119

¹⁶ Ferrarini 2003: 119

reason was temporarily absent or one of the parents was disabled or unemployed. Another group of needy families include those with many children¹⁷. Wennemo.

Similar to Poland, poverty in Lithuania does not found to all families. There are types of families, which can be said, that are poor according to their life situation. Having changes within the families and in the country, the following poor families in Poland are likely to be found in Lithuania as well. Poland and Lithuania share the same background and have some similarities on the way they deal with poverty reduction to citizens who are facing this problem.

- Grazyna points out types of families as the poorest in Poland: -“families with many children and one parent families with dependants.
- Families whose members are unemployed.
- Uneducated families from small towns and villages
- Single people, particularly elderly.”¹⁸

However, it is not a guarantee that the above categories should be expected to be poor in all countries. Poverty as it is can be defined in many ways. One would say, if he/she is able to meet the basic needs, then there is no poverty. Another one could say, being educated does not give an insurance of not being poor. Likewise being uneducated can be one of the reason of being poor as it is declared by Grazyna. But the most important issue is that, it depends with how one understands the term poverty individually, in the family and in the society.

It can be argued that if children are from the families that Grazyna listed above, then they have poor conditions of life, such as poor food, poor households, or sometimes in other places children lack clothes and shoes to put on. This can be in the case of Lithuania as well as Tanzania. Grazyna states “children from poor families are generally malnourished. Although the greater part of the income is spent on nourishment, daily amount and quality of food are below minimum. In low-income families expenditure on culture and holiday activities has been reduced dramatically. Growing costs of education unfavourably influenced its accessibility for some children. Commercialisation of a number of medical services has limited the possibilities of providing primary health care. Limited possibilities to fulfil children’s basic needs and unsatisfactory involvement of the state put biological, social and cultural development of the young generation at risk”¹⁹.

“Living in poverty deprives family members of potential choices and may restrict opportunities to pursue their objectives. But the poverty risks for families with newly born children also have consequences for parents-to-be, as well as for the future life chances of children growing up under poor circumstances.”²⁰ Ferrarini.

It could be claimed that, poverty in the family can even make children to lag behind not only materially but also in intellectual perspective. The family whose children live in poverty can hardly do well at school compared to other children who are well off. Childhood poverty may have a long-term effect on life and could affect the family and the whole nation at large. However, the state of Lithuania is said to have laid some strategies to combat the problem of poverty among the children. Aidukaite declares “Lithuanian decision-makers seek to reduce

¹⁷ Wennemo 1994: 20-21

¹⁸ Grazyna Firlit-Fesna K. in the article ‘Polish Families in the Transformation Period’. 1997: 45

¹⁹ Grazyna Firlit-Fesna K. 1997:148

²⁰ Ferrarini 2003: 111

poverty among families with children and enhance parents' responsibility for the upbringing of their children"²¹.

In this study, it was found that in 1999, 15.8% of the population was below the poverty datum line of 50% of average consumer expenditure. The level of poverty is significantly higher in rural areas (28.2%) than in the cities (7.2 %). Place of residence, education, occupation, and household size and structure are the factors most related to poverty. The highest poverty levels are among households where the head has the lowest education (primary or basic). In rural areas, 6% of the population with a higher education is also poor while in cities such people account for 1.5% only. In all regions, single person households with children under the age of 18 are the most impoverished.

2.3 Privatisation

Privatisation is a comparatively new word in (Economic History) which made no significant appearance in political or economic literature before 1979. It is a legacy of the Thatcherite era and the Chicago School of Economics. However, its popularisation could not have come at a better time when centralised economic planning in East Europe became discredited during the early 1990s. In Africa, government expenditure with finance loss-making government enterprises and the Public Sector Borrowing Requirements (PSBR) are seen as the main culprit responsible for the economic ills.

Among the three Baltic Countries, Lithuania was the first country to take part in economic reforms and privatisation. Major changes were made between 1991 and 1994. Simenas declares that, "Mass privatisation in Lithuania started in September 1991. The residents were given investment cheques to purchase state-owned property or to purchase shares. At the beginning of privatisation, the amount of investment cheques and cash accumulated in the accounts of the population was 1313 million Litass. These means were used for privatising the state-owned capital (enterprises, means of production, premises), state apartments and agricultural enterprises (collective forms)."²²

Simenas A. states that, "a considerable part of the state-owned property (7.4 percent of the total property privatised) was handed over to the employees of enterprises on favourable terms permitting them to buy out the shares of their enterprises, without the law on the initial privatisation of the state-owned property being applied to them. In 1995, the largest enterprises began to be privatised including those whose control block of shares remained in the hands of the state even after their privatisation. On account of these reasons the privatisation process encompassed as much as 23.3 percent of state capital in 1995"²³.

Simenas argues that irrespective of all shortcomings and difficulties of the mass privatisation of the state-owned property, in essence it justified itself as a means of transferring this property to the private sector. At the end of 1995 a greater part of the former state-owned economic entities become private without creating too much social tension. The following are shortcoming of mass privatisation: The ineffective of investment cheques in the market and financial means were not redistributed among different social layers.²⁴

²¹ Adukaite 2003: 142

²² Simenas 1997: 63

²³ Simenas 1997: 64

²⁴ Simenas 1997: 67

‘No country has used only a single method of privatisation. Citizens could be encouraged to invest directly in privatised companies (this method can promote quick privatisation, since it avoids problems of enterprise re-structuring or corporate governance); and competitive bidding, direct sales to consortia of investors and selling by public offerings can also be effective.’ (Chikuhwa 2004)

He notes that, ‘Competitive bidding increases the selling price and ensures a transparent process because of the need for clear rules. Direct sales to consortia of investors, on the other hand, are simply and inexpensive to arrange while selling by public offerings leads to broad share distribution and reduces criticism that public assets are being transferred to a tiny elite’

Starkeviciute. M, urges “(Privatisation) provided the government with the financial resources for wide scale state investment programmes and for subsidising the economy.”²⁶ It seems that privatisation has boosted the Lithuanian economy. Having foreign investors has increased competition among Lithuanians in different sectors such as companies, business and industries. However, it has been noted out that privatisation has not solved the problem of unemployment to many Lithuanians. One wonders whether the question of privatisation has increased the quality of life standard among Lithuanians.

It is necessary to note that although privatising a country’s loss making government, companies would be having a positive development. There was need to ensure that no monopoly powers accumulated in private hands where they could be abused. It is essential that prior to privatisation, regularly arrangements be put in place to ensure that such monopoly powers are not abused. When monopoly powers fell into private hands they were likely to be used to the detriment of consumers as the prices of goods and services could be inflated. Therefore, government should strive to bring more players into these areas so that there is competition.

²⁵ Chikuhwa J 2004: 274

²⁶ Starkeviciute. M 1997

3 THEORIES AND THEORETICAL ARGUMENTS

In this session the theoretical background to study family policy will be discussed. It should be stressed that theoretical background to study family policy was mainly developed for western countries. Eastern European countries have adopted family policy theories that were developed to study capitalist democracies (Aidukaite, 2004). In this essay family policy models will be applied. The study identifies the model of current family policy in Lithuania, since it will help to identify problems that families are facing in Lithuania. However, other theoretical concepts and theories are also presented here in order to understand the definition of the 'family'. Theories like family development and system theory gives an overview picture of how families and children in Lithuania could be related with those theories.

Then, models of family policy will be analysed. These are dual earner family policy model, general family policy model and market-oriented family policy model. The study tries to identify the kind of models, which are maintained by Lithuanian's family policy.

3.1 Models of Family Policy

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of theoretical arguments and an analytical discussion of the raising of children and family well being in Lithuania. Various theories concerning family policy, families and children would be discussed.

Every person including children are accountable of their own lives; parents and guardians can only give guidance and advice, encourage children to follow their dreams and sometimes to correct them but the final forming of their character depends on themselves. Children can only develop their character and ambitions if the home and school atmosphere is conducive. Fathers and mothers should co-operate and get closer to children and find out what their children prefer to do in life in order to support them to pursue their goals. Raising of children takes on significant importance in any society. It does not matter from which class the parents come, be it first class or third class. A child's background is always reflected by his/her performance at school and even in a professional career or politics.

It is essential to identify types of models of family policy. The following are the types of models of family policy, and two of the models are likely to be followed by Lithuania. These are: - Dual Earner Support, General, and market oriented.

The traditional family model that has been existed in the country for some decades has begun to change in this new era. Lithuania is said to be following the market-oriented model, and this is due to its policy and its economy status. Lithuania appears to be liberal and market oriented.

Aidukaite claims "it is not possible to place the Baltic States directly into any typology developed to study rich capitalist democracies. With regard to the decision-makers' motives, Lithuania appears to be close to a liberal regime and its family policy model very much resembles the market-oriented logic. However, there is still a universal system up to the child's third birthday (recently up to the seventh birthday) as well as other public benefits and state-subsidised child-care for families with children"²⁷.

²⁷ Aidukaite 2003: 147

Governments, as custodians of people's welfare should make it their policy that children should not suffer and should not be in a position to intervene where they are likely to suffer or in danger of significant harm. The social security system should aim to provide financial help to families with no bread winner or with no possibility to bring up children. The system would include contributory national insurance benefits covering sickness, invalidity, unemployment, and job Security, widowhood, and retirement. In addition, there should be statutory sick pay and maternity pay paid for their employees by employers. Like in Sweden, the system should consist of non-contributory benefits such as child benefit (barn bidrag)

Ferrarini points out that "Welfare states with general models of family policy take an intermediate position when it comes to total benefit generosity. These countries often have high earnings replacement. Countries with market oriented models of family policy on the whole have the lowest benefit generosity"²⁸.

Lithuania could be said that is in the middle between market-oriented and liberal since it is in the period of changes and transformation. However, it is found that the country has the high benefit generosity.

3.2 Theories on family policy

Having changes in various aspects in Lithuania are leading to the emergence and development of capitalism in a society. The issues of Privatization, industrialism are shaping citizens to see the importance of being more dependent, in confronting the situation that happens to hinder family to develop.

Wennemo I. states, "during the last decade many different theoretical perspectives have been brought to bear upon analyses of family policy. Family support has thus been viewed as a form of population policy, as a part of the wage or tax system, or as a way of intervening in and affecting internal relations between family members, and especially between husband and wife. Theories on family policy can be derived from more general theoretical frameworks on the development of social policy. The different perspectives on social policy can be divided into evolutionary, political and gender centred perspectives"²⁹.

"In evolutionary theories, both the perspective of 'logic of industrialism' and the neo-Marxist tradition can be included. Industrialism was seen as leading to the development of new social classes, the working class as well as the 'new middle class', and to a transformation of the family structure. These process made people more dependent on demand for their labour power on the labour market, and thereby created a need for means to reduce the economic risk of this dependency. The meeting of this need was made possible by economic growth. The neo-Marxist perspective focused on the development of capitalism as the important causal factor behind the emergence of social policy. In the writings of social Marx the emphasis is laid upon social revolutions and conflicts between social classes as driving forces in historical development"³⁰.

Wennemo

The perspectives of neo-Marxist and industrialism are likely to be found in the Lithuanian society. The policy tries to solve the possible conflicts within Lithuanian people. It is possible to

²⁸ Ferrarini 2003: 116

²⁹ Wennemo I. 1994: 10

³⁰ Ibid

identify classes in Lithuania although government tries to deal with the problems facing families irrespective of social status.

Wennemo quoted Therborn 1987, the author argues that “social policy, including family policy, was seen as important for the reproduction of the labour force and thereby the capitalist order. Family policy could be used both to increase incentives for child rearing and to improve the living conditions in families, increasing thereby children’s possibilities and staying alive and healthy”³¹.

The above notion has some connections with family policy in Lithuania, because one major purpose of the Lithuanian family policy is to improve the living condition of the people and see how children would perform well with excellence both physically and morally.

Unfortunately, Tanzanian family do not do much to its people due to the lack of fund but it tries to help in relation with NGOs from different countries.

Another perspective to be discussed is about gender. “The reason for dealing with this tradition separately is the fact that family policy has important gender-specific effects and that this perspective has been important for research in those fields of family policy. A central issue is the relative of men and women, their opportunities to affect politics through different channels, and whether the variation in opportunity has affected the formation of social policy. Different women organisations have emerged all over the world. But the common policy goal for most women’s organisations has been increased political and social rights for women.”³² Wennemo. However, some differences have been noticed in these organizations.

Women in Lithuania are more emphasizing in being productive in labor market instead of staying at home. They form groups and help one another to know their rights and act upon them. Different Organisations have been started soon after independence. There are Christians’ Organisation, Lithuanian Women in Business and Management Society and more like those. Wennemo quoted Chambaerlayne (1993) that “there have, however, also been differences in the ideology of women’s organizations. In the Western world two contradictory ideologies about the role of women have competed with one another. In one of them, women’s distinctive character as mothers and housewives has been emphasized, while the other has emphasized similarity and equality between genders”.³³ Wennemo. “According to the former perspective, housework and rearing of the children was as important as the work of men in the labor market³⁴” (Ostner 1993) (Winnemo).

The study has revealed that women organisations in Lithuania are trying to put some fundamental opinions and goals for the purpose of making women aware of their right in performing duties within the families as well as in the labour market. This is also done in Tanzania through different Organisations, which are concerned with women and children with collaboration of The Ministry of Women and Children. Through Civil society, NGOs, women are sensitizing the societies to acknowledge women participation in the labor market.

“The goal for women’s organizations was to enable all mothers to be at home and take care of their children, even if they were poor or widowed. Economic support to needy groups of mothers

³¹ Wennemo I. 1994:12

³² Wennemo 1994: 15-16

³³ Ibid 1994: 16

³⁴ Wennemo I. 1994:17

was often intended to decrease labor force participation among them. The paid work of poor mothers was seen as a necessary evil, which could be avoided through the introduction of social benefits (Skocpol 1993; Pedersen 1993). Supporters of this perspective worked further for an appraisal of typical female work such as childcare and housework. Proposals for wages and vacations for housewives were also raised.”

Women organisations should set the plans and goals beyond the idea of working at household. It is found that women can do well in labor market as it is with men. Women have to engage in the jobs, which pay well, by doing so it will reduce the burden of the family in life. Moreover, men should encourage women to engage in all kinds of works and should cease to discriminate jobs in gender. Jobs should be for everyone though some people are more competent in other jobs than other people. In Tanzania, it is found that some tribes have jobs discrimination. There are jobs for women and jobs for men. In some tribes, men are not allowed to be in the kitchen when women are cooking. Women themselves would not allow their husbands or sons to go to the kitchen. It is said that is a place for women only.

Winnemo I. claims, “The other ideology of women’s organization is centred upon the theme emphasizing similarities between the genders. The actual distribution of paid and unpaid work between the genders is seen as the result of the socialization of children into a dominant gender system and the distribution of power between men and women. According to this perspective the women movement should strive towards a more equal distribution of both paid and unpaid work between the genders and a strengthening of women’s movement should strive towards a more equal distribution of both paid and unpaid work between the genders and a strengthening of women’s positions on the labour market. If women to a higher extent had paid work, women’s possibilities to affect both decisions in the family and the distribution of household work would increase”³⁵. It was held that their influence on decisions in the public sphere thereby might also expand. As means for reaching this goal, the removal of obstacles against female labour force participation has been proposed. Especially for married women and for women with dependent children, the joint taxation of household income, the lack of child care facilities and discrimination in the labour market have made it difficult for women to enter into paid labor. (Hantrais 1993; Leira 1993)

3.3 Family Development Theory

It is significant to analyse the theory in terms of the children’s age groups. In family development theory, various issues can be raised, such as the issue of interaction and relationship between a child and parents, other members of the family and children, children and other people (peers, teachers, doctors and so on), and children and environment. A family can only be stable if there are positive relationships and interactions.

During the 20th century, such theory was called family stages, family life Circle, and family Development. As long as this study deals with families and dependent children in Lithuania, there is a relation between the above theory and the development of children within the family.

Different activists outlined the eight-stage model below, such as: Duvall and Hill. However, these

³⁵ Winnemo I. 1994: 17, 18

stages would not be discussed in this paper, but the reason of laying them out is to show how development of the family can be looked at. Moreover, stages; 2, 3, 4, and 5 could be more supportive in this study.

- 1- Married couples (no children)
- 2- Childbearing families (oldest child aged birth to 30 months)
- 3- Families with pre-school children (oldest child aged 2 and a half to 6 years)
- 4- Families with school children (oldest child aged 6 to 13 years)
- 5- Families with teenagers (oldest child aged 13 to 20 years)
- 6- Families launching young adults (stage begins when oldest child leaves home and ends when youngest child leaves home)
- 7- Middle-aged parents (stage begins with empty nest and ends at start of refinement)
- 8- Ageing family members (stage begins with spouses, retirement and ends at their deaths).

The family policy in Lithuania shows much interest in helping children from the time of birth to 18 years. At these stages; 2, 3, 4 and 5 are likely to be very fragile to children if they are not well treated with families and government. Parents are more concerned with the development of their children in the above stages. In Lithuania, though most of men think that women should stay with children at the early stage of their life, some fathers prefer to spend time with their children in order to build a strong relationship with them.

3.4 System Theory

Higher levels control lower levels. While everyone is unique on her/ his own way one is a part of the family at the same time. In this kind of theory, children are attached to the family in interaction with what is around them. 'The family is a bounded system in interaction with its environment. Within the family boundary are its members and their roles, norms, values, traditions, and goals, in addition to other elements that distinguish one family from another and the social environment...families whose boundaries are open and flexible are the most health.'³⁶ Longres .

System theory would work better if families realise how important it is to bind all members of families together in regarding to their roles in the family and communities in general and on how necessary it is to assess and evaluate the development of the children both with parents or guardians and those without. Street children could be found in Lithuania and so in other countries. Some children have started so early to take the role of the parents; i. e. children who are left alone due to the death of the parents or lack of the responsibility of the parents are more likely, especially the big ones to take responsibility of raising their little brothers and sisters. Then if this could be the case, it is likely that to have unstable and weak family. It could be possible for children to miss the important services such as education and so on. A child needs a parent or guardian to care; someone he/ she can lean on and perhaps follow as an example, this will bring positive results to a child himself/ herself and to the family as well.

Bradshaw, stresses that "for a family to be healthy, fathers and mothers must have a good sense of who they are, evidence by a good communication skills, healthy ego boundaries, and flexible roles. Each parent must be healthy in order to have healthy relationships. Intimacy requires that

³⁶ Longres 1990: 274

power to be shared in the relationship. Since children don't have equality with their parents, the nature of the parental-child relationship is not (nor should it be) intimate."³⁷ It is likely that, in order for the family to be healthy, it needs challenges, openness, and interactions among the members of the family and all together evaluate the ways they have been using to develop one another in the family and in raising the children in the family. 'The family, like all systems, relate through a process called **feedback**. It is the feedback loops that maintain the system functioning.... In closed systems families, the feedback loops are negative and work to keep the system frozen and unchanging. This is called dynamics homeostasis.....Feedback is also maintained in families by (overt and covert) **rules** that govern the system...positive feedback can break up the frozen status quo of a system. Positive feedback challenges destructive and unexamined rules (both overt and covert)³⁸ Bradshaw

Lithuania can be said that it has an open system families in most of the families which are found in the country. Stankuniene et al declare that, "it is believed that both partners should contribute to running the household and share the responsibility for the financial welfare of the family."³⁹ One could try to find out reason as to why partners should share the responsibility. This idea will only work out for the better if the shared responsibility will be done openly and feed back will be received to both partners and see whether they have succeeded or not in raising children by applying this kind of theory.

3.5 The typology of family policy

Dimensions and models of family policy.

DUAL EARNER SUPPORT

GENERAL FAMILY SUPPORT	High	A. General family policy model	B. Contradictory family policy model
	Low	C. Market-oriented Family policy model Low	D. Dual earner family policy model High

non-existent model in the original typology⁴⁰

Source: Korpi (2000) in Ferrarini T. (2003, p 15)

Ferrarini claims "the first variable, dual earner support comprises the net generosity of parental leave benefits in support of the two-earner family, including maternity insurance, paternity insurance and dual parental insurance. The second dependent variable, general family patterns, including flat-rate childcare leave benefits, lump-sum maternity grants and child benefits paid in cash or via the tax system."⁴¹ Lithuania is likely to follow Kopy's typology. Families with children are entitled of the above benefits and so get some help to solve some of the problems that are faced by children and families. Families in Lithuania are in a period of transformation; it is likely that the model of dual earner is overtaking the traditional model. The reason behind this could be due to the influence of European Union countries and perhaps much more the

³⁷ Bradshaw 1988: 63

³⁸ Bradshaw 1988: 29,30

³⁹ Stankuniene et al 2003: 295

⁴⁰ Ferrarini 2003: 15

⁴¹ Ferrarini 2003: 79

Scandinavian countries and could be the difficulties of life in the families.

A dual-earner family has replaced the traditional male-breadwinner family where the norm is two full-time working adults. Because of new demands placed on the family by the flexible labour markets, the work-family relation has to be redefined and the relationship family-welfare state may be reconsidered. Modern societies are characterised by profound changes in both working conditions and family formation.

“Kopi’s typology builds on the characteristics of family policy in the early 1990s, and to large extent reflects the underlying goals and strengths of political tendencies. Welfare states having general family policy models are characterised by strong Christian Democratic incumbency throughout the post-war period. Countries with dual earner models of family policy were dominated by left parties during the same time period, while nations with market-oriented models primarily were governed by scholar conservative and/or centrist parties.”⁴² Ferrarini

3.6 Definitions and explanations of the above model

Ferrarini claims that, “the general support dimension is in the original typology based on indicators reflecting tax benefits to dependent spouses and children, cash child benefits and childcare facilities for older pre childcare available to the youngest children (0-2years), the extent of social services provided elderly persons and the generosity of earnings-related parental insurance benefits for mothers and the presence of a period of paid leave for fathers.”⁴³ (Korpi 2000:145-146 copied by Ferrarini)

“Contradictory family policy model: this model is not identified in the original typology, and the cell would correspond to a situation of institutional pluralism, where family policies have high scores on support to both the traditional and the dual earner family. Such a combination of family policy is perhaps best described as contradictory, since the two dimensions reflect different underlying families’ ideologies.”⁴⁴

It could be argued that, since Lithuania is a catholic country, it supports the traditional families, whereby, the role of housewife is always considered to be mainly oriented at home. This could be contradicting to the model of dual earner support whereby, the women are more encouraged to participate in labour market.

A highly developed support the traditional family of course entails a strengthened housewife role, which seems to contradict motives of dual earner family support to increase female labor force participation”.⁴⁵ Though Lithuanians seem to adopt the dual earner support model, Stankuniene et al argue that, “on the other hand, the opinion that “a man’s job is to earn money; a woman’s job is to look after the home and family” is still very strong. Opinions are voiced that home and children are what a woman actually wants, and if she is employed full-time, the family becomes disadvantaged. Such attitudes show that many still consider the family to be the main sphere of activity for women.”⁴⁶

The writer declares that Korpi’s approach is used in two different ways in this study. First, the

⁴² Ferrarini 2000:15

⁴³ Ferrarini 2003:14

⁴⁴ Ferrarini 2003:15

⁴⁵ Ferrarini 2003:15

⁴⁶ Stankuniene et al 2003: 295

broad family policy typology is utilised to organise information on paid parental leave programs. Thus the typology is utilised to organise information on paid parental leave programs. Thus the typology may be used to analyse low particular aspects of paid leave deviate from the broader family policy matrix. Second, the two dimensions underlying the broad typology, general family support and dual earner support, are used as a basis for the construction of the agency-relevant indicators of paid parental leave used in empirical analyses.⁴⁷

Models of Family Policy; Dual Earner Support, General and market oriented have been discussed by various researchers each on his/ her own way. Ferrarini states “that Welfare states with general models of family policy take an intermediate position when it comes to total benefit generosity. These countries often have high earnings replacement. Countries with market oriented models of family policy on the whole have the lowest benefit generosity.”⁴⁸

Table 3.1 Family Policy dimension and typical institutional features of different types of benefits paid during first year’s post-natal leave

<u>Type of benefit</u>	<u>Family support dimension</u>	<u>Typical Institutional features</u>
MATERNITY	Dual earner support	Earnings-related benefit paid to Mothers before and after confinement.
INSURANCE DUAL PARENTAL INSURANCE	Dual earner support	Earnings-related benefit paid to mothers and fathers after confinement sometime With partial individual entitlement.
PATERNITY INSURANCE	Dual earner support	Earning-related benefit paid to be used by fathers in connection with Confinement, simultaneously with Maternity insurance.
CHILDCARE LEAVE	General family support	Flat-rate benefit paid after termination of insurance benefit.
MATERNITY GRANT	General family support	Flat-rate and lump-sum payment in connection with confinement.
CHILD BENEFITS	General family support	Flat-rate benefit frequently paid Throughout primary school-age period.

Source: Ferrarini: 2003

Grazyna claims that both the Catholic Church and conservative parties strongly propagate the model of a society in which it is necessary to redefine the position of a woman, in accordance with the traditional role of a ‘Mother Pole’, guarding health and home, faithful to her husband and devoted to her children.

⁴⁷ Ferrarini 2003: 116

⁴⁸ Ibid

This ideological option corresponds with the deteriorating position of women on the labour market. In sum, a model of a family based on partnership becomes more and more problematic.

Grazyna provides three different models of a family which are still favoured in Poland:-

- 1) “A traditional model, in which the woman has the role of a wife, mother and housewife, and the working man, is the sole of family supporter.
- 2) An intermediate model, in which the woman works part time and can devote more time to her family and home but has limited possibility of a professional Career, while the man concentrates on work but partakes of household duties to a limited extent.
- 3) A family based on partnership, in which duties are shared and both parents are professionally active.”⁴⁹

Families being in a transitional period in Lithuania could also follow the footsteps of Poland. In Lithuania, different models are applied because they are in liberal period.

Arutiunyan and Zdravomyslova in their article Russian parents: Redefining gender identity in times of crisis. They argue “men tend to withhold power while women are included to wish for more of it and a much bigger “piece of the pie” than men would willingly allow.”⁵⁰

Arutiunyan and Zdravomyslova argue that “the experiences of Russian families act on the one hand, tremendous changes in the occupational roles of women and new tendencies in the roles of men yet on the other hand an extreme resistance of the traditional family model to any radical change”.⁵¹

Ferrarini argues “Kopi’s typology builds on the characteristics of family policy in the early 1990s, and to large extent reflects the underlying goals and strengths of political tendencies. Welfare states having general family policy models are characterised by strong Christian Democratic incumbency throughout the post-war period. Countries with dual earner models of family policy were dominated by left parties during the same time period, while nations with market- oriented models primarily were governed by scholar conservative and/or centrist parties”⁵²

⁴⁹ Grazyna 1997: 155

⁵⁰ Arutiunyan, Zdravomyslova 1997: 167 in their article Russian parents

⁵¹ Arutiunyan, Zdravomyslova 1997: 179

⁵² Ferrarini 2000: 15

4 FAMILY POLICY IN LITHUANIA

In this session it will be presented the aims of the Lithuanian family policy. Also family benefits that form the most developed and the most important part in the system of family policy in Lithuania will be discussed.

An introduction of family policy in Lithuania and the reason to its introduction in relation to other Eastern and Western countries, such as Hungary, Poland, Russia, East German and West German.

4.1 Implementation of family policy

The Family policy was introduced for the purpose of meeting families' needs and solves their problems. The Family policy is maintained to assist both families with or without children. It was introduced in order to deal with various issues, which rise within the society. Family policy in Lithuania was introduced to for the purpose of taking care of every individual and every family with particular needs in life. It was also introduced to try to deal with the four factors as Wennemo discusses it. She argues, "among the motives explicitly given for family policy legislation, four types of factors -population reproduction, poverty reduction, the bread-winner ideology, and gender inequality-have been the most important."⁵³

Moreover, family policy in Lithuania was aimed at improving the conditions for the performance of (paternal and maternal) functions and it aimed at facilitating the care and upbringing of children, to meet the opinions and expectations for the possible changes of personal demographic behaviour, the opinion on the allowances, and duration of the leave for child care granted to families with children in Lithuania.⁵⁴ (Stankuniene et al 2003)

In the case of Tanzania, the country has no clear defined family policy, it is sensitising about family planning, methods for children pacing such as the use of pills, and condoms. The government of Tanzania recognises only four children per citizen worker in the public sectors. (TETPO 1995). Although the government recognises four children as it is claimed, there is no practical evidence, which shows that four children in the family are taken care. This works only during vacation, when the families goes for holiday can be given allowance for the journey which covers fare from where the family works to the place where they are going. This should be the place where the parents are born. There is no childcare allowance that is paid monthly to the recognised children.

Erler & Sass admits, "Whilst women want policies to provide, apart from money, conditions to enable them to combine family and work more effectively, fathers put the demand for affordable housing. As with the other demands, however, it comes far behind the demand for better financial benefits".⁵⁵ It could be argued that, women in Lithuania would like the policy to put many efforts in helping them to solve problems at hand and help them to participate in labor market for the purpose of improving life at their households.

Young generation in Lithuania has proved to be positive in the question of division of labour

⁵³ Wennemo 1994:50

⁵⁴ Stankuniene et al 2003

⁵⁵ Erler & Sass 1997: 36

within the families. Young women desire to have full-time jobs like men. Moreover, men of this generation show the interest of taking responsibilities in the household. Erler & Sass admits, "The study shows that the demands for a change in the balance between the sexes and the division of labour within the families are not addressed to the state. Amongst the family policy demands, the demand for measures to involve men in family duties ranks very low."⁵⁶

Erler & Sass declare, "This suggests that families consider their internal arrangements and the division of employment and the housework as an individual and not a social problem, that they must solve themselves".⁵⁷

Family policy has been defined in many ways: Ainsaar defines family policy as follows: -

1. At its broadest, family policy is understood as a large collection of policies directed towards all families, also those without children.

2. Family policy, which takes into, accounts all direct and indirect state policies (housing and education).

3. Family policy which takes into account direct measures toward families with children.

4. Child policy- the internationally used framework for the term is used in the spirit of the United

Nations Children's rights Convention and means the protection of children's rights.⁵⁸

"Cross-national studies of family policy with such a perspective commonly focus on the relationship between welfare state institutions and gender outcomes, for example on the link between family policy arrangements and female labour force participation. (Gurnick, Myers&Ross 1996, Ruhn &Teaque 1998 and Ferrarini 2003)

Erler and Sass state that "Sweden, where for decades family policy was a political issue of the 1st priority, is the only country which does not fit into this pattern at all: here only 15% of the mothers and 26% of the fathers put financial benefits first, which suggests that the majority considers family policy to be a set of supporting measures covering various areas.

By contrast 72% of the fathers in Hungary, for example consider an increase in financial benefits to be the most important task of the state."⁵⁹This could not be the issue in Lithuania because; it is likely that the citizens' acknowledge the capacity of their country in meeting their needs since it has just attained its independent in 90s.

In some of the Scandinavian countries, such as Sweden, family policy is considered to put forward financial benefits to cover areas where families with children are in need. In Hungary, people think that there should be an increase of financial benefits in the state. Lithuanians think that the financial benefits should meet all the needs for families with dependent children. In various countries where most of the parents who are being provided with assistance by the state in solving family problems, there is demand for more assistance in conditions which will be of help to them to combine work and families. This could be associated with mothers whereas fathers would like to be assisted in housing. (Erler & Sass 1997) Moreover, some of the parents are said to be more reserved, i. e. they prefer to find ways, which would help them to cope with

⁵⁶ Gisela & Sass 1997: 36-37

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Ainsaar in the article, "The Development of Children and family Policy in Estonia"

their problems, and get solutions rather than expressing their problems to the government or appealing for assistance. So, these types of families regard higher income to be the key to opening more opportunities in life.

Aidukaite J points out three reasons that helped in family benefits implementation in Lithuania: “the rapid GDP growth in Lithuania, resulting in the country being able to afford a more expensive welfare state, the unfavourable democratic situation being taken more seriously into account and the advice from global organisations to be taken more seriously into account and the advice from global organisations to be more precise regarding the PHARE program. These three factors have appeared to be a decisive element in the expansion of the family policy and there were changes in parliament at that time.”⁶⁰

4. 1.1 The review of family benefits in Lithuania as the most developed part in family policy system

Although traditionally an ordinary family in Lithuania is a family in which two persons work, due to a rather high unemployment level, many families raising children seek to receive benefits provided by the system of social assistance and have a rather limited possibilities to derive social benefits paid through the insurance system. A study of the income and expenditure of elderly people showed that the average standard of living of elderly people was not lower but even higher than that of young families. It is much more often that elderly people have their own living place and live in larger flats than young people. The problem of providing families, young families in particular, with a housing space are of great importance. Having compared the ratio of the housing prices to the income derived it becomes clear that many families find it difficult to acquire a living space. Many families cannot find or make use of preferential credits for the purchase of a dwelling because of their low income.

Having said that, it was observed that there are several benefits accruing to families. The Law on the State Benefits defines these family benefits for Families Bringing up Children (3 November 1994). The benefits awarded according to this law are non-contributory and, as a rule, not means-tested (categorical) benefits. The actual amounts of these benefits are related to the official Minimum Subsistence Level (MSL).

Lithuania, like other countries in Europe has benefits which exist in the country and which are of helpful to citizens. There are; paid maternity leave which is paid for 126 days. Birth grant includes fixed lump sum and citizenship based. Another benefit is parental leave, which was introduced on 1996, and it is paid for one year. There is flat rate, based on citizenship for universal child-care allowances up to the child’s 3rd birthday. At the same time, there is the benefit for Universal family from the child’s 3rd to 7th birthday and was introduced from 1 July 2004. Other benefits found in the state include, family benefit for large families, allowances for children, whose parents are in the military, and orphan’s scholarship, settlement benefits for orphans and means-tested benefits.

⁶⁰ Aidukaite J 2003: 144

Table 4.1. Family support schemes in the Baltic States.⁶¹

Family benefits	Lithuania	Latvia	Estonia
1. Paid maternity leave	Yes (100 % of the previous earnings), 126 days	Yes (100 % of the previous earnings), 112 days	Yes (100 % of the previous earnings), 112 days
2. Birth grant	Yes (fixed lump sum, citizenship based)	Yes (fixed lump sum, citizenship based)	Yes (fixed lump sum, citizenship based)
3. Parental leave, paid one year, earnings related	Yes (introduced from 1996)	Yes (introduced from 1 January 2005)	Yes (introduced from 1 January 2004)
4. Universal child-care allowances up to the child's 3 rd birthday	Yes (flat-rate, based on citizenship)	Yes (flat-rate, based on citizenship)	Yes (flat-rate, based on citizenship)
4. a. Additional amount for child-care benefit	No	No	Yes
5. Universal family benefit from the child's 3 rd to 7 th birthday	Yes (introduced from 1 July 2004)	No	No
6. Universal child allowances up to the child's 15 th -16 th birthday	No	Yes	Yes
7. Universal allowances for the child to start its schooling	No	No	Yes
8. Family benefits for large families	Yes	No	Yes
9. Allowances for children, whose parents are in the military	Yes	Yes	No
10. Orphan's scholarship	Yes	Yes	Yes
11. Settlement benefits for orphans	Yes	Yes	Yes
12. Means-tested benefits	Yes (great variety of various benefits)	Yes (great variety of various benefits)	Yes (only one benefit)
13. Single parent allowance	No	No	Yes

Source: Aidukaite, 2004, Table 2, p. 126.

Compared to other Baltic countries, Estonia and Latvia, Lithuania has not yet implemented these kinds of benefits: additional amount for child-care benefit, universal child allowances up to the child's 15th -16th birthday, and universal allowances for the child to start its schooling, and lastly single parent allowance.

One of the most popular family benefits is paid maternity leave. Women covered by sickness and maternity social insurance are entitled to maternity benefit for the period of pregnancy and birth if, prior to the first day of maternity leave, they contributed to sickness and maternity social insurance for at least three of the preceding 12 months or six of the preceding 24 months or if they were granted maternity leave. A person's sickness and maternity social insurance record consists of: periods during which compulsory State social insurance contributions were paid or

⁶¹ Aidukaite 2004: 126

should have been paid for sickness and maternity social insurance; time when sickness and maternity benefit was received; time when sickness benefit for accidents at work or occupational illnesses was received; time when unemployment benefit was received. Women who give birth after 28 weeks of pregnancy and later receive benefits for 70 calendar days up to the pregnancy and 56 calendar days after the pregnancy, or 70 calendar days after the pregnancy, if the birth entailed complications or more than one child was born.

Law must have issued a maternity leave certificate issued before maternity benefit can be received. The second half of the certificate must be completed by the employer and submitted to the local benefits office. One of the parents, step-parents or guardians is entitled to receive maternity benefit if: They are contributing to sickness and maternity social insurance; they have been granted leave according to established rules to care for a child until it is one year old; over the 24 months preceding the first day of childcare leave, they have contributed to sickness and maternity social insurance for a minimum of seven months.

It is interesting to note that the maternity benefit for female students is 75% of the MSL per month paid for 70 days during the parental period.

The family benefit for the families who are not entitled to the state social insurance maternity benefit is paid from the moment the baby is born up to its third birthday. The family benefit to a family entitled to the state social insurance maternity benefit is paid in the period between the baby's first and third birthdays (in both cases the benefit is paid at 75% of the MSL per month). The benefit for the families with three or more children is paid to families with children under 16 years of age (above the age of 16 if the children attend school or are day-time students). The benefit is equal to 1 MSL monthly and is increased by 0.3 MSL for the fourth and every next child. Families with four or more children get this benefit unconditionally; for the families with three children the benefit is income-tested: the benefit is paid only to families the income of which per family member is less 3 times than the 'state-supported income'.

There is also a childcare benefit, which is paid to persons or non-state care institution that bring up children (4 MSLs monthly for each orphan or foster child until the age 18). The orphans' grant is equal to 4 MSLs for orphans enrolled in higher, tertiary or vocational schools regardless of any other grant he/she receives. The benefit for the families of military conscripts is paid during the time of the compulsory military service for each child of the conscript at 150% of MSL. The settlement grant is paid to orphans and foster children who have been brought up in orphanages or by individual persons after they graduate from secondary or specialised secondary school. The grant amounts to 50 MSLs.

The benefits listed above are paid from municipal budgets and administered by the local social security offices, except for the Maternity (pregnancy) benefit for female students and Orphan's grant. The latter are paid through the respective educational establishment from the state budget.

Childcare Allowance is available to all parents by law and is not based on previous employment. This allowance can be paid not only to parents but (from the first birthday of the child resident in parents' home) to grandparents also. The amount of the allowance equals the minimum amount of the old age pension at the time and is paid up to the age of 3 (or until the age of ten, if the child is permanently ill or seriously disabled or, in case of twins until the end of the year in which the children reach school age or 10 years of age).

In Lithuania, children's benefits are higher but they involve a much narrower group and are mostly limited to birth grants and benefits until the child becomes three years old. In Lithuania the range of children receiving benefits is much smaller than in the other countries.

Parental leave before the child has reached the age of three is granted, at the choice of the family, to the mother or the father. The employees entitled to this leave may take it in turn. The labour contract of a person on leave cannot be terminated; he/she may request the employer to set him/her a part-time working regime (Labour Code of the Republic of Lithuania). The parent using the leave is paid a benefit amounting to 70% of his or her wage until the child is one year old. (The Law on Sickness and Maternity Social Insurance of the Republic of Lithuania).

A point to observe is that the duration of parental leave has changed in both directions. In Tanzania, for example, there is no parental leave because fathers are not entitled to take a leave, similar to parental leave is maternity leave which last for only three months. In most cases, parental leave was extended (in the former Soviet Union, Lithuania, Croatia, Romania, and in Poland if both parents remain unemployed). Quite often, this was aimed at offsetting cutbacks in childcare provision, but also at solving the problem of excess labour supply.

However, long parental leave does not mean that parents really use it fully; in practice, it is often shortened. For instance, a threat to lose a job during parental leave resulted in a marked drop in the percentage of Eastern European mothers on that leave in the beginning of the 1990s. By the end of the decade, eastern European women in low-paid but permanent jobs tended to take parental leave more than four times less frequently than in the mid-1980s.

The value of the parental benefit is rather low in most countries, particularly where it is flat rate. It was found that, there is an improvement in the benefit level in the transition period in Lithuania

5 AN ANALYSIS OF LITHUANIAN FAMILY POLICY

In this section a review is made of some of the literature on the problems that family policy is facing in Lithuania and also in other western and east European countries in comparison with Tanzania. The whole purpose was to show that children and families around the world face similar problems and also that post-socialist countries have a lot in common as far as gender attitudes and family policy formation and problems are concerned. Here it will be necessary to analyse citizens' opinion on family policy in Lithuania and examine the changes, which encountered by families.

Here; various benefits are examined. Such benefits are; family benefits, child benefits, parental leave, maternity leave and so on.

5.1 Family Benefits

The policy, in collaboration with the families, is supposed to provide a good environment for children to assure them of a stable development and security that would provide their needs. The paper published by Ministry of Social and Labour in 2003 reveals that the concept of the Law on child benefits was developed between 2001 and 2004. Reorganisation of state benefits for families with children was conditioned by different social and demographic action (higher poverty level among families with children below 18, increasing number of social risk families and children deprived of parental care, continuously reducing birth rate, which fails to ensure restoration of generations. One of the objectives of the Law on Child benefits is to protect children from social risk families and guarantee utilisation of benefits for the needs of children: Strengthening responsibility of parents for maintaining their children; developing social services to families and organising preventive work with social risk families; extending powers granted to municipalities replacing benefits with alternative forms of support.

In the Country Paper on Child and Family well-being in Lithuania, it is stated that, "since the end of 1997, the Social family Policy was directed towards supporting large families with three or more children. In 1999 benefits were received by 32.5 thousand families bringing up three children and 11.8 thousand families with more than four children."⁶²

Giving support to large families helps by reducing the burden that is faced by a given family. As children are a gift from God, they have a right to be taken care by the whole society if the parents do not have the resources at their disposal. This situation is different in Tanzania. Tanzania's policy has no such kind of support except giving advice to parents and their children. It is not unusual to get eleven children in a family. Traditionally, it was believed that a large number of children were a sign of riches, especially if a family had a lot of girls. These girls translated into abundant dowry. It might be stressed that, experience shows that it is difficult for parents to take care of children in a modern society where children have to be sent to school. In Tanzania, education is not free and many families rely on financial help from relatives and friends.

The Social Report states that, the United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child and the national legislation of the Republic of Lithuania enforce children's rights. The Law establishes

⁶² Country Paper on Child and Family well-being in Lithuania 2001:10

that financial assistance to unmarried individuals who are raising their children alone will be allocated if the paternity is recognised. When there is no possibility to establish paternity (maternity) of the child, social support to the family is also located.⁶³

As has been pointed out by various authors, family benefits are easily provided to support children in need, sick people, and the person who takes care of a sick person and mothers (maternity benefit). This situation differs from that in Tanzania in the case of family benefits. Mothers are entitled to maternity leave for 90 days after birth. Those who are working in the government sector are not given any birth grant or money to help them at their time of delivery, but those who are working in the private sector that includes NGOs are given maternity benefit apart from maternity leave.

Lazutka claims that, “at the beginning of reforms in 1990, it was decided to keep and to improve some ‘categorical’ benefits used in the society system: - a) birth grant is paid to all mothers irrespective of their employment or to other person who actually takes care of a child in the case when the mother can not provide care for her child because of some serious reasons. b) Benefits for adopted children and children placed under guardianship. c) Benefit to a single mother is paid for every child up to 16 years old (for school children up to 18 years old) from local budget. d) Benefit for children of soldiers was increased from 35 rb to 1MSL (100 rb) in 1991 and to 1.5 MSL in 1995. E) Temporary benefit for teenagers whose parents do not pay alimony was increased from 20 rb to 0.4 MSL (40 rb)”.⁶⁴

It can be stated that, Lithuania, though still fighting against poverty and still facing economic difficulties has reformed its policy and maintained and improved the living standard of its people. Latzuka ⁶⁵claims that, “new benefits were increased such as:- a) maternity benefit (maternity leave) for non- insured women students 80% of MSL. b) Child care (parental leave) benefit for non-insured women students till a child is 1.5-years old - 70% of MSL, until a child is three-years old - 35% of MSL and since 1995 it was increased to 75% of the MSL. c) Compensation of the pre- school education expenses to families bringing up children at home is 70% of the average state expenses for the education of a child in a pre- school institution. d) Orphans and deserted children are entitled to start up grant for the beginning of their independent life. The benefit is paid from the local budget. e) Benefits for disabled parents with children up to 16 years old was introduced in 1992 .03. 26. And f) child food allowance up to 1 year was introduced in 1992. 03. 26.”

“Child benefits may therefore have been used as an alternative or complementary strategy to also support families with very young children. Child benefits are grouped together with childcare leave and maternity grants to constitute a general family policy dimension. These benefits are similar in that they are paid in low flat -rate amounts, and thereby primarily support mothers at home during the 1st year. All parental insurance benefits, paid to the mother, the father or to both parents are included in a dual earner dimension of family policy.⁶⁶

“Like dual parental insurance, childcare leave benefits in general entitle both parents to time off

⁶³ The Social Report 2003

⁶⁴ Lazutka 1997: 221-222

⁶⁵ Latzuka 1997: 223

⁶⁶ Ferrarini 2003: 60,63

work, but the purpose of the latter benefit is not primarily to redress the division of paid and unpaid work. A more or less explicit motive behind the childcare leave benefit has instead often been to restore women to the role of homemakers, with varying degrees of permanency, and thereby to create vacancies on the labour market for unemployed men. Policy makers frequently also framed childcare leave benefits as a reform to increase the choice capacity of parents.”⁶⁷

Ferrarini states that, “countries with general models of family policy (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy and the Netherlands) which primarily direct support to the traditional family, did not introduce dual parental insurance benefits at all during the observation period. Instead, policy makers relied on maternity insurance with relatively modest levels of duration but high wage replacement”⁶⁸.

Lithuania, like other Western and Eastern European Countries has adopted different models to help it to catch the fire in its transition period. During the Soviet time in Lithuania dual-earner model prevailed. However, at the beginning of independence were some clear tendencies to adopt general model in Lithuania. However, since 1995 Lithuania has taken the road again back to the dual-earner family policy model. It has increased the parental participation in infant care, whereby, and the dual partnership is encouraged.

The reform of families in Lithuania in relation to benefits gained from the government need to be well formed in order to improve family benefits within the society and to increase other types of benefits, which are not yet introduced. The combination of work and family life has to be stressed for the purpose of enabling families to take care of their children even if the country fails to pay some benefits. Childcare allowance could be targeted to pay those families whose mothers are working at the household and whose father is the main earner

“The parental insurance strategy can be characterised as dual earner support, with development of childcare leave benefits on the other hand, belongs to a general family support dimension, which maintains traditional family patterns”⁶⁹.

Lithuania has various family benefits. Among them, there are also universal child-care allowances, which are based on, flat rate. Like in other European countries, families with children benefit from these types of allowances. These allowances are likely to help the couples to maintain the gender division of unpaid and paid work.

Since there is a high rate of decline in fertility, the policy should re-structure its policies and encourage families to support dual earner family. There should be sufficient amount of money to be paid to mothers so that they could be encouraged to increase the number of childbirth and take an account and responsibility in childbearing.

---“Important objectives for the introduction of parental leave benefits often have been to influence the extent of female labour force participation and /or the number of childbirth”⁷⁰.

Ferrarini comments that, “by supporting mothers staying at home for periods of up to 2 years after terminated maternity insurance leave, the childcare leave benefits introduced in several

⁶⁷ Ferrarini 2003: 65

⁶⁸ Ferrarini 2003: 66

⁶⁹ Ferrarini 2003: 70

⁷⁰ Ferrarini 2003: 93

countries in the 1980s and 1990s often were supposed to create vacancies for unemployed men".(Schiersmann 1991; Rostgaard et al 1999)

Paid parental leave is not only likely to affect the behavioural patterns of parents but also the living conditions and agency of individuals in families with children. The need for intensive parental care of the child is perhaps greatest during the first year of the child's life, which means that the parents, in practice most often the mother, must reduce their time in paid work and that market income thereby is lost."⁷¹

Different views about parental leave have been noted out. The following views about Sweden, Hungary and Poland, do not differ much with those of Lithuania. It is likely that, these countries including Lithuania share the same problems and ideas. Gisela Anna Erler and Jurgen Sass claim that, "many of the former socialist countries, where women had otherwise worked continuously, had introduced a three- year parental leave with a guarantee of either employment (Russia) or even a specific job (Hungary, Poland)-these regulations were intended as alternatives to expensive day nurseries and to the high absence rates of young mothers due to the frequent incidence of infectious illness in small children day nurseries"⁷².

If we compare eastern European countries with Sweden, the situation in Sweden is of course better. Erler and Sass claim that, "Sweden offered compensation for the loss of income of 90% of the salary, limited to one year. In the last six months of the parental leave only a maximum rate was paid which was not linked to the salary. Since 1 July 1994 the period of parental leave has been linked to whether the father takes it or not. Parental leave now comprises 360 days if the father takes at least one month of the leave; otherwise the total leave is only 340 days. Only 20 days are compensated with 80% of the salary of the partner taking the leave and 340 days with 76%.⁷³" Unlike other countries, which have parental leave in a period of three years, Lithuania pays one year of parental leave. Parents are in a demanding of work, there is a need for the parents to return to labour force. Fathers could attain employment of full-time while mothers could work in half a day or some hours so that they can be able to care of their infants when they are still one year to three years.

Women in Lithuania are more family oriented. The study shows that, majority of women prefer to remain home and take care of their children when they are still young. They are claimed to be more family oriented. At the same time they would prefer to combine housework and labour work. But on the other hand, it was found that, the highest percentage of both men and women in Lithuania find it convenient for men to be work-oriented and women to be family-oriented. Very little percent of men and women who would prefer to combine family work and labor work.

Gisela Anna Erler and Sass admit that, "women are vague about how long they intend to stay at home. While in the past the majority returned to work immediately after the end of the parental leave, in Russia today more than 44% of women state that they are planning to extend the leave until the child enters school and a third of them either do not know how long they will stay at home or are planning an even longer family phase"⁷⁴. The same situation is found in women of Lithuania.

⁷¹ Ferrarini 2003: 94, 111

⁷² Erler and Sass 1997: 14

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ Erler and Sass 1997: 21

5.2 Family transformation

There are not so many studies on Lithuanian family policy in English. This indicates that more studies are needed in this field. There are a few studies done by (Stankuniene et al 2003) and (Aidukaite 2004) that evaluated how people are happy with the family policy in Lithuania and other Baltic states. An overview of these studies shows that people in Lithuania are generally satisfied with the family policy and view family benefits as beneficial to them.⁷⁵

The study done by (Aidukaite, 2004) shows that family benefits are substantial for those who are really in great need in Lithuania, e.g., unemployed parents or single parent families. It is, in many cases, better to live on benefits than to take paid employment since the amount of money, particularly if somebody has a low-paid job, is almost the same - an observation confirmed by other surveys. According to the UNDP (2001) survey, bureaucrats, policy-makers and others involved in the implementation of poverty reduction strategies in Lithuania ranked family benefits as an effective tool for their poverty reduction strategy.⁷⁶ (The scale ranged from 5 'very well' to 1 'very bad'). Family benefits were ranked between 3 and 4.3 (see UNDP, 2001, Appendix 6: 49; quoted by Aidukaite, 2004: 134).

However, as the analyses of secondary sources revealed, the child poverty, family instability and declining fertility place heavy burdens on the social protection system in Lithuania. Governments in the Lithuania have been trying to arrange family support systems so as to address all the aforementioned problems. However, there is still much to be done in the future⁷⁷ (Aidukaite, 2004).

Overall, if citizens in Lithuania view family benefits as beneficial, they are not very happy about government efforts to help families and children. For instance, population opinion survey carried by (Aidukaite, 2004) revealed that 61 percent of the respondents questioned agreed to the statement that 'government does not give adequate support for families and children'. This reveals that families need more support and have higher expectations from the state. This also explains why fertility rates have been declining in Lithuania. The unstable economic situation as was described (high unemployment), liberal market with minor support from the state put women in many transitional countries into a situation where they choose paid employment instead of having more children.

Although in Lithuania family ties are still important, their value is decreasing. For example, young people postpone marriage and quite often choose cohabitation with no matrimony. (Stankuniene, 1997). Divorce rates are also quite high in Lithuania (Stankuniene, 1997; Aidukaite, 2004). This shows that Lithuania experience changes in family values just as it is observed in many western countries. Different from Lithuania, the rate of marriage is still high and the rate of divorce is low. The value of marriage in Tanzania has not yet changed; the only problem, which is facing marriages, is high rate of death of the partners due to diseases like HIV. It is likely that, in Lithuania young generation do not see the value of marriage and children as it

⁷⁵ Stankuniene et al 2003 and Aidukaite 2004

⁷⁶ Aidukaite 2004

⁷⁷ Ibid

is with older generation.

‘The society is also concerned about the decreasing number of marriages. Besides, the survey reveals that although many respondents consider economic reasons plausible enough for postponement or renouncement of marriage (difficulty in finding jobs, acquiring a dwelling, low income), half of the respondents consider as the reasons which could be attributed to value changes (“the diminishing value of marriage”, “the increasing desire for independence and autonomy among young people”, “refusal to accept responsibilities”, “unmarried cohabitation has become more acceptable”). And all this signifies ongoing fundamental changes in the family. (Stankuniene et al ⁷⁸)

Families in Lithuania are in the period of transformation, which in one way or another, affects children, and the whole process of rising of children. In periods of transition families, community and welfare state are called upon to bear the greatest responsibility for maintaining social cohesion. Since joining the EU on May 1 2004, a transitional social policy has created new challenges for Lithuanian families. While still somewhat below the European average, the proportion of married women in the labour force has increased. The government has promoted this trend by changes in tax legislation, but maintains a policy of reliance on private (and in practice, informal) provision of childcare services. Parents must cope with oversubscribed schools and inadequate childcare facilities.

Stankuniene et al argues that, “the ongoing basic social transformations of the recent period have brought about very important changes in the family. Among the most pronounced family changes that started in the 1990s, the most noteworthy are the following: a greatly decreased number of marriages, postponement of marriage to an older age, greatly decreased fertility, postponement of first childbirth to an older age, a growing number of children born out of wedlock, an increasing number of cohabiting pairs, and an increasing number of people who never marry”.⁷⁹

Perhaps in ten years to come in Lithuania, the life style of family, which currently exists, would have different features from those of traditional model of family. New features of families are commencing as the new generation acquire new attitudes from West. ‘Regardless of the overall conservative attitude of the society, the modern family is gaining strength: not only are new features of the family becoming more universal, but they are being tolerated to a higher degree or even gaining approval.’⁸⁰ (Stankuniene et al)

The few studies, which are done concerning life style of families in Lithuania, show that new features are taking over the old features. It noted that, there is an increase number of single parent who are responsible to take care of children alone. This situation is also found in Tanzania. Moreover, there is a high rate of divorce and decline of fertility. (Stankuniene et al 2003)

It could be said that, the new generation is becoming stronger because it is ready to over take the old generation and become more liberal and it would prefer to try the model of dual earner support in making better their life.

Stankuniene et al 2003 claim that, “on the basis of the finding of the survey, it could be maintained that with regard to any family changes, the older generation still adheres to profound

⁷⁸ Stankuniene et al 2003: 291

⁷⁹ Stankuniene et al 2003: 290

⁸⁰ Stankuniene et al 2003: 291

conservatism, whereas the younger generation which entered a marriageable age during the period of economic, social, and political transformations and of shifting values, takes a much more liberal view concerning most family changes”⁸¹.

Although the modern generation is gaining strength as days go on, it is claimed that the old and traditional way of life in the families is still alive and most of Lithuanians respect it and values it. (Stankuniene et al 2003)

5.3 Children at School

The system whereby meals are provided to pupils at school is believed to be sound. When a child is hungry, there is no way he/she can understand what is being taught. Experience in Tanzania shows that in primary school, at the age of 7-13 years, parents donated maize meal to the school so that children could get porridge for breakfast. Unfortunately, it happened for a brief period before it was discontinued. Nonetheless, the system had its advantages in that it encouraged children not to miss school. Comparatively, Lithuania seems to be more advanced because the burden of school feeding is not left to the parents alone, but supported by the government as well.

The new Law on Social support for pupils in schools of general Education envisages provision of the following social support to pupils from low- income families: - free meals during the school year, and the provision with indispensable individual training aids in the beginning of the school year. The report states that, day care centres provide children with, meals, develop their working, social and hygiene skills render social, pedagogical and psychological support to the children and family. These efforts are aimed at reducing preconditions for placing the child into care (guardianship). Paper argues that systematic and multifaceted work with children’s families improves relations between children and parents, and help families in setting their problems.

The relation between parents and children is very crucial in the success of children at school. Although it is noted that there is a high rate of divorce in Lithuania, and single parents are raising a lot of children, the government has managed to build viable conditions for those children with no parents by providing resources to parents to look after the children. In Tanzania, divorce is not common although there are single parents because of other reasons such as the death of one parent or unmarried mothers. Children in Tanzanian communities are not only taken care by their parents but also siblings or neighbours. Extended family relationships are still strong and these help with the provision of stable conditions under which children are raised.

Purvaneckiene claims that, “on their free time, non-Lithuanian intellectuals are more interested in communication with children and other members of the family, as opposed to in reading newspapers or watching TV, just to take an example. Contacts with children are of great importance in the families of Lithuanian respondents, especially the ones with a traditional family attitude⁸²”.

Society should think on building childcare and improving those institutions, which are running for the purpose of strengthening relations among the children. Some parents are busy at work

⁸¹ Stankuniene et al 2003: 292

⁸² Purvaneckiene 1997: 183

from morning to evening. Children do not need only parents to grow up morally and intellectually. They need kindergartens and pre-schools where they can mingle with each other to compete in their own way. Purvaneckiene argues that the childcare system is rapidly and noticeably worsening: there are fewer childcare facilities and there are fewer children visiting these facilities. Pre-school facilities dropped by more than one half, from 1990 to 1994 and the number of children attending them dropped by more than half. Rural pupils were especially affected. However, the situation from 1995 has been started to improve. Nowadays, Lithuania does not experience such sharp problems as it was at the beginning of independence.

5.4 Gender imbalance

It is essential to discuss the question of gender in this study because it is necessary to show the role of both fathers and mothers in the development of a family as well as the upkeep of the children. Like wise, the study should be able to explain how females and males are treated in different circumstances. Beginning with the aspect of education, it is common in many societies that females are more disadvantaged than their male counterparts. In Tanzania, for example, the rate of girls' enrolment in school is lower than that of boys. Strong traditional norms still divide labour along gender lines and place women in a subordinate position. Information obtained from the internet on 1st June 2005, women profiles, (www.atrol.com/categories) claims that, "women face discriminatory restrictions what it comes to inheritance and ownership of property because of concessions by the Government and courts to customary and Islamic Law. Under Zanzibar Law, unmarried women aged 21 who become pregnant are subject to two years' imprisonment. Despite a law to permit pregnant girls to continue their education following maternity absence, the practice of forcing pregnant girls out of school remains in effect". However, this is not the case in Lithuania. Women seem to be given equal treatment in school enrolment. Liubsys⁸³ claims that, "at the higher education level women outnumbered men. Women comprise 65.2% of all college students and 57.8% of all university students. Only in Vocational schools are women in a minority, where they constituted 39.2% of all students in 1998/9".

E. Saar argues "in general, significantly more boys than girls leave school without finishing their secondary education. In the part of age cohort without secondary education boys is over represented, (they make 62% from this part of age cohort in Lithuania)⁸⁴". It is argued that this is different as compared to Tanzania. Girls are the ones who are forced to leave school in bigger numbers than boys due to different reasons such as pregnancy or early marriage and sometimes traditional and cultural reasons. In some families it is still regarded that educating girls is a waste of time and money because they are only going to be mothers and are supposed to stay at home and take care of the children. It is clear in this study that gender segregation in education has affected women in many ways. There is a clear segregation in areas of specialisation and types of work to be done.

Saar declares, "In all Baltic countries on the secondary level (preparation in vocational and specialised secondary schools) a small number of girls are enrolled in agriculture, industry, construction and transportation. Girls are much more likely than boys to be enrolled in light industry, economics, service, trade, education, culture and medicine. At the post secondary level

⁸³ Liubsys 1997

⁸⁴ E. Saar 1997: 108

gender differences are smaller. Girls are under represented in heavy industry, construction, transportation, information and real science, but over- represented in service, trade, economics, medicine, education, culture and light industry”⁸⁵.

E. Saar argues, “specialised secondary schools also gave preference to boys, but the gender differences are lower for other types of secondary education, especially in Latvia and Lithuania. Saar claims that at the secondary level, and more obviously at level of post- secondary, girls and boys are segregated into different programs and courses”⁸⁶. Itelemae, Saar, Voorman claim that thus in the 1983 in the Baltic countries boys and girls graduated from the institutions of “secondary education reported clearly different plans related to the job they consider holding by their thirties. 20-24% of boys planned to become engineers while only 6- 7 %of girls planned so, 17-19 % of boys decided to become industrial workers while only 4-5 % of girls; and vice- versa 1-2% of boys planned to work as teachers, while it was a plan of 11-13% of girls, for physicians figures were 1% for boys versus 14-17% for girls”⁸⁷.

E. Saar argues that “while up to 1959 men with University education outnumbered women in the working age population, women were in the clear majority among the employees with general and specialised education. Since 1970 women with higher education outnumbered men in all Baltic Countries. E. Saar argues that consequently the gender- specific pattern was repeated for universities as well, and the composition of the Universities became feminised. The proportion of female student increased up to 60% in the mid 1980s. In 1993 in Lithuania 60.4% of those attending to the institutions of higher education were women”⁸⁸.

The teaching professional seems to be occupied by women in both Lithuania and in Tanzania. Although in Tanzania, teaching is taken to be a weak professional by men. That could be the major reason for them not to prefer this profession. One disadvantage with the teaching profession is low salary. This problem is common in many countries not only Lithuania and Tanzania.

E. Saar claims “most female students chose teaching, where they comprised 79.6% of students. Most male students chose to study technical sciences, where they represented 70.1% of students. Liubsys claims that although the absolute majority of primary and secondary teachers were women, 63.5% of secondary school headmasters were men”⁸⁹.

The disadvantaged group as far as low salaries are concerned is women in most societies. In spite of their difficult assignments, they still find themselves in a disadvantaged situation. Cesnavicius and Taljunaite declare “the majority of women are working in the branches where salaries are two times lower. For example, the sphere of education, social security, and culture, health care where about 70-85 percent of women are employed”⁹⁰.

Itelemae, Saar, Voorman claim that, “Gender inequalities are the matter of public discourse. In the Baltic countries situation to perception of gender differences by public consciousness as well as their studies by social sciences was and in some sense still is different from the Western

⁸⁵ Saar 1997: 118

⁸⁶ E. Saar 1997: 113

⁸⁷ Itelemae, Saar, Voorman 1997: 82

⁸⁸ E. Saar 1997: 105, 106

⁸⁹ E. Saar 1997: 106

⁹⁰ Cesnavicius and Taljunaite 1997: 36 Article; Gender Stratification of Young adult in Earnings. In Everyday Life in The Baltic Countries.

Countries. It should be known that men and women in the former Soviet Union as well as in the Baltic Countries had achieved virtual equality in the terms of years of schooling, training and labour force participation. Equality to both women and men was one of the slogans in Soviet regime. But in the Baltic Countries, Itelemae, Saar, Voorman comment that women continued to be disadvantaged in the respect of payment. Moreover, gender problems were ignored both, officially and in the public consciousness, as the principle declared by the authorities was equality of men and women⁹¹.”

Formally, during the Soviet period, women were obliged to carry out household chores. It could be that, this condition made the Baltic people and especially Lithuanians to divide some work to be done by men and others by women. Itelemae, Saar, Voorman claim that certain occupations are considered to be ‘male jobs’. As a consequence women are ‘crowded’ into other occupations, which offer typically ‘female work’. The wages in these occupations are depressed.

Women were not only few in schools but also in the political arena. It is likely that, women do not have the moral confidence to participate in political issues. Perhaps the traditional model of family policy that was adopted during first years of independence has affected them to focus more on household work, or the policy or system did not given them a chance to participate in the so called. “Male-jobs”. Paluckiene. J claims that in the Baltic State the share of female’s decreases and at the top among the most prestigious occupational (government officials, university professors, etc) there are fewer women compared with men. It should mentioned that legislative and executive power in Lithuania is actually men’s ‘club’ with no female representatives in the cabinet of Ministers and only 7% of females among the deputies of Siemens (the Lithuanian Parliament).

Paluckiene claims that in Lithuania, as in Nordic or Western European Countries men’s and women’s work is traditionally segregated according to gender roles: women usually work in the caring and service occupations or related branches where as men are employed in occupations related to heavy industry, constitution and prevalence or equal participation of women in occupations that were until recent, traditionally considered male occupations in the West (doctors, engineers, architects, lawyers etc).

Purvaneckiene argues that ‘man’s job is to earn money; a woman’s job is to look after the home and the family’. This opinion is shared by 71% of men and 72% of women. 76% of men and 70% of women also agree that that it is not good if the man stays at home and cares for the children and woman goes out to work. The relationship between fathers and mothers in Lithuania does not apply the dual-earner support, but a traditional one⁹². It is more likely patriarchal, where men have all decision to make and women could stay home with children. Purvaneckiene argues that Lithuanian’s attitudes are strictly patriarchal on the level of personal men- women relations.

However, changes are happening where Lithuanians see the importance of women participating in the labour market and share with men in the family work and household chores. Purvaneckiene argues, “more than three quarters of population think that the government should create better conditions for women to combine work and create better conditions for women to combine work and raising a family.”

⁹¹ Itelemae, Saar, Voorman 1997: 75

⁹² Purvaneckiene 1997: 141 Article; Democratic changes in Women’s life. In Everyday Life in The Baltic States.

In many societies, women's work is not valued on the same scale as that of men. As it is in Tanzania, people take housework and rearing of children to be strictly women's responsibility. Men are to be found working in the white-collar jobs. Itelemae, Saar, Voorman claim that, "women are less likely than men to belong to the top pay category. There is statistically significant cross-national variation in the degree of gender inequality in parliament. Lithuania has larger gap than other two Baltic Countries. The probability for a woman in Lithuania to reach the top pay category is only 37 percent of that for a man."⁹³

One of the reasons why there are few women in the executive job category could be explained by the lack of education or inappropriate education and it could also be the kind of courses they studied in schools. E.Saar argues that "women did not get the same amount of education as men, they did not stay at school long enough to get the level of education they need. Women did not get the kind of education they need to compete with men in the labour force"⁹⁴. There is another reason that explains why women cannot occupy positions, which are male dominated in the labour market. Purvaneckiene claims "income inequality is based on unequal opportunities in the labour market. Employers are most likely to hire men, therefore women are forced to take jobs with less responsibility or in lower paid areas, for example in areas like education, culture, social and medical assistance where wages are lower."⁹⁵

However, as it has been discussed above, there could be other underlying reasons as to why gender division at work is strong. Lithuanians do not consider women's place to be in the work place but in the home. Some activists advocating women's rights oppose this idea. It could be a good idea for mothers to work in the family and rearing children but there should not be a dividing line between parents (mothers and fathers). Purvaneckiene claims, "When both partners work in full-time jobs, it is hard to understand why house work and children should be the responsibility of only one parent. The most common answer is tradition"⁹⁶

In some of Central Eastern European countries, it was found that, there is a discrimination of works and discrimination in payment. It was found that, although in country like Lithuania where there is a high number of educated women in Baltic Countries, women seem to continue being a in a disadvantageous group. There is no the equality in terms of wage, this could lead to low performance and results to low production. Furthermore, any human being needs to be acknowledged and respected by valuing the work he/ she is doing. If men and women do the same job, and they all have the same qualification of education, all of them deserve to be paid equally in spite their gender differences. Charity begins at home, so the notion against discrimination should begin at home in a micro-level and continue to the government in a macro-level.

Erler & Sass further state that the issue of gender balance currently seems to be an unsolved question in the East and West. Mothers and fathers differ in all countries with respect to the importance they attach to work"⁹⁷.

⁹³ Itelemae, Saar, Voorman 1997: 96

⁹⁴ E.Saar 1997:104

⁹⁵ Purvaneckiene 1997: 147

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Gisela & Sass 1997: 78

5.5 Relationship between mothers and fathers. Some lessons from Eastern and Western countries and Lithuania

Gisela Anna Erler and Sass admit “East Germany fathers see their relationship with their wives more as a partnership and support them much more with respect to their work situation than West-Germany men do. In Sweden around 40% of fathers take leave to care for a sick child using 33% of the leave allowed for this purpose.”⁹⁸

In Lithuania, it was found that, women take leave to care for their children and let fathers to participate more in labour market. However, fathers found it reasonable to spend more time with their families and children than to take children to child-care.

Björnberg argues “personal skills are trained through social relationships, including close relationships with children. Many men have realised the advantages of spending time caring for and playing with their children. He further argues that men who have been asked about their motives for becoming active fathers often say they wish to develop as persons. They assumed that the contacts with a small child would help them to gain new insights into themselves and to be able to develop the emotional side of their personality”⁹⁹.

It is likely that worries in family get to be stronger only when the relationship becomes weak in the question of bringing up children. Lithuania like other post-soviet countries, seem to face such kind of situation just like it is in Russia.

Gisela and Sass claim, “The situation in Russia seems to be most difficult since 46% of the fathers and 42% of the mothers state that the problems with their partners and are a medium to great cause of worry to them. The figure for ‘conflict over bringing up the children’ is almost the same (fathers 41%, mothers 40%). By comparison, in W.Germany 17% of the fathers and 20% of the mothers see ‘Relationship problems with the partner’ as a medium to great cause of worry.”¹⁰⁰

Erler and Sass admit that “in all countries studied, mothers and fathers can take leave if a child falls ill and fathers make use of this right far less than mothers according to information provided by fathers approximately 12% do so in Poland, approximately 15% in Hungary and approximately 24% in Russia.”¹⁰¹ The above data could be used to compare with the situation in Lithuania so long the above countries are almost in the same truck with Lithuania. The illness in the family members, children and adults could perhaps bring worries within the family if the relationship is unstable. One might argue that mothers of independent children who are sick, devote much time in taking care of the patient child or person. Moreover, it could be noted that, the sick children would prefer and feel much release (may be not everyone) when the mother is around in most of the time in comparison to the father.

Erler and Sass argue that “by illness of family members it can probably be assumed that the respondents are thinking primarily of their children since the worries demonstrate by increase with the numbers of children (this only applies to mothers). Erler & Sass demand that in Russia,

⁹⁸ Erler and Sass 1997: 27

⁹⁹ Björnberg 1997: 129

¹⁰⁰ Erler and Sass 1997: 87

¹⁰¹ Erler and Sass 1997: 27

almost 30% of mothers had taken 20 days of leave or more from their work because their children were ill in the year prior to the study. They declare that the finding that ‘illness’ can cause considerable worries within families is extremely important from a family policy point of view, since this aspect is often omitted in the measures for young family with small children, possibly because nobody expects it to be this important in this particular group”.¹⁰²

Erler and Sass state “in the former socialist countries utilisation of leave was also a manifestation of less job pressure as well as of the overall rather stressful living conditions of families. In Russia and Poland the respondents used these leaves as relief from general strain, to compensate for poor child care facilities”.¹⁰³

Relatives in Lithuania are likely to be in consideration with the raising of the children of other families. As it is in the studied countries such as Russia, Lithuania also has a good example of partners and members in the families to take responsibility in assisting the development of children.

Erler and Sass state that “in East Germany before unification, grandmothers, also had the right to take the “baby year” and receive parental leave allowance, in Russia this has been possible since 1990.”¹⁰⁴ This concept is based on the pragmatic assumption that parental leave should provide for the upbringing of the child within the family instead of in expensive day nurseries; but it is not oriented towards the idea of greater partnership in marriage or the elimination of the gender-specific division of labour.

Erler & Sass state that grandmothers on average spend a considerable amount of time on childcare: from three hours in East Germany to four. Two hours in Russia”.

Erler & Sass state “in Hungary in particular families in fact favour siblings over day nurseries when choosing a childcare arrangement for children below the age of three.

Erler & Sass state that a child by siblings of course applies only two families with several children. If we look at families with three or more children, the proportion of infants being taken care of by siblings increases considerably, ranging from 25% in Hungary and around 40% in Poland and West Germany to 52% and 61% in East Germany and Russia. They further state that the contribution of grandfathers was also an important finding.¹⁰⁵

Erler & Sass state that Hungarian women in particular concentrating on children and family is generally more accepted within society than in the other countries. They further state that although in Germany, Poland and Russia children and family are also given the highest rating; the majority of mothers think that these values are not in keeping with the prevailing social values.”¹⁰⁶

In the question of who has a better life, there are some people who oppose those who claim that life without children is better. Erler & Sass state that “respondents who claim that people with children have better lives, are distinctly more satisfied with their lives and partner relationships than those who hold the opposite view”¹⁰⁷. Moreover, it was found that young generation in

¹⁰² Erler and Sass 1997: 89

¹⁰³ Erler and Sass 1997: 27

¹⁰⁴ Erler and Sass 1997: 29

¹⁰⁵ Erler & Sass 1997: 40-41

¹⁰⁶ Erler & Sass 1997: 56

¹⁰⁷ Erler & Sass 1997: 55

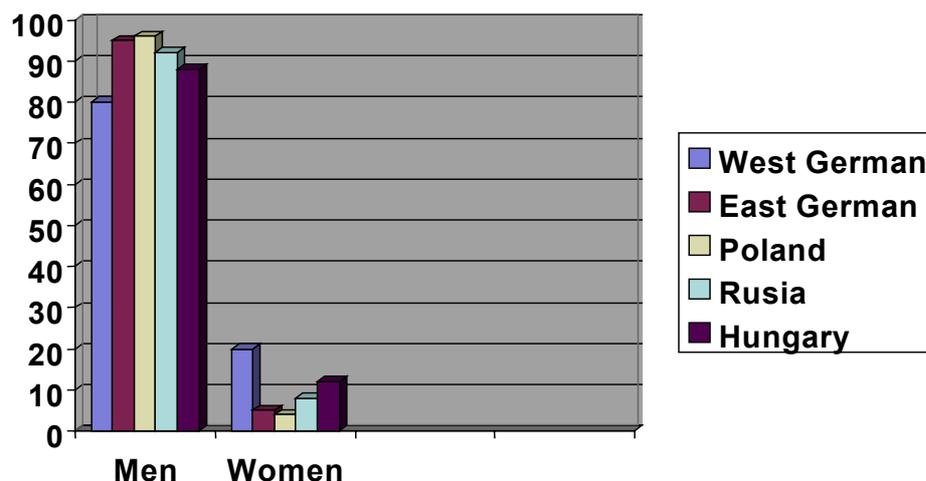
European countries both Eastern and Western, claim to have better life if there are no children. But if the family has children and some time more than three children, then life is not easy and so it is the beginning of problems. It could be difficulty for the couple to go out, or during vacation it might cost much. More than the, women are the one who seem to be in trouble because, some of the families value traditional way of living. It could be argued that, it is a risk for women to have more children. A lot of women are dying during birth due to women's complication.

A question was asked to find out who has a better life, men or women. The answer provided could be likely used in relation to the case of Lithuania. In the data below, it shows that majority of people think that men are having better life may be it is because they have opportunities to participate in labor market and political sectors as compared to women who in many society are taken to work part time in labor market and likely much time in the household. So, could be the same in Lithuania that, people might also respond as it was found out in West and East German, Hungary, Poland and Russia.

Erlor & Sass state "the vast majority of women and men in all countries replied that men have a better life (ranging 68% in W. Germany to 95% in East Germany. The West Germany profile is somewhat different from the other countries in that a relevant group of 20% of mothers almost a third of the fathers replied that women have a better life than men."¹⁰⁸

Figure 5.1 who have a better life: men or women. (Answer of the mothers - in percentages)

	Men	Women
West Germany	80	20
East Germany	95	05
Poland	96	04
Russia	92	08
Hungary	88	12



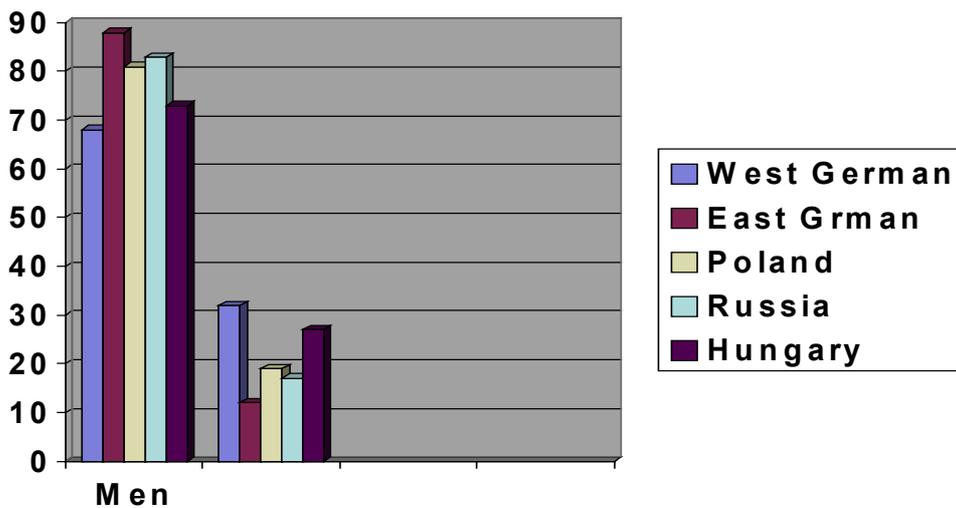
Source: Data from Erlor & Sass (1997:79)

¹⁰⁸ Erlor & Sass 1997: 78

Answers of the mothers in the above figure, shows that women agree that men have better life than women. There could be a reason behind this response. Likewise, there is a big difference between the percentage given to fathers and women. Women percentage goes to 20 whereas men's percentage goes to 95. The difference of 75% is much big. The percentage of men in Poland is quite high and very low to women. This could be the similar situation in Lithuania.

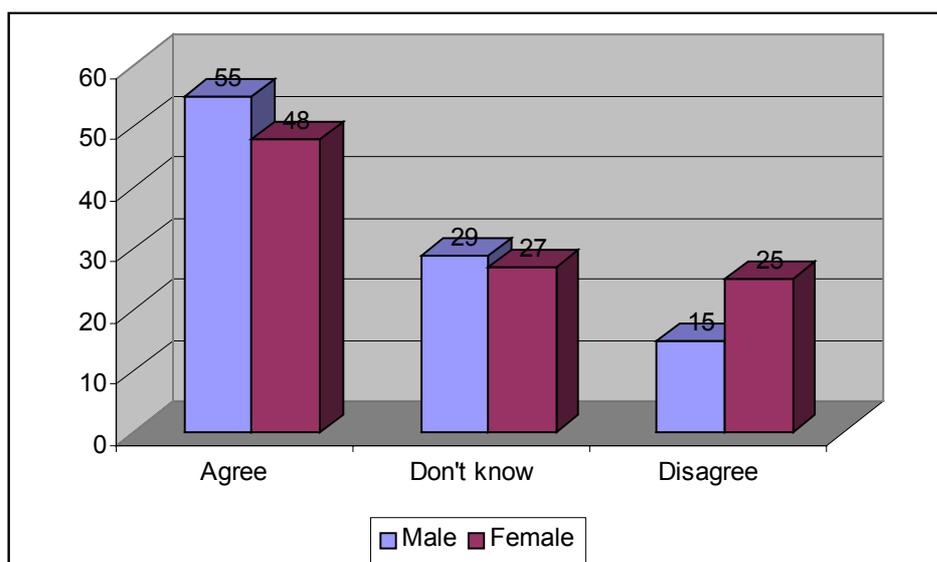
Answer of the fathers (percentages)

	Men	Women
West German	68	32
East German	88	12
Poland	81	19
Russia	83	17
Hungary	73	27



Source: Data from Erler & Sass (1997:79)

Figure 5.2. Agreement and disagreement with the statement: Husband have to be a breadwinner in a family, woman should take care of the house and children



Source: Adopted from Stankuniene et al. (2003), Figure 3.20, p. 134

The idea of who has a better life is very essential when dealing with relationship of parents in a family. Like it is discussed by Stankuniene, that Lithuanians are found to accept the role of fathers as breadwinners, and then it could be related to the data above, which gives more preference to fathers. The Figure 5.1 illustrates this situation. In spite of changes in the families and the caring of children, it is found that, majority of men and women still value the traditional way of living. According to Stankuniene et al, 55 males and 48 females do agree that women should take care of household and raise the children while men should remain to be the heads of the house and breadwinners. It is only 15 males and 25 females who disagree with the statement. However, it is found that the number of men who disagree is very low compare to women's number.

Erler & Sass state, "Nearly every second father in Poland, Russia and Hungary would like his partner to stay at home if he were earning enough to support the family alone".¹⁰⁹

It could be said that in different societies the upbringing of a child has been a responsibility of all people around the child. It is a traditional attitude that taking care of a child is a duty of all relatives especially women. Some people think that having a child could be the beginning of problems and burdens.

Fathers in five countries accept that men have better life from 68% to 88%. In Poland, it is only 12 percent, which do not accept. Although, the percentage of fathers seems to be high, mothers in Poland, Russia, and Lithuania also, are satisfied with the responsibility of taking care of the household and children and are willing to participate in housework.

5.6 Childcare Institutions

Comparing Lithuania to Tanzania it is interesting to investigate whether parents/mothers in the respective countries put public childcare very high on their family policy agenda. In other words, the study will find out if they consider it of primary importance to allocate resources for

¹⁰⁹ Erler & Sass 1997: 75

childcare. Erler & Sass admits that “in all the countries studied, apart from the former GDR, the preference is for children below the age of three to be cared for within the family, and that most women do not return to work earlier unless they have been able to arrange for childcare within the family”¹¹⁰.

Erler & Sass state “there are very few forms of private childcare in Sweden apart from care by parent. Public or state childcare is judged very positively by the parents”.

Erler & Sass state, “While in W. Germany, Poland, Russia and Hungary the vast majority of married mothers (fathers and single mothers following the same pattern) are of the opinion that small children under three should be at home with their mothers”¹¹¹.

Erler & Sass admit that “in all the countries studied, apart from the former GDR, the preference is for children below the age of three to be cared for within the family, and that most women do not return to work earlier unless they have been able to arrange for childcare within the family. They further admit that thus even a marked lack of day nurseries in a country does not automatically imply that parents demand them”¹¹².

Most of families in Eastern and Western Europe demand for change in condition, which are basic for their life and especially for children. Sometimes, money could not be a solution of all problems, which are faced by families and children. There is a necessity for the decision-makers in researched countries to construct strategies, which would be useful to families in need and manage to solve the surroundings problems. It is a duty for policy-makers to lay down plans for and let people to be aware of the established child-care services in the society.

In Sweden, where the demand for public childcare and general support is higher, it is revealed that families see themselves as part of a social network. In Russia families are so much in need that they are crying out for help on a number of different levels.

It is found that child-care in Lithuania are not as important as they are in other European Countries. This does not mean that child-care are not of use in the country. It could be argued that, citizens need time to find out the advantages and disadvantages of taking their children in child-care. Erler & Sass state “group childcare is most important in East Germany and Sweden and less important in West Germany. It is not surprising that in East Germany three-quarters of all children are cared for by institutions, the highest proportion of all countries”¹¹³.

A childcare institute should be a place where children get the stimulating environment to help them to build their capacity of understanding and acquiring of knowledge. Björnberg in his article Swedish dual breadwinner families: Gender, Class and Policy argue that, “childcare provision would at the same time make it possible for women to work. This would also encourage their political participation. He further argues that when the day care services were developed, priority was thus given to children in particular need of social support and stimulation, i.e. children with social problems, handicapped children, children with single mothers etc. in the day care. He also argues that children should not be excluded because their

¹¹⁰ Gisela & Sass 1997:35

¹¹¹ Erler & Sass 1997: 45,46

¹¹² Erler & Sass 1997: 35

¹¹³ Erler & Sass 1997: 38

parents are unemployed or when new siblings are born into the families. Day care centres were supposed to help families socialise their children.”¹¹⁴

Björnberg argues that, “personal skills are trained through social relationships, including close relationships with children. Many men have realised the advantages of spending time caring for and playing with their children. He also argues that men who have been asked about their motives for becoming active fathers often say they wish to develop as persons. They assumed that the contacts with a small child would help them to gain new insights into themselves, and to be able to develop the emotional side of their personality.”¹¹⁵

5.7 Efforts taken by the Government

The government tries to reduce the hardship that is faced by families in taking care of children. In its transformation, Lithuania has welcomed the help of Non governmental Organisations to provide employment to parents and also to encourage women to participate in the labour market. Aidukaite argues that Lithuanian decision-makers seek to reduce poverty among families with children and enhance parents’ responsibility for the upbringing of their children.

Nonetheless, it can be argued that the problem of unemployment, which is now an issue, has become a hindrance to development and, consequently, poverty still persists. One could suggest that, women themselves should also see the need to engage in the labour market as the government has resolved to help. Lithuania has proved to be supportive to women as it provides them with a variety of opportunities. The country develops its system of supporting children by providing opportunities to both women and men and gives them resources that will help them to assist their children.

Stankuniene argues, “The economic crisis in the early 1990s and unemployment decreased thereby improving the situation of families as there are social guarantees. Besides, the active participation of society striving for quick changes in all spheres of life, has persistently seen social changes and at the same time stimulated and even compelled changes in family assistance. High unemployment in the society leads to poor condition of living and, thus, to poverty. As changes are implemented, there is always a marked improvement in technology.”¹¹⁶

Aidukaite declares that, “Lithuania has been developing a system that mostly relies upon available recourses, and prevailing ideology regarding support is more neo-liberal than universal. For the children who have lost their parents, it is a government responsibility to make sure that those children find families to live with”.¹¹⁷ It could be stated that the state is giving guardianship to those children who have lost their parents. Orphans and street children are given assistance by assigning them guardianship.

It is necessary to note that it is the responsibility of the government to find solutions to childcare problems. The state of Lithuania tried to solve both foreign and domestic problems gradually.

¹¹⁴ Björnberg 1997: 122 in his article Swedish dual breadwinner families: Gender, Class and Policy. Public Childcare

¹¹⁵ Björnberg 1997: 129

¹¹⁶ Stankuniene 2001: 3

¹¹⁷ Aidukaite 2004: 45

Professors Buracas, Larson and Kairys, Jr argue that, “article Nr 68, of the constitution of the Lithuanian SSR states that Lithuania SSR is a sovereign Soviet Socialist republic. Therefore, Lithuania had the right to pursue the policy of an independent economy”¹¹⁸. Taking this fact into account it was necessary to create and implement a new system of economic organisation and management enabling the unjustifiably low standard of living to be looked into. The indispensable condition for increasing the economic efficiency of the national economy was to achieve economic independence.

Gender and family: Unlike Lithuania, Tanzania is a multicultural and multi-religious society. Poverty is widespread and the bulk of society remains traditional when it comes to gender issues. The question of protecting women by law remains limited. Lithuania is also a homogeneous society and dominated by one religion: Catholic. The church in its own way has influenced the way of protecting women in certain cases although it also retains alien custom where a man is regarded as head of the family.

Buracas in his article Demographical Trends states, “in 1954, females were 54.1 percent of the total population mostly as a consequence of World War II. In 1993, this dropped to 52.7 percent. The condition which negatively influences family formation is the disequilibria within decisive age-sex groups, primarily, the fertile and ageing”¹¹⁹.

The government of Lithuania puts a lot of resources to try and solve the problem of unemployment. Aidukaite argues “the imposition of the free market has brought a number of social issues into focus; one of which was the steady rise in unemployment”¹²⁰.

Lithuania assists unemployed people by providing them with allowance, which could help them in taking care of themselves and their children too. If parents are unemployed, the whole family is trapped in poverty and children are put into disadvantages position as compared to others. Aidukaite comments, “on the one hand, Lithuania has the strictest qualifying conditions for unemployment benefits (at least 24 months in paid employment, contributions to the social insurance fund and citizenship). However, on the other hand, those who do not pay social insurance contributions under certain conditions are also eligible for unemployment benefits. The right to unemployment benefits is extended to certain categories of persons who have not contributed to the social insurance system (because they have not been employed) on account of the following important reasons: they have looked after a disabled person, served in the army or were imprisoned. Gradually from vocational schools and institutions of higher education, women and single men who are bringing up children under the age of eight are not required to have a record of their state social insurance period”¹²¹(the Ministry of Social Security and Labour of Lithuania 2001, 2002).

It is claimed “the process of industrialisation is thought to transform socio-economic as well as family structures and increase the cost of having children in industrial societies as compared to those incurred in agrarian ones. Demographic factors, such as the age structure of the population can thus be expected to play an important role in the institutional configuration of family policy

¹¹⁸ Buracas, Larson and Kairys, Jr 1997: 24

¹¹⁹ Buracas 1997: 69

¹²⁰ Aidukaite 2003: 69

¹²¹ Aidukaite2003: 70

transfers since such policies are necessary for the reproduction of the labour force and for upholding economic growth in industrialised societies”. (Wennemo1994, Ferrarini 2003).

Ferrarini declares that “ ---the Catholic social doctrine favours a family policy, which supports the traditional genders division of labor within the family”¹²².

5.7.1 Success and Failure

Lazutka demands “from the standpoint of consolidation of market and democracy principles, reforms in Lithuania, from the historical perspective, can be assessed very positively. During a short period of time, prices and labour market were liberated; the laws consolidate reorganisation of the system of taxes. Hyper inflation and decrease of production have already been stopped, high unemployment level had also been avoided, and real wage stopped falling. Having in mind that these achievements occurred at the sometime as fighting for independence and after 50 years creating national state new, results were incredibly positive¹²³”.

The achievements that were made during the transitional period have helped families to make progress largely because of the policy. The gross domestic product (GDP) is growing, industries have become profitable, employees are getting the reasonable minimum wages and all in all trade and domestic demand have increased quantitatively and qualitatively. Aidukaite claims that, “in sum, the ideology of the family support system shows clear signs of solidarity and universalisation in Latvia and particularly in Estonia. In Lithuania, however, the more individualist approach is being taken toward family policy¹²⁴”.

After independence, it was observed that, there was a positive change in living conditions between 1998 and 1999. Lithuania evaluated the role of public employees and gave substance to their work. This led to a situation where the government increased salaries of civil servants.

Zemaityte R. declares “at the end of 1998, Lithuania had the highest minimum wage among the Baltic Countries. Zemaityte declares that in two years, consumer expenditure in Lithuania grew by 23%. There was a noticeable decrease in food related expenditure and an increase in expenditure on communications, home furnishings and renovation, leisure and culture. Although, there was an increase of real income, due to above reasons, it could be likely that there was a decrease in poverty to a certain level. Zemaityte declares that in 1998, 16% of the population fell below the poverty line of 50% of average household expenditure¹²⁵”.

It is said that since 1997 families with three or more children have been receiving an additional benefit to the regular family benefits. This is a positive trend. Zemaitye argues that “single parents were allocated more than others on consumer expenditure, while households with two parents and children under 18 had the lowest expenditure”.

Medaiskis claims “support for families with children, especially for those with many children, has been consistently intensified during the last few years. This policy was partially motivated by

¹²² Ferrarini 2003: 74

¹²³ Lazutka 1997: 231

¹²⁴ Aidukaite 2003: 45

¹²⁵ Zemaityte R 1997: 73, 76,75

the fact proven by poverty research that families with children, more than any other population group, fall below the poverty line”¹²⁶.

In contradiction to the opposite effects, there have been some failures in Lithuanian human and industrial development. Starkeviciute claims that “the rate of return on investment is declining in the Lithuanian industrial sector. In actual fact, enterprises have become less attractive for investors and therefore the modernisation of production, along with economic growth rates, has slowed down. He further claims that the decrease in the rate of experts was due to unfavourable conditions on the international markets, as well as growing production costs as a result of the increase in the minimum wage and the introduction of new taxes and duties”¹²⁷.

There is possibility that, family life in Lithuania is much affected in what is going on in general economic life of the country.

5.7.2 Advantages in Joining the European Union

Starkeviciute claims that, “unexpectedly, 1998 became the breaking point in the history of Lithuania’s economic development, for it gave new acceleration and significance to the process of integration into the European Union. However, joining the European Community involves not only the strengthening of economic ties with its member countries, but structural economic reforms as well. He further claims that Lithuania’s economy in 1998 could undoubtedly be called a ‘market economy’, for the majority of its goods and services were produced in the private sector. He observes that although the interest of Scandinavian investors in the Lithuanian market continued to grow, the USA remained the largest single investor in the country’s economy. Investment from the USA equalled 18.7% (US\$303 million) of the total direct foreign investment followed by Sweden (16.9%) and Finland (10.7%). Investment by the EU countries made up 61.1% of the total foreign investment in shareholdings”¹²⁸.

Lithuania being a member of the European Union follows rules and regulations, which are stipulated by the EU in the case of family benefits. The country benefits in improving its economic status since there are quite big numbers of investors who are investing in companies and industries in the country.

There is recognition of work to Lithuanians when they go to other European Countries. Students from Lithuania are entitled to pursue their studies in any country of European Union.

¹²⁶ Medaiskis T. 1997: 93

¹²⁷ Starkeviciute 1999: 37

¹²⁸ Starkeviciute 1999: 40

Men and women in Europe more and more seem to be confronted with conflicting claims from work and the private sphere. In this paper there has been some observation on the Model of Dual Earner Support, which seems to be applied by families in Lithuania. It is experience where-by both parents balance their activities between work and child care. It has been observed that parents have learned to take this as a specific aspect of time pressure in modern society. As an emerging democracy, Lithuanian society is taking gradual steps to accommodate the combination of work and childcare as a social pressure and how people are trying to emulate experiences in several Western and Eastern European countries.

On one hand, this study has revealed the effects of the work situation, especially focused on working hours, overtime and the attitude people have their over working hours and the type of contract. On the other hand, there is the household situation involving responsibility for domestic chores, childcare, working hours of the partner and mutual understanding within the household. It was interesting to note the attention given to the interaction of the different time patterns of the work and household situation on the balance in the two situations. In analysing differences between countries, Lithuania and Tanzania, it was clear that, there were divergent aspects on cultural, economic and socio-political factors in specific aspects as social policy directed to family affairs, social policy directed to flexible working arrangements and gender equality.

Feminist welfare state research has repeatedly pointed to the link between women's social rights and the availability of childcare services. Women's economic independence and equality in the labour market are related to the extent to which women are freed from family obligations. Thus, the availability of sufficient non-parental childcare in order to combine work and family life is of central interest to women. Swedish childcare politics reflects this logic well. Swedish women, from the 1960s onwards, fought for the expansion of public childcare both "from above" as politicians as well as "from below" in the feminist movement. In Lithuania on the other hand, women did not consider childcare a radical issue so as Tanzanian feminist. From the study on childcare institutions, have been shaped differently from other European countries such as Sweden. Parents, fathers and mothers in Lithuania prefer to spend time with their children than taking them to childcare.

Families with two working adults are now the norm. However, the pattern of women's involvement in employment differs depending first of all on the demands for labour but also on the shape of family policy in the individual welfare regimes. That is to say, the family policy in Lithuania differs a lot with that of Tanzania because it was found that the country has no a clear defined policy. However, some features are found to be similar in both countries. For instance, the issue of having extended families to help out in taking care of children, the issue of unemployment, and the existence of poverty among the families though the poverty itself differs on how it exist in society and the question of gender.

It was discovered that all families from each countries (Lithuania and Tanzania) have traditional relationship that make the families to have a strong code and bond. Members of the families are able and ready to help one another. Relatives are ready to render assistance whenever it is needed especially on the issue of raising and bringing up children. The mode of extending family in Tanzania is of helpful and brings about a live relation within the families. A child can be taken care by grandparents or uncles/ aunts until her/his adulthood.

In Lithuania, the stability of the family is in danger because the relationship between men and women is subject to change. Because of the Catholic Church's view about the family and its origin in marriage, there are stresses found in the emerging new family relationships. Particular interest is on those facts, which are connected with the Catholic Church's teaching. This leads to an integration of Catholic religion with the sociology of families and intimate lives. Sociologically speaking, marriage is a sexual fellowship, the structure of which varies considerably according to general social conditions. The factors, which determine the concrete structures of marriage, can never be sought merely in terms of intimate lives. They are, above all, the needs of the family and society.

The family is characterised by persons whose behaviour affects one another because the parts are interdependent. Therefore, it is clear that there are different attitudes of contemporary couples in the relationship between men and women in the family and their intimate lives. It can be revealed that couples who do not ascribe to a sense of religious faith (non-believers) and those who do (believers) are similar in intimate lives, but had different attitudes in three areas: permanent, fidelity (faithfulness) and fertility (producing offspring). On the other hand, there still families, which are stable and practicing system theory whereby, a process of feedback and openness, are highly respected.

It is found that, the problem of unemployment is experienced in both Tanzania and Lithuania. Majority of children whose parents do not have jobs, are under worries. They are facing hardship situation on how they can go through in life, and find solutions of the availing problems. In contrary to Tanzania, the state of Lithuania provides assistance to those without jobs. The government gives allowances to its people and it helps them to fight against poverty.

An observation was made that; the salary is not sufficient to both countries, especially the works that are mainly performed by women. It was observed that, Lithuanian government allocated allowances to people who are unemployed while Tanzania does not have such kind of allowances. Condition of life in Tanzania seems to be worse in comparison to Lithuania when it comes to the question of unemployment.

Both countries go through difficulties in family and in children situation. According to the various readings, it was found that, poverty differs on content and in context. This means that, the kind and the extent of poverty that exist in Lithuania do not lie on the same line as that of Tanzania. A child from rural areas in Lithuania could be in better position than a child from rural areas in Tanzania. Though, they are all poor.

The economic statuses of both countries are showing good sign of improvement and development. Lithuania, being a member of European Union has opportunities and chances to participate in union's market and improve its economy. The country also, gains benefits from European Union countries to help it to combat with the difficult situation faced by families and children. On the other hand, currently at the beginning of 2005, Tanzanian government got the favour of being one of the countries whose debts were written off.

6.1 RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In today's world everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, and housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his/her control. It cannot be over emphasized that motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. And children, whether born in or out of wedlock, should enjoy the same social protection.

In the case of Tanzania, it is necessary to establish child health centres, which should be responsible for checking the physical and mental health of pre- school children. Local government authorities should ensure that accommodation is provided for families who are about to become unintentionally homeless. The decision makers should put into consideration the question of having a clear family policy and establish all which is concern with families and children like it is in other Western countries, in spite of its poor economy.

It is essential to ensure that everyone has the right to education. Education must be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education should be compulsory. Technical and professional education should be made generally available and higher education should be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. Education should be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Thus, parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Children whose learning difficulties are severe or complex, wherever possible, should be educated in special schools or institutions where they are given special attention. Special training aids should be used to raise standard of communication with children by enabling them to express their wishes and feelings, to make sense of their circumstances and to help them participate more fully in decisions affecting them. This means that educators and workers should be offered practical, adaptable and flexible materials, exercises and approaches, backed by underpinning knowledge and theory.

In setting about this task, values should remain the same: every child is of equal worth. Through radical reform, it should be possible to put real impetus behind this original comprehensive ideal. Reforms in Lithuania have enabled pre-schools and schools to take important strides forward. The school system should be specialist both in the distinctive ethos of each school and in the focus it brings to each child's individual talents. Only schools with that approach can achieve the aspirations that drive the comprehensive ideal.

Naturally, this leads to the question of school leadership. It is necessary to use the best school leaders to lever up standards across the school system. Backed by a substantial increase in grants to schools, it is possible to make a major investment in additional classroom support staff and radically reforming working practices in schools and enabling schools to meet better the needs of individual pupils. In addition, it is essential to invest in the professional skills of all teachers and improve initial teacher training in the classroom to ensure teachers have the skills to meet the needs of individual pupils.

Education institutions should ensure that every school facing challenge has a learning support

unit to work with disruptive pupils. School authorities should take firm action against parents who fail to exercise their legal responsibility to ensure their child attends school. It is necessary to deal with the social and economic challenges facing education service in urban areas by developing extended schools co-locating health and social services in schools to support pupils and raise standards.

The government should be committed to increasing choice and quality for parents, with additional investment for early intervention in disadvantaged areas where needs are greatest. There is need for further investment in primary schools to strengthen the impact of the literacy and innumeracy strategies, particularly with pupils who are still not achieving the expected standards for their age. There is a need to implement measures to enrich the primary curriculum in music, sport and the arts and encourage the teaching of languages.

Lithuanian government and its policy, have tried much to assist women to rise up and participate in labor market instead of staying home. Among the Baltic Countries, Lithuania is leading to have more women in Universities and in political arena. Tanzanian women are trying though are still lagging behind in comparison to those of Lithuania. However, the government is encouraging them to participate in political issues. Also, the president of Tanzanian government has the power to nominate women to enter into the parliament and become (MP) Members of Parliament.

Currently in Lithuania, families with dependent children have been facing various social and economic problems. The prevailing environment makes it difficult to raise a child. The families that have more than three children, single parent families, families where one adult person is unemployed or disabled, and widows who are left with children more than one, are the most disadvantaged in Lithuania. This is because social security is not yet able to meet all the demands of the families. Comparison with other countries shows that families with children have been facing more or less similar problems around the world. The family policy was developed to mitigate all these problems. However, in the 21st century poverty and inequality still persist even in more developed countries.

According to empirical study and conclusions of this research it seems that changes and problems facing families and children in Lithuania and Tanzania, depends mostly on standard of living between countries and also within the country, it depends on the differences of class in the society. Moreover, family policy solves only the basic problems such as food, shelter, clothing and education in general but not in its quality.

One of the important conclusions in this work-study is to focus on Standard of living between countries and the class difference within the country in order to create a fair regulated family policy. Recommended area of research for the continuation of this work-study should focus on the difference of standard of living between countries and the class difference in the countries. For example the difference between standard of living of Lithuania and Tanzania and the class differences in Lithuania and that of Tanzania.

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