

KAUNAS UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Svajonė Mikėnienė

**THE DYNAMICS OF THE VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF
THE LITHUANIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT'
REPRESENTATIVES IN 1991-2001**

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation
Social Sciences, Sociology (05 S)

KAUNAS 2004

The research was accomplished in 1999-2003 at Kaunas University of Technology, Department of Sociology.

Academic supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Habil. Arvydas Virgilijus MATULIONIS (Institute for Social Research, Social Sciences, Sociology, 05S).

Council of Sociology trend:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Vladas GAIDYS (Institute for Social Research, Social Sciences, Sociology, 05S);

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Irena JUOZELIŪNIENĖ (Vilnius University, Social Sciences, Sociology, 05 S);

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Jolanta KUZNECOVIENĖ (Vytautas Magnus University, Social Sciences, Sociology, 05S);

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Irmina MATONYTĖ (Institute for Social Research, Social Sciences, Sociology, 05S);

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Leonardas RINKEVIČIUS (Kaunas University of Technology, Social Sciences, Sociology, 05S). – **chairman.**

Official opponents:

Prof. Dr. Habil. Romualdas GRIGAS (Vilnius Pedagogical University, Social Sciences, Sociology, 05S);

Prof. Dr. Algis KRUPAVIČIUS (Kaunas University of Technology, Social Sciences, Sociology, 05S).

The official defense of the dissertation will be held at 2 p.m. September 3, 2004 at the public session of the Council of Sociology trend in the Rectorate Hall (K.Donelaičio g. 73, room No. 402) of Kaunas University of Technology.

Address: K. Donelaičio g. 73, LT – 44029 Kaunas, Lithuania.

Tel.: (370) 37 30 00 42, fax: (370) 37 32 41 44; e-mail: mok.gr@amd.ktu.lt

The sending – out date of the summary of the Dissertation is on 7 July, 2004.

Dissertation is available at the libraries of Kaunas University of Technology and the Institute for Social Research.

KAUNO TECHNOLOGIJOS UNIVERSITETAS
SOCIALINIŲ TYRIMŲ INSTITUTAS

Svajonė Mikėnienė

**LIETUVOS VIETOS VALDŽIOS ATSTOVŲ VERTYBINIŲ
ORIENTACIJŲ DINAMIKA 1991-2001**

Daktaro disertacijos santrauka
Socialiniai mokslai, sociologija (05 S)

KAUNAS 2004

Disertacija rengta 1999-2003 metais Kauno technologijos universiteto Socialinių mokslų fakultete, Sociologijos katedroje.

Mokslinis vadovas:

Prof. habil. dr. Arvydas Virgilijus MATULIONIS (Socialinių tyrimų institutas, socialiniai mokslai, sociologija, 05S).

Sociologijos mokslo krypties taryba:

Doc. dr. Vladas GAIDYS (Socialinių tyrimų institutas, socialiniai mokslai, sociologija, 05S);

Doc. dr. Irena JUOZELIŪNIENĖ (Vilniaus universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, sociologija, 05S);

Doc. dr. Jolanta KUZNECOVIENĖ (Vytauto Didžiojo Universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, sociologija, 05S);

Doc. dr. Irmina MATONYTĖ (Socialinių tyrimų institutas, socialiniai mokslai, sociologija, 05S);

Doc. dr. Leonardas RINKEVIČIUS (Kauno technologijos universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, sociologija, 05S) – **pirmininkas**.

Oficialieji oponentai:

Prof. habil. dr. Romualdas GRIGAS (Vilniaus pedagoginis universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, sociologija, 05S);

Prof. dr. Algis KRUPAVIČIUS (Kauno technologijos universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, sociologija, 05S).

Disertacija bus ginama 2004 m. rugsėjo 3 d. 14 val. viešajame Sociologijos mokslo krypties tarybos posėdyje, kuris įvyks Kauno technologijos universitete, Rektorato salėje (K.Donelaičio g. 73- 402, Kaunas).

Adresas: K. Donelaičio g. 73, LT-44029, Kaunas, Lietuva.

Tel.: (370) 37 30 00 42, fax: (370) 37 32 41 44; e-mail: mok_gr@amd.ktu.lt

Disertacijos santrauka išsiųsta 2004 m. liepos 7 d.

Su disertacija galima susipažinti Kauno technologijos universiteto ir Socialinių tyrimų instituto bibliotekose.

Introduction

More than a decade ago, in Lithuania as well as in all Eastern and Central Europe the processes of post-communist transformation to the democratic regime have begun. The Soviet-type political, administrative, production and distribution structures have been replaced by modern democratic structures. The councils that represent the local communities replaced the soviet-type councils on the level of local government; there were established new relationships between government levels. The institutions of local administration has an important task- to create the mechanisms that would enable to solve economic, cultural, education, ecological problems in the governed territory efficiently, taking into considerations the interests of the local community.

In Lithuania, the research of self-governance level is focused on functions of local government institutions which are included in laws, the participation of parties in the self-government institutions and the election of self-government institutions, the connections between center-periphery, financial indexes etc. The other researchers are interested in the analysis of the problem of the inhabitants' low participation in the local self-governance, their passiveness. Only in recent years, some researchers became interested in aspects of local self-government, other than managerial and public administration aspects: Berglund (2003) presents the comparative analysis of Russian, Lithuanian, Estonian and Latvian local elites' perceptions' of satisfaction by the functioning of democracy on the local level and on the national level as well; Åström (2003) is analyzing the support for democracy of the local elites by two dimensions: first, support for democratic ideals; and, secondly, satisfaction with the current performance of government institutions; Matonytė (2004) has analyzed the results of the survey of social capital indicators in Kaunas region. However, there is no research of value orientations of the representatives of local government institutions, except the longitudinal research that has been made in accordance with the program "Democracy and Local Governance" (DLG).

The analyzed **problem** of this research is local government representatives' value orientations, the signs of democracy. The one of the problematic areas analyzing the period of transformations is the determination of the change of value orientations: what is the content of the local government representatives' value orientations', how has it changed over time. Do we have preconditions for the existence of the local self-government of society? Can we assert that people working for newly established democratic institutions follow the democratic values? Knowing the heritage of the soviet experience, it is important to understand how did it influence the structure of local government representatives' value orientations. The main problem analyzing the change of value orientations during the period of transformations is to find the adequate theoretical perspectives and tools of analysis. One of the ways is to analyze the

known theories and methods trying to adapt them to a certain situation. There are few theories related to the object of the research of dissertation: the concept of political culture, the theories of values, and the theories of democracy and democratization and of tranzitology. The elements of all of the mentioned theories can be adapted referring to the alternative interpretations.

The Lithuanian local government representatives' value orientations and their changes in the period of the decade (1991-2001) are studied in the dissertation analyzing the results of empirical research accomplished using the methodology of the program „Democracy and the Local Governance“. The **methodological problem** arises in the analysis: the model of the research was created for different societies, so-called “old democracies”, so the question is if it can be adjusted to the Lithuanian situation- the state, in which the democratic regime continues a little longer than a decade? Could we receive the well-founded empirical data, which would mark the post-soviet realities of the dynamics of value orientation change of the last decade? That is the practical problem of the research. The model used in the researches done in the past was almost forty- year old. Thus the old research model's suitability to Lithuanian local government representatives' value orientations will be studied in my dissertation, and the new model of research will be created after the necessary corrections are made in the scales for measuring of the values.

The object of the research: value orientations of Lithuanian local government' representatives'. The **subject** of the research: the change of value orientations of Lithuanian local government' representatives' in the period of ten years (1991-2001).

The research objective: to explore the dynamics of value orientations of the Lithuanian local government representatives in 1991-2001.

The main goals:

1. To analyze the theoretical concepts of political culture, tranzitology, democracy and democratization and to determine the factors, the processes, their structures and mechanisms that influence the value orientations of local government' representatives.

2. To conduct the analysis of the methodology of the program „Democracy and the Local Governance“(DLG); to adapt DLG methodology for the research of Lithuanian local government' representatives' value orientations.

3. Based on the comparative analysis of the results of longitudinal research executed in 1991-2001 year period, to determine the tendencies, peculiarities of the Lithuanian local government' representatives' value orientations, and to test the influence of different factors to the changes in value orientations of Lithuanian local government' representatives in accordance with the hypotheses raised.

Hypotheses:

The main question of the research is whether Lithuanian local government' representatives' value orientations have been changing towards

democratization during the first decade since Independence restoration. These hypotheses have been raised to answer the question:

H 1. Lithuanian local government‘ representatives‘ democratic orientations have strengthened in the 1991-2001 year period.

The democratic value orientations depend on the historic experience of the country. Communist socialization was the force that inculcated the soviet values for the individuals (Reisinger et al, 1994: 184). Also, the values are relatively stable and are changing slowly, as the political culture itself (Wegener:2000; Inglehart:1977), lagging behind the institutional change (Gibson, Duch & Tedin, 1992:330, Sztompka:1996; Valionis:2000). Based on such propositions, it is possible to assert that ten-years period was too short for the democratic orientations to become consolidated.

Barry (1970) postulates a possibility that democratic value orientations are an effect, rather than a cause of democracy (Barry, 1970:50-52). According to this theoretical tradition, the scholars think that it is the institutional conditions of the political system, and especially the experiences of the political elites and their ability to change and to learn from institutional structures, which foster democratic orientations (Dahl, 18971:124-188; Szücz, 1998:82; 2000; Schmitter & Karl: 1991; Muller & Seligson:1994 etc.). Therefore, it is possible to assert that in the further time perspective the political values (which at a current time are in the phase of transformation from the authoritarianism) in the countries representing the post-soviet block are transforming adjusting to values dominating in the democratic West countries. In other words, the longer the democratic institutions exist, the more democratic are the social institutions and political culture in a certain society. This lets us make a presumption that Lithuanian local government‘ representatives‘ value orientations should strengthen across the studied period. The strengthening of orientations will be considered both as a) the increase of orientation level, and b) the settlement of orientation level and slight change; but not the decrease.

H 2. If at the beginning of transitional period the Lithuanian local government representatives expressed the democratic orientations significantly declarative, then in due course of time these orientations were more adequate to the existing values.

Based on the theories of transitionists, the values can change suddenly as the consequence of the “revolutionary” changes – as it has been happening in Lithuania after the declaring of the Independence. During the period of transformation, first of all, the “new” institutions arise, and the “old” cultural models do not correspond them (Valionis: 2000; Sztompka:1996). Also, at the beginning of the transformation period the pseudo-opinions, instant valuations, intersection of declared values and opinions reveal themselves (Matonyte, 2002:88), and later, in the evolutionary period (after 1992; in our research it was fixed in 1995, 1988, 2001), the old social tissue is finished to change and the value orientations become more realistic. It allows to make a presumption, that

at the beginning of the period (in 1991) the Lithuanian local government representatives will express unadequately strong, “slogans” character orientations to the democratic values, and later (in 1995 and later empirically fixed phases), these orientations will be more adequate to the existing values.

H 3. The democratic orientations of the Lithuanian local government representatives in Lithuanian municipalities differ depending on the socio-cultural and economic context of the locality.

On one hand, the democratic regime resocializes political culture in the whole country (Lithuania is a small country already). Therefore, the representatives working in different municipalities of the country should not differ in their orientations to the democratic values.

On the other hand, based on the observations and data of researches, such differences are possible: according to Eldersveld et al. (1995:87) theoretical interpretation, the representatives of local government belonging to the exactly definite geographical unit (such as the municipality or region) are influenced by the certain social interaction. The differences between the regions (municipalities) could be explained by the socio-cultural context of the locality. The other explanations of the possible differences between the regions (municipalities) stress the local economic differences (Inglehart: 1998; 2002) and institutional context, i.e. the influence of institutions in power – according to this theory, the local government use special procedures, by which it constrains its members and renders them certain democratic orientations (March & Olsen, 1989:159-164; Putnam, 2001:25-38). Therefore, it is possible to expect differences in the strength of value orientations of local government representatives of the different Lithuanian municipalities.

H 4. The strength of Lithuanian local government representatives' value orientations is predetermined by the experience of management and the political activity of these persons.

The experience of management and the political activity means as follows:

1. *The positions held during soviet times* (the representatives that held the positions during soviet times, will express weaker orientations to the democratic values than the representatives without such experience).

This proposition underlines the influence of the specific political socialization, holding the public service position or the position in the local government institutions during soviet time (until the year of 1990). There the proposition is made that the representatives of the local government that have the experience of holding the positions during the soviet period, will express weaker democratic orientations comparing to the representatives without such experience. If the difference between these groups does not exist, it is more likely that soviet political socialization did not have any meaningful influence; and the so-called democratic orientations are typical to the local leaders irrespective of such socialization factors.

2. The party affiliation/support (the orientations of the representatives of the Left affiliation are weaker; the orientations of the Right affiliation are stronger to the economic values).

3. The position in the municipality (the politicians are more oriented to the political values, the administrators- to the economic values).

These propositions were created on the grounds of the institutional perspective. According to this theoretical perspective, individuals who hold certain positions in the political hierarchy and other levels of government (Aberbach et al: 1981, Eldersveld et al:1995 distinguishes the positions of politics and administrators), adjust value orientations of their own to the one's of the institution, organization formal and non-formal values and norms (March and Olsen: 1989) because the individuals aim to justify the expectations of the reference groups and the standards of acceptable behavior in the organization.

H 5. Democratic orientations depend on the age (generation) of local government representatives.

This hypothesis is based on few propositions. Based on socialization theory (Inglehart: 1977; 1997; Parsons:1951a; 1967), the values of the individual formed in the early age and teenage-years stabilize in the period of maturity and do not change. Also, it was observed that the political orientations depend on the phase of life cycle: older people tend to be more conservative (Reisinger et al, 1994:196; Flanagan: 1982). Therefore, we make a proposition that the value orientations of local government representatives will differ, depending on age: the local government representatives belonging to the group of the older generation will express comparatively weaker democratic value orientations comparing to the younger generation representatives.

The proposition will be confirmed if we find the statistically significant differences between the older local and younger local government representatives in their orientations towards the political and economic values (the older comparing to the younger leaders will express weaker democratic value orientations, viewed by them as new and thus „strange”).

However, there are some scholars that suppose, that due to modernization influence (information technologies, education level, etc.), the citizens of the states of former Soviet Union could become more open, more accepting the democratization and market reforms (Hough:1988; Reisinger et al, 1994:201), therefore, independently of the age differences to reorient and to support the democratic political and economic values.

Research methods

1. The analysis of *scientific literature* was executed analyzing the results of post-soviet transformations, change of political culture, democratization, value theoretical and empirical research.
2. The method of *document analysis* was applied in an effort to discover the aspects of self-governments legal regulation in Lithuania and their change since 1990. The laws of the Republic of Lithuania were analyzed.

3. The method of *expert interview* was applied aiming to gather the information from the primary sources - Lithuanian local government representatives.
4. *Mathematic statistical analysis methods* were used in the second part of the dissertation analyzing the data of 1991, 1995, 1998 and 2001 surveys. *Factor analysis and non-parametrical methods* (tests of independent samples) were applied together with descriptive statistical analysis methods.

Scientific novelty and theoretical meaningfulness of the work

- Different theoretical perspectives are integrated in the analysis of scientific problem: theories of values, democracy and democratization, political culture, transitological theories.
- Theoretical studies and results of empirical research could be useful for the development of interdisciplinary view towards the values in politics.
- The methodology and instruments could be used in the future conducting analysis of value orientations both in national, and local government levels.

Practical Significance of the Work

- Modified scales of values and the amended empirical data might be used in the future adding up the existing data which include results of the longitudinal research done over a decade to the new data which would emphasize the tendencies of the change of value orientations in regards of time.
- The results of this work- the evaluation of the manifest of democratic values in the local government level – might be very important informing the leaders of municipalities, politicians, and civil servants about the consolidation of democratic values in the self-government level.
- Students could use the theoretical knowledge and results of the research.

Dissertation consists of the following parts: introduction, theoretical, methodological and empirical parts, and conclusions. Conclusions, references and appendixes follow after five main chapters. Appendixes enclose the survey questionnaire of the research designed for local government representatives, research values' scales and indicators, and detailed statistical calculations.

The aim of theoretical part of the dissertation (that consists of two chapters) is to determine the factors, the processes, their structures and mechanisms that influence the value orientations of local government' representatives.

In CHAPTER 1, “**Post-communist transformation and establishment of democratic background of local self-governance in Lithuania**“, the specific characteristic to the period of transformation in the post-communist countries is analyzed, distinguishing the changes in the spheres of the social life in Lithuania and the other post-communist countries, and apportioning this

period into the phases (subchapter 1.1.). The four main phases of transition from authoritarian to democratic rule (O'Donnell et al: 1986) and their peculiarities are reviewed; the Copenhagen criteria, created for the countries of East and Central Europe, corresponding to which allows the country to become a candidate to the members of the European Union. Also, the two phases of development of Lithuanian society, distinguished by Šaulauskas (2000) and the three periods, distinguished by Matonytė (2001a; 2002) were reviewed.

In subchapter 1.2, the concept of *local self-governance* was analyzed and interpreted, and the definitions and the interpretations of the other related concepts were presented. The phrases, such as: *representatives of local government – administrators* and *politicians*, the value orientations (analyzed in the empirical part of the dissertation) are defined. The conclusion is made that the concepts *local leaders*, *local elite*, or *local government representatives* are just titles that do not change the main point, that: 1) the analyzed individuals are the people who accept *responsible decisions, influencing the whole community*; 2) the community has (at least formal) right to control their decisions, therefore that decisions are the *decisions of the community, which is represented by them*. Therefore, the politicians and administrators working in the local government are called *local government representatives* in this dissertation. The review of alternative terms is also presented. In the subchapter 1.3., the definition and development of local self-government in Lithuania after Independence re-establishment in legal aspect was presented, the laws regulating the sphere of local self-government were reviewed. The laws helped to: form two-level system of administrative units of self-government's and local government's creating 60 municipalities and 10 counties; the competencies of self-government institutions were determined: they were divided into independent and delegated; the proportional electoral system was legalized, setting preconditions for the formation of party coalitions; etc. The overview of researches done in the area of local self-governance was presented. In the level of self-governance, researches were focused on the functions, other legal aspects and political parties. Some of the authors analyze the problem of citizen participation in the self-government, it's solution distinguishing better abilities of the society and officers in the training in the adoption of organizational and administrative solutions, in an effort to increase citizen participation in the self-government's development. The big part of the problem is the lack of means, which is needed for the organizing of training and education. The value orientations of Lithuanian local government leaders' have not been researched so the author of this dissertation was striving to fill up the niche.

The CHAPTER 2, „**The political/ civic culture and consolidation of democracy in post-communist Lithuania**“ is devoted for the analysis of the political culture and to the value aspects of the democratization. Trying to define the concepts of political / civic culture and to present their interpretations, there the most popular theories of political culture (subchapter 2.1) were reviewed. In

the subsection 2.1.1, the interpretations of the *values*, *value orientations* and *attitudes* concepts were presented. The development of the value theory and some classifications were reviewed, as well as the functions and peculiarities of the values. In the subsection 2.1.2, the reasons and factors that might have caused the changes in political culture, values and value orientations are analyzed. Also, the specifics of post-soviet political culture and the tendencies of change and the methodological problems that arise in the analysis of post-soviet political culture are analyzed. Further, in the subchapter 2.2., the schemes of analysis of democratic consolidation (value aspects) are presented. In the subsection 2.2.1, we review the surveys of the democratic values and the values that are in most cases named as democratic. Also, the conception of the *contested* and *conditional* democratic ideals and values (the classification, presented by Szücz: 1998) is presented. In the subsection 2.2.2, the surveys of Lithuanian political culture executed by Degutis, Palidauskaitė, Valionis are reviewed. The review shows that after ten years of Lithuanian independence, the Lithuanian political culture remains distant from the ideal of civic culture, and comparing the results of the surveys made by the Institute of International Relations and Political Sciences of the Vilnius University in 1994 and 1999, the changes are not very remarkable and most of them are to the negative side. However, remembering the theory of Inglehart (1998) which states that civic culture depends on the level of economics in the country, looking at the growth of Lithuanian economics during the last few years, we might expect to discover more positive changes in the future surveys of Lithuanian political culture after the year 2000.

In the CHAPTER 3. „**The methodology and methodic of local government representatives’ value orientations survey**”, the methodology of the program „Democracy and the Local Governance“ is analyzed, because the results of the empirical research data accumulated using „Democracy and the Local Governance“ (further- DLG) program’s questionnaire are analyzed in the dissertation’s empirical part. The roots of the DLG program go much deeper, reaching back over forty years, to the seminal research in values and leadership of one of the first large-scale, international, cooperative, social science research programs - the International Study of Values in Politics (further-ISVIP), therefore the scales used in ISVIP and the methodology was analyzed first (subchapter 3.1.). The DLG program’s methodology is examined in the subchapter 3.2: the main questions, theoretical propositions, and the main results. In the subchapter 3.3, theoretical propositions of the research of the value orientations’ of Lithuanian local government representatives are presented. In the subchapter 3.4. „Structure and methods of the data analysis“ statistical methods used in the data analysis are described: factor analysis; independent samples test; using Kruskal-Wallis rank criteria for independent samples; two independent samples test, using Mann-Whitney criteria of rank sums. In the subchapter 3.5 „The sample of research: municipalities and the

local government representatives” the procedure of applied selection (causal stratified selection) is justified and the sample of research is described. The selection was conducted on the grounds of requirements of the program „Democracy and Local Governance“. The research was conducted in 20 Lithuanian municipalities in 1991, and in 21 municipalities in 1995, 1998 and 2001.

The method of causal stratified selection was used in the selection of respondents. Ten respondents from local politician and administrators’ groups have been selected in every municipality. Following the rules of selection, 289 leaders of local self-governance were selected in 1991; 312 leaders were interviewed in 1995; 308-in 1998; 322- in 2001. The research was representative.

The sample consisted of:

1) The politicians of local authorities – these are the leaders elected into the self-governance council: the mayor of municipality (1) or the mayor’s assistant (1), the chairmen of the main committees of the council (for example, the Care of Public Health, Economics and Finances, Social Affairs, Education, Culture) (5), other members of council (taking the dependence to different political parties into account) (4).

2) Administrators- these are the allotted servants of municipalities: administrator (1), the heads of main departments (for example, Economics, Education, Culture, Social Care) (6) and monitors (3).

In the subchapter 3.6, the instrument (scales of values and variables) of research was described. The value orientation scales in the DLG program were used to measure the democratic value orientations. Democratic value orientations and market orientations were measured by using original scales. Many socio-demographic variables were used, as well. Such value orientations were considered democratic: conflict acceptance, public participation, political equality, minority rights and honesty. Economic equality, capitalism and economic development were considered market orientations. The DLG scales were adapted from the ISVIP research so trying to confirm or deny doubts about suitability in the measuring of values in post-communist societies, the factor analysis of DLG scales was conducted. The factor analysis proved that even general data do not confirm the unidimensionality of the scales. Most of the scales had few meanings for the representatives of Lithuanian local government. This is why the original scales have been modified on the base of factor analysis taking into consideration the weight and meaning of the indicator in the component of factor.

After conducting factorization, the original scales were improved and made monolithic, and some original meanings which, as more likely were opposite to the theoretical idea of original Lithuanian post-soviet scale, were disappearing in the modified scales. Some of political values, which were measured by these scales, were considered to be democratic, representing

abstract democratic principles, acknowledged by most people, such as the acknowledgement of citizen participation; other values represented approval of market economy, as orientations towards the private ownership, economic equality. The values of these scales by their meaning were defined as „competing“ (Szücs: 1998 definition) democratic values because the contradictions were expressed by referring to them in the theories of democracy. In addition to the above mentioned „competing“ orientations, conditional orientations reflecting such values or ideals which by scientists were considered to be required for the existence and assurance of democratic regime (for example, tolerance and interpersonal trust).

Socio-demographic variables have been analyzed trying to achieve these goals:

1. Describe the sample of respondents through socio-demographic sample characteristics trying to explain the peculiarities of the sample and distinguish the tendencies of the change in the period of decade.

2. Using socio-demographic variables, to explain the differences of local government representatives. The theoretical propositions that the differences between older and younger generation leaders' value orientations exist, interconnected with the leaders' socialization and influence of life cycle processes, were being verified (the older who came to the power before 1990, and the newer, who have taken positions in the power- after 1990), also differences between the age (generations), party affiliation/support, the positions in municipality.

CHAPTER 4. „The value orientations of the Lithuanian local government' representatives and the models of analysis“

In the subchapter 4.1 „Socio-demographic characteristics of local government representatives,“ all of the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents were presented using the data of the DLG program's empirical researches. The more attention was paid to the characteristics applied in the value change analysis using the raised hypotheses. The analyzed characteristics included age, education, the length of the position held in the local government, the length of public or political positions, party affiliation, leaders' parents' political background, leaders' religion and nationality. Later, in the subchapter 4.2, the general change of value orientations of local government representatives in regards of time was analyzed. The orientations by original and modified DLG program's scales were separated; the comparison with the representatives of Sweden and Russian local government' representatives was conducted. Also there are presented the attitudes towards the ethnic minorities' rights, social tolerance and changes in interpersonal trust, as well as the orientations of local elite towards materialist/ postmaterialist goals. The hypothesis was as follows: the increase of pro-democratic standpoints should be noticed among all of the leaders. That is, independently from the earlier behavior and political socialization, democratic institutions and processes were considered to be the

universal motive powers which change political value orientations; in other words, re-socializing them into different political culture. These political value orientations with a noticeable even increase or decrease correspond to the experience of the new regime hypothesis. Orientations with an unclear change model mean that the linear or gradual change does not appear, therefore the other influencing factors should be explained. The final confirmation of the hypothesis H1 was interrelated to the results of change of democratic orientations in regards of time, it was accomplished in chapter 5.

In the next subchapter 4.3, „The model of analysis of value orientations“, dimensions of the democratic orientations were separated by the method of factor analysis, and they were given names of *contested* and *conditional* democratic orientations models (these names were borrowed from Szücz:1998, who has made a similar research, using DLG surveys' data collected in Sweden, Belarus and Hungary). Contested democratic orientations model consisted of *political orientations* (including orientations of political equality, citizen participation and honesty values), and *economic orientations* (including orientations of capitalism and economic equality). Conditional democratic orientations model consisted of interpersonal trust and social tolerance values.

In the CHAPTER 5 „**The dynamics of democratic orientations of Lithuanian local government representatives' in 1991-2001**“ analysis of local government leaders democratic orientations dynamics in the studied decade was presented taking the hypotheses into account. The analysis was presented separating three levels: 1) in the macro level, analyzing the general changes in democratic orientations during the studied period and comparing different years of research; 2) in the meso level, the analysis of differences in democratic orientations was presented, comparing regions (municipalities); 3) in the micro level, propositions were raised regarding socio-demographic characteristics influence to the differences of democratic orientations (the position held in local government's structure, the influence of soviet experience, belonging to/support to different parties, age). In the subchapter 5.1, the hypotheses H1, H2 and H3 were verified –the analysis of the general changes in democratic orientations during the studied period was presented comparing different years of research and democratic orientations in Lithuanian municipalities. Later, in the subchapter 5.2, the hypotheses H 4 and H 5 were checked: the changes of representatives' democratic orientations in 1991-2001 in regards of socio-demographic characteristics (position in the municipality structure, experience of taking the positions during the soviet period, party affiliation/support, age) were analyzed. In the subchapter 5.3, the change of leaders' democratic orientations was analyzed comparing four empirically fixed phases of research.

The conclusions, list of literature, and list of works related to the theme of the dissertation scientific publications was presented at the end of dissertation. The questionnaire of local government representatives' research,

value scales and indicators of research, results of detailed statistical analysis were presented in the appendixes.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Based on the common features of democratization phases, distinguished by the O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead (1986), as well as by the Copenhagen criteria of the European Union, the democratic regime was created in Lithuania and the market economy was functioning. However, it did not guarantee the consolidation and stabilization of democratic regime, if the democracy was not based on the civic culture. As the surveys, made by Paliduskaitė, Degutis, Valionis, etc. shows, in Lithuanian political culture during the years of strengthening of self-dependence, the number of elements of *participant* political culture was decreasing, and the number of *subject* political culture characteristics was increasing, the political culture was favorable for authoritarian rule. After ten years of Independence, the political culture of the society has not changed significantly: the orientations to the present and perspective of short-term activities were widespread, the political and social trust decreases, the political passiveness still increases; most of Lithuanian citizens express the features of *subject* political culture. The features of the civil society are more common for the youth, the inhabitants of biggest cities, and the people having highest education, higher revenues.

2. The basis of the basic legal acts, regulating the local self-government was created until the end of 1994 year. It has formed the legal preconditions for the formation of the self-government system, adequate to the existing systems in the Western democracies. The creation of the local self-government system was gradual and rather complicated, there were made many alterations in the legal acts. The new model of the self-government was adopted at 2003, but it is still the subject of discussions about the improvement of self-government.

3. The analysis of the Democracy and the Local Governance program's methodology allows to state that the instrument of the program can be used in cross-national surveys. However, in the analysis of the data obtained from surveys made in Lithuania (and in the other post-soviet countries), it is more purposeful to use modified value scales because most of original scales were perceived by Lithuanian local government representatives as having few meanings, and after purifying the scales to one-dimension, they have not always stayed qualitative. After modification, the meanings of scales reliability

coefficient increased to the acceptable meanings proving that modified scales were suitable and reliable measuring the respondents' orientations to political values. Modified scales were used creating the models of democratic orientations applied in the analysis of empirical data.

4. The analysis of the respondents' socio-demographic characteristics shows, that:

4.1. During the analyzed period of 1991-2001 less young leaders (up to 39 year-old) started working for local government, and more of them were 40-49 year-old. It is related to the number of people staying in their positions in the institutions of local self-government over a number of years; especially it can be said about the administrators. The change of the number of politicians was influenced by natural elections to the councils of municipalities. However, comparing the data of 1995 and 1998, it was not large, and that could be explained by the absence of meaningful change of parties in the studied period.

4.2. There is no opposite of government in respect to the identities of the parties: when the ruling parties were changing in the councils of municipalities, the administrative government was changing as well. Besides that, more and more politicians and administrators were affiliated with the political parties, especially basing on the results of research made 1998 and 2001; it may be related with the changes of the laws and the strengthening of the influence of political parties in the society.

5. Comparing the value orientations of the Lithuanian, Russian and Swedish local government' representatives it was ascertained that the local government' representatives in Lithuania and Russia have expressed orientations to the important political and economical values remarkably weaker than in Sweden. However, there were noticed slowly positive changed towards democratization in the orientations of the Lithuanian local elite. What concerns the conditional democratic values the orientations of the Lithuanian local government' representatives are some more positive: there was expressed strong support to the minorities' rights, the orientation to the social tolerance was strengthening, the level of an interpersonal trust fluctuated, but was higher than 35 percent (minimal level on the society level, based on Inglehart:1997 findings).

6. The analysis of the change of Lithuanian local government institutions' leaders democratic orientations during decade partially confirmed the hypothesis H1. It was stated, that value orientations will strengthen during all studied period. However, the democratic orientations have weakened in 1991-1995 period, and only in the later period these orientations has strengthened due

to the influence of the re-socialization, caused by the processes of democratization.

7. The hypothesis H 2 has been confirmed. Having in mind the optimistic vision of the “bright future”, democratic orientations in 1991 were particularly declared by the local government representatives. In 1995, we notice the “disillusionment” and pessimistic valuations. However, in later period the representatives of the local government expressed democratic orientations that constantly strengthened.

8. The hypothesis H 3 has been confirmed: the socio-cultural and/or economic context had influence on the strength of the democratic orientations of the local government representatives. Comparing the municipalities participating in the research, the differences of intensity of political and economic orientations’ have been determined. The small resort Birštonas was different by weaker economic orientations; Visaginas, had different ethnical composition – by stronger political orientations. It would be purposeful to investigate the factors that could have caused the differences in the local government representatives’ value orientations: political subculture of the region, economic, unemployment level etc.

9. The hypothesis H 4 has been confirmed. The experience of management and the political activity had influence on the strength of the democratic orientations of local government representatives as follows:

9.1. Holding of positions during soviet period. The representatives of the local government, having soviet experience, both who held the position in local government, and those who had public position in society during soviet period (before 1990), expressed weaker political orientations than those who did not have that kind of experience. The current differences confirmed the long-term influence of soviet political socialization, and were as a „stamp“ in the mentality, in the values.

9.2. The party affiliation. It was proven statistically that the Left leaders much more orient themselves toward economic equality, and the Right leaders much more orient themselves toward the market economy values comparing to other representatives. This could be explained: a) the leftist parties both in Lithuania, and in other countries tend to stand out from other parties by favorable views in regards of economic equality. That way, the existing differences in the preference of market economy values could be interrelated to the values of the leftists in general; b) in post-soviet context, differences might be considered as heritage of soviet political culture.

9.3. The position in the municipality. The politicians expressed stronger political orientations (as predicted), and administrators- weaker economic orientations (we asserted contrarily, that the orientations of administrators towards the economic values would be stronger than these orientations of the politicians). These results demonstrated local government representatives’

orientations' adjustment to the values of organization and the political socialization of the institutions.

10. The hypothesis H 5 was confirmed. The interdependence to age of political and economic orientations' exist: the younger are the respondents, the more they support democratic political and economic values; the older the respondents, the less supported are the mentioned values. The local government representatives who were born in 1946-1965 period, expressed the strongest social tolerance and interpersonal trust. The weakest orientation to trust and tolerance was expressed by the young leaders (born after 1966 m.). It is possible, that this was a consequence of soviet socialization. However, the separate research should be conducted in order to explore the influence of age.

11. The analysis of the dynamics of democratic orientations during the period of 1991-2001 lets us make following generalizations:

11.1. *The stability of political orientations* of two generations – the youngest (born in 1966 and later) and the oldest (born in 1935 and earlier) in regards of time would be explained as follows: a) the stability of the views of the oldest generation was conditioned by both age cycle, and early socialization influence; b) the stability of political orientations of the youngest generation was the result of the ability to quickly adjust to the new social order and changing values.

11.2. *The stability of the economic orientations* was supported by the representatives that affiliate or support the parties of Center and Right; as well as the youngest generation (born in 1966 and later). The tendencies of *weakening orientations* of the local government representatives was influenced by the Leftist parties' representatives; both the politicians and the administrators, was well as the representatives having the soviet experience of holding positions. The leaders born in the period of 1946-1965 tended to express stronger orientations to the market economy, while the older supported the ideas of economic equality as time was passing. It confirmed the bigger importance of soviet and socialistic economic values for the older generation leaders, which was strengthened by life cycle.

11.3. *The analysis of conditional orientations for democracy* showed that the Left parties' respondents, administrators and generation born in 1936-1945 expressed fluctuating interpersonal trust and social tolerance during the analysed period. The conditional orientations of the rest representatives of the local government were stable. It is possible to foresee that the local government representatives' values, necessary for the consolidation democracy will become stronger gradually in the run of time.

PUBLICATIONS AND CONFERENCES:

Publications:

1. Mikėnienė, S. Politinė kultūra pereinamuju laikotarpiu// ISSN 0235-7186. *Filosofija. Sociologija*. Vilnius: Mokslų Akademijos leidykla, 2003 Nr. 4, p. 27-32.
2. Matulionis, A.V, Mikėnienė, S., Rauleckas, R. Development of Local Governance in Lithuania (1991-2001): Sociological Study of Attitudes, and Perceptions of Local Authorities// ISSN 1392-0758 *Socialiniai mokslai*. Kaunas: Technologija, 2003 Nr. 3 (40), p. 56-70.
3. Матулионис, А.В., Микенене, С., Рауляцкас, Р. Изменения ценностных ориентаций в сфере демократии у руководителей местного самоуправления.//*Социологические исследования*. Москва: Наука, 2004 № 5 (241), стр. 35-45.

Conference proceedings:

1. Mikėnienė, S. Demokratijos išlikimo prielaidos transformacijų laikotarpiu// Vosyliūtė, A. (ats. red.) *Lietuvos sociologija amžių sandūroje* (Straipsnių rinkinys). Vilnius: LFSI, LSD, Gen. J. Žemaičio Lietuvos karo Akademija, 2001, p. 66-75.
2. Mikėnienė, S. Naujosios politinės kultūros modelis: analizė ir taikymo galimybės// Leonavičius, J. (ats. red.). *Sociologija: praeitis, dabartis, perspektyvos*. Materials of the conference. Kaunas: Technologija, 2001, p. 132-137.
3. Mikėnienė, S. Democratic Value Orientations of Lithuanian Local Government Leaders// Vosyliūtė, A. (red) *The Development of Democracy in Baltic States*. Materials of the 1st conference „Baltic Readings“. Vilnius: Lithuanian Sociological Society, 2002, p. 51-52.

ABOUT AUTHOR

MIKĖNIENĖ, SVAJONĖ

Academic background:

1990-1995 Bachelor studies at the Kaunas University of Technology (Bachelor degree in Business Administration).

1995-1997 Master studies at the Kaunas University of Technology (Master of Sociology).

1999-2003 Doctoral studies at the Kaunas University of Technology (Sociology).

Research interests: democratization, political culture, value orientations.

E-mail: svaja.m@centras.lt

REZIUMĖ

Jau daugiau kaip prieš dešimtmetį Lietuvoje, kaip ir visoje Rytų bei Vidurio Europoje prasidėjo sudėtingi pokomunistinės transformacijos į demokratinį režimą procesai. Sovietinio tipo politinės, administracinės, gamybos bei paskirstymo struktūros buvo pakeistos šiuolaikiškomis demokratiniais pagrindais suformuotomis struktūromis. Vietos valdžios lygmenyje sovietinės tarybos buvo pakeistos atstovaujančiomis vietos bendruomenes, įstatymuose įtvirtinti nauji santykiai tarp valdžios lygmenų. Vietos savivaldos institucijoms tenka svarbus uždavinys – sukurti mechanizmus valdomoje teritorijoje efektyviai spręsti ekonomines, kultūros, švietimo, ekologines ir kitas problemas, atsižvelgiant į vietos bendruomenės interesus.

Lietuvoje savivaldos lygmens tyrimai koncentruojami į savivaldos funkcijas, užfiksuotas įstatymuose, partijų dalyvavimą savivaldoje ir savivaldybių rinkimus, centro-periferijos ryšius, finansinius rodiklius ir pan. Kiti susidomėję gyventojų per mažo, pasyvaus dalyvavimo vietos savivaldoje problemos sprendimu. Tik pastaruoju metu atsiranda susidomėjusių ne tik vietos savivaldos vadybiniais ar viešojo administravimo aspektais: Berglund (2003:181-203) pateikia Rusijos, Lietuvos, Estijos ir Latvijos pasitenkinimo demokratijos veikimu percepcijų vietos bendruomenių ir šalies mastu lyginamąją analizę, Åström (2003:203-218) analizuoja Baltijos šalių vietos elito paramą demokratijai pagal dvi dimensijas: paramą demokratijos idealams ir pasitenkinimą vietos valdžios institucijų veikimu; Matonytė (2004:20-37) apibendrina socialinio kapitalo indikatorių tyrimo Kauno regione analizę. Longitiudiniai Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinių orientacijų tyrimai praktiškai neatliekami, išskyrus pagal „Demokratija ir vietos valdžia“ programą (DVV) atliktuosius dešimtmetį apimančius tyrimus.

Tyrimo problema - vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinės orientacijos, demokratiškumo požymiai jose. Viena iš probleminių sričių nagrinėjant transformacijos laikotarpį yra vertybinių orientacijų kaitos nustatymas: koks vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinių orientacijų turinys, kaip jis kito laike. Ar yra prielaidos bendruomenių savivaldai egzistuoti? Ar galima teigti, kad įdiegtose naujose demokratinėse institucijose dirbantys gyventojų bendruomenių interesus atstovaujantys žmonės vadovaujasi demokratinėmis vertybėmis? Žvelgiant į sovietinės patirties palikimą, svarbu, kiek vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinių orientacijų struktūroje išliko sovietinių vertybinių orientacijų reliktų. Analizuojant pereinamojo laikotarpio vertybines orientacijas, pagrindinė problema - atitinkamų teorinių perspektyvų ir analizės instrumentų suradimas. Vienas iš būdų - analizuoti žinomas teorijas ir metodus, mėginant juos daugiau ar mažiau pritaikyti situacijai. Tokios, su disertacijos tyrimo objektu susiję, yra tranzitologijos, politinės kultūros, vertybių, demokratijos ir demokratizacijos teorijos bei jų pagrindų atlikti tyrimai.

Disertacijoje tiriamos Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinės orientacijos, jų kaita vieno dešimtmečio laikotarpyje (1991-2001 m.), analizuojant pagal „Demokratija ir vietos valdžia“ programą atlikto empirinio tyrimo rezultatus. Analizėje iškyla metodologinė problema: tyrimo modelis buvo kuriamas kitokioms, vadinamoms „senosioms demokratijoms“, tad ar galima jį taikyti Lietuvai, kurioje demokratinis režimas trunka truputį ilgiau nei dešimtmetį? Ar galima gauti pagrįstus empirinius duomenis, kurie atspindėtų vertybinių orientacijų posovietines realijas? Tai ir tyrimo praktinė problema, kadangi ligšioliniai tyrimai buvo atliekami, naudojant prieš beveik keturis dešimtmečius sukurtą vertybinių orientacijų tyrimo modelį. Todėl disertacijoje siekiama patikrinti senojo tyrimo instrumento tinkamumą Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinėms orientacijoms tirti bei, atlikus reikiamas korekcijas vertybių matavimo skalėse, suformuoti naują modelį empiriniams duomenims analizuoti.

Tyrimo aktualumas ir naujumas apspręstas darbo specifikos – nepakankamo problemos ištyrimo. Vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinių orientacijų tyrimai Lietuvoje neatliekami, išskyrus atliktus pagal Demokratijos ir vietos valdžios programą.

Tyrimo objektas- Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinės orientacijos. Tyrimo dalykas- Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinių orientacijų kaita 1991-2001 m. laikotarpiu.

Tikslas: išanalizuoti Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinių orientacijų dinamiką 1991-2001 m. laikotarpiu.

Pagrindiniai disertacijos uždaviniai:

1. Išanalizavus vertybių, politinės kultūros, demokratijos ir demokratizacijos, tranzitologijos teorines koncepcijas, nustatyti vietos valdžios atstovų vertybines orientacijas sąlygojančius veiksnus, procesus, jų struktūras ir mechanizmus.

2. Išanalizuoti programos „Demokratija ir vietos valdžia“ metodologiją ir ją adaptuoti Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinėms orientacijoms tirti.

3. Remiantis 1991 - 2001 m. laikotarpiu vykdyto Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinių orientacijų longitudinio tyrimo rezultatų palyginimu, nustatyti vertybinių orientacijų kaitos tendencijas, ypatumus bei įvairių veiksnių įtaką vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinėms orientacijoms pagal iškeltas hipotezes.

Hipotezės

Pagrindinis tyrimo klausimas: ar vietos savivaldos vadovų vertybinės orientacijos per pirmąjį dešimtmetį nuo nepriklausomybės atgavimo kito demokratėjimo linkme? Siekiant atsakyti į šį klausimą, keliamos tokios hipotezės:

H 1. Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų demokratinės orientacijos 1991-2001 m. laikotarpiu stiprėjo.

H2. Jei transformacijos laikotarpio pradžioje vietos valdžios atstovai išreiškė demokratinės orientacijos žymiai deklaratyviau, tai vėlesniu laikotarpiu šios orientacijos buvo labiau adekvačios esamoms vertybėms.

H3. Skirtingose Lietuvos savivaldybėse vietos valdžios atstovų demokratinės orientacijos skiriasi, priklausomai nuo vietovės sociokultūrinio ir ekonominio konteksto.

H 4. Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų demokratinė orientacijų stiprumą lemia šių asmenų vadovavimo ir politinės veiklos patirtis.

H 5. Demokratinės orientacijos priklauso nuo vietos valdžios atstovų amžiaus (kartos)

Tyrimo metodai : mokslinės literatūros analizė, dokumentų analizė, ekspertų apklausa bei matematiniai statistinės analizės metodai.

Disertacijos struktūra

Disertaciją sudaro įvadas, teorinė, metodologinė ir empirinė dalys ir išvados. Įvade pristatoma tyrimo problema, apibrėžiamas darbo tikslas, uždaviniai ir pagrindinės prielaidos, apibūdinami reiškinių analizėje naudoti metodai ir trumpai nusakoma visa disertacijos struktūra.

Teorinėje disertacijos dalyje, kurią sudaro du skyriai, siekiama nustatyti vietos valdžios atstovų vertybines orientacijas bei jų kaitą sąlygojančius socialinius veiksnius, procesus, jų struktūras ir mechanizmus.

Pirmajame skyriuje, 1. Pokomunistinė transformacija ir demokratinė vietos savivaldos pagrindų formavimas Lietuvoje, apibūdintas pokomunistinės transformacijos laikotarpis, jam būdingi ypatumai bei prieštaros, išskiriant pokyčius Lietuvos bei kitų posovietinių šalių socialinio gyvenimo sferose bei skirstant šį laikotarpį į etapus (*1.1 poskyris*). *1.2 poskyryje* analizuojama ir interpretuojama vietos savivaldos sąvoka bei pateikiami kitų susijusių sąvokų apibrėžimai ir interpretacijos. Taip pat apibrėžiami vietos valdžios atstovai - *administratoriai ir politikai*, kurių vertybinės orientacijos analizuojamos disertacijos empirinėje dalyje. Pateikiama alternatyvių terminų apžvalga. *1.3. poskyryje* pateikta Lietuvos vietos savivaldos teisinio pagrindo analizė ir Lietuvos vietos savivaldos tyrimų apžvalga.

Antrasis skyrius, 2. Politinė / pilietinė kultūra ir demokratijos konsolidacija pokomunistinėje Lietuvoje skirtas politinės kultūros ir demokratizacijos vertybinių aspektų analizei. Siekiant apibrėžti politinės ir pilietinės kultūros sąvokas ir pateikti jų sampratas, apžvelgiamos populiariausios politinės kultūros teorijos (2.1. poskyryje). Skyrelyje 2.1.1 pateikiamos vertybių ir vertybinių orientacijų bei požiūrių sąvokų interpretacijos. Trumpai apžvelgiama vertybių teorijos raida ir kai kurios vertybių klasifikacijos, o taip pat vertybių ypatumai ir funkcijos. Skyrelyje 2.1.2. analizuojamos politinės kultūros, vertybių ir vertybinių orientacijų kaitą galinčios sukelti priežastys bei veiksniai, o taip pat posovietinės politinės kultūros specifika ir kaitos tendencijos bei kylančios metodologinės problemos. Toliau, 2.2 poskyryje, pateikiamos demokratijos konsolidacijos analizės schemas per vertybių prizmę. Pirmiausiai pateikiama trumpa pagrindinių demokratijos teorijų apžvalga. Toliau gilinamasi į pilietinės kultūros ir demokratijos priežastinį ryšį. Skyrelyje 2.2.1 apžvelgiami demokratinų vertybių tyrimai ir dažniausiai juose demokratinėmis įvardijamos vertybės, taip pat pateikiamos būtinų demokratinų ir konkuruojančių demokratinų vertybių sampratas. Skyrelyje 2.2.2 apžvelgiami Lietuvos politinės kultūros tyrimai.

3 skyriuje. Vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinių orientacijų tyrimo metodologija ir metodika analizuojama „Demokratijos ir vietos valdžios“ (DVV) programos metodologija. Pirmiausia analizuojama Tarptautinio Vertybių Politikoje tyrimo metodologija kadangi iš jo kilo „Demokratija ir vietos valdžia“ (DVV) programa, pagal kurią disertacijos autorė atliko empirinį tyrimą (tai atliekama 3.1. poskyryje). 3.2. poskyryje analizuojama DVV programos metodologija. 3.3. poskyryje pateikiamos Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinių orientacijų tyrimo teorinės prielaidos. 3.4. poskyryje aprašoma duomenų analizės struktūra ir taikyti statistiniai metodai. 3.5. poskyryje aprašoma tyrimo daugiapakopė sluoksniuota imtis (savivaldybių ir vietos valdžios atstovų), apibūdinant ją pagal įvairius socio-demografinius pjūvius: amžių, pareigas, lytį, partinę priklausomybę/paramą. 3.6. poskyryje aprašomas tyrimo instrumentas - vertybių skalės bei kintamieji. Taip pat šiame poskyryje pateikiami atliktos faktorinės analizės rezultatai, kurie parodė, jog tyrime naudojamos skalės yra nehomogeniškos; tada šios skalės modifikuojamos, tuo būdu adaptuojant jas vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinių orientacijų tyrimui.

4 skyriuje, Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinės orientacijos 1991-2001 ir jų analizės modeliai, 4.1 poskyryje pateikiamos visos socio-demografinės respondentų charakteristikos, naudojantis pagal Demokratija ir vietos valdžia (DVV) programą atliktų empirinių tyrimų duomenimis, didesnę dėmesį skiriant toms charakteristikoms, kurios taikytos vertybių kaitos analizėje pagal iškeltas hipotezes. 4.2 poskyryje analizuojama bendra vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinių orientacijų kaita laike, išskiriant orientacijas pagal originalias

ir modifikuotas DVV programos skales. Atliekamas Lietuvos, Rusijos ir Švedijos vietos valdžios atstovų vertybinių orientacijų palyginimas, atskirai pateikiami vietos valdžios atstovų požiūriai į teisių tautinėms mažumoms suteikimą, socialinės tolerancijos raiška, tarpasmeninio pasitikėjimo pokyčiai bei orientacijos į materialius / postmaterialius tikslus. 4.3. *poskyryje* faktorinės analizės būdu išskiriamos demokratinių orientacijų dimensijos, įvardintos demokratinių orientacijų analizės modeliais, tai: orientacijos į konkuruojančias vertybes ir orientacijos į būtinas demokratines vertybes. Šie modeliai naudojami 5 skyriuje pateiktoje analizėje.

5 skyriuje, Lietuvos vietos valdžios atstovų demokratinių orientacijų dinamika 1991-2001 atliekama vietos valdžios atstovų demokratinių orientacijų dinamikos 1991-2001 m. laikotarpiu analizė keliais etapais, atsižvelgiant į iškeltas hipotezes. 5.1 *poskyryje* tikrinamos hipotezės H 1, H 2 ir H 3 - Pateikiama bendra demokratinių orientacijų kaitos tiriamu laikotarpiu ir atskirais jo periodais analizė bei demokratinių orientacijų palyginimas pagal Lietuvos savivaldybes. 5.2 *poskyryje* tikrinamos H 4 ir H 5 hipotezės: analizuojami vietos valdžios atstovų demokratinių orientacijų skirtumai mikro lygmenyje - pagal jų socio-demografines charakteristikas (užimamą padėtį savivaldos struktūroje, turėtos patirties sovietmečiu įtaką, priklausymą/paramą skirtingoms partijoms, amžiu). 5.3 *poskyryje* pagal minėtas socio-demografines charakteristikas analizuojama, kaip keitėsi vietos valdžios atstovų demokratinės orientacijos, lyginant keturias empiriškai fiksuotas tyrimo fazes.

Disertacijos pabaigoje pateiktos išvados, literatūros sąrašas, pridedamas su disertacijos tema susijusių publikacijų moksliniuose leidiniuose sąrašas. Prieduose pateiktas vietos valdžios atstovų tyrimo klausimynas, tyrimo vertybių skalės bei indikatoriai, detalesni statistinės analizės rezultatai.

UDK 32: 316 (474.5) (043).

SL 344. 2004-07-07. 1 leidyb. apsk. 1. Tiražas 70 egz. Užsakymas 271.
Išleido leidykla „Technologija“, K. Donelaičio g. 73, 44029 Kaunas.
Spausdino leidyklos „Technologija“ spaustuvė, Studentų g. 54, 51424 Kaunas