PREMISES FOR THE WELFARE OF SOCIETY

Public Attitudes towards Social Policy: the Role of State, Individual and Family in Social Provision and Welfare in Lithuania

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Abstract

This article discusses increasingly heterogeneous nature of social policy in contemporary societies, focusing on the analysis of public attitudes towards the role of state, individual and family in the social provision. Existing literature does not present one answer what institutions should have a central role in creating social welfare as liberal and Marxist theories have different answers about the role of the state in social provision. Lithuania was selected as a case for analysis because it is interesting as a post-soviet country. In this context, the question is whether people still have big expectations for the state's role in social provision (as in soviet times) or are prepared to take responsibility themselves. The paper is based on the results of two interrelated projects: the research project 'International Social Survey Programme: Monitoring of Lithuanian social problems (ISSP-LT)'[1] and the research project 'Monitoring of social problems: implementation of International Social Survey Program (ISSP)'[2]. The paper presents empirical results of two representative public opinion surveys. The results of empirical studies reveal that people still have big expectations for the role of the state in social provision and welfare. The state should be mainly responsible for the provision in situations of old age, unemployment, illness, and durable physical or mental handicap.

Keywords: social policy, welfare, social provision, state, individual, family, community.

Introduction

'*The welfare state cannot be understood just in terms of the rights it grants. We must also take into account how state activities are interlocked with the market's and family's role in the social provision. These are the three main principles that need to be fleshed out prior to any theoretical specification of the welfare state*' (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 22).

Drawing on these words by Esping-Andersen (1990), the article focuses on the complex question of production, organization and consumption of social welfare.

Social policy and social welfare is highly discussed topics in scientific literature. There are even several special journals dedicated to investigate different aspects of social policy and welfare: journals of the Social Policy Association *Journal of Social Policy* and *Social Policy and Society*, published by Cambridge University Press, *Social Politics*, published by Oxford University Press, *Critical Social Policy* and *Journal of European Social Policy*, published by SAGE, *Journal of Policy Practice* (formerly known as *The Social Policy Journal*), published by Taylor & Francis, and other journals. Lithuanian scholars also explicitly investigate social policy and welfare issues: Aidukaite (2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2009, 2011) analyses Lithuanian welfare system, welfare reforms and formation of social insurance institutions in comparative perspective, Guogis (2000, 2002, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2010) focuses on social policy models in Lithuania, provision of social services, social responsibility, and social insurance, Jasilioniene (2005a, 2005b), Jancaityte (2005b), Jonkaryte (2003), Maslauskaite (2003), Mikulioniene (2003), Mitrikas (2003),

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Table 1

Four approaches to social policy research

Type of approach	Focus/aim	Example
A social issue approach	To forecast changes needed in social policy	Employment structure
A social problem approach	To present solutions	Long-term unemployment
A social group approach	To address the needs of people	Unemployed people
A social service approach	To monitor organization, administration, and management of social services	Labour exchange services

Stankuniene (2001, 2003, 2005b) investigate family policy in Lithuania, Lazutka (2008, 2009), Zalimiene (2009, 2011) concentrate on social provision issues in Lithuania. But still there is a lack of knowledge about the public attitudes towards the institutions of social provision. Thus, the main problem that is discussed in this article is a question about institutions that should have a central role in social provision. Liberal welfare regimes emphasize the role of individual and the market in social provision; and social democratic regimes emphasize the responsibility of the state. Lithuania as a post-soviet country is a very interesting case in this sense. There is an open question whether people in Lithuania prefer liberal or socio democratic ideology.

The aim of the article is to analyse the role of the state, individual and family in social provision, exploring the attitudes of Lithuanian population towards this issue.

The paper consists of three main parts. The first part of the article is focussed on theoretical aspects and key perspectives on social policy and welfare institutions. The second part presents methodological framework of the paper. The third part discusses empirical evidence, presenting empirical data of representative public opinion surveys, conducted in the period of December 2010 – January 2011 and in the period of November – December 2011 under the research project 'Monitoring of social problems: implementation of International Social Survey Program (ISSP)' and a discussion on the findings.

The concept of social policy and social welfare institutions

The term *social policy* is used in different contexts: first, it is a subject of academic studies, analysing the policies which governments use for welfare and social protection, and second, it is used to describe the practical policies and ways in which welfare is developed in a society (Spicker, 2008; Alcock, 2003). In broader sense, the term *social policy* encompasses all means by which welfare is promoted.
Even there is a tendency to associate social policy with the concept of welfare state, nevertheless social policy is concerned also with several other concepts: particularly, social issues, social problems, social groups, and social services.

According to Angus Erskine (2003, p. 11-14), there are number of starting points that researches of social policy can employ in developing research concept and

methodology (the summary of these approaches is presented in Table 1).

The main approaches:

(1) the perspective of *social issues* allows researchers to analyse and forecast changes in different spheres of social policy (e.g. the changes in demographic structure of population (like aging society, low birth rate, increasing numbers of lone parent households, cohabitation, divorce) are related to the changes in different spheres of social policy: market and employment policy, health policy, family policy, etc.);

(2) the perspective of *social problems* allows researches to focus on social policy instruments that could help to resolve different social problems (e.g. such social problems as long-term unemployment, homelessness, growth in lone parenthood could be addressed by different instruments of employment policy, housing policy or family policy);

(3) the perspective of *social groups* allows researchers to focus upon the needs of particular social groups (e.g. elderly people, homeless people, unemployed people have special needs that could be addressed by different social policy instruments);

(4) the perspective of *social services* allows researchers to look at organization, administration, and management of social services (e.g. health care, housing, labour exchange services and their efficiency in achieving social policy goals).

Another aspect evident from the literature is the scope of analysis. Existing literature mainly focus on domestic politics and social policies, nevertheless there is research analysing the impact of globalization on social policy (e.g. Lyngstad, 2008), emphasizing both types of impact, i.e. 'strong' (the approach that stress inevitable nature of globalization and focus on external constraints imposed on governments by international markets or international organizations) (e.g. the impact of European Union on national social policy plans, Daly, 2008) and 'soft' (the approach that analyses the relationship between globalization and social policy, considering how states act domestically through their own complex of different strategies to determine the pace, course, timing and effects of globalization) (e.g. Yeates, 2002).

The third aspect is the discussion on *state versus individual* perspective. The discussion focuses on the actors of welfare provision or social welfare institutions that play a central role in social provision.

As Briggs, one of the most respected British historians, notes, the welfare state is a term that was apparently first

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used in the English language in middle of 20th century, nevertheless the origins of welfare states lie in the end of 19th century, even before World War I. In 1961, Briggs saw a welfare state acting in three main directions:

'A welfare state is a state in which organized power is deliberately used (through politics and administration) in an effort to modify the play of market forces in at least three directions – first, by guaranteeing individuals and families a minimum income irrespective of the market value of their work or their property; second, by narrowing the extent of insecurity of enabling individuals and families to meet certain 'social contingencies' (for example, sickness, old age and unemployment) which led otherwise to individual and family crises; and third, by ensuring that all citizens without distinction of status or class are offered the best standards available in relation to a certain agreed range of social services' (Briggs, 1961, cited from The Welfare State Reader, 2007, p.16).

The classical position of social democratic approach as presented by Briggs, interprets the welfare state as a positive phenomenon that helps to sustain social justice in the society by redistribution of welfare.

An opposite view, the conservative approach, is very critical about the welfare state, emphasising its inefficiency, despotism, especially in the context of its inconsistency with human freedom. Even in 1959 Friedrich von Hayek argued that 'welfare state that aims at 'social justice' and becomes 'primarily a redistributor of income' <…> is bound to lead back to socialism and its coercive and essentially arbitrary methods' (Hayek, 1959, cited from The Welfare State Reader, 2007, p.92). Charles Murray presented an idea that welfare state produces work disincentives: 'As people became less inclined to take low-paying jobs, hold onto them, and use them to get out of poverty, they became dependent on government assistance' (Murray, 1982, cited from The Welfare State Reader, 2007, p. 101). This leads to a formation of some kind of 'underclass' that is not willing to participate in labour market and depends exclusively on social provision of the state.

In spite of the critique from the Right, modern welfare state still exists. The most widespread classification of modern welfare state, undoubtedly, was provided by Esping-Andersen (1990) who described three ideal types of

welfare regimes: social democratic, corporatist, and liberal regimes that have different answers to the question who is responsible for wellbeing of society (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

Social democratic regimes that are typical to Scandinavian countries emphasize the role of state in social provision. This type of welfare state promotes equality and has a high level of 'de-commodification' that occurs when a service is rendered as a matter of right, and when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

Corporatist/Conservative welfare regime that is typical to Germany, France, and Austria has a moderate level of commodification. As Arts and Gelissen (2002) argue, this regime is shaped by the twin historical legacy of Catholic social policy and corporatism. Within this type of regime married women are discouraged from participation in labour market because as it is committed to preservation of traditional family structures. The state would interfere when family's capacity to service its members is exhausted.

Liberal welfare regimes typified by United States and Anglo-Saxon countries emphasize the role of individual and the market. It embodies individualism and the primacy of the market. There is little redistribution of income within this type of welfare state. This type is characterized with low level of de-commodification (Arts and Gelissen, 2002).

As with all ideal-type frameworks, some societies fitted this frame better than others. The classification of welfare state regimes presented by Esping-Andersen (1990) received considerable amount of criticism. But the rationale of this framework still could be applied for the analysis and interpretation of empirical findings.

Different social welfare institutions – state, market, NGOs/community, and family (Figure 1) – have different role and significance in different types of welfare regimes.

According to Johnson (2003, p.178), 'there are several ways in which the state can influence welfare provision'. He emphasizes five main points: (1) the government has the capacity to determine overall policy and policies specific to individual services (as it controls expenditure); (2) the state may engage in direct provision of benefits and services;
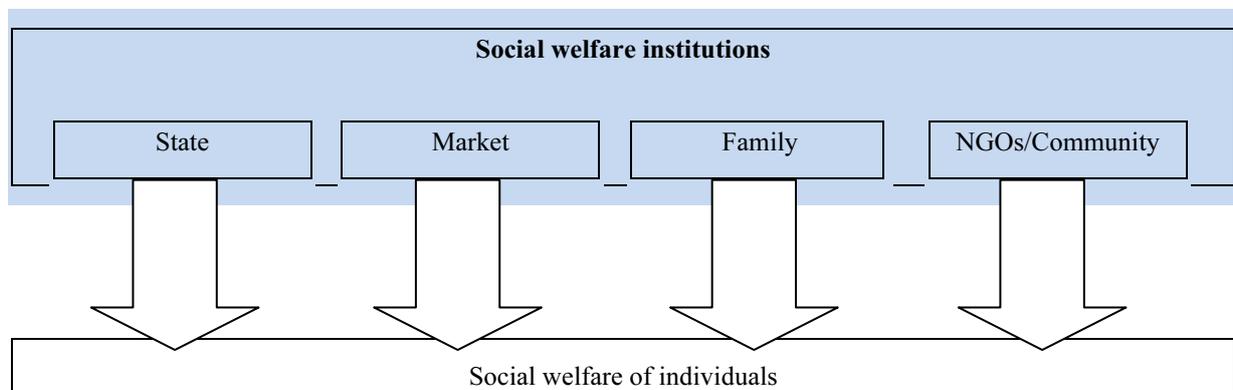

Figure 1. Social welfare institutions

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(3) statutory authorities have important planning and supervisory roles in relation to the delivery of welfare; (4) statutory responsibility for planning implies some obligation to try to ensure that the plans are implemented (this reveals the regulatory role of the state in welfare provision and this regulation could be divided into 3 aspects: a) input regulation, deciding who should act as providers; b) process regulation, specifying how services should be provided; and c) output regulation, evaluating the quantity and quality of provision); and (5) direct financial assistance, fiscal support and subsidies (Johnson, 2003, p. 178-179).

Private (or market) welfare is understood as welfare products or services that are being sold to public by private companies or businessmen. Also, idea of corporate social responsibility is a sort of welfare provision by market. As Gainer (2010, p. 189) argues, corporate social responsibility (CSR) or even a large ideological and strategic development, known as 'philanthrocapitalism' is a widespread belief 'that business models and methods can produce not only economic wealth but social welfare'.

Finally, family, households, informal community organizations (like neighbours, kin, local community), NGOs, voluntary and non-profit organizations often perform a lion's share in social provision. Usually they do this without an official transfer of money or other financial resources thus the estimation of their share in social provision is difficult to estimate.

NGOs, voluntary and non-profit organizations address a number of educational or charitable purposes. The input of these organizations to social provision is directly related to government's position towards social services. As Van Til (2005, p. 49) argues, the choices that make national governments regarding the degree to which they would provide social services affect the size and degree of social services' provision by non-profit organizations. If the government decides to fund and provide full range of social services (e.g. free health care, access to subsidized education at all levels, guaranteed employment), the range of services provided by voluntary organizations would be limited; and on the other hand, if government chooses to provide just a limited range of social services (e.g. health care only for poor and old age persons, free education only at the secondary level, no guaranteed employment), the non-profit sector would have a more wide field for their programmes.

Family also plays an important role in provision of social welfare to individuals. The increased demand for care is related to the aging of population; in this case adult children are the main family care providers to their elderly parents. As Kalmijn and Saraceno (2008) note, children can provide several types of support; particularly, emotional and social support as well as practical and financial assistance. They emphasize the role of family care provision; that 'in no country, in fact, family care is fully substituted for either from public or from market provision' (Kalmijn and Saraceno, 2008, p. 480). The similar situation is with the upbringing of children. This primarily concerns woman as a mother. As Yang and Rodriguez (2009, p. 530) say, 'mothers are left with three

unattractive options: (1) have a great career but never see your children awake, (2) take a dead-end, underpaid part-time job; or (3) drop out of the labour market to support the husband and children'. Here the development of family policy is very important.

Usually all the actors participate in social provision just their share could be different. People also have their expectations about the role of state, market, family or community in producing social welfare. This aspect was incorporated into methodology of the empirical research and has been analysed further in the article, using the empirical research data.

Research methodology

As the goals of the research project 'Monitoring of social problems: implementation of International Social Survey Program (ISSP)' and the research project 'International Social Survey Programme: Monitoring of Lithuanian social problems (ISSP-LT)' concentrate on the establishment of a system for monitoring social problems in Lithuania by implementing International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), the research methodology is based on standards of ISSP.

The International Social Survey Programme (see www.issp.org) is a continuing annual programme of cross-national collaboration on surveys covering topics important for social science research. This programme adds a cross-national, cross-cultural perspective to the individual national studies. ISSP has two aspects: it is the cross-national survey and it supports the time-perspective, thus topics are being replicated from time to time (Smith, 2012). The initiative to start ISSP survey had been taken by four social science institutions, i.e. National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago (NORC), Centre for Survey Research and Methodology, Mannheim (ZUMA), The National Centre for Social Science, London, and Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University (RSSS). Since 1984, ISSP members agree to conduct ISSP surveys in accordance with fixed ISSP requirements. Methodology Committee, consisting of seven members elected by the General Meeting, coordinates the methodological work in the ISSP. The programme has several principals: first, participating countries jointly develop modules that deal with important social issues or problems; second, the survey has extensive common background variables. Thus, correct translation of the questionnaire to national languages and operationalization of socio-demographic variables across countries are important challenges for the researches.

Representative public opinion survey, conducted in the period of December 2010 – January 2011 under the project 'Monitoring of social problems: implementation of International Social Survey Program (ISSP)' mainly focused on modules of 'Social Inequality' and 'Environment', but also had a part of questions concerning social policy issues and the role of the state in social provision. Part of the questions were repeatedly asked in the second year of this project, when representative public

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Table 2

Information on sampling: multistage stratified cluster sampling

Year	Selected addresses	Response rate	Completed interviews
2010	3805	26,9 %	1023
2011	3313	35,8 %	1187

Table 3

Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents: 2010, 2011

Socio-demographic characteristics	2010 N=1023	2011 N=1187
Gender:		
… male	33,6%	41,5%
… female	66,4%	58,5%
Education:		
… secondary and lower	46,3%	61,4%
…professional after secondary education	19,3%	8,6%
… higher education (university and college)		
	34,4%	29,9%
Employment:		
… working	42,8%	48,6%
… not working	57,2%	51,4%
Marital status:		
… married	50,2%	49,3%
… divorced	9,6%	12,2%
… single	17,6%	20,2%
… widowed	20,9%	17,1%
… other	1,7%	1,2%
Personal income:		
… less than 1000 Lt	68,7%	60,5%
… 1001-2000 Lt	23,2%	29,1%
… 2001-4000 Lt	6,7%	9,2%
… more than 4000 Lt	1,4%	1,2%
Religion:		
… Catholics	86,9%	85,3%
… Protestant	1,3%	2,2%
… Ortodox	0,8%	0,8%
… Other	3,9%	3,2%
… none of religions	7,1%	8,4%

opinion survey was conducted in November – December 2011.

The questionnaire developed until December 2010 had four modules:

- Social Inequality (73 items),
- Social Policy (116 items),
- Environment (62 items), and
- A block of socio-demographic questions (41 items).

The questionnaire developed until November 2011 had three modules: Social Policy, Health, and a block of socio-demographic questions.

In both surveys the module on Social policy had three main logical blocks: (1) attitudes towards social policy; (2) evaluation of contemporary social policy in Lithuania; (3) personal experience and evaluation of personal social status.

Table 2 presents information on sampling. 3805 addresses using multistage stratified cluster sampling were selected from Official Address Register in 2010 and 2288 in 2011. One person per address/household was selected for face-to-face interview.

The summary of socio-demographic characteristics of respondents in both surveys is presented in Table 3.

This paper presents descriptive statistics and uses the comparison of means and correlation among the public attitudes towards the role of state in social provision as dependent variables and independent variables including gender, education, marital and employment status, personal income, religion.

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Exploring public attitudes: the role of state, individual and family in social provision and welfare

Results of empirical research

Today there is much discussion whether the state, the individual himself or herself, the family or community should *be* responsible for social security. Empirical data show that in most situation people are willing to emphasize the role of state in social provision (Figure 2).

According to results of opinion survey, the state should be mainly responsible for the provision in situations of old age, unemployment, illness, and durable physical or mental handicap.

Just 5,2 percent of the respondents think that family or community should be responsible for social support in old age. Nearly 90 percent of the respondents think that in the situation of old age the state should be the one responsible for social care and provision.

Very similar situation is with an illness or durable physical or mental handicap. 73,2 percent of respondents emphasize responsibility of the state to take care in cases of durable physical or mental handicap and 63,6 percent of respondents see the state as a key provider in cases of illness.
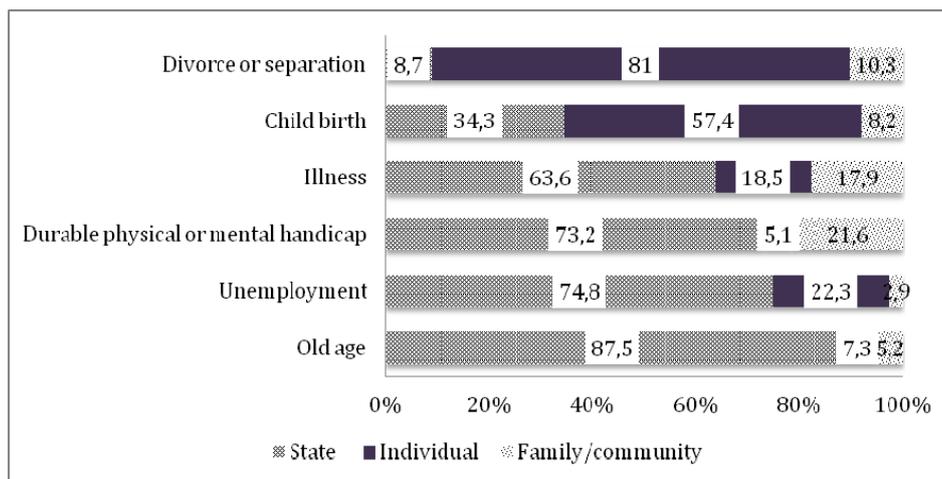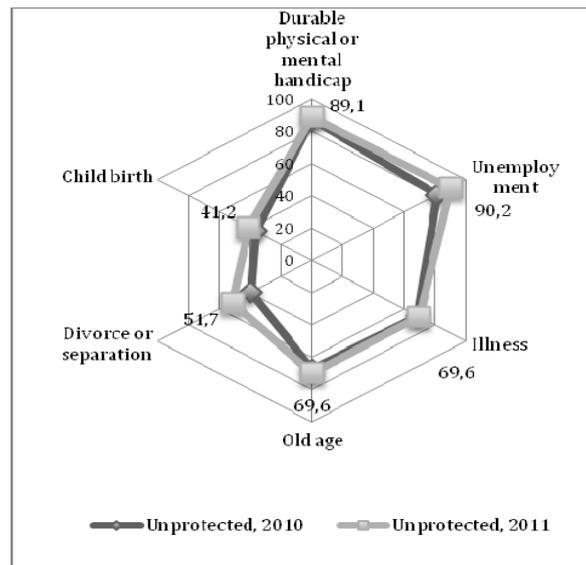

Source: public opinion survey, conducted in the period of December 2010 – January 2011.

Figure 2. The distribution of respondents according to their answers to the question 'Who/what should take care for a man in the following situations in life: old age, unemployment, durable physical or mental handicap, illness, divorce or separation and childbirth' (N=1023), in percent
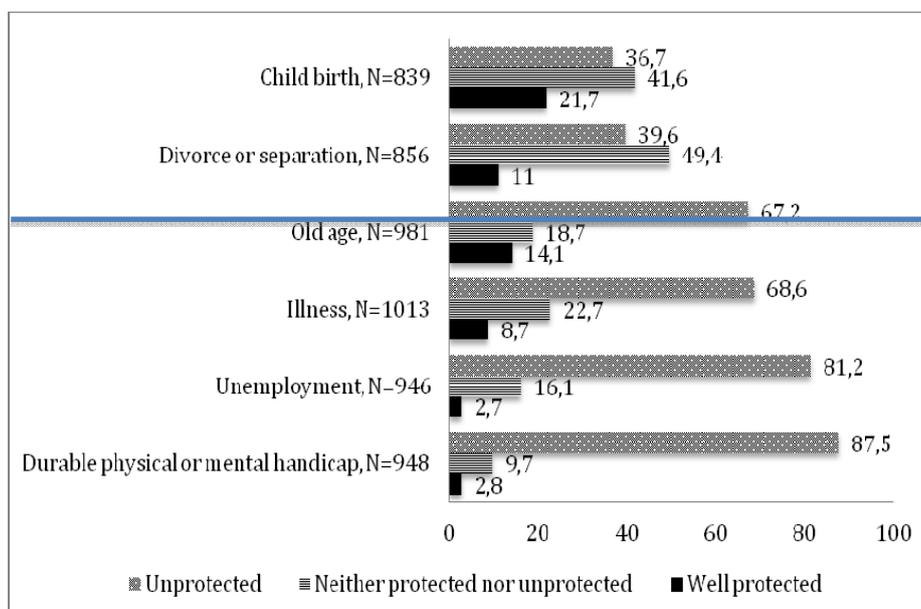
Source: public opinion survey, conducted in the period of December 2010 – January 2011

Figure 3. The distribution of respondents according to their answers to the question 'How well protected do you personally feel in the following situations in life: old age, unemployment, durable physical or mental handicap, illness, divorce or separation and childbirth', in percent

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Source: public opinion surveys, conducted in the period of December 2010 – January 2011 and in November- December 2011.

Figure 4. The distribution of respondents in a category 'feel unprotected' 2010; 2011, in percent

Considering who should be mainly responsible for having enough money available in the case of being unemployed, 74,8 percent of respondents indicated the responsibility of the state. And less than 3 percent of respondents think that family/community should provide social care in case of unemployment.

In the situation that depend on an individual choice – divorce or separation, childbirth – people think, that the responsibility should mostly be placed on individual himself or herself. Over 80 percent of respondents claim that in the situation of divorce or separation with partner the individual himself or herself should be responsible for having enough resources for living. The least percentage of respondents sees here the role of the state. 10 percent of respondents see family or community as an actor that could help people in the situation of divorce or separation.

Similar tendency can be noticed considering the childbirth. Over half of respondents (57,4 percent) see here the responsibility of the individual.

The least emphasis is on the role of family or community in all the situations – in those that depend on the choice of individual (childbirth, separation or divorce) and in those that do not depend on a choice (illness, old age, unemployment). The biggest part of respondents (21,6 percent) emphasizes the role of family or community as key provider in the situations of durable physical or mental handicap.
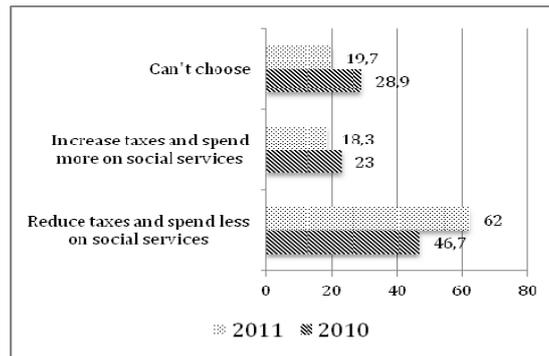
There is no significant correlation among the attitudes towards key actors in social provision and socio-demographic characteristics as gender, education, marital and employment status, personal income, religion.

Considering how well do the respondents feel protected personally in the following situations (Figure 3), such as old age, unemployment, durable physical or mental handicap, illness, divorce or separation and childbirth, people tend to feel insecure in almost all the situations, but especially in situations of durable physical or mental handicap (87,5 percent feel unprotected) and unemployment (81,2 percent feel unprotected). As they expect the help in these situations from the state, the high degree of insecurity may indicate their distrust in state and in its ability to provide the social care they would need in such situations.

Table 4

The distribution of respondents according to their opinion about government's responsibilities, in percent (2010)

Is it the government's responsibility to…	Totally agree or more agree than disagree	Totally disagree or more disagree than agree
provide decent housing for those who can't afford it, N=976	86	14
provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed, N=1001	88,6	11,4
provide a job for everyone who wants one, N=1008	90,6	9,4
keep prices under control, N=1014	93,3	6,7
reduce income differences between the rich and the poor, N=1004	94,8	5,2
provide health care for the sick, N=1015	98,1	1,9
provide a decent standard of living for the old, N=1013	99,6	0,4

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Source: public opinion surveys, conducted in the period of December 2010 – January 2011 and in November- December 2011.

Figure 5. The distribution of respondents according to their answers to the question 'If the government had a choice between reducing taxes and spending more on social services, which should it do?' 2010; 2011, in percent

The situation has not changed to a positive side over the year. The empirical finding from the survey conducted in November – December 2011 show that people feel even more insecure in all the situations: old age, unemployment, durable physical or mental handicap, illness, divorce or separation and childbirth. All items exhibit the increase in number of respondents in a category 'feel unprotected' (Figure 4).

The same surveys indicate that people expect the overall provision from the government (Table 4). They want exclusively rely on government's support in different complicated situations such as unemployment, poor housing, illness, etc.

But at the same time people are not willing to pay for their comfort and provision. In the survey respondents were asked to imagine situation in which people should choose instead of government: 'If the government had a choice between reducing taxes and spending more on social services, which should it do?'

As seen in Figure 5, people would choose to reduce taxes even this would lead to spending less on social services. And this has a tendency to increase: in 2010 46,7 percent of respondents have chosen reduction of taxed even this leads to spending less on social services and the same has been chosen by 62 percent of respondents in 2011.

Discussion

The empirical findings indicate that people still have big expectations for the role of the state in social provision and welfare. The state should be mainly responsible for the provision in situations of old age, unemployment, illness, and durable physical or mental handicap, i.e. in the situations that do not directly depend on an individual's choice. And on the other hand, in the situations that depend on an individual's choice – i.e. divorce or separation, childbirth - the responsibility should lie on the individual himself or herself. These findings would suggest the idea of rational choice – if you decide to have a child, you should first think about your opportunities to have enough financial and other resources.

Illness and old age are hardships in any society. In Ancient times existing morality implied the obligation of sons to support their old or sick parents or claims on charity by church or community. From the historical perspective, the social support in cases of illness, durable physical or mental handicap and retirements in old age mainly lie on the family or community. Different empirical studies (including Eurobarometer, Survey of Health, Aging, and Retirement in Europe (SHARE)) has shown that from one fifth to one fourth of all adults in Europe take care of elderly or disabled persons (Kalmijn and Saraceno, 2008). But according to survey results, people do not think that family or community should be responsible for social support in old age.

Unemployment is a product of industrialization. But considering who should be mainly responsible for having enough money available in the case of being unemployed, respondents also tend to indicate the responsibility of the state.

The role of family or community in all the situations – in those that depend on the choice of individual (childbirth, separation or divorce) and in those that do not depend on a choice (illness, old age, unemployment) is minor. Interpreting the empirical findings, here I would agree with Strach and Sullivan (2011, p. 95) who say that 'family is likely to be seen at the base of society or at the receiving end of a policy, but seldom is it acknowledged as instrumental in achieving governmental objectives'.

Concluding remarks

Summarizing the theoretical discussions, it could be assumed that there are number of starting points that researches of social policy can employ in developing research concept and methodology. Approaches differ according to the objects of analysis that are perceived as lenses the social policy is observed through.

The main approaches include the perspective of *social issues* that allows researchers to analyse and forecast changes in different spheres of social policy; the perspective of *social problems* that allows researchers to focus on social policy instruments that could help to resolve different social problems; the perspective of *social*

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groups that allows researchers to focus upon the needs of particular social groups; and finally, the perspective of *social services* that allows researchers to look at organization, administration, and management of social services. Here we come to a very important question, which of the actors is responsible for wellbeing of society. Different social welfare institutions – state, market, NGOs/community, and family – have a different role and significance in different types of welfare regimes.

In general it could be argued that people in Lithuania still have big expectations for the role of the state in social provision and welfare. But at the same time they are rather inconsistent in their attitudes. First, the majority of population expects the overall provision from the government. They want rely exclusively on government's support in different complicated situations such as unemployment, poor housing, illness, etc.; but, at the same time, people are not willing to pay more taxes for their comfort and provision. In Lithuania people would choose to reduce taxes even this would lead to spending less on social services.

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E. Butkeviciene. Public Attitudes Towards Social Policy: the Role of State, Individual and Family in Social Provision and Welfare in Lithuania

E. Butkevičienė

Visuomenės požiūriai į socialinę politiką: valstybės, individo ir šeimos vaidmuo kuriant socialinę gerovę Lietuvoje

Santrauka

Straipsnyje analizuojama itin heterogeniška socialinės politikos prigimtis šiuolaikinėse visuomenėse, dėmesį koncentruojant į visuomenės požiūrius apie tai, kas turėtų pasirūpinti žmogumi tokiose gyvenimo situacijose kaip ilgalaikė liga, negalia, nedarbas – valstybė, pats žmogus, šeima ar bendruomenė. Mokslinė literatūra nepateikia vienareikšmio atsakymo apie valstybės vaidmenį socialinio aprūpinimo kontekste. Socialdemokratinė perspektyva interpretuoja stiprią gerovės valstybę kaip pozityvų dalyką, padedantį užtikrinti socialinę lygybę per perskirstymą. Ir atvirkščiai, – kiti autoriai (von Hayek, 1959; Murray, 1982) stiprią gerovės valstybę kritikuoja dėl jos neefektyvumo, despotizmo ir ypatingai dėl nesuderinamumo su žmogaus laisvės idėja.

Socialinės politikos tema plačiai nagrinėta ne tik užsienio, bet ir Lietuvos autorių darbuose: Aidukaitė (2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2009, 2011) analizuoja Lietuvos gerovės sistemą, reformas ir socialinės apsaugos institucijų formavimąsi lyginamojoje perpektyvoje, Guogis (2000, 2002, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2010) fokusuojasi į Lietuvos socialinės politikos modelių, socialinių paslaugų, socialinės atsakomybės ir socialinės apsaugos nagrinėjimą, Jančaitytė (2005), Jasilionienė (2005a, 2005b), Jonkarytė (2003), Maslauskaitė (2003), Mikulionienė (2003), Mitrikas (2003), Stankūnienė (2001, 2003, 2005) tiria šeimos politiką Lietuvoje, Lazutka (2008, 2009), Žalimienė (2009, 2011) koncentruojasi ties socialinio aprūpinimo Lietuvoje klausimais. Tačiau vis dar nėra pakankamai ištirinėti Lietuvos visuomenės požiūriai dėl to, kas turėtų būti atsakingas kuriant socialinę gerovę. Todėl pagrindinė mokslinė problema, nagrinėjama šiame straipsnyje, yra klausimas: kas turėtų pasirūpinti žmogumi sunkiose gyvenimo situacijoje, koks turėtų būti valstybės, individo, jo/jos šeimos vaidmuo? Lietuva kaip posocialistinė šalis, vis dar turinti atitinkamą mentalitetą, yra labai įdomus tyrimo atvejis, nes iš esmės atsakymo reikalauja klausimai: ar Lietuvoje žmonės pritaria liberaliajai, ar socialinei demokratinei ideologijai ?

Šio straipsnio tikslas – analizuojant visuomenės požiūrius, atskleisti valstybės, individo ir šeimos vaidmenį kuriant socialinę gerovę Lietuvoje. Kaip teigia Esping-Andersen (1990), gerovės valstybė negali būti suprantama tik teisių, kurias ji garantuoja, kontekste: atvirkščiai, reikia nagrinėti, kaip socialinio aprūpinimo srityje susipina valstybės, rinkos ir šeimos vaidmenys.

Kaip teigia Erskine (2007), metodologiškai socialinę politiką šiuolaikinėse visuomenėse galima analizuoti šiais aspektais: (1) socialinių faktų perspektyva: socialiniai faktai svarbūs analizuojant socialinę politiką atskirose socialinėse sferose (pvz. užimtumas, sveikata) ir prognozuojant bei įgyvendinant socialinės politikos pokyčius; (2) socialinių problemų perspektyva: siekiama analizuoti skirtingas socialines problemas (pvz., nedarbas, neįgalumas) ir pasiūlyti tam tikrus mechanizmus šioms problemoms spręsti; (3) socialinių grupių perspektyva: siekiama koncentruoti dėmesį į tam tikras socialines grupes (pvz., bedarbiai, neįgalieji) ir pasiūlyti socialinės politikos mechanizmus, įgalinančius patenkinti atskirų socialinių grupių poreikius; ir (4) socialinių paslaugų perspektyva: siekiama tirti socialinių paslaugų organizavimą, administravimą ir valdymą (pvz. darbo biržos paslaugos, socialinio darbuotojo paslaugos). Čia labai svarbus tampa valstybės vaidmens klausimas. Kuo stipresnis valstybės vaidmuo teikiant socialines paslaugas, kuo labiau išvystyta gerovės valstybė, tuo mažiau erdvės lieka individualiai, šeimos ar bendruomenės iniciatyvai. Tokių iniciatyvų pavyzdžiai – korporatyvioji verslo įmonių socialinė atsakomybė, nevyriausybinių organizacijų veikla, savanorystė, šeimos narių tarpusavio pagalba.

Straipsnis remiasi dviejų tarpusavyje susijusių projektų rezultatais: mokslinių tyrimų projekto „Tarptautinė socialinio tyrimo programa: Lietuvos socialinių problemų stebėsena" (ISSP-LT), finansuojamo Lietuvos mokslų tarybos pagal programą „Socialiniai iššūkiai nacionaliniam saugumui" (sutarties Nr. SIN-07/2012) ir mokslinių tyrimų projekto „Socialinių problemų stebėsena: Tarptautinės socialinio tyrimo programos įgyvendinimas" (SPS), finansuojamo Lietuvos mokslų tarybos pagal programą „Socialiniai iššūkiai nacionaliniam saugumui" (sutarties Nr. SIN-15/2010). Straipsnyje analizuojami dviejų apklausų, kurios atliktos 2010 m. gruodžio mėn. – 2011 m. sausio mėn. ir 2011 m. lapkričio – gruodžio mėn., rezultatai. Apklausos atliktos pagal Tarptautinės socialinio tyrimo programos reikalavimus. Tarptautinės socialinio tyrimo programos išskirtinumas yra: (1) platus temų spektras (nuo socialinės nelygybės iki rekreacijos bei poilsio), (2) tarptautinis palyginamumas viso pasaulio mastu (nes programoje dalyvauja beveik 50 valstybių), (3) optimalus kartotinumas laike, nes apklausos vykdomos kasmet ir kas 7-10 metų jų temos kartojamos. Kartotiniai klausimų moduliai atveria laiko dimensiją analizuojant ISSP tyrimų duomenis.

2010 m. klausimyną sudarė 4 klausimų blokai: I – socialinė nelygybė, II – socialinė politika, III – aplinka, IV – sociodemografiniai klausimai. 2011 m. - 3 klausimų blokai: I – socialinė politika, II – sveikata, III – sociodemografiniai klausimai.

Klausimyno bloką "Socialinė politika" sudarė trys dalys:
* nuostatos socialinės politikos atžvilgiu;
* Lietuvoje vykdomos socialinės politikos vertinimas;
* respondento savo socialinės padėties vertinimas.

Šio klausimyno bloko pirmoji dalis „Nuostatos socialinės politikos atžvilgiu" buvo skirta išsiaiškinti respondentų nuomonę apie valstybę kaip socialinės politikos pagrindinę formuotoją: kas turi pasirūpinti žmogumi konkrečiose gyvenimo situacijose, koks valstybės vaidmuo socialinės politikos srityje?

Tyrimo imtis Lietuvoje reprezentuoja 2 647 592 18 metų ir vyresnius gyventojus, iš kurių 1 792 245 yra miesto gyventojai ir 855 347 - kaimo gyventojai. Tyrimo populiacija: Lietuvos namų ūkių gyventojai nuo 18 metų ir vyresni, nepriklausomai nuo jų tautybės, pilietybės, kalbos ar teisinio statuso šalyje. Į populiaciją nepatenka benamiai asmenys, asmenys išvykę iš Lietuvos ar hospitalizuoti ilgiau nei 6 mėn. ir atitinkamose institucijose (senelių namuose, internatuose, prieglaudose ir pan.) gyvenantys asmenys.

Atrankos aprėptis: Valstybės įmonės „Registrų centras" tvarkomas Lietuvos Respublikos adresų registras.

Atranka: daugiapakopė stratifikuota klasterizuota atranka.

Duomenų rinkimo metodas: tiesioginis interviu respondento namuose, naudojant standartizuotą klausimyną, kurį pildė profesionalus interviuotojas.

Empiriniai tyrimo duomenys parodė, kad Lietuvoje egzistuoja stiprūs valstybės socialinės paramos lūkesčiai. Vertindami, kam turėtų tekti didžiausia atsakomybė rūpinantis žmogumi ligos, negalios atveju, netekus darbo, išėjus į pensiją, Lietuvos gyventojai akcentuoja valstybę. Situacijose, kurios tiesiogiai priklauso nuo individo pasirinkimo – t.y. gimus vaikui, skyrybų atveju – didesnė atsakomybė priskiriama pačiam individui.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: socialinė politika, visuomenės gerovė, socialinis aprūpinimas, valstybė, individas, šeima, bendruomenė.