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IMMIGRANTS IN THE LEGAL SYSTEM OF THE WELCOMING COUNTRY: CONSIDERING THE ROLE OF INTERMEDIARIES

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Abstract. *Immigrants' encounters with the new legal system of the welcoming country might vary from challenging to easy process. The newcomers' path of interaction in the field of welcoming countries' legalities is related to the legal knowledge and variety of assumptions about the legal world and how it is embedded in the social reality of a welcoming country. There are many factors, that are involved and shape this complexity but one of them is highly meaningful - the role of intermediaries. Therefore, this research focuses on identifying and discussing the different statuses and roles of the intermediaries as they participate in the process of immigrant's interaction with the legalities of the welcoming country. These assumptions are based on the 53 qualitative interviews of foreign third-country residents in Lithuania. The results of the analysis reveal the main roles of the intermediaries while immigrants interact with the new legal system of the welcoming country. This research indicates that intermediaries actively or passively participate in the processes of migrants' gaining legal knowledge, influence their legal behaviour and become a part of migrants' legal interactions. Intermediaries are also seen in the variance of official statuses, visibly gaining different roles in legal relationships which results in different outcomes. Therefore, this research draws attention to the need for more profound attention to the immigrants' legal relationship and deduces practical implications for it as well.*

Keywords: *migration, intermediation, law, public administration.*

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *migracija, tarpininkavimas, teisė, viešasis administravimas.*

Introduction

The recent geopolitical conflicts and especially the war in Ukraine, have highly increased the numbers of regular and irregular migration to the EU. Just from 2020, the EU countries have granted temporary protection to more than 4.3 million people whereas the total number of non-EU citizens in 2022 has risen to 23.8 million people (Eurostat, 2023). The current situation also indicates an expanded number of EU member states that are facing an influx of refugees and asylum seekers. Amongst the member states that used to welcome high numbers of migrants as Germany, France, Spain, Italy etc. now we also indicate the middle, north and eastern regions of the EU with countries such as Poland, Lithuania or Latvia (Eurostat, 2023).

These changes in migration flows have increased scientific enquiry as they challenged the welcoming societies and in particular, those EU members who have less experience in facilitating national integration practices. It has also tested them by revealing the strength and vulnerabilities of the public sector and social cohesion (Albarosa & Elsner, 2023). In these terms, the integration policies became of great importance. The monitoring of the Migrant Integration Policy (MIPEX, 2020) and integration policies for refugees (NIEM (2017-2021) reveals that national integration policies and practices vary and are unequal across the EU (Institute of Public Affairs, 2020; Solano & Huddleston, 2021). The research also indicates

that the current migrants' challenges remain related to housing, the labour market, health and the facilitation of belonging in welcoming societies. These problems are also interrelated, for example "employment problems can quickly become housing problems and welfare problems" (Barnard et al., 2022, p. 506).

While pursuing to extend the discussion about the field of migrants' integration, we have identified the need to address and anlyse a particular aspect - the integration in the legal environment of the welcoming country. It is worth to notice that there is still relatively little work done in examining it. This particular research might be addressed with more scientific dedication as migrants' integration in the welcoming countries' legal environment is greatly related to acquiring their implementation of their fundamental rights and implementation of obligations.

The inquiry on migrants relationship with the legal environment represents a general trend of research of law and society. This field is featured by reseach which are focused on analysing migrants' legal consciousness (Abrego, 2011; Adamski & Florczak, 2022; C Menjívar et al., 2016; Menjı & Albrego, 2012; Muñoz, 2016, 2018; Singer, 2019; Solórzano, 2021), legal behaviour and legal order (Adamson, 2020; Maghularia & Uebelmesser, 2023) and more. Although we would argue for more elaboration and scientific dedication to the migrants' legal relationships in the welcoming environment because each national legal system is featured by its' particuliarity. In pursuing to expand scientific knowledge on migrants' experiences in legal environment, it is important to address it more accurately which might be done by researching particular case. Therefore in the following research we focus on one countrys' – Lithuanias' case study, which would assure accurate results for further practical implications.

During the last decade, Lithuania has experienced an increased number of migrants which have been doubled from 1,2 in 2014 to 6,6 percent in 2023 and concludes 189,4 thousand in the Lithuanian population (Migration Department under the Ministry of the Interior, 2023, p. 11). Though the numbers are generally small, but they implicate the need to draw attention to this topic because of relatively limited practice in welcoming new residents. Grounding on previous research, we find that new residents experience challenges in various legal relationships in Lithuania. The former scientific enquiry indicates that migrants experience challenges in the spheres of administrative, employment and civil legal relationship in Lithuania (Miezanskienė, 2022; Miezanskienė & Tartilaitė-Paulauskienė, 2020). We find that immigrants need additional support in this field as well as there is a need for a deeper analysis of the migrants' experiences in the field of legal order in the welcoming country.

By seeking to dedicate more attention to this particular topic, this research aims to introduce the aspect of intermediaries' role in migrants' legal relationships in the welcoming country. Therefore, **the main aim** has been set to identify and discuss intermediaries' interaction in the process of immigrants' encounter with the legalities of the welcoming country. The particular tasks were targeting to:

a) identify immigrants' experiences of legal relations in Lithuania which involve the interaction with intermediaries;
b) analyse and discuss the different roles and statuses of intermediaries in migrants' legal relationships.

The investigation of the intermediaries' involvement in migrants' legal reality, requires specifying the key concepts of "legal system" and "intermediary". As for the concept of a "legal system", the scientific literature offers a broad and a narrower interpretation. The broad concept refers to "a set of deeply rooted, historically conditioned attitudes about the nature of law, about the role of law in the society and the polity, about the proper organization and operation of the legal system, and about the way law is or should be made, applied, studied, perfected, and taught"(Duve, 2018, p. 21). H. J. Berman also depicts the term of "law in action" which "consists of people legislating, adjudicating, administering, negotiating and carrying on other legal activities. It is a living process of allocating rights and duties and thereby resolving conflicts and creating channels of cooperation"(Berman, 1999, p. 4). The more systematic way of interpreting legal system is focused on "law from its conceptual state (doctrine, subjects of legislature) legal norms (system of laws) and their implementation (legal relations and law enforcement institutions)" (Vaišvila, 2009, p.

358). The beforementioned broad concept encompasses the complexity of the term "legal system", but it also makes it challenging to investigate as it would refer to migrants' overall experience of it (legal system). Though the narrower concept offers and stresses a separate realm as "system of laws" and agencies which allows indicating more specific realm of the research. It provides a particular focus on subsets of civil, administrative, criminal or labour law. There should be also noticed that its more accurate to interpret legal relationships when they are prescribed to one of the particular branch of laws. Each of the separate branch of legal relationship requires different level of persons knowledge, resources and active involvement in the process of rights implementation and defence. Therefore research will follow the logic of evaluating all these separate legal relationship which are based on legal norms of the welcoming country.

As this research focuses on subjects who are involved in migrants' legal relationships, there is a need to specify a term which encompasses most of the possible forms of participation. To embrace all the spectrum of involvement, this term should also not be predetermined only by a positive involvement or only active forms of involvement (as mediation, arbitration). Third-party involvement in legal relationships might be referred to legal representation as a lawyer, advocate, legal consultant, or mediator, but it should not be limited to it and encompass other subjects' involvement.

The term "intermediary" offers one of the most suitable contents of participation as it refers to the abstractness of "situated or occurring between two things (in space, time, degree, or character)"(Oxford University Press, 2023a). It is also referred to as "a person or an organization that helps others <…>by being a means of communication between them"(Oxford University Press, 2023b). These definitions offer a generalization for participation or involvement, which is one of the essential roles of the third party in the legal relationship. Though it is also considered to be a synonym to the other concept of "mediator", but the latter term refers to more of a conflicts resolution where "a person who intervenes between two parties, esp. for the purpose of effecting reconciliation; an intercessor" (Oxford University Press, 2023a). The following research will adopt a more abstract definition of "intermediaries" in order to focus on various forms and statuses of involvement in migrants' legal relationships.

The research methodology has been designed to collect and analyse immigrants' experiences in the host country. The method of semi-structured interview had been used to focus on specific migrants' legal relationships as well as related relationships in Lithuania (EU). The set of 53 interviews had been conducted from 2019 to 2021. The interviews were conducted with non-EU citizens who were legally residing in Lithuania. The interviewees' country of origin/previous long-term residence was in the geographical regions of Africa and Asia. These specific regions were chosen to address immigrants' experiences who were most likely to experience meaningful social and cultural change. The aforementioned new residents' groups might be categorized to: a)immigrants from the African continent whose countries of origin are classified under mixed legal systems with the features of Anglo-Saxon, religious and customary law; b) immigrants from Southern Asian geographic regions (Pakistan, India and others), the countries of origin of which are classified under mixed legal systems which express the features of Anglo-Saxon/ religious and/or Anglo-Saxon/ religious and customary law.

The interviewees obtain similar characteristics of the same a) geographic region; b) representing the country of previous residence which belongs to the 'mixed legal systems' (non-Western law tradition). Finally, c) the previous countries of residence of interviewees maintain different (lower) Democracy Index which implies a set of different experiences in the previous residence country.

The interviewees' transcripts were coded and analysed using Maxqda - qualitative data analysis software. The focus was set on the intermediaries' participation in the new residents' legal relationship, namely civil, administrative and employment.

The main limitations of the research are closely tied to its' strengths while conducting interviews with a specific group of residents who are coming from Africa and South Asia. The particularity of the framework provides an opportunity to address a homogeneous group of new residents but sets the limits on the

results' application to a) English speaking (experiences might be different because of the language barrier) and b) those who experience cultural differences in the welcoming country. One of the limitations is that this research is also dedicated to analysing the experiences of intermediation in migrants' legal relationships. Therefore, it does not include the intermediators' experiences and perspectives on the migrants' relationship which would be valuable input for additional future research on this topic.

Law and intermediaries in migrants' life

Highly institutionalized democratic countries require specific attention to their legalized environments. As the legal relationships are imminent, new residents, as well as citizens, have no choice but to address them in their daily lives. The feature of a high-density network of institutions, legalities and even legalese* are usually the characteristics of countries, with high democracy indexes and these are the ones which are attracting migrants on the pattern of Global South to Global North migration (Segal, 2019, p. 141). Therefore, in the process of integration, new residents might inevitably face practically applicable new rules and regulations. These are institutional functionalities which lead to the interaction with the administrative legal relationship as well as embrace aspects of prosperity and income as employment, business, buying assets, or taking on liabilities. Overall, it covers the scope of multiple interactions with welcoming countries' administrative, labour and civil legal rules and regulations. This way, the involvement in the legal environment itself becomes a part of the integration processes (Ager & Strang, 2008; Garcés-mascareñas & Penninx, 2016; Spencer & Charsley, 2021). In practical terms, it includes knowing and adapting the legalities of the welcoming country for the fulfilment of obligations and the needs or defence of entitled rights.

Though importance and the uniqueness of these legal relationships also affect their structure and application. The specific feature of the autonomy of law has been stressed in the theories by N. Luhman ir G. Teubner (Luhmann et al., 2014; Teubner, 1986). The distinctiveness of legal relationships has been also revealed by M. Cerar who has portrayed the factors of the autonomy of modern law as: specific formalism, abstract nature, generality, systematicity, specific linguistic expression (legal language), and the professionalization of its agents. The author sought that the material (substantive) sense of the autonomy of law is ensured primarily by its own historically developed and consolidated values (legal tradition), which are distinguished as relatively independent from the political, moral, customary, religious, and other values (Cerar, 2009, p. 24). Overall, we agree that law pertains the specificity of static and dynamic nature and therefore, in turn, it creates diverse obstacles for newcomers to handle it. The scientific literature stresses that these obstacles need to be overcome by the interference of the third party intermediating in the process.

There might be multiple subjects who could be engaged in intermediation. One of them is migrants, but their involvement will likely be filled with additional obstacles. The findings of S. Edge, E. L. Brown, S. Ghosha and A. M. Murnaghan (2020) indicate various barriers that are preventing immigrants from engaging in advocacy. They find that "immigrants and other marginalised groups do indeed face unique procedural barriers, prejudices and challenges that can reduce one's influence and/or engagement in improving conditions". While researching specific civil relationships (lease) they find that these obstacles might be fear of eviction and deportation, language barriers, poor awareness about civic rights, trauma, problematic power dynamics involving other subjects (Edge et al., 2020, p. 677). There is scientific proof that migrants' legal relationships are exceptional as they are filled with experiencing the power of legal language which leads them to linguistic fragility. The research findings on the role of legal language in the systems of asylum determination reveal that there might be a range of risks associated with mistranslations, miscommunications, and partial or imprecise meaning conveyance between parties (Gill, 2023, p. 6)**.** In this complicated process of migrants' interaction with welcoming countries' legal regulations, we find different roles of intermediaries. The reflection of their performance is mentioned by Catherine Barnard, Fiona Costello and Sarah Fraser Butlin (2022) while examining the every day (employment)

problems faced by EU migrant workers. Their investigation on "GYROS" (community-based advice agency) experiences and comes with findings that organization might help migrants by not just providing" (legal) advice, but it also acts as pragmatic anti-bureaucrat, translator, donor, trusted community resource and broker. "GYROS" offers a client-need driven service, sometimes undertaking all these roles at once, dealing with a multiplicity of clustered problems simultaneously, strategizing which problem(s) are most urgent and working from there" (Barnard et al., 2022, pp. 506–507). So, the interference in legal relationships might be of various forms and with overlapping missions. Intermediaries could be counsellors, for example advocating for undocumented students' education (Crawford et al., 2019). They could also be parliamentarians as an aspiration and access to justice (Newman & Robins, 2023). The diversity of civil activism on behalf of migrants should be also considered as a mediating agency for migrants gaining particular rights (Voss et al., 2020).

One of the well-known forms of intermediation should be considered pro bono lawyering, and this service of legal aid is the most well-known. There is scientific proof that the availability of nonprofit pro bono legal aid predicts the outcome of the legal interaction. For example, in the US "regions with greater numbers of pro bono attorney groups produce fewer immigration removals" as well as the number of non-attorney advocates predicts fewer non-criminal immigrant removals (Chand et al., 2021, p. 621). Iker Barbero research reflects on legal aid services in Spain and notes that legal aid services might be considered even as a "rescue industry" (Barbero, 2020, p. 59).

Legal consciousness research also introduces the reasoning of migrants' challenges in legal relationships. For example, C. Menjívar's research addresses that migrants experience an intense sense of law (hyper-alert) which drives migrants to constantly think about how and in what ways they can use the local law for their interests (Cecilia Menjívar, 2011, pp. 392–393). This feeling of "omnipresent" law evokes insecurity and might be pushed to act very intensively by seeking for help of third-party involvement (Miežanskienė, 2022). We find that intermediaries' involvement is important and might be revealing in different forms.

In order to discuss intermediaries' involvement in migrants' legal relations in Lithuania, it is necessary to address the distinctiveness of their particularity and surrounding environment. The Lithuanian legal system is considered to be on the side of advanced democracies as the index of the rule of law scores above the Global average and it is ranked 20th out of 140 countries (*Rule of Law Index*, 2023). This means the four universal principles of the rule of law accountability, just law, open government and accessible and impartial justice for the general population are available in practice (Bukovnik et al., 2022, p. 14).

The investigation reveals that the national legal system of Lithuania frames and implements a few regimes of migrants' treatment according to the legal status of the resident. These two regimes refer to the entitlement to rights defence and secondly – the restrictions regards rights implementation. If to proceed on the first one, the national system offers a set of formal legal services for immigrants equally as for native citizens and should ensure translation services for that purpose. This way new residents are entitled to the same rights in legal relationships. For example, the right to receive service of translation according to the Code of Civil Procedure and the Code of Criminal Procedure (LR civilinio proceso kodeksas, 2002, p. art. no. 11; LR baudžiamojo proceso kodeksas, 2002, p. art. no. 8). On the other way – immigrants also face their rights' restrictions based on the status of residence. For example, restrictions to be elected or to participate in the democratic elections (LR įstatymas "Dėl užsieniečių teisinės padėties", 2004). There is a particular distinction between these two regimes which are primarily defined by the legal status, but both of them sets the background of legal relationships and the need for the involvement of different statuses and roles of intermediaries. International scientific literature introduces the concept ofli "minal legality" to frame migrants' experience of facing restrictions which are tied to the legal status of residency. The impact of liminal legality is well-researched in the context of the USA while investigating outcomes of "DACA" project implementation (Burciaga & Malone, 2021; Cecilia Menjívar, 2006). The findings of researching on liminal legality suggest limited and contingent impacts on socioeconomic integration (Hamilton et

al., 2021) and implications that "more than other immigrants, those with temporary legal status display patterns of incorporation incompleteness" (Cecilia Menjívar et al., 2022). As they find, the "legal status stratifies immigrant populations into hierarchical classes with unequal access to society's resources, rights, and rewards" (Cecilia Menjívar et al., 2022, p. 694). The underlying legal precarity also offers heterogeneous effects for further integration (Okura et al., 2023).

While discussing the situation of new residents in Lithuania, we also find that they are facing the same legally projected dualism as there is a set of legal relationships when the government has an obligation to keep the entitlement to the just and fair legal process, but there is also a set of legal restrictions to become a part of the society as well. The surrounding environment of the welcoming population also impacts the need for intermediation. The current scientific studies and reports indicate the social distance of Lithuanian society towards some groups of newcomers (Blažytė, 2022; Blažytė & Žibas, 2019, p. ir kt.)

Previous research which addressed immigrants' experiences with the legal environment in Lithuania has revealed that they experience a lot of challenges in the field of administrative and labour legal relationships (Miežanskienė & Tartilaitė-Paulauskienė, 2020, p. 58) which identifies the lack of preparedness for the welcoming in the legal surrounding. The performed analysis of working conditions and safety also reveals struggles where "labour migrants experience verbal abuse and physical violence at work somewhat more often than Lithuanian citizens" and the fact that "in cases of exploitation of labour migrants, the possibilities of representation or assistance are limited" (Petrušauskaitė ir kt., 2015, p. 66–77).

The analysis of the spectrum of labour relations also reveals that, when extraordinary situations (of exploitation) occur, the possibilities of legal protection are extremely limited. I. Karalienė notes that it is difficult to prosecute individuals for particularly exploitative conditions (Karalienė, 2019). A. Gutauskas emphasizes that in this case, responsibility for the exploitation of forced labour is not met due to the extremely high vulnerability of the victim and the refusal to defend/enforce their rights (Gutauskas, 2015, pp. 65–66, 2016, p. 207). All these insights indicate that there is a specific need to support migrants in their legal relationships.

So, when it comes to the legal process the state offers legal aid or mediators and the private sector provides an opportunity to address legal consultants and advocates, but it might not be enough. Therefore, we need to address the current spectrum of intermediaries' roles and involvement in order to suggest future guidelines for their presence and interference.

Roles of intermediaries

As the previous research has revealed that migrants are facing challenges in welcoming countries' legal relationships, further discussion leads to how new residents overcome them and who is participating in this process. The conducted interviews revealed that intermediaries participate in various ways in the overcoming of challenges in legal relationships. There might be a different connection to intermediaries as family members (spouses) friends, acquaintances, co-workers, and community members (natives and/or from the diaspora). They might be the ones, who are intermediating voluntarily and those, who are being paid for their services as lawyers, advocates or mediators. Nonetheless, it should be stressed that the most important aspect is not only the connection that the intermediary holds with the migrant but also the role he obtains in this legal relationship.

While seeking to introduce the intermediaries' role in migrants' legal relationships, the research focused on a certain aspect of their performance. This has offered the module of interaction which involves migrants' situation (i), the subject for intermediation (iii) and the intermediaries' role and status (ii) in between (see figure no. 1). It occurred that intermediaries are: involved by supporting different needs while addressing migrants' situations, therefore obtaining different roles and performing in different statuses; working in different settings; and these relationships might be providing different outcomes (iv).

We provide the differentiation of the roles of the intermediaries by discussing the before-presented

Immigrants' situation (i)	← Intermediaries' role and status (ii) →	Subject for intermediation (iii)
Setting: • Possible for individuals to manage their need • Impossible/hardly possible for an individual to manage the need	Role • Legal representation • Mediator • Interaction builder • Information provider Status • Official • Semi-official • Unofficial	Un/prepared for intermediation

Outcomes of intermediaries' involvement (iv)
- Positive
- Negative
- Neutral

Figure 1. *Intermediaries' role in migrants' legal relationship*
Source: Authors.

model and by addressing each part as a separate aspect in the context of the immigrants' interaction with the legalities of the welcoming country.

As presented in the figure (no 1.), the conducted research indicates that immigrants' situation (i) might be either challenging as the legal relationship a) might not be in newcomers' capabilities for individual management or b) possible for individual management. The scenarios of impossible/hardly possible individual management of the legal relationship might be the ones, which are related to the language barrier and national legal information systems which are un/prepared for the newcomers. The examples of this relate to the resourcefulness of given information, the flaws of its translation, or even relate to the aspects of migrants' trust in officers/officials to ask for help. For this reason, the new residents have no other option than to seek the intermediaries' help. Considering this, there are few insights from interviews that will illustrate the roots which are causing the newcomers' incapability in legal relationships.

The first one reflects the importance of the language barrier. This might be the most common reason to address the intermediary. What is uncommon to migrants' expectations is the fact, that the language barrier might be evident even in those cases when the subject of interaction have the same skills of language (e.g. English). In these situations, the interpretation of language or translation occurs as the main obstacle for understanding and works as driver to seek for help. As one of the interviewees has mentioned "*the language that was on the website, it's not your language, so it does not have a direct translation. When you translate to English from Lithuanian, you will see that it does not really have a direct translation….<…>*" (interview, 8). The need for intermediaries is also vivid in those cases when there is a lack of language skills in any of the communicating sides. The new resident from India was surprised by: "*<..> the fact that, a number of them (officials) don't speak English. We are foreigners, come on! It's a bit frustrating. It really is*"(interview, 12).

The instant need for intermediaries also arises in those cases when new residents obtain conflicting data (information) about the matter which might be even highly important. For example, managing the data accuracy on migration status. One of the interviewees remembers his confusion in relation to the migration office: "*Today they said „A", tomorrow they can say „B", like if you call a different person, they can tell you something else*" (interview, 50).

Sometimes there is a lack of clarity for legal regulation as for example taxation policy and its implementation. This creates additional confusion which requires a third party to step in and inform or explain how the system is operating. One of the interviewees expresses this in his statement that employers "*need to properly mentione – "in hands you will get this much amount". Not with tax. With tax and without tax <...>. And how much euros they are taking as SODRA, how much euros they are taking as insurance, how much euros they taking for the pension, and how much euros the employee and employer has to pay the pension and SODRA. <...> So this is amazing misunderstanding and no foreigners are asking for these tings.*" (interview, 50).

The other scenario relates to the legally predetermined incapability to either identify and/or pursue legal remedies and administrative systems. As a rule, they might be often available to the native people but filled with obstacles for newcomers. One of the examples would be the possibility of addressing the internal system of civil rights defence by claiming legitimate debts through e-government services. For example, a Lithuanian - native person – is able to address his legal issue through the e-service Portal of Lithuanian Courts (*https://e.teismas.lt/*). It provides him/her the ability to claim his/her civil rights by using any of the prepared forms for primary litigation and eases the financial burden of addressing the legal representation. Without this particular knowledge and capabilities, the new resident is not able to defend his rights without an intermediary. The legal representation (advocate or the legal consultant) needs to identify the prospects of the action and legally represent the new resident in the process.

The conducted research also reveals other scenarios as well where the management of the legal relationship is possible by migrants themselves, but not taken into consideration. This is mainly driven by internal perceptions about the field of legalities of the new country. Especially at those times, when there is a lot at stake and there is no room for mistakes like the legal regulation on legal status in the welcoming country. These are more situations/settings where legal relationships become burdened and which might be challenging for migrants who need an intermediary's involvement. For example, one of the interviewees explicitly said, that there is not enough information, therefore he has to address as many people as he can to proceed with what he pursues. By addressing the aspect of "Immigrants' situation (i)", we find that the system of information provision and empowerment for action might be an important factor in putting new residents in the position of searching for an intermediary's help.

Migrants might be also leaving their issue aside without looking for help, by saying *"Yeah, there is nothing to approach<...>*("*Interview, 26*) or "*Who are you going to report to? Who is going to fight for you?*" (*Interview, 53*) or "*<...>we don't have any lawyer*" (*Interview, 24*). This brings highly negative outcomes such as feelings of disappointment, powerlessness, lack of trust, and alienation which prevents the integration process (see the interview below).

"*Actually they are taking advantages from us, because we are not... ...we don't know, we don't have any lawyer. We don't know the laws, we don't know the Lithuanian*" (*Interview, 24*)

"*And I've seen more than four or five people that have the same issues being taken care of in the same immigration office. So, then it gives you an impression that something is wrong. You say this is law, but the law is applied differently to people.*" (*interview, 15*)

The unfulfilled expectations to implement lawful rights is setting the ground for migrants' not constructive activity which are "those that cannot provide the opportunity to achieve the desired result, are unethical or clearly redundant. They can manifest as psychological pressure, denial of demands, feeling and acting in excessive insecurity, mistrust and failure to admit one's mistakes" (Miežanskienė, 2022, pp. 122–123, 191).

In the multiple scenarios of a welcoming environment, this research indicates the main roles and statuses of intermediaries' (ii). They might vary accordingly to the need and the setting of the new environment. Their role in migrants' legal relationships could be leading to legal representation, mediation, interaction building or just provision of information (see figure no 2.).

New residents tend to search for opportunities and to address the help that they are offered, though

Intermediaries			
Legal representation	Mediation	Interaction building	Information provision
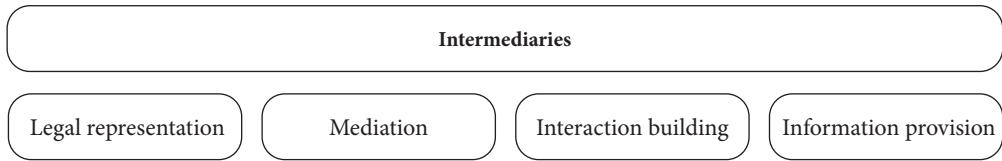
Figure 2. *The intermediaries' role*
Source: Authors.

in the case of Lithuania, not all of the services are equally available. For example, legal representation (advocate, legal consultant) or official mediation, services require a higher qualification for professionals' work (due to language knowledge). As long as there is no adequate financial resourcefulness, this situation serves as an obstacle to obtaining professional defence of legal rights (except the required legal aid). And contrary to this – while newcomers can afford professional legal representation, this can be an efficient way for intermediaries to help. But this also serves to create a distance between migrants and institutions. This is beautifully revealed in one of the businessmen's shared experiences:

"*For Sodra (State Social Security Fund), most of other institutions, I always had someone to help me to communicate with them, especially because of the language barrier. So, I have this company which I enjoy the work with and they represent me in like communicating with Sodra or other government institutions. They usually help me to do the communication, that's why I'm not having a lot of communications with other government institutions, like Sodra, VMI (State Tax Inspectorate)*" (interview, 51)

The other part of intermediaries' involvement is related to mediation procedures. As long as a part of these mediation procedures are more of a choice, immigrants have to know about them in order to consider them as an opportunity. The conducted research reveals, that the option of mediation is not mentioned on the list of options or even for consideration. However, some of the mediation processes are legally obligatory without the migrants' decision (in the case of divorce, or in the cases that a civil contract itself obliges to use it).

The less formal involvement of intermediaries could be identified as interaction builders and information providers. This might be a more questionable role of intermediaries as the set of necessary information should be available in plain legal language and the most common languages as English or any other which is required according to the scale of the particular diaspora of immigrants in the welcoming country. But if it is not sufficient, intermediaries serve as a third party in these legal relationships, for example, filling out the documentation or just finding the right option to choose for further action.

"*So that was the migration department. And it's just like lack of information. Not like being very clear. In terms of the application is easy, but it's not clear. You could choose a lot of wrong things that you wouldn't know, like.*" (interview, 27)

"*You see this situation right now, we don't have clarity. The employment office, labour office refer you to the immigration. Immigration refers to employer, employer, so it's just a side policy, that you just run around around.*" (Interview, 26)

"*<…>I don't think that they have a very clear idea about what they are going through. They just do these procedures.*" (Interview, 16)

Intermediaries are involved in information provision and serve as a way to find correct and extended legal information on the needed situation or its resolution. In both cases: either interaction services or fulfilling the need for information, we find semi-official or unofficial intermediaries. There are more people/agencies who are able to participate in legal relations even without particular knowledge, therefore, we find the spectrum of different statuses of intermediaries in migrants' legal relationships (see table no 1.)

Table 1. *The statuses of intermediaries*

The Intermediaries' Status in the Immigrants' Legal Relationship	The Examples of the Intermediators' Status in the Immigrants' Legal Relationship
Official	Legal entity with the rights to representation Advocate Lawyer Mediator Official representative of the NGO or other public institution (as a university) Translator etc.
Semi-official	NGO member, employer, spouse, etc.
Unofficial	Friends or acquaintances (member of diaspora or native), institutionally bonded people as co-workers etc.

Source: Authors.

By indicating the spectrum of intermediaries' status, we would like also to stress the outcomes of its potential involvement in migrants' legal relationships. The status of intermediaries' involvement indicates the risks concerning it as well.

As it was mentioned, the official help might require private resources and if the welcoming state does not ensure the support which is needed or the easy-to-manage systems for access to information then the expectations for help lead to semi-official and unofficial intermediaries. The interference of the latter does not provide the guarantee for a successful result which leads to the fourth aspect, that needs to be elaborated - the "Outcomes of intermediaries'" non/involvement (iv).

The outcomes of intermediaries' non/involvement might come in positive, negative or neutral forms. It should be stated that new residents need the whole spectrum of support in legal relationships and not meeting their needs puts them in an unfavourable situation**.** Non/involvement of intermediaries has also implications for them not feeling a part of the welcoming community. The interviewee from Nigeria beautifully summarises that if there is no one trustworthy to address the right deference in legal matters, there is also no path to acquire and implement those rights.

"*If there is no way you can hear your opinion or fight it, or someone listen to you and look, whether it is the way it should be, those things are lacking and you don't have the confidence enough to even place the call to someone that can listen to it and look at it. If all is happening like that and they (migrants) won't be trusting the system. Because if I do anything, who cares? Like what will you do? Tell the other foreigner whatever it is? <...>Let's be honest. Are you going to hire a lawyer that can probably the police speak to <...>and you don't even know, maybe there are would be at your side at the end of the day and you're gonna pay big money for it. Like, who can you really trust? That is a question. <> Who are you going to report to? Who is going to fight for you? This European Union, human right, you know, but how do you get it*" (Interview, 53). The negative outcome of intermediaries' non-involvement results in distancing migrants from their abilities and rights.

We indicate different outcomes which come as a result of not using the full spectrum of rights in the welcoming countries' system. For example, the shortage of information or the shortage of valuable information leads to not using the additional benefits of that would be available. As one of the interviewees has mentioned "*I've missed a lot of years of not contributing and receiving benefits*" (interview, 26). One of the most common examples might be the right to fully use a health security system that distinguishes migrants according to the legal status they obtain. In the case of Lithuania, third-country immigrant - students were not insured by the state's health insurance unless they were employed or complied with other

conditions. In this case, they have to purchase private health insurance, which covers only a limited list of situations for their treatment. Buying private insurance is based on a civil contract law which might be evaluated and negotiated fo r different conditions. The analysis of this particular situation revealed that immigrants are in need of either additional knowledge or intermediaries to explain and facilitate this situation. One of many interviewees students has accurately pointed "*I have talked with many.... internationals, they don't know if insurance workable or not. Even when you pay 196 euros.* " (interview, 35). It implies that new residents need to be prepared to tackle legalities in advance. In this particular case – either to be ready to manage legalities, to know their limits and to negotiate for new conditions in the contract. Either to have additional information about the fact that if they want to maintain the full health insurance, which is guaranteed by the state, they have to be paying health insurance or have it paid by the employer or under self-employment status. In order to understand this and similar situations, intermediation is needed and might come in different roles. Sometimes immigrants are informed by non-official intermediators (like spouses) and they feel more secure about the outcome, but it does not mean it brings the feeling of fulfilment of the need and the feeling of fully managing the situation. The interviewee's experience from India portrays that: "*Most of the times they (officials or other) have been very helpful. But again, as I said, when my wife is accompanying me. And not just immigration, doctors and everything, so that needs to be rectified a little bit*" *(interview, 43).* The other interviewee states the same by saying "*It doesn't matter if I have a Lithuanian friend, wife or anything. Just imagine I was alone in this country now. That means it would have been messy, I won't get any information. It's not something government institution like that should take like this. It should be something they should be always ready for. This like should be like an emergency in the hospital*" *(Interview, 52)*

The involvement of intermediaries (at times) might not help to fulfil the expectations or the needs of new residents and even might advocate for the worse. For example, the experience of a few of the interviewees perfectly illustrates the unfavourable outcomes of intermediaries' involvement. In their case, they have suffered from the crime and were willing to address the police for them to start the investigation. In order to do that, they had to overcome the unsupportiveness, doubts and direct and non-direct hints to step back and not address the police to start the investigation and the case. We find it to be the people of close–range circles as spouses, colleagues and friends. This leads to an evident situation where the involvement of intermediating persons was more disadvantageous than supporting migrants to claim their rights.

Discussion and practical implications

The research implies and is consistent with the current literature that intermediaries' roles are important for migrants' legal relationships. It is worth stressing that the range of intermediaries' roles is helpful for migrants to reach the proper result according to their enquiries. If the resourcefulness is not sufficient, in Lithuania migrants might try to address as many intermediaries as they can to get the result, starting from obtaining the right information to legal representation. Though the outcomes of intermediations might be at variance too which means leading to not the best outcomes. It should be taken into consideration that these findings research might vary or be co-dependent on the welcoming countries' particularity of legal framework and welcoming society. For example, differences in the possibility of access the legal support in relationships (in the US and Lithuania). There might be a major variance in the need to address intermediaries' services because of the welcoming migrant diaspora and the efficiency of public service (governmental input) and NGO involvement in migrants' integration process.

As in D.E. Chand et al. (2021) study, these research findings also implicate that access to legal representation might bring better results than having a lack of it. However, we find this in daily life legal relationships, and not only in those, where official legal representation is needed. It is also evident that migrants' involvement in the legal realm of a welcoming country should be prepared in advance, uniting multistakeholders' efforts, communities, NGOs and officials for this integration process (M. Semprebon,

R. Marzorati & P. Bonizzoni 2022). We find of great importance the previous legal consciousness research which identified liminal legality and hyper-dependency in legal relations. We find it pushing migrants to address intermediaries for involvement and embrace a wider spectrum of intermediation.

Finally, the need to discuss the involvement of intermediaries has implications for the discussion of migrants' ties with the legal environment of the welcoming country. It is also a way to address the features of integration in the legal environment as this portrays the way how new residents interact with the field of legalities and the environment overall. This interaction is part of the formation of legal consciousness and reflects the status of integration. Research findings are in line with the theoretical approach that migrants' integration includes legal relationships (Ager & Strang, 2008; Garcés-mascareñas & Penninx, 2016; Spencer & Charsley, 202. Though it also adds to that it might be elaborated by providing their analysis in-depth.

As the EU countries are facing a constant influx of new residents, scientifically proven insights are valuable resources for practical implications. The conducted research about the intermediaries' roles in migrants' legal relationships revealed particular aspects, which might be valuable for the enhancement of the process of integration.

To begin with, we have to recognize, that legal relationships for new residents might be complicated in their nature and there is a need for intermediation in order to be in line with them. Therefore, we must admit the importance of intermediaries' role in migrants' lives as well as the existing variety of intermediaries in migrants' legal relationships.

The practical implication in understanding that new residents might act in accordance with the instructions of intermediaries has at least two implications. This refers to the (i) recognition of the outcomes of the non/involvement of intermediaries. The negative side refers to migrants obtaining and performing by a) erroneous information or sometimes b) misconceptions of information that has been given by intermediaries. The negative side also refers to c) non-involvement/absence of intermediaries when they could be the most helpful. Therefore, public officials, officers or other state officials should be ready to check the information and/or the accuracy of it that the new resident upholds. Simplifying – double-check if the new resident is on the same page regards understanding the procedure and legal outcomes.

On the other hand, there should be admitted the positive side of intermediation - there is a need for a variety of roles and statuses of intermediaries. It helps to reach out to a larger spectrum of newcomers in the different settings of their lives. Therefore, the results of the research provide the incentives to urge the creation of a network of intermediaries for migrants' legal relationships. This would be a second practical implication - introducing skilful intermediaries into social relationships.

The outcomes of the research also urge us to pay attention to public administrative relations by advising to strengthen welcoming countries' public sectors and NGOs' competencies for intermediation in migrants' legal relationships. Especially enhancing cultural competencies in recognizing (identifying) the need and importance of intermediation.

Conclusions

- Immigrants' interaction with the welcoming countries' legal system is unavoidably featured by the occurrence of intermediaries. They obtain different roles ranging from the provision of information, interaction building to mediation or legal representation. Intermediaries also perform in various statuses which might vary from official, semi-official and unofficial involvement.

- The variety of intermediaries' roles and their involvement in migrants' legal relationships produce positive and negative outcomes. The spectrum of intermediaries' involvement in legal relationships is valuable for positive migrants' interaction with the welcoming countries' legal relationships. Third-party involvement fills in the shortages of official means of policies for integration to welcoming countries' legal system. It often refers to the translation and interpretation of legal regulations in practice. The identified risks of the involvement of intermediaries are related to the fact that:

a) hyper-alertness and hyper-dependency, as well as the lack of resources, reduces new residents' will of choice in legal relationships;

b) the unqualified intermediaries' involvement increases migrants' vulnerability in the legal relationship because of the lack of knowledge how to use the process of the rights defence mechanisms of the welcoming country in migrants' best interest.

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Ramunė Miežanskienė

IMIGRANTAI PRIIMANČIOS VALSTYBĖS TEISINĖJE SISTEMOJE: TARPININKAVIMO VAIDMUO

Anotacija. *Imigrantų socialiniai-teisiniai santykiai priimančioje valstybėje gali susiklostyti ne tik sklandžiai, bet ir būti paženklinti įvairių iššūkių. Tokiais atvejais, atvykusieji ieško papildomų žinių, stengiasi patys išspręsti susidariusią situaciją bei kreipiasi pagalbos į asmenis ar organizacijas. Atliktas mokslinis tyrimas siekia pažvelgti į tai, kokios yra trečiosios šalies (asmens) įsitraukimo į šiuos teisnius santykius formos bei tai, kokį rezultatą jos generuoja. Mokslinio tyrimo įžvalgos remiasi Lietuvoje atliktų 34 kokybių interviu duomenimis. Jie atskleidžia, kad imigrantai teisiniuose santykiuose yra pažeidžiami, nes, dažnu atveju, priklauso nuo trečiojo asmens įsitraukimo ir jo profesionalumo, o tai gali lemti ne tik teigiamas, bet ir neigiamas pasekmes. Pastarosios yra sietinos su a) itin didele priklausomybe nuo trečiojo asmens, kuri sąlygoja sumenkusias galimybes atvykusiam spręsti iššūkius individualiai; b) menkesnėmis galimybėmis kontroliuoti teisinių santykių pasekmes, kada susiduriama su trečiojo (informuojančio/konsultuojančiojo) asmens profesionalumo ar įsitraukimo stoka. Neigiamos trečiojo asmens įsikišimo pasekmės trikdo imigravusiųjų integracijos procesą bei neskatina pasitikėti priimančios valstybės teisinės sistemos efektyvumu. Teigiamos*

trečiojo asmens įsitraukimo į imigranto teisinius santykius pasekmės įgalina atvykusįjį efektyviau naudotis turimomis teisėmis bei tinkamai atlikti pareigas. Tyrimo rezultatai taip pat atskleidžia, kad trečiųjų šalių įsitraukimo į teisinius santykius poreikį sąlygoja priimančios valstybės teisinio informavimo ir konsultavimo sistemos bruožai.

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DOES THE FUNDING OF THE DEFENCE SECTOR DEPEND ON ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE LONG RUN? THE CASES OF ESTONIA, LATVIA, AND LITHUANIA

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Abstract. *The purpose of this publication is to study the dependence of defence funding on economic factors, namely the prosperity of the country, economic growth, the budget deficit, gross government debt, and inflation rate. The investigation uses secondary data obtained from the Eurostat database and covers the period from 1997 to 2021. The author analyses three Baltic countries such as Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, to ascertain which economic factors have a statistically significant effect on defence sector funding. For this purpose, the author applies correlation analysis and automatic linear modelling (ALM). The findings of the investigation showed differences and similarities between the countries under consideration. In the case of Estonia, defence funding is significantly affected by the prosperity of the country, which is expressed in real GDP per capita, and gross government debt. These economic factors explain 92.6 per cent of defence funding. The cases of Latvia and Lithuania are very similar in terms of the influence of economic factors on defence spending. In these countries, the tendencies of real GDP per capita significantly effect on defence funding. This influence is slightly different and amounts to 76.2 and 78.4 per cent, for Latvia and Lithuania, respectively. The insights of the research can be useful to the governments of these nations when making decisions about defence funding aimed at ensuring security in the Baltic region.*

Keywords: *defence funding, defence expenditure, economic factors, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.*

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *gynybos finansavimas, gynybos išlaidos, ekonomikos veiksniai, Estija, Latvija, Lietuva.*

Introduction

The world is presently facing major security and economic challenges. Russia's ongoing war in Ukraine, the highest inflation rates in decades, and disrupted global supply and production chains are the most significant challenges for the Baltic nations and Europe as a whole. Russia's unjustifiable military aggression against Ukraine has made security a priority for the Baltic countries, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, forcing a review of national budgets and unplanned major economic decisions. In the face of Russia's war in Ukraine, the Baltic countries have been forced to strengthen their defence capabilities and budgets. While before the Russian invasion of Ukraine, there were divergent and contradictory views on increasing defence spending, it has now become a vital decision, unquestioned at the level of political parties and citizens. Geopolitical, strategic, and economic factors drive the increase in defence sector funding (Hartley, 2011). Presently, the majority of scholars would undoubtedly agree that all three sets of factors simultaneously have direct and pronounced, and indirect and less pronounced effects on the increase of the Baltic defence burden. In the context of today's threats, when an increase in defence funding is inevitable, the question arises of where to get the funds from, what are the main sources of defence funding, to

what extent defence funding depends on economic factors in the Baltic countries. This study answers the above questions by examining the cases of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

The object of the investigation: the dependence of defence funding on economic factors.

The aim of the investigation: to examine the dependence of defence funding on economic factors in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania during the period from 1997 to 2021.

Based on secondary statistics, this research is limited to the impact of economic variables on defence funding in the period of 1997 to 2021. It should be noted that this study does not highlight the impact of Russia's war in Ukraine on economic decisions; rather, it reveals a general trend concerning the impact of economic factors on defence financing decisions over the last twenty-five years in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

According to economic theory, defence spending can be increased at the expense of civilian spending, economic growth, or government debt. Once these economic resources have been allocated to increasing defence funding, countries may be tempted to reduce spending in social security, health, education, and other civilian spending avenues. Alternatively, defence spending may be increased through economic growth, or the government may decide to borrow funds from international markets. This proposes several questions: what are the most common economic factors identified by researchers as contributing to the increasing defence funding? Have the sources of defence funding in the Baltic States become more evident over the last twenty-five years? This investigation answers these questions.

The investigation consists of a literature review on the interlinkage between defence financing and economic determinants, methodological and research sections, discussion, and conclusions.

Literature review

Defence spending plays an important primary role in preserving peace and security throughout nations. Scholars see several arguments to explain the demand for defence spending. The first argument concerns the country's macroeconomic trends. The stronger a country is economically, the more it can spend on defence. However, this is not the only argument that determines the financing of the country's defence sector. Another argument relates to the geopolitical situation, characterised by emerging internal and external threats to public security. The country is then forced to increase its defence budget, regardless of economic trends, to protect itself from its enemies and its citizens from dangers that arise. The third argument involves strategic factors linked to technical progress (Hartley, 2011; Fonfria & Marin, 2012). In assessing and comparing the military power of countries, it is proposed that the quantity and quality of military equipment and potential of defence personnel including competences, attitudes, skills, knowledge, social and cultural capacities be considered. Macroeconomic tendencies show a country's economic power, which is usually expressed in GDP.

Most scientists have studied the association between defence funding and economic determinants in their works (Biswas & Ram, 1986; Dakurah et. al., 2001; Alptekin & Levine, 2012; Chen et. al., 2014; Qiong & Junhua, 2015; Manamperi, 2016; Azam & Feng, 2017; Caruso & Domizio, 2017; Zhang et. al., 2017; Dimitraki & Win, 2020; Su et. al., 2020; Odehnal et. al., 2020; Odehnal et. al., 2021), revealing different results across the nations. It is notable that the majority of investigations focus on analysing the effect of defence spending on economic factors such as inequality, unemployment rates, government debt, economic growth, private investments, and others. The author found only a few studies (Sezgin &Yildirim, 2002; Nikolaidou, 2008; Odehnal et. al., 2020; Odehnal et. al., 2021; Dudzevičiūtė & Šimelytė, 2022) examining the dependence of defence expenditure on economic determinants. Although the dependence of defence funding on economic variables has been little studied in a scientific context, there is no doubt about their impact. Economically strong nations often possess a strong defence potential. The importance of the economic environment for defence was also noted by Blackaby & Schmidt (1987), who stated that macroeconomic determinants are the basis for defence decisions. The author noticed that so far, only a few studies examining the dependence of defence funding on economic indicators have been conducted

in the Baltic states. Odehnal et. al. (2020) focused on the Baltic countries in the period from 2001 to 2018. The results informed that measures aimed at reducing the government budget deficit did not diminish defence funding in the Baltic states analysed. Moreover, budget deficits have an impact on defence spending in Estonia and Lithuania. The study also showed the dependence of Estonian defence spending on GDP trends and inflation. In another study covering the period from 1993 to 2019, Odehnal et. al. (2021) found a positive association between GDP and defence spending in Latvia and Lithuania. Dudzevičiūtė et. al. (2021) explored the nexus between defence expenditure and government debt in small European Union countries, including the Baltic nations in the period between the years 2005 and 2019. The findings show that defence expenditure correlates negatively with gross government debt in all examined nations. Scientists do not reach a unanimous opinion on which macroeconomic factors affect defence funding or the demand for defence spending. Researchers (Nikolaidou, 2008; Bernauer et. al., 2009; Polat, 2020; Odehnal et. al., 2020) use different economic indicators in their studies when assessing the dependence of defence expenditure on economic factors. The most common economic determinants used in research are GDP, economic growth, national income, inflation, government debt, budget deficit and public spending.

To summarise the results of the studies undertaken so far in different nations and over different time periods, there is a tendency for researchers to focus more on the influence of defence spending on economic performance, leaving aside the impact of economic factors on defence financing. The economic situation in different countries affects defence financing decisions. Therefore, in this study, the author will assess the effects of certain economic variables on defence funding in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Methodology of the investigation

Hypothesis. Based on Wagner's approach (1893) (Ampah and Kotosz, 2016) and Hartley's insights (Hartley, 2011) of the government spending – economic variables nexus, this study tests the hypothesis that defence financing dependent on economic factors.

Data. The investigation uses secondary data drawn from Eurostat (Economy and finance, 2021) online database. The study examines a 25-year observational sample period from the years 1997 to 2021.

Method. The variables were chosen on the basis of studies carried out by Nikolaidou (2008) and Odehnal et. al. (2020). Budget deficit, GDP growth, inflation rate and government debt are among the most important indicators describing the macroeconomic situation and are also used in Mawejje and Odhiambo's (2022) investigation. The dependent variable in this study is defence expenditure. Meanwhile, the independent variables are economic factors, such as the prosperity of the country (real GDP per capita), economic growth (real GDP growth rates), the budget deficit, gross government debt, and inflation rate (Table 1).

Table 1. *Variables selected for the analysis*

Variables	Abbreviation
Defence expenditure (dependent variable)	DE
Prosperity of the country (independent variable)	PC
Economic growth (independent variable)	EG
Budget deficit, (independent variable)	BD
Gross government debt (independent variable)	GD
Inflation rate (independent variable)	IR
Defence expenditure (dependent variable)	DE

Source: made by the author.

The association between the variables in question can be expressed as a function, which is given below:

$$DE = f\ (PC, EG, BD, GD, IR) \tag{1}$$

The author starts with the investigation of the interdependence between defence expenditure and economic factors (prosperity of the country, economic growth, the budget deficit, gross government debt, and inflation rate). As practical research experience shows, economic data are often non-normally distributed; therefore, the author uses Spearman correlation for the detection of the inter-linkages between the variables. For the second step, only those economic variables that have a statistically significant relationships with the defence expenditure are selected. The correlation can range from -1 to 1. The closer to 1, regardless of whether the sign is positive or negative, the stronger the interrelationship between the variables. The third step of the analysis involves Automatic Linear Modelling (ALM) (Yang, 2013), which helps to select the most appropriate combination of economic factors with a 95 per cent confidence level that has an impact on defence financing. According to Yang (2013), ALM has distinct advantages compared to the traditional modelling approach. This method differs from traditional linear regression by automatically selecting and preparing variables for analysis, which allows for avoiding multicollinearity between the factors under consideration. In the final stage, an econometric model suitable for forecasting was created to test the hypothesis (Kennedy, 2008):

$$Y = a_0 + b_1\ x_1 + b_2\ x_2 \ldots \ldots b_5\ x_5 \tag{2}$$

Where:

Y - dependent variable (defence expenditure),

a_0 is constant (y-intersect),

$b_1, \ldots, b_5$ - regression coefficients of the according variables x_i, when i = 1,…5.

x_1 - independent variable (prosperity of the country),

x_2 - independent variable (economic growth),

x_3 - independent variable (budget deficit),

x_4 - independent variable (gross government debt),

x_5 - independent variable (inflation rate).

The calculations are made using Statistical package for the social sciences (SPSS) v. 27.0.

Results of the investigation

Correlation between defence funding and economic factors. Correlation analysis made it possible to detect significant relationships between defence expenditure and economic factors (Table 2). In Estonia,

Table 2. *Spearman's Correlation between Defence Expenditure and Economic Determinants*

Economic Determinants	Estonia		Latvia		Lithuania	
	Correlation coefficients	Significance (p), (2-tailed)	Correlation coefficients	Significance (p), (2-tailed)	Correlation coefficients	Significance (p), (2-tailed)
Real GDP per capita	0.947**	0.000	0.972**	0.000	0.941**	0.000
Economic growth	-0.424*	0.035	-0.400*	0.047	-0.268	0.194
Budget deficit	-0.389	0.054	-0.089	0.671	0.501*	0.011
Gross government debt	0.694**	0.000	0.505**	0.010	0.527**	0.007
Inflation rate	-0.454*	0.022	-0.099	0.639	0.061	0.773

*Source: calculations based on SPSSv27. Note: ** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$.*

real GDP per capita, economic growth, government debt, and inflation rate correlate significantly with defence expenditure. In Latvia, real GDP per capita, economic growth, and government debt have significant relationship with defence financing. In Lithuania, the author found that defence financing significantly correlates with real GDP per capita, the budget deficit, and government debt.

ALM for the Estonian case. In a further step, after applying the ALM to the case of Estonia, real GDP per capita and gross government debt appeared to have a significant effect on defence funding. The aforementioned factors explain 92.6 per cent of the variation in defence spending (Table 3).

Table 3. *Estimation of Coefficients: the Estonian Case*

Model Terms	Coefficients	Significance	Importance
Intercept	-395.583	0.000	
Real GDP per capita (transformed)	0.046	0.000	0.760
Government gross debt (transformed)	19.374	0.000	0.240
R Square adjusted	0.926		

Source: calculations based on SPSSv27

Real GDP per capita and government debt have positive effects on defence financing. This means that as real GDP per capita grows and public debt increases, defence financing tends to increase. We can assume that Estonian defence funding is increasing mostly at the expense of economic development and government debt.

In the case of Estonia, the dependence between the considered factors can be expressed by the following regression model:

$$Y = -395.58 + 0.046\,X_1 + 19.374\,X_4 \tag{1}$$

Given that Estonia is one of the least indebted countries in the EU and is characterised by efficient debt management, these research insights do not pose a risk to economic security.

ALM for the Latvian case. The case of Latvia indicated that there was a significant correlation between defence spending and real GDP per capita, economic growth and government debt. However, after applying ALM, only the dependence of defence funding on real GDP per capita turned out to be statistically significant (Table 4).

Table 4. *Estimation of Coefficients: the Latvian Case*

Model Terms	Coefficients	Significance	Importance
Intercept	-342.251	0.000	
Real GDP per capita (transformed)	0.069	0.000	1.000
R Square adjusted	0.762		

Source: calculations based on SPSSv27

Real GDP per capita positively impacts on defence financing and explains 76.2 per cent of its variation. This means that as real GDP per capita increases, defence funding tends to grow.

In the case of Latvia, the dependence between the considered factors can be expressed by the following regression model:

$$Y = -342.251 + 0.069\,X_1 \tag{2}$$

It can be assumed that Latvian defence funding is increasing mostly at the expense of economic development.

ALM for the Lithuanian case. The case of Lithuania showed that a statistically significant correlation exists between defence spending and real GDP per capita, budget deficit and government debt. However, after applying ALM, only the dependence of defence financing on real GDP per capita was statistically significant (Table 5). This Lithuanian case reflects the situation in Latvia.

Table 5. *Estimation of Coefficients: the Lithuanian Case*

Model Terms	Coefficients	Significance	Importance
Intercept	-337.084	0.001	
Real GDP per capita (transformed)	0.081	0.000	1.000
R Square adjusted	0.784		

Source: calculations based on SPSSv27

Real GDP per capita positively impacts on defence financing and explains 78.4 per cent of its variation. This means that as real GDP per capita grows, defence financing tends to increase.

In the case of Lithuania, the dependence between the considered factors can be expressed by the following regression model:

$$Y = -337.084 + 0.081\ X_1 \tag{3}$$

It can be assumed that Lithuanian, as well as Latvian defence funding, is increasing mostly at the expense of economic development.

Summarising the results of the investigation, it should be noted that defence spending correlates with certain economic factors in all three Baltic countries. In Estonia, a significant positive correlation has been found between defence spending and real GDP per capita, and government debt. This means that with the increase of real GDP per capita and public debt, defence funding often grows. A negative correlation has been detected between defence funding and economic growth rates, and inflation rates. This suggests that as the economy grows and the inflation rate increases, defence funding often decreases.

After applying ALM, which automatically prepares data for regression analysis, eliminating the effect of relationships between independent variables and selecting the most suitable model for forecasting, it was found that real GDP per capita and government debt has a significant influence on defence financing trends. The mentioned factors explain 92.6 per cent of the fluctuations in defence funding. In Latvia, as in the case of Estonia, there were significant positive correlations between defence financing and real GDP per capita, and public debt. A negative relationship with the economic growth rate was also observed. However, ALM showed that only real GDP per capita has a significant effect on defence financing. The impact of this indicator on defence financing was estimated at 76.2 per cent. The case of Lithuania showed significant positive relationships between defence financing and real GDP per capita, situation in the government budget, and gross government debt. When applying ALM, only real GDP per capita can be treated as a factor with a significant impact on defence financing. This effect was estimated at 78.4 per cent.

Figure 1 summarizes the results of this investigation.

In summary, it can be stated that in the long-term perspective, the main source of funding for the defence sector in the cases of Latvia and Lithuania is the country's prosperity, expressed in GDP per capita, and in the case of Estonia – the country's prosperity and government debt.
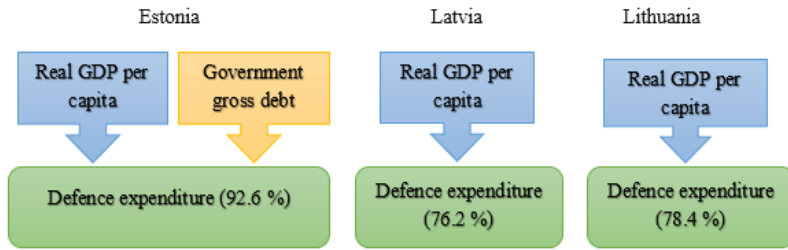
Figure 1. *Economic Factors Affecting Defence Funding*
Source: made by the author.

Discussion

As shown by the current extremely tense situation in the world due to emerging threats to the security of countries, defence financing decisions are most affected by geopolitical and strategic factors related to the acquisition of modern technologies and the improvement of infrastructure. This is related to defence spending, which many countries have increased since the war in Ukraine began. The Baltic countries began increasing their defence funding since 2015 after the annexation of Crimea by Russia, paying special attention to the acquisition of defence technologies (NATO, 2021).

Since 2015, the Baltic nations maintained the proportions of defence expenditure set by NATO: no more than 50 per cent of personnel maintenance costs are allocated to all defence budget and for acquisitions (including acquisitions and modernization of armaments and military equipment) – at least 20 per cent (Ministry of National Defence Republic of Lithuania, 2022). When increasing defence funding, small countries such as Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, must answer the question of where additional financial resources for defence will come from. Indeed, it is possible to finance defence at the expense of other civil activities, i.e. redistributing the state budget, but such a method may have an effect; however, it would be short-lived, because research shows that financing other economic activities (e.g. education, health care, public order and safety) generates added value for the countries. Also, defence funding can be increased at the expense of public debt or economic development.

Defence funding is not only influenced by economic factors. They usually play very important role in the case of peace. However, when threats arise, national governments will make every effort to preserve a safe environment for citizens. Therefore, the author agrees with Hartley (2011), who emphasises that defence spending is determined by three large groups of factors, such as political, strategic, and economic.

In this investigation, the author focused only on evaluating the impact of economic factors on defence financing. The author distanced himself from other factors such as strategic and political ones, leaving them for future research. This could be named one of the limitations of the study. However, regardless of this limitation, the insights of the research could be used both in the formation of the general economic development and security policy of the Baltic states and in providing students with new knowledge and a basis for broader discussions in the study process, teaching the disciplines of defence economics and defence and security studies.

Comparing the results of this investigation with the findings of previous studies, it is noticeable that the insights of this study only partially correspond to those of Odehnal et. al. (2020, 2021) findings. Odehnal et. al. (2020, 2021) analysed the Baltic countries across periods. From 2001 to 2018, the researcher revealed the dependence of defence funding on budget deficit in the Baltic countries. In this investigation, the author has not detected any possible impact of the budget deficit on defence funding. Moreover, Odehnal et. al. (2020) found that GDP and inflation rates impacted Estonian defence funding. In this investigation, only GDP per capita had a significant influence on defence expenditure in all three Baltic countries. Another study by Odehnal et. al. (2021), which covered the period from 1993 to 2019, showed a positive re-

lationship between GDP and defence financing in Latvia and Lithuania. This is consistent with the results of this investigation, which showed a significant association between defence funding and real GDP per capita. It is also noticeable that the results of this investigation contradict the previous study conducted by Dudzevičiūtė et. al. (2021) results, when a negative correlation between defence financing and gross government debt was revealed in all the countries examined, including Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Then the authors investigated a much shorter period from 2005 to 2019.

The scientific investigations are inconclusive on how economic factors would affect defence funding. The conducted studies show that the results are very sensitive to the analysed period and methodology applied. As cases of the USA, Greece, and Turkey show, defence funding is more dependent on economic factors in the perspective than in the short period (Dudzevičiūtė & Šimelytė, 2022).

Conclusions

- This research is related to the identification of economic factors that affect defence funding in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The selection of economic determinants that are examined as independent variables is based on previous investigations. To date, many studies have been conducted examining the effect of defence funding on economic indicators in various nations; however, there is a lack of research on identifying the reverse effect.

- In the face of current threats and uncertainties, it is important for national governments to clearly identify the sources of funding and the economic factors on which defence funding depends when making decisions on increasing defence budgets. This investigation is specifically aimed at achieving the above-mentioned purpose. To evaluate this, the author applied automatic linear modelling (ALM), which allowed the selection of the most statistically significant combination of economic factors that effect on defence funding trends.

- In the case of Estonia, the investigation revealed significant relationships between defence funding and real GDP per capita, economic growth rates, government debt, and inflation rate. However, after applying ALM, only real GDP per capita and government debt appeared to be significant factors in predicting defence funding trends.

- The case of Latvia showed significant relationships between defence funding and real GDP per capita, economic growth rates, and government debt. However, after applying ALM, only real GDP per capita could be named as a significant indicator that affects defence funding decisions.

- The case of Lithuania made it possible to identify significant relationships between defence funding and real GDP per capita, the budget deficit, and gross government debt. However, for long-term forecasting, only real GDP per capita proved to be influential.

- Summarising the cases of Baltic nations, it can be observed that defence funding depends on real GDP per capita trends. As real GDP per capita grows, defence funding tends to increase. Real GDP per capita explains 76.2 per cent of the variation in defence funding in Latvia, and 78.4 per cent in Lithuania. Real GDP per capita and government gross debt affect Estonia's defence funding by 92.6 per cent. Considering the fact that during the period from 1997 to 2021, the Baltic countries, in terms of real GDP per capita were more than twice behind the average of the EU countries, the promotion of economic development becomes one of the essential actions of the governments to ensure the funding of the defence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

- Not all economic indicators examined were found to be significant for defence funding. Therefore, this study confirmed the hypothesis that defence funding depends on certain economic determinants.

Acknowledgement

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AR GYNYBOS SEKTORIAUS FINANSAVIMAS PRIKLAUSO NUO EKONOMIKOS VEIKSNIŲ ILGALAIKĖJE PERSPEKTYVOJE? ESTIJOS, LATVIJOS IR LIETUVOS ATVEJAI

Anotacija. *Šio straipsnio tikslas – išnagrinėti gynybos finansavimo priklausomybę nuo ekonominių veiksnių – šalies gerovės, ekonomikos augimo, biudžeto deficito, vyriausybės bendrosios skolos ir infliacijos. Tyrimas remiasi antriniais duomenimis, gautais iš Eurostato duomenų bazės ir apima laikotarpį nuo 1997 iki 2021 metų. Autorė analizuoja trijų Baltijos šalių atvejus: Estijos, Latvijos ir Lietuvos. Siekiant įvertinti priklausomybę tarp nagrinėjamų veiksnių, darbe taikomas automatinis tiesinis modeliavimas. Tyrimo rezultatai parodė, kad Estijos atveju gynybos finansavimui didelę įtaką daro šalies gerovė, išreiškiama realiu BVP vienam gyventojui ir vyriausybės bendroji skola. Šie ekonominiai veiksniai paaiškina 92,6 proc. gynybos finansavimo dinamikos. Latvijos ir Lietuvos atvejai labai panašūs pagal ekonominių veiksnių įtaką gynybos išlaidoms. Šiose šalyse realaus BVP, tenkančio vienam gyventojui, tendencijos turi didelę įtaką gynybos finansavimui. Latvijai ir Lietuvai ši įtaka šiek tiek skiriasi ir siekia atitinkamai 76,2 ir 78,4 procento. Tyrimo įžvalgos gali būti tikslingai panaudotos, priimant sprendimus dėl gynybos finansavimo didinimo, siekiant užtikrinti saugumą Baltijos regione.*

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Anotacija. *Šiame darbe yra siekiama išsiaiškinti kokia buvo kandidatų į Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidentus retorika Rusijos ir jos keliamos grėsmės šalies nacionaliniam saugumui atžvilgiu 2009 m., 2014 m. ir 2019 m. rinkimų kampanijų metu bei kaip ši retorika pakito lyginant šiuos trejus rinkimus. Jie kaip tyrimo objektas pasirinkti todėl, kad tiek 2009 m., tiek 2014 m. rinkimai vyko praėjus vos keletui mėnesių po Sakartvelo-Rusijos konflikto bei Krymo aneksijos ir karo Donbase pradžios, o 2019 m. - tebesitęsiant konfliktui Ukrainoje. Siekiant atsakyti į tyrimo klausimą, darbe yra analizuojami kandidatų rinkimų programų dokumentai bei kandidatų pasisakymai visuomeninio transliuotojo rengtose debatų laidose prieš kiekvienus iš tyrimo apimtyje esančių rinkimų. Atlikta lyginamoji analizė parodė, kad buvo pastebimas reikšmingas pokytis kandidatų retorikoje vertinant Rusiją, Lietuvos dvišalius santykius su ja ir Rusijos keliamą grėsmę šalies nacionaliniam saugumui - 2014 m. ir 2019 m. rinkimų kampanijų metu Rusija, kitaip nei 2009 m., daugumos kandidatų imta vertinti kaip šalis agresorė, keliant grėsmę taip pat ir Lietuvos saugumui.*

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *2009 m. Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento rinkimai, 2014 m. Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento rinkimai, 2019 m. Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento rinkimai, rinkimų kampanijos, Rusija, Rusijos grėsmės atspindžiai.*

Keywords: *2009 Lithuanian presidential elections, 2014 Lithuanian presidential elections, 2019 Lithuanian presidential elections, election campaigns, Russia, reflections of the Russian threat.*

Įvadas

Sugriuvus Sovietų Sąjungai ir Lietuvai atgavus nepriklausomybę, Lietuvos ir Rusijos dvišaliai santykiai išgyveno pakilimo ir nuosmukio laikotarpius (Vitkus, 2021, p. 159). Visgi, dvišaliai santykiai su Rusija, dar dėl dešimtajame praėjusio amžiaus dešimtmetyje išryškėjusių nesutarimų, išliko problematiškiausi iš visų Lietuvos kaimyninių santykių - per visą laikotarpį nuo nepriklausomybės atgavimo, Rusija išliko nedraugiškiausia, daugiausia nerimo ir nesaugumo Lietuvai kelianča valstybe (Jakniūnaitė, 2021, p. 163). Jei iki 2008 m., kuomet įvyko Sakartvelo-Rusijos konfliktas, Lietuvoje vis dar buvo kalbama apie bendradarbiavimo su Rusija stiprinimą ir partnerystę, tai po įvykių Sakartvele, retorika nuo optimistinės ir geranoriškos pasikeitė į neutralesnę, grįstą atsargumu ir nauda - daliai šalies užsienio politikos veikėjų Rusijos veiksmai Sakartvele tapo signalu rodančiu Rusijos gebėjimą provokuoti bei jos agresyvumą, kuris po Krymo aneksijos ir karo Donbase pradžios 2014 m. tapo visiškai akivaizdžiu ir atviru (Jakniūnaitė, 2021, pp. 167, 175). Tuomet kritika dėl Rusijos veiksmų Lietuvoje pradėta reikšti kategoriškai, nesiekiant korektiškumo ar pragmatizmo (Jakniūnaitė, 2021, p. 175).

Nors konfliktai Sakartvele ir Ukrainoje turi neabejotinų panašumų[1], visgi pasaulio (ir Lietuvos) sprendimų priėmėjų reakcija į šiuos du konfliktus skyrėsi. Jei praėjus pirminiam šokui po Rusijos invazijos į Ab-

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[1] Prisidengdama siekiu apsaugoti etninius rusus bei tariamu jų „genocidu", Rusija įsiveržė į suverenių kaimyninių valstybių, buvusių sovietinių respublikų, teritorijas (Pupcenoks ir Seltzer, 2021, p. 763).

chaziją ir Pietų Osetiją, tiek Europos Sąjungoje, tiek Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose (iš dalies ir Lietuvoje), buvo greitai atsigauta ir sugrįžta prie bendradarbiavimo su Rusija idėjos, tai 2014 m. Rusijos okupacinių pajėgų įsiveržimas į Ukrainą, bent jau Lietuvoje, ne tik sugriovė bet kokias iliuzijas apie santykių gerinimą, bet dvišalius santykius, nutraukė kone visai (Jakniūnaitė, 2021, pp. 168, 175-176).

Tiek 2009 m., tiek 2014 m. vykę Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento rinkimai rengti praėjus vos keletui mėnesių nuo Rusijos karinių veiksmų Sakartvele ir Ukrainoje pradžios, o 2019 m. - jau kelis metus tebesitęsiant konfliktui Ukrainoje, todėl galima daryti prielaidą, kad Rusijos, Lietuvos santykių su ja bei Rusijos keliamos grėsmės Lietuvai temos, dėl savo aktualumo, turėjo atsispindėti kandidatų į prezidentus retorikoje rinkimų kampanijų metu.

Šio straipsnio tikslas - išsiaiškinti kaip keitėsi kandidatų į Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidentus požiūris į Rusiją, santykius su ja bei šios šalies keliamų saugumo grėsmių vertinimas lyginant trejas - 2009 m., 2014 m. ir 2019 m. prezidento rinkimų kampanijas.

2009 m., 2014 m. ir 2019 m. rinkimų į prezidentus kampanijų tyrimas itin aktualus dabar, kuomet 2022 m. vasario 24 d. Rusijai įsiveržus į Ukrainą („Rusija užpuolė Ukrainą", 2022), Europa susiduria su didžiausia saugumo grėsme nuo Antrojo pasaulinio karo laikų (RFE/RL, 2022). Lietuvos, savo ruožtu, laukia ypač intensyvus rinkimų „maratonas" 2023-2024 m. laikotarpiu (įskaitant prezidento rinkimus 2024 m. gegužę), kuriems partijos ir kandidatai pradeda ruoštis jau dabar. Šio tyrimo rezultatai leis bent iš dalies prognozuoti, kokią vietą Rusijos ir saugumo temos užims būsimų rinkimų kampanijose.

Darbą sudaro penkios pagrindinės dalys. Pirmiausiai, yra apžvelgiama politinė komunikacija mokslinėje literatūroje. Tuomet yra aptariama tyrimo metodologija ir atliekama Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento rinkimų kampanijas nagrinėjančių mokslinių straipsnių ir kitos aktualios literatūros apžvalga. Sekančiose dalyse atskirai apžvelgiami kandidatų į prezidentus rinkimų programos ir kandidatų pasisakymai rinkimų debatų laidose visų tyrimo apimtyje esančių rinkimų kampanijų metu. Galiausiai, darbo pabaigoje, siekiant išsiaiškinti kaip pasikeitė kandidatų į prezidentus retorika Rusijos ir jos keliamos grėsmės atžvilgiu, yra atliekama rinkimų kampanijų lyginamoji analizė - apibendrinami trejoms rinkimų kampanijuoms būdingi bruožai, identifikuojami pagrindiniai skirtumai ir pateikiamos išvados.

Politinė komunikacija mokslinėje literatūroje

Johnʼo R. Petrocikʼo (1996) iškelta bei nemažai kitų tyrėjų (Green-Pedersen, 2007; Meguid, 2008; Wright, 2012; Dolezal et al., 2013; Lachat, 2014) dėmesio sulaukusi problemų pasisavinimo teorija (angl. *Issue Ownership Theory*) teigia, kad kandidatai rinkimų kampanijos metu turi sutelkti dėmesį į tas viešosios politikos sritis, kuriose jų partijos (arba jie patys) turi didžiausią įdirbį ir daugiausiai kompetencijų visuomenės akyse, bei vengti tų temų, kurios priskiriamos oponuojančioms politinėms jėgoms (pp. 830-831).

Visgi, rinkimų kampanijos metu kandidatams ne visada pavyksta išvengti diskusijų jiems neparankiomis temomis. Kai kurios temos, dėl įvairių priežasčių, yra pernelyg reikšmingos, kad būtų ignoruojamos. Prie tokių galima priskirti ir santykių su Rusija bei jos keliamų saugumo grėsmių temas Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento rinkimų kampanijų metu. Dėl istorinių, geografinių, ekonominių bei kitų priežasčių, Rusijos temai, atsižvelgiant į to meto aplinkybes - didesne ar mažesne apimtimi, dėmesio yra skiriama kiekvienų prezidento rinkimų kampanijų metu. Taigi, net tie kandidatai, kurių kompetencijų sritys yra kitos, į klausimus Rusijos tema turi būti pasirengę atsakyti, pavyzdžiui, rinkimų debatų laidose.

Diskutuodami temomis, kurios yra labiau parankios politiniams oponentams nei jiems patiems, kandidatai, stengdamiesi jas pakreipti sau naudinga linkme, paprastai pasitelkia rėmimo (angl. *framing*) principą (Arbour, 2014, p. 606) t.y. išryškina tam tikrus, jiems parankius, temos aspektus. Vienos politinės žinutės (angl. *frames*) yra palankiau vertinamos rinkėjų nei kitos, todėl planuodami savo rinkimų strategiją, kandidatai siekia identifikuoti ir kampanijos metu naudoti būtent tas politines žinutes, kurios labiausiai rezonuoja su rinkėjais (Arbour, 2014, pp. 608-609).

Tai leidžia daryti prielaidą, kad kandidatų į Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidentus retorika Rusijos ir jos keliamos saugumo grėsmės atžvilgiu abejais iš tyrimo apimtyje esančių metų turėjo atspindėti visuomenėje vyraujančią (-as) poziciją (-as) šiais klausimais.

Bėgant laikui rinkėjų nuomonės tam tikrais klausimais gali kisti. Siekiant paaiškinti tai, kas turi didžiausią įtaką formuojant visuomenės požiūrį vienu ar kitu klausimu, gali būti taikomas Roberťo M. Entmanʼo (2004, 2012) sukurtas ir, XXI a. socialinės medijos įtakai reikšmingai išaugus atnaujintas (2018), kaskados aktyvavimo modelis (angl. *Cascading Activation Model,* vėliau - *Cascading Network Activation Model*). Anot Entmanʼo (2003), valdžios ir žiniasklaidos atstovai, siekdami įtvirtinti tam tikrus, jų pageidaujamus įvykių naratyvus visuomenėje, pasitelkia jau minėtą rėminimo (angl. *framing*) principą t.y. diskutuodami visuomenei svarbiomis temomis ar jas nušviesdami, tiek valdžios, tiek žiniasklaidos atstovai stengiasi išryškinti tam tikrus, būtent jiems parankius konkrečios temos aspektus (p. 417). Pasak kaskados aktyvavimo modelio, aukščiausi valdžios atstovai turi didžiausią įtaką formuojant naratyvus įvairiais visuomenei aktualiais klausimais. Šie valdžios atstovų suformuoti naratyvai socialinės medijos pagalba tiesiogiai arba per tradicinę žiniasklaidą, kuri savo ruožtu, perima arba atmeta valdžios atstovų suformuotus naratyvus, pasiekia plačiąją visuomenę. Visgi, atkreiptinas dėmesys, kad kaskados aktyvavimo modelio apibrėžiamas ryšys tarp valdžios, žiniasklaidos ir visuomenės nėra griežtai vienakryptis t.y. socialinės medijos, o taip pat - tradicinė žiniasklaida (pvz. skelbdama visuomenės nuomonės apklausų rezultatus) gali suteikti įžvalgų apie viešąją nuomonę, kurios, savo ruožtu, gali turėti tam tikros, kad ir ribotos, įtakos valdžios atstovų pozicijai vienu ar kitu klausimu (Entman ir Usher, 2018, pp. 300-304).

Atsižvelgiant į tai, kad tiek Lietuvoje, tiek Vakarų valstybėse reakcija į įvykius Sakartvele ir Ukrainoje skyrėsi, tikėtina, kad šios tendencijos turėjo atsispindėti ir rinkimų kampanijos metu - galima daryti prielaidą, jog, vertinant bendrai visų kandidatų pasisakymus, 2014 m. ir 2019 m. kandidatai į prezidentus saugumo, ir konkrečiai Rusijos klausimui, dėmesio skyrė daugiau, nei 2009 m, o jų vartota retorika Rusijos atžvilgiu turėjo būti pastebimai griežtesnė.

Tyrimo metodologija

Būtent prezidento, o ne kitų šalyje rengiamų rinkimų, kampanijos šiam tyrimui pasirinktos neatsitiktinai. Lietuvos valdymo forma, remiantis politikos mokslų literatūroje taikomu apibrėžimu, gali būti apibūdinama kaip pusiau prezidentinė - šalies vadovas turi svarbių vykdomosios valdžios įgaliojimų bei yra renkamas tiesiogiai, visų valstybės piliečių (Jastramskis, 2020, p. 9). Nors prezidento aktyvumas formuojant šalies užsienio politiką bei sprendžiant su užsienio politika susijusius klausimus, dažnu atveju priklauso nuo postą užimančio asmens asmeninių savybių bei turimos patirties užsienio politikoje, visgi, bendrai prezidento vaidmuo šalies užsienio politikoje yra labai svarbus. Tai nulėmė tiek Lietuvos Respublikos Konstitucijoje numatytos, prezidento institucijai suteiktos, reikšmingos užsienio politikai vykdyti funkcijos, tiek ir nuo 1993 m., kuomet buvo išrinktas pirmasis po nepriklausomybės atgavimo prezidentas, susiformavusi prezidento, kaip vieno iš pagrindinių užsienio politikos formuotojų, tradicija (Janeliūnas, 2019, p. 50). Taigi, galima teigti, kad prezidentas yra vienas iš pagrindinių, jei ne pagrindinis, šalies užsienio politikos formuotojas, todėl kandidatų į prezidentus pasisakymai užsienio politikos ir šalies saugumo klausimais turi ypač didelį svorį.

2009 m., 2014 m. ir 2019 m. rinkimai, iš visų po nepriklausomybės atgavimo vykusių prezidento rinkimų, pasirinkti todėl, kad visi jie vyko po Sakartvelo - Rusijos konflikto, o 2014 m. ir 2019 m. rinkimai - jau prasidėjus ir tebesitęsiant Krymo aneksijai ir karui Donbase. Rusija į Sakartvelo teritoriją įsiveržė 2008 m. rugpjūtį (Janeliūnas ir Kirvelytė, 2009, p. 167). Ukrainai priklausančius Krymo pusiasalis Rusijos aneksuotas 2014 m. kovo mėnesį, o neramumai Rytų Ukrainoje, kuomet prorusiški separatistai reikalaudami nepriklausomybės užėmė administracinius pastatus Donecko, Luhansko bei Charkivo srityse, prasidėjo tų pačių metų balandį („Russiaʼs Crimea takeover plot", 2015). Taigi, 2009 m. gegužės 17 d. vykusius Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento rinkimus (Lietuvos Respublikos vyriausioji rinkimų komisija [VRK], 2009) nuo

Sakartvelo - Rusijos konflikto pradžios skiria kiek daugiau nei 9 mėnesiai, tuo tarpu, Krymo aneksiją ir karo Donbase pradžią bei 2014 m. gegužės 11 d. vykusį prezidento rinkimų pirmąjį turą (Lietuvos Respublikos vyriausioji rinkimų komisija [VRK], 2014) - 2 - 3 mėnesiai. 2019 m. gegužės 12 d. surengtas Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento rinkimų pirmasis turas (Lietuvos Respublikos vyriausioji rinkimų komisija [VRK], 2019) vyko konfliktui Ukrainoje besitęsiant kiek daugiau nei penkerius metus.

Siekiant atsakyti į tyrimo klausimą, šiame darbe yra pasitelkiamas kokybinis lyginamasis tyrimo dizainas. Pirmiausiai, atliekama kandidatų rinkimų programų analizė, taip pat, kaip papildantis šaltinis, tiriami kandidatų pasisakymai rinkimų debatų laidose. Lyginamoji analizė pasitelkiama siekiant nustatyti kaip ir kodėl kandidatų pasisakymai saugumo ir Rusijos grėsmės tema kito bėgant laikui, lyginant trejas šiame darbe aptariamas, 2009 m., 2014 m. ir 2019 m. rinkimų kampanijas. Mažo atvejų skaičiaus ir vieno lyginimo kriterijaus (šiuo atveju – kandidatų požiūrio į Rusiją nacionalinio saugumo kontekste) taikymas yra įprastas metodologinis kelias longitudiniuose tyrimuose.

Kandidatų rinkimų programų dokumentai ir rinkimų debatų laidos šiam tyrimui pasirinkti neatsitiktinai, o kaip vienas kitą papildantys šaltiniai. Kandidatų rinkimų programos tyrimui yra vertingos todėl, kad atskleidžia bendrą kiekvieno iš kandidatų viziją, kokių darbų jis imtųsi tapęs prezidentu bei leidžia pamatyti, kokios sritys kandidato yra laikomos prioritetinėmis, o kurioms dėmesio yra skiriama mažiau. Visgi, rinkimų programos, kaip šaltinis, turi tam tikrų trūkumų. Pirmiausia, reikia paminėti, kad rinkimų programų apimtis nėra kažkaip reglamentuojama, o kandidatai į prezidentus tiriamuoju laikotarpiu (2009 m., 2014 m. ir 2019 m.) neturėjo prievolės rinkimų programų pateikti Vyriausiajai rinkimų komisijai. Dėl šių priežasčių, kaip ir dėl to, kad pačios rinkimų programos retai yra skaitomos rinkėjų, o dažniau - politologų ir kitų sričių tyrėjų, kai kurie kandidatai dėl resursų stokos ar nematydami reikalo per daug išsiplėsti, užuot plačiai išdėstę savo programines gaires, rinkimų programų dokumentuose neretai apsiribojo trumpomis deklaracijomis. Taigi, kol vienų kandidatų rinkimų programos leidžia susidaryti išsamų vaizdą apie kandidatų planuojamus darbus ir prioritetines sritis, kitų - deklaracijos yra pernelyg aptakios ir siauros, kad leistų padaryti platesnes išvadas apie kandidatų požiūrį į vieną ar kitą klausimą. Kaip dar vieną rinkimų programų, kaip tyrimo šaltinio trūkumą, reikia paminėti tai, kad programos kandidatų ir jų štabo narių gali būti ruošiamos dar gerokai prieš prasidedant oficialiam rinkimų kampanijos laikotarpiui. Tikslus laikas kada buvo ruošiamos ir paskelbtos rinkimų programos yra ypatingai svarbus šio tyrimo apimtyje, visgi jį nustatyti gali būti sudėtinga arba tokios galimybės gali iš viso nebūti. Taigi, tam tikrais atvejais nėra aišku ar kandidato požiūris į Rusiją, bendradarbiavimą su ja ir Rusijos keliamą grėsmę, išdėstytas rinkimų programos dokumente yra išsakytas jau po jos įvykdytų įsiveržimų į kaimyninių valstybių, Sakartvelo ir Ukrainos, teritorijas, ar dar prieš jiems prasidedant. Taip pat, reikia paminėti, kad siekdama gauti 2009 m., 2014 m. ir 2019 m. kandidatų rinkimų programas, šio tyrimo autorė atliko plačią jų paiešką - visgi pavyko rasti ne visas (19 iš 23) rinkimų programas. Taigi, kaip dar vieną rinkimų programų, kaip šaltinio trūkumą šio tyrimo apimtyje, reikalinga paminėti nepilną imtį.

Siekiant kompensuoti rinkimų programų, kaip tyrimo šaltinio trūkumus, šiame darbe kaip papildomas šaltinis yra pasitelkiamos kandidatų į prezidentus debatų laidos. Tiriami kandidatų pasisakymai prieš 2009 m., 2014 m. ir 2019 m. rinkimus LRT organizuotuose rinkimų debatuose skirtuose užsienio ir saugumo politikos temoms. Prezidento rinkimams skirti debatai, kaip šaltinis, pasirinkti neatsitiktinai - tiek 2009 m., tiek 2014 m. ir 2019 m. LRT transliuotose debatų laidose dalyvavo visi kandidatai, o visų laidų metu kiekvienas iš kandidatų turėjo vienodas sąlygas (tiek pat laiko) išsakyti savo poziciją atsakydami į laidos vedėjo pateikiamus klausimus. Jei rinkimų programų dokumentai leidžia pamatyti, kiek dėmesio, lyginant su kitomis sritimis, kandidatai į prezidentus skyrė užsienio ir saugumo politikos temoms, tai rinkimų debatų laidos suteikia galimybę geriau suprasti, koks tiksliai buvo kiekvieno iš dalyvių požiūris šiais klausimais bei juos palyginti. Taip pat, reikia paminėti, kad tiek 2009 m., tiek 2014 m. LRT organizuoti debatai vyko prieš pat pirmąjį prezidento rinkimų turą, todėl leidžia įvertinti visų kandidatų požiūrį į Rusiją ir jos keliamas grėsmes Lietuvos saugumui jau po Sakartvelo-Rusijos konflikto ir Krymo aneksijos ir karo Donbase pradžios.

Tiek 2009 m., tiek 2014 m. kandidatais į prezidentus buvo patvirti 7 asmenys (2009 m. - Dalia Grybauskaitė, Valdemaras Tomaševskis, Loreta Graužinienė, Algirdas Butkevičius, Česlovas Jezerskas, Kazimira Danutė Prunskienė, Valentinas Mazuronis (VRK, 2009), 2014 m. - Dalia Grybauskaitė, Zigmantas Balčytis, Artūras Zuokas, Bronis Ropė, Naglis Puteikis, Artūras Paulauskas ir Valdemaras Tomaševskis (VRK, 2014)), 2019 m. - devyni (Arvydas Juozaitis, Mindaugas Puidokas, Vytenis Povilas Andriukaitis, Naglis Puteikis, Ingrida Šimonytė, Valdemaras Tomaševskis, Valentinas Mazuronis, Saulius Skvernelis ir Gitanas Nausėda (VRK, 2019)).

Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento rinkimų kampanijos mokslinėje literatūroje

Nuo 1993 m. pradėti rengti prezidento rinkimai, nepaisant didelės prezidento institucijos svarbos šalies politinėje sistemoje, pastaraisiais dešimtmečiais retai sulaukia didesnio dėmesio akademinėje literatūroje (Jastramskis, 2020, p. 10). Dar mažiau politologijos ir kitų sričių mokslininkų dėmesio tenka prezidento rinkimų kampanijoms. Kandidatų retoriką rinkimų kampanijų laikotarpiu nagrinėjantys moksliniai darbai dažnu atveju tiria ankstyvųjų (daugiausia akademikų dėmesio sulaukia 2002 m. vykę prezidento rinkimai) bei pastarųjų (2019 m.) prezidento rinkimų kampanijas, todėl šiuo darbu, kuriame yra atliekama 2009 m., 2014 m. ir 2019 m. rinkimų kampanijų lyginamoji analizė, yra siekiama bent iš dalies užpildyti šią Lietuvos politologinės literatūros spragą. Iki šiol nėra publikuota nei vieno mokslinio straipsnio, kuris būtų skirtas ištirti kandidatų į prezidentus pasisakymus konkrečiai Rusijos ir jos keliamos saugumo grėsmės nacionaliniam saugumui temomis - jos, moksliniuose darbuose nagrinėjančiuose rinkimų kampanijas, pasirodo nebent kaip šalutinės.

Negatyvios informacijos naudojimą politinės kampanijos metu ir jos įtaką rinkėjų aktyvumui, savo darbe „Negatyvumas Lietuvos prezidento rinkimų kampanijose; mobilizuoja ar demobilizuoja rinkėjus?" nagrinėja Ingrida Unikaitė (2008). Straipsnyje, tiriančiame 1997 m. ir 2002 m. rinkimų į prezidentus kampanijas, dėmesys koncentruojamas į negatyvius kandidatų pasisakymus vienas kito atžvilgiu, o Rusijos grėsmė yra įvardijama kaip vienas iš veiksnių, kandidatų naudotų diskredituoti savo konkurentus.

Apie Rusijos atspindžius 2002 m. prezidento rinkimų kampanijoje užsimena ir Lauras Bielinis (2003) savo išsamioje šiems rinkimams skirtoje monografijoje „Prezidento rinkimų anatomija". L. Bielinio atlikta kandidatų į prezidentus pasisakymų ir veiksmų prieš rinkimus apžvalga atskleidė, kad nors Rusijos veiksnys buvo sutinkamas kandidatų retorikoje, visgi, kaimyninė valstybė kandidatų į prezidentus dažniausiai buvo minima ne valstybės saugumo, bet galimo bendradarbiavimo ir istorinio teisingumo atstatymo kontekste.

2002 m. prezidento rinkimų kampaniją savo darbe „Prezidento rinkimai 2002: Lietuva pokomunistinių šalių kontekste" taip pat tiria Živilė Šatūnienė (2003). Siekdama, be kitų dalykų, išsiaiškinti, kokios įtakos kandidatų į prezidentus skaičius turėjo rinkimų agitacijos pobūdžiui bei, bandydama nustatyti ar minėti rinkimai buvo „tipiški pokomunistiniai", autorė lygina juos su rengtais kitose pokomunistinėse šalyse.

Kandidatų į prezidentus rinkimų programas, šio darbo apimtyje esančių, 2014 m. prezidento rinkimų kampanijos metu, straipsnyje „Įrodymais grįsta politika: Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento rinkimų kampanijos 2014 m. atvejo analizė" tiria Vincas Grigas ir Simona Juzėnienė (2015). Publikacijos autoriai siekia atsakyti į klausimą ar kandidatų į prezidentus teikiami siūlymai valstybės valdymo klausimais yra grindžiami faktais. Saugumo ir kandidatų požiūrio į Rusiją temos darbe nėra plačiau plėtojamos - kelios kandidatų citatos šia tema yra pasitelkiamos atsakyti į tyrimo klausimą, bet ne platesniam kandidatų požiūrio į Rusiją ar jos keliamas grėsmes ištyrimui.

Trijų populiariausių pagal apklausas kandidatų į prezidentus per 2019 m. rinkimus rinkimų programas ir jų publikuotus interviu, savo darbe „Konfliktinės komunikacijos raiška Lietuvos prezidento rinkimų diskurse" analizuoja Vilma Linkevičiūtė (2020). Straipsnyje, pasitelkiant lingvistinę politinio diskurso analizę, ją derinant su retorinės analizės metodu, tiriama konfliktinės komunikacijos raiška kandidatų į prezidentus politiniame diskurse.

2009 m., 2014 m. ir 2019 m. prezidento rinkimų kampanijos

2009 m. kandidatų į prezidentus rinkimų programos. 2008 m. Lietuvą užklupusi pasaulinė finansų krizė palietė didelę dalį šalies namų ūkių. Pablogėjusi gyventojų finansinė padėtis atsispindėjo ir kandidatų į prezidentus rinkimų programose. Socialiniai klausimai, tradiciškai nelaikomi pagrindine prezidento veiklos sritimi, dominavo visų kandidatų rinkimų programose. Tuo tarpu, užsienio politikos bei saugumo temos, dažnu atveju sulaukė daug mažiau kandidatų į prezidentus dėmesio.

Lyginant visų kandidatų rinkimų programas, pastebėtina, kad nors visi sutarė dėl Lietuvos pasirinktos provakarietiškos geopolitinės krypties, priklausymo NATO ir Europos Sąjungai, nei vienas iš kandidatų savo rinkiminėje programoje tiesiogiai neįvardijo Rusijos, kaip grėsmės Lietuvos nacionaliniam saugumui. Galima pastebėti, kad dalis kandidatų savo programose Rusijos apskritai neminėjo, o kiti minėjo retai - vietoj to, dažnu atveju buvo vartojami platesni „Rytų Europos valstybių", „kaimyninių valstybių" ir panašūs terminai. Kandidatų į prezidentus retorikoje dominavo pragmatiškumo siekis, kas bent iš dalies galėjo būti sąlygota sunkios to meto šalies ekonominės situacijos.

Kandidatai V. Tomaševskis ir K. D. Prunskienė savo rinkiminėse programose akcentavo kaimyninių šalių, ir konkrečiai Rusijos, kaip lietuviško eksporto rinkos, svarbą (V. Tomaševskio rinkimų programa, 2009, p. 69; K. D. Prunskienės rinkimų programa, 2009, p. 62). Būtinybę gerinti santykius su šia šalimi bei ekonominio bendradarbiavimo su Rusija naudą, taip pat, pabrėžė Č. Jezerskas (Č. Jezersko rinkimų programa, 2009, p. 49). Kitas kandidatas į prezidentus, A. Butkevičius, ne tik akcentavo būtinybę gerinti santykius su Rytų kaimynėmis, taip *sudarant geresnes sąlygas <…> produkcijos eksportui*", bet ir, nepaisant Rusijos - Sakartvelo konflikto, pasisakydamas už aktyvų Lietuvos dalyvavimą Europos Sąjungos ir Rusijos strateginės partnerystės įgyvendinime, siūlė *„panaudoti Lietuvos geopolitinę padėtį siekiant suartinti ES su naujomis kaimynėmis bei Rusija"*. Anot A. Butkevičiaus, *„Lietuvos bendradarbiavimą su Rusija turime grįsti europietiškomis vertybėmis, kreipiant žvilgsnį ne į praeitį, o į ateitį"* (A. Butkevičiaus rinkimų programa, 2009, pp. 38, 43). Kiti kandidatai (L. Graužinienė, V. Mazuronis) savo rinkiminių programų tekstuose tiesiogiai Rusijos neminėjo, visgi pabrėžė, kad yra svarbu *„geri pragmatiški, naudingi santykiai su kaimyninėmis valstybėmis"* (L. Graužinienės rinkimų programa, 2009, p. 45) bei, kad „[jam tapus prezidentu] *Lietuva ir toliau sieks naudingo Lietuvai bendradarbiavimo su kitomis Rytų Europos šalimis"* (V. Mazuronio rinkimų programa, 2009, p. 54). D. Grybauskaitės požiūrio į Rusiją, remiantis vien kandidatės rinkimine programa, nustatyti nėra galimybės - nei Rusija, nei bendresnis, Rytų Europos valstybių, terminas jos programoje nebuvo vartojamas. Vietoj to, kalbėdama apie užsienio politiką, D. Grybauskaitė akcentavo *„geografinės ir politinės pusiausvyros"* svarbą (D. Grybauskaitės rinkimų programa, 2009, p. 48) - ką galima suprasti, kaip kritiką tuomečio prezidento Valdo Adamkaus greitam ir aktyviam įsitraukimui į Sakartvelo - Rusijos konfliktą, kuris nulėmė pablogėjusius santykius tarp Lietuvos ir Europos Sąjungos (Park ir Confortola, 2021, p. 10).

Jei nei vienas iš kandidatų savo rinkiminėje programoje neminėjo Rusijos, kaip grėsmės nacionaliniam saugumui, tai dalis jų, kaip tokią grėsmę, įvardijo šalies vidaus problemas - A. Butkevičius labiausiai akcentavo socialinius klausimus (A. Butkevičiaus rinkimų programa, 2009, p. 44), o K. D. Prunskienė - aukštą nusikalstamumo lygį šalyje. Pastaroji kandidatė buvo vienintelė, kuri atvirai išreiškė abejonę dėl bet kokios išorės grėsmės Lietuvos saugumui - savo rinkiminėje programoje K. D. Prunskienė teigė, kad *„retas kuris suabejoja mūsų sienų ir krašto saugumu"* bei pridūrė, kad *„Lietuvos išorinį saugumą užtikrina dalyvavimas NATO"* (K. D. Prunskienės rinkimų programa, 2009, p. 62). Kandidatų retorika grėsmių nacionaliniam saugumui tema (arba šios temos ignoravimas) rinkimų programų dokumentuose leidžia daryti išvadą, jog Rusija kandidatų į prezidentus nebuvo vertinama kaip realiai kelianti grėsmę Lietuvos saugumui.

Atlikta kandidatų į prezidentus rinkimų programų dokumentų analizė parodė, kad kandidatai į prezidentus optimistiškai vertino bendradarbiavimo su Rusija idėją. Ne vienas jų pabrėžė ekonominio bendradarbiavimo su šia šalimi naudą Lietuvai, kuri tuo metu išgyveno ekonominio nuosmukio laikotarpį.

Bendrai vertinant visas rinkimų programas, galima daryti išvadą, jog jose apie Rusiją buvo kalbama galimo bendradarbiavimo, bet ne nacionalinio saugumo, kontekste.

2009 m. kandidatų į prezidentus debatai. Likus kiek mažiau nei trims savaitėms iki rinkimų dienos, balandžio 27 d., LRT rengtuose tiesioginiuose kandidatų į Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidentus debatuose skirtuose užsienio politikai („Prezidento rinkimai 2009: kaip kandidatai „vairuotų" užsienio politikos vairą?"), juose dalyvavusių kandidatų nuomonės, kalbant apie Rusiją, sutapo daugeliu klausimų.

Galima pastebėti, kad visuomeninio transliuotojo eteryje kalbėdami apie užsienio politiką, kandidatai vienbalsiai pasisakė už tai, kad Lietuvos užsienio politika turi būti orientuota į pragmatiškumą ir ekonominės naudos užtikrinimą šalies gyventojams. Ši nuomonė vyravo ir kalbant apie Rusiją - buvo pabrėžiama plati šios šalies rinka, energetiniai resursai. Nei vienas iš kandidatų, kaip ir rinkimų programų dokumentuose, tiesioginių LRT debatų metu neįvardijo Rusijos kaip grėsmės šalies nacionaliniam saugumui.

Kandidatai D. Grybauskaitė ir V. Mazuronis teigė, kad vertybių paminti nereikia, bet santykiuose su Rusija pragmatiškumas turi būti prioritetu. Anot V. Tomaševskio, santykiai su Rusija turi būti *„švelnesni"*, ir siūlė *„kaip* [įmanoma] *greičiau"* įvesti bevizį režimą su Baltarusija ir Kaliningrado sritimi. Pasak K. D. Prunskienės, *„reikia mažiau nepasitikėjimo"* ir aktyviau skatinti ekonominį bendradarbiavimą ne tik su Rusija, bet ir su Baltarusija. A. Butkevičius kritikavo tuometį prezidentą V. Adamkų, kad šis, anot kandidato, per pastaruosius dešimt metų su Lenkijos prezidentu buvo susitikęs net *„trisdešimt tris kartus"*, o į Rusiją nuvykta nebuvo nei karto (laidos vedėjas pataisė kandidatą, kad V. Adamkus su Rusijos prezidentu visgi buvo susitikęs). Č. Jezerskas, kalbėdamas apie Rusiją, teigė, kad bendravimo su šia šalimi pavyzdį turime imti iš didžiųjų Europos Sąjungos valstybių ir tikino, kad pirkdama energetinius resursus iš Rusijos Lietuva nuo jos priklausoma netaptų.

Debatų metu kandidatų tarpe vyravo skepticizmas dėl Lietuvos, kaip regiono lyderės, vaidmens. Kandidatai į prezidentus nevengė aštriai kritikuoti Lietuvos sau iškelto lyderystės Europos Rytuose tikslo ir, konkrečiai, aktyvaus Lietuvos įsitraukimo į Sakartvelo-Rusijos konfliktą. L. Graužinienė, kalbėdama apie šalies paramą Sakartvelui konflikte su Rusija, teigė, kad Lietuvos reakcija buvusi *„per greita ir nepamatuota"*. Anot kandidatės, prezidento V. Adamkaus užsienio politika *„patyrė fiasko"* ir turėjo neigiamos įtakos Lietuvos žmonių gerovei. Su tuo, kad Lietuvos užsienio politika Rytuose nepasiekė savo tikslų, sutiko ir kandidatas į prezidentus Č. Jezerskas. K. D. Prunskienė, komentuodama Lietuvos lyderystę Europos Rytuose, teigė, jog *„per daug dėmesio skirdami kitų šalių tarpusavio santykiams <...> ženkliau nepasistūmėjom sprendžiant savo nacionaliniams interesams svarbius dalykus"*. Anot kito kandidato, A. Butkevičiaus, yra reikalinga išlaikyti užsienio politikos tęstinumą remiant demokratinius procesus Rytų Europos šalyse, visgi jis akcentavo, kad *„nereikia išsišokti"*, kaip pavyzdį pateikdamas Lietuvos veto Europos Sąjungos ir Rusijos partnerystės sutarčiai. Šiai minčiai pritarė L. Graužinienė ir V. Mazuronis. *„Lietuva kartais išsišokdavo netgi prieš visą Europos Sąjungą <…> pastatydama <…> Europos Sąjungos didžiąsias valstybes į tam tikrą nepatogią poziciją"* - debatų metu teigė pastarasis kandidatas, o, anot L. Graužinienės, *„Lietuva yra per maža valstybė diktuoti madas užsienio politikoje"*, leisdama suprasti, kad tiek kalbant apie dvišalius santykius su Rusija, tiek JAV, užuot vykdžiusi atskirą užsienio politiką, Lietuva turi laikytis bendros Europos Sąjungos pozicijos. Tuo tarpu kita kandidatė, 2009 m. prezidento rinkimus laimėjusi Dalia Grybauskaitė, debatų metu kėlė klausimą ar apskritai Lietuvos lyderystė Rytų Europoje yra tikra. *„Ne demonstruoti aktyvumą ir ne demontruoti užsienio politikos laimėjimus mūsų vidaus rinkoje, būti lyderiais ne tik žodžiais, bet kad lyderiais mus matytų kitos šalys"* apie šalies užsienio politiką kalbėjo kandidatė, pridurdama, jog *„iliuzija"* ir *„įsikalbėjimas"*, bet ne *„realybė"* yra tai, kad Lietuva yra geriausia Rytų Europos regiono ekspertė.

Apibendrinant, galima pastebėti, kad net ir po Sakartvelo-Rusijos konflikto, kandidatai į prezidentus ir toliau vertino Rusiją kaip partnerę su kuria yra reikalinga gilinti bendradarbiavimą, bet ne kaip agresorę keliančią grėsmę taip pat ir Lietuvos nacionaliniam saugumui. Atvirkščiai, aktyvus tuomečio prezidento V. Adamkaus vaidmuo Sakartvelo-Rusijos konflikte, palaikant Sakartvelą ir smerkiant Rusijos veiksmus, susilaukė vienbalsės ir itin griežtos debatų dalyvių kritikos.

2014 m. kandidatų į prezidentus rinkimų programos. 2014 m. kandidatų į prezidentus rinkimų programose, be socialinių, kultūros, švietimo ir kitų, tradiciškai aptariamų sričių, nemažai dėmesio sulaukė tuo metu itin aktuali buvusi - emigracijos ir išeivijos tema². Šalies saugumo klausimai - dažnu atveju plačiai aptariami nebuvo. Dar mažiau dėmesio sulaukė Rusija - apie jos keliamą grėsmę šalies nacionaliniam saugumui savo rinkimų programoje užsiminė vos vienas iš kandidatų į prezidentus (N. Puteikis). Kalbėdami apie užsienio politiką, kandidatai dažnu atveju vartojo platesnes, „Rytų kaimynų", „kaimynų" ir „Rytų Europos regiono" sąvokas, kas neleidžia, remiantis vien rinkimų programų dokumentais, nustatyti ar kandidatų siūlymai gerinti santykius su kaimyninėmis valstybėmis, be kitų šio regiono valstybių, taip pat apėmė ir Rusiją. Tai, jog rinkimų programose Rusija ir su ja susijusios saugumo grėsmės dažnu atveju nebuvo minimosi išvis, gali būti aiškinama tuo, kad kandidatų rinkimų programos (arba bent dalis jų) galėjo būti ruošiamos ir paviešintos dar iki 2014 m. kovo pradžioje Rusijos įvykdytos Krymo aneksijos.

Nors kandidatai į prezidentus savo rinkimų programose dažnu atveju nebuvo linkę įvardinti potencialių išorės grėsmių šalies nacionaliniam saugumui, visgi kai kurie iš jų (A. Balčytis, N. Puteikis) pabrėžė tinkamo krašto apsaugos sistemos finansavimo svarbą. Jei Z. Balčytis apsiribojo bendresnio pobūdžio siūlymu *„skirti reikiamas lėšas krašto gynybai"* (Z. Balčyčio rinkimų programa, n.d., p. 4), tai, kalbėdamas apie krašto apsaugos sistemos finansavimą, N. Puteikis buvo konkretesnis - pasak jo, *„norint <...> užtikrinti Lietuvos saugumą naujų grėsmių bei iššūkių akivaizdoje"*, be kitų priemonių, yra reikalinga *„artimiausiu metu padidinti finansavimą krašto apsaugai iki 2 proc. bendrojo vidaus produkto"*. Pastarasis kandidatas išsiskyrė tuo, kad, kitaip nei likusieji, kurių programos yra apžvelgiamos šiame darbe³, savo rinkimų programos dokumente ne tik užsiminė apie Rusijos keliamą karinę grėsmę Lietuvos saugumui, teigdamas, kad reikia *„nuosekliai kelti Karaliaučiaus krašto demilitarizavimo klausimą"*, bet ir pateikė pasiūlymų kaip, jam tapus prezidentu, būtų pertvarkoma šalies kariuomenė (N. Puteikio rinkimų programa, n.d., p. 8-9). N. Puteikis, kaip ir A. Paulauskas, akcentavo Lietuvos lyderystės Rytuose svarbą. Pasak A. Paulausko, norint *„formuoti Lietuvos kaip patikimos strateginės partnerės, aktyvios užsienio politikos veikėjos bei didelio ekonominio potencialo šalies įvaizdį Europos ir NATO šalyse"*, yra reikalinga *„kurti bei skatinti lyderiavimą visame Rytų Europos regione"* bei *„operatyviai reaguoti į neramumus"* (A. Paulausko rinkimų programa, n.d., p. 2). Tuo tarpu, N. Puteikis teigė, kad svarbu ne tik *„aktyviau imtis Rytų partnerystės programų"*, bet ir *„atkurti ir išplėtoti ryšius"* su demokratinėmis jėgomis Rusijoje ir Baltarusijoje (N. Puteikio rinkimų programa, n.d., p. 9).

Dalies kandidatų (D. Grybauskaitės, A. Zuoko, B. Ropės) rinkimų programų dokumentai buvo nedidelės, iki vieno puslapio, apimties, todėl juose glaustai išdėstytos rinkimų programos gairės neleidžia susidaryti platesnio vaizdo apie kandidatų požiūrį į užsienio politiką, krašto apsaugą ir, konkrečiai, Rusiją bei jos keliamas grėsmes šalies nacionaliniam saugumui. Visgi, pastebėtina, kad tiek A. Zuokas, tiek B. Ropė (kaip ir A. Paulauskas), kalbėdami apie užsienio politiką, pabrėžė gerų santykių su kaimyninėmis valstybėmis, kurių konkrečiai neįvardijo, svarbą (A. Zuoko rinkimų programa, n.d., p. 1; B. Ropės rinkimų programa, n.d., p. 1).

2014 m. kandidatų į prezidentus debatai. Prieš pirmąjį rinkimų turą, gegužės 8 d., LRT transliuoti kandidatų į prezidentus debatai („Kandidatų į Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidentus debatai 2014. Tema užsienio ir saugumo politika") parodė, kad didžioji daugumą kandidatų, po įvykusios Krymo aneksijos ir prasidėjus karui Donbase, Rusiją vertino kaip agresorę, galimai keliančią grėsmę ir Lietuvos nacionaliniam saugumui.

Su pastaruoju teiginiu atvirai nesutiko vos vienas iš kandidatų į prezidentus - V. Tomaševskis. Jis teigė nematantis *„realios grėsmės iš Rusijos"* bei, kalbėdamas apie įvykius Ukrainoje, pridūrė, kad *„mes kartais*

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² 2013 m. kovo mėnesį Lietuvos Respublikos Konstitucinis Teismas išaiškino, kad nepakeitus Konstitucijos, po nepriklausomybės atkūrimo iš šalies išvykusiems Lietuvos piliečiams nėra galimybės įstatymu išsaugoti Lietuvos pilietybę, jei jie įgijo kitos užsienio valstybės pilietybę.

³ Šiame darbe yra apžvelgiamos šešių kandidatų į prezidentus (D. Grybauskaitės, Z. Balčyčio, A. Paulausko, A. Zuoko, N. Puteikio, B. Ropės) 2014 m. rinkimų programos. V.Tomaševskio 2014 m. rinkimų programos dokumento šio straipsnio autorei gauti nepavyko.

patys provokuojame Rusiją", todėl „*reikia savo kaimyną* [Rusiją] *suprasti*". Nors, kaip minėta, visi kandidatai, išskyrus V. Tomaševskį, kuris Rusijos įvykdytą Krymo aneksiją lygino su Kosovo atsiskyrimu nuo Serbijos, vienareikšmiškai pasmerkė Rusijos veiksmus Ukrainoje, visgi kandidatų požiūris reikšmingai išsiskyrė kalbant apie tai, kokią poziciją santykiuose su Rusija turėtų užimti Lietuva. Kol dalis kandidatų pabrėžė Lietuvos karinio bendradarbiavimo su strateginiais partneriais NATO ir Europos Sąjungoje svarbą, šalyje dislokuotų sąjungininkų pajėgų didinimą, didesnį finansavimą krašto apsaugai bei gynybos planų sukūrimą (N. Puteikis, A. Paulauskas, B. Ropė, D. Grybauskaitė), kiti, taip pat, laikėsi nuomonės, kad prie šalies saugumo užtikrinimo prisidėtų nuosaikesne retorika Rusijos atžvilgiu bei didesnių konfrontacijų vengimas.

B. Ropė, kritikuodamas Žaliojo tilto skulptūrų nukėlimą Vilniuje, siūlė Lietuvai pasimokyti iš Estijos „klaidų", kuomet buvo nukelta bronzinio kario skulptūra - anot B. Ropės, „*reikia gerbti kaimynus* [Rusiją] *ir žinoti jų mentalitetą, kad paskui neatsirastų problemų ten kur jų gali nebūti*". Pastarasis kandidatas, taip pat, pabrėžė tautinių mažumų vaidmens svarbą santykiuose su Rusija - pasak B. Ropės, vertinant tai, kas vyksta Ukrainoje, yra svarbu „*surasti su tautinėm mažumom bendrą kalbą, kad neiškiltų jokie* <...> *nesutarimai*", kurie taptų pretekstu įsikišti „*Rusijai kaip gelbėtojai*". Sąsają tarp šalies gyventojų, neapsiribojant vien tautinėmis mažumomis, nuotaikų ir grėsmės nacionaliniam saugumui akcentavo ir V. Tomaševskis, kaip pavyzdį pateikdamas Vakarų Ukrainą, kuriai, anot kandidato, grėsmės nėra „*kadangi žmonės yra patenkinti savo valdžia*", o „*ten kur buvo nepatenkinti* [Rytų Ukrainoje] - *ten yra grėsmė*". Pastarasis kandidatas, kaip ir A. Zuokas, ragino Lietuvos politikus atsisakyti aštresnės retorikos Rusijos atžvilgiu. V. Tomaševskis kritikavo debatų metu nuskambėjusį Rusijos, kaip nedemokratinės valstybės, įvardijimą, teigdamas, kad „*būtent nuo tokių pasisakymų prasideda problemos*", nes, anot V. Tomaševskio, „*Rusija renka savo valdžią demokratiniuose rinkimuose*". A. Zuoko kritika, dėl jo nuomone netinkamos retorikos, buvo nukreipta į tuometę prezidentę D. Grybauskaitę ir kitus valstybės užsienio politikos formuotojus. Kandidatas į prezidentus, kalbėdamas apie šalies vadovės nuotrauką, kurioje ji užfiksuota šaudanti iš kulkosvaidžio, teigė, kad ši buvo panaudota Kremliaus siekiant nuteikti eilinius Rusijos gyventojus prieš Lietuvą, todėl, pasak A. Zuoko, „*paprastas rusas, kuris turėtų būti mūsų draugas ir mūsų simpatikas,* [dabar] *mato, kad kitos valstybės prezidentas jam grasina*". Pastarasis kandidatas, taip pat, teigė, kad dėl Lietuvos valdžios atstovų vykdytos „*supriešinančios*" ir „*provokuojančios konfliktus*" politikos, jiems „*tenka atsakomybė ir už tai, kad šiandien* <...> *Kryme yra Putino tankai ir Rusijos kariuomenės tankai yra Rytų Ukrainoje*". Iš kandidatų pasisakymų matyti, jog dalis jų Rusijos agresiją prieš Ukrainą vertino kaip bent iš dalies „išprovokuotą" pačios Ukrainos ar tam tikrų trečiųjų šalių (Lietuvos) veiksmų.

Kandidatų nuomonės reikšmingai išsiskyrė ir kalbant apie energetinę nepriklausomybę nuo Rusijos. D. Grybauskaitė ir Z. Balčytis, kalbėdami apie energetinę šalies nepriklausomybę, teigė, kad „*tai nėra* <...> *vien ekonominė nauda, tai yra mūsų valstybės saugumo klausimas*" (Z. Balčytis) bei kad „*energetinis valstybės savarankiškumas - tai politinis savarankiškumas*" (D. Grybauskaitė). Tiek D. Grybauskaitė, tiek Z. Balčytis akcentavo naujai įsigyto suskystintųjų gamtinių dujų laivo-saugyklos „Independence" svarbą, o D. Grybauskaitė, sprendimą įsigyti laivą, vadino savalaikiu, kurio „*mums pavydi visi europiečiai*" ypač matant tai, „*ką dabar daro Rusija su Ukraina* <...> *tiekiant dujas ir kaip naudoja šį įrankį*". Dalis kandidatų (A. Zuokas, A. Paulauskas) kritikavo projektą kaip per brangų, o A. Zuokas jį pavadino „*paminklu politinei korupcijai*". Taigi, kol vieni kandidatai į prezidentus, kalbėdami apie energetinius išteklius, labiausiai akcentavo energetinės nepriklausomybės nuo Rusijos svarbą, kiti, tuo tarpu, kritikavo tuometę valdžią dėl, anot jų, per brangių energetinių projektų.

Dalis kandidatų į prezidentus taip pat negailėjo kritikos valdžios atstovams ir dėl aukštų energijos išteklių kainų šalyje, o tai spręsti siūlė vystant dialogą su Rusija. Anot A. Paulausko, valdžios atstovų nenoras kalbėtis su Rusija lėmė tai, kad „*Lietuvos žmonės penkerius metus mokėjo brangiausią kainą Europoje už dujas*", V. Tomaševskis bendradarbiavimo energetikos srityje su Rusija pavyzdį Lietuvai siūlė imti iš Vokietijos, o A. Zuokas teigė, kad „*kuo daugiau mūsų vadovai kariauja su Rusija - tuo Rusijai naudingiau*", nes „*per pastaruosius penketą metų Lietuvos gyventojai permokėjo už dujas tiekiamas iš „Gazpromo*" 5 mili-

jardus litų" ir „*tokia suma Lietuva pastiprino karinį* [Rusijos] *pajėgumą*". Iš kandidatų pasisakymų matyti, kad, nepaisant Rusijos veiksmų Ukrainoje, dalis jų santykiuose su Rusija pirmenybę teikė pragmatiškumui, bet ne vertybinės pozicijos, dėl Rusijos pradėto karo Ukrainoje, parodymui.

Nors dauguma kandidatų į prezidentus, po Krymo aneksijos ir prasidėjus karui Donbase, Rusiją pradėjo vertinti kaip agresorę, galimai keliančią pavojų ir Lietuvos nacionaliniam saugumui, visgi kandidatų požiūris į tai kokią poziciją santykiuose su šia šalimi turi užimti Lietuva, smarkiai išsiskyrė. Kol vieni debatų dalyviai akcentavo karinių pajėgumų didinimą ir energetinės nepriklausomybės nuo Rusijos užsitikrinimą, kiti bent dalį kaltės dėl Krymo aneksijos ir karo Donbase priskyrė pačiai Ukrainai (taip pat ir Lietuvai) ir, siekiant išvengti panašaus scenarijaus Lietuvoje, ragino vengti bet kokių aštresnių konfrontacijų su Rusija. Įvykiai Ukrainoje daliai kandidatų į prezidentus neatrodė kliūtis vystyti glaudesnį dvišalį bendradarbiavimą su Rusija energetikos srityje - ne vienas jų kritikavo tuometę šalies valdžią dėl nenoro kalbėtis su Rusija, kas, anot jų, nulėmė išaugusias ernergijos išteklių kainas Lietuvos gyventojams.

2019 m. kandidatų į prezidentus rinkimų programos. Savo rinkimų programose kandidatai į prezidentus, kaip įprasta, daugiausia dėmesio skyrė socialiniams klausimams bei to meto aktualijų - gyventojų skaičiaus mažėjimo, socialinės atskirties didėjimo, Europos Sąjungos federalizacijos, pabėgėlių krizės ir kitų, aptarimui. Nors visi kandidatai, kurių pilnos apimties rinkimų programos yra viešai prieinamos ir yra apžvelgiamos šiame poskyryje[4], programiniuose dokumentuose skyrė dėmesio savo požiūrio į santykius su Rusija ir (arba) šios šalies keliamų saugumo grėsmių aptarimui, visgi, reikia paminėti, kad kol vieni šia tema buvo linkę išsiplėsti, kiti - apsiribojo vos keliais sakiniais.

Dauguma kandidatų į prezidentus savo rinkimų programose tiesiogiai arba netiesiogiai įvardijo Rusiją kaip agresorę, potencialiai keliančią grėsmę ir Lietuvos nacionaliniam saugumui. Visgi, pastebėtina, kad daliai kandidatų tai neatrodė kliūtis grįžti prie glaudesnio bendradarbiavimo su šia šalimi. Savo rinkimų programose kandidatai į prezidentus palietė įvairius santykių su Rusija aspektus, aptarė saugumo situaciją regione bei tai, koks turėtų būti atsakas į Rusijos vykdomą agresyvią politiką kaimyninių valstybių atžvilgiu.

Kalbėdamas apie saugumo situaciją regione kandidatas į prezidentus V. P. Andriukaitis ją apibūdino kaip „sudėtingą" bei pridūrė, kad „*ilgalaikiu iššūkiu Lietuvos saugumui išlieka neprognozuojami šiandieninės Rusijos veiksmai, nukreipti prieš NATO šalių gynybinių pajėgumų stiprinimą*". Anot kandidato, „*auga Rusijos karinė galia ir hibridinis aktyvumas*" bei „*stiprėja jos pasirengimas naudoti taikių ir demokratiškų valstybių atžvilgiu konvencines ir nekonvencines invazijos priemones*" (V. P. Andriukaičio rinkimų programa, 2019, p. 16). „Grėsme" Rusijos valdžią įvardijusi I. Šimonytė teigė, kad „*Kremlius nebeslepia savo intereso virti destruktyvią košę Vakaruose ir atakuoti demokratines vertybes visais frontais*" (I. Šimonytės rinkimų programa, 2018). N. Puteikis, savo ruožtu, siūlė „*aktyviai veikiant Europos Sąjungos struktūrose <…> nuosekliai kelti Karaliaučiaus krašto demilitarizavimo klausimą*" (N. Puteikio rinkimų programa, 2019). Vertindamas šalies saugumo situaciją to meto grėsmių akivaizdoje, V. P. Andriukaitis teigė, jog „*jau penkiolika metų dalyvaudami NATO, susikūrėme tokias saugumo galimybes, kokių Lietuva neturėjo per visą savo istoriją*" (V. P. Andriukaičio rinkimų programa, 2019, p. 14). Su mintimi, kad Lietuva yra kaip niekad saugi savo rinkimų programoje sutiko ir M. Puidokas - anot kandidato, be kitų dalykų, padidėję investicijos į krašto gynybą ir „*vis glaudesni ryšiai su sąjungininkais*" nulėmė, kad „*nuo pergalės Žalgirio mūšio lauke nebuvome tokie saugūs*" (M. Puidoko rinkimų programa, n.d.). Apibendrinant, galima teigti, jog dauguma kandidatų sutarė dėl Rusijos keliamos grėsmės šalies nacionaliniam saugumui. Ne vienas jų tuo pat metu pabrėžė, kad nepaisant išaugusios Rusijos grėsmės, Lietuva dar niekada nebuvo tokia saugi - pirmiausiai dėl narystės NATO ir šios organizacijos teikiamų saugumo garantijų.

Plataus kandidatų palaikymo sulaukė aktyvus Lietuvos įsitraukimas į Rytų partnerystės programą. V. P. Andriukaitis savo rinkimų programoje teigė, kad yra reikalinga „*suteikti naują impulsą Rytų partne-*

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[4] Šiame poskyryje yra apžvelgiamos šešių kandidatų į prezidentus (A. Juozaičio, M. Puidoko, V. P. Andriukaičio, N. Puteikio, I. Šimonytės ir V. Tomaševskio) rinkimų programos. V. Mazuronio, S. Skvernelio ir G. Nausėdos rinkimų programų dokumentų šio straipsnio autorei gauti nepavyko.

rystei", nes, pasak kandidato, *„nuoseklus Ukrainos, Sakartvelo ir Moldovos, taip pat kitų Rytų partnerystės šalių demokratėjimas, saugumo stiprinimas, ekonomikos augimas ir judėjimas europinių struktūrų link yra svarbus Lietuvos saugumo interesas"* (V. P. Andriukaičio rinkimų programa, 2019, p. 16). Anot I. Šimonytės, šiandien *„esame saugūs Vakarų solidarumo dėka"*, o *„mūsų uždavinys Vakaruose – Vakarų investicijos į sėkmę Ukrainoje, Sakartvele, Moldovoje"*, kuri, anot kandidatės *„galėtų būti postūmis ir pokyčiams Rusijoje"* (I. Šimonytės rinkimų programa, 2018). Šiai minčiai pritarė ir A. Juozaitis. Kandidatas į prezidentus teigė, kad *„karinės ir saugumo priemonės sudaro <…> prielaidas NATO šalims toliau ramiai kalbėtis su Rusija dėl Ukrainos teritorinio vientisumo atkūrimo"* bei *„destabilizacinių veiksmų jos atžvilgiu nutraukimo"*, o *„rūpindamasi Ukrainos padėtimi, Lietuva rūpinasi ir savo pačios, ir netgi Rusijos ateitimi"* (A. Juozaičio rinkimų programa, 2019, p. 17). Lietuvos įsitraukimas į Rytų partnerystės programą kandidatų į prezidentus buvo matomas ne tik kaip pagalba Ukrainai, Moldovai ir Sakartvelui, bet tuo pat metu buvo pabrėžiama teigiama šių valstybių demokratėjimo bei tolesnio suartėjimas su Vakarais įtaka tiek Lietuvos saugumo situacijai, tiek politinei padėčiai Rusijoje.

Nepaisant Rusijos agresyvios politikos kaimyninių valstybių atžvilgiu, nemaža dalis kandidatų į prezidentus pasisakė už glaudesnį bendradarbiavimą su šia šalimi. Anot M. Puidoko, *„santykių su Rusija nebuvimas"* yra *„prastas strateginis sprendimas, kuris veda į nulinius rezultatus"* bei, pabrėždamas Lietuvos geografinę padėtį tarp Rytų ir Vakarų, ragino *„tiesti tiltus, o ne juos deginti ar statyti aklinus barjerus"* (M. Puidoko rinkimų programa, n.d.). Minčiai, kad yra reikalinga gerinti santykius su Rusija pritarė ir kandidatai į prezidentus V. Tomaševskis ir V. P. Andriukaitis. Pastarasis kandidatas, kalbėdamas apie santykius su Rusija, teigė, jog *„bet koks visavertis dialogas su šia kaimyne gali prasidėti tik tada, jei ji pradės rodyti pagarbą tarptautinei teisei ir demokratijos vertybėms"*, visgi tuo pat metu laikėsi nuomonės, kad yra *„klaidinga save izoliuoti arba vartoti agresyvią perteklinę retoriką"* Rusijos atžvilgiu. Anot V. P. Andriukaičio, *„savo požiūrį į Rusiją privalome grįsti bendra ES politika"* t.y. stabdyti šios šalies agresyvius veiksmus, bet *„kartu matyti Rusiją kaip partnerę kovojant su tarptautiniu terorizmu, branduolinio ginklo neplatinimu, klimato kaita"* (V. P. Andriukaičio rinkimų programa, 2019, p. 15). V. Tomaševskis, pabrėždamas ekonominio bendradarbiavimo su Rusija svarbą, teigė, jog santykiai su šia šalimi *„turi būti principingi, tačiau nukreipti į bendrų interesų palaikymą ir bendradarbiavimo plėtrą"* (V. Tomaševskio rinkimų programa, n.d.) bei savo rinkimų programoje visiškai nepalietė Rusijos agresyvios politikos kaimyninių valstybių atžvilgiu temos.

Nors savo rinkimų programoje V. P. Andriukaitis nemažai dėmesio skyrė Rusijos keliamos grėsmės šalies saugumui aptarimui bei akcentavo Lietuvos lyderystės Rytų parnerystės programoje svarbą, visgi tuo pat metu kandidatas nevengė kritiškai pasisakyti apie tuometės valdžios vykdytą užsienio politiką, teigdamas, kad *„Lietuva tarptautinėje arenoje jau kurį laiką yra vertinama kaip „vieno klausimo valstybė""*, kas, anot kandidato, *„apriboja šalies galimybes įsitraukti į svarstymus, kaip išspręsti bendresnes tarptautinės politikos problemas"* (V. P. Andriukaičio rinkimų programa, 2019, p. 14). Pasak kito kandidato į prezidentus A. Juozaičio, *„į agresyvius Rusijos režimo veiksmus reikia reaguoti rimtai ir solidžiai, drauge su NATO partneriais, bendru balsu"*, o *„santykiai su Rusija, kaip ir su kitomis rytų valstybėmis turi būti paremti blaiviu ir apskaičiuotu dialogu, diplomatija, o ne emocijomis"* (A. Juozaičio rinkimų programa, 2019, p. 17), ką galima suprasti kaip kritiką griežtai tuometės prezidentės D. Grybauskaitės retorikai Rusijos atžvilgiu.

Atlikta analizė parodė, kad dauguma kandidatų į prezidentus savo rinkimų programų dokumentuose tiesiogiai arba netiesiogiai įvardijo Rusiją kaip agresorę, potencialiai keliančią grėsmę ir Lietuvos nacionaliniam saugumui. Ne vienas jų tuo pat metu pabrėžė, jog nepaisant išaugusios Rusijos grėsmės, Lietuva dar niekada nebuvo tokia saugi - pirmiausiai dėl narystės NATO teikiamų saugumo garantijų. Dauguma pretendentų tapti valstybės vadovais savo rinkimų programose išreiškė pritarimą aktyviam Lietuvos įsitraukimui į Rytų partnerystės programą - buvo pabrėžiama teigiama Ukrainos, Moldovos ir Sakartvelo demokratėjimo bei tolesnio suartėjimo su Vakarais įtaka tiek Lietuvos saugumo situacijai, tiek politinei padėčiai Rusijoje. Nepaisant agresyvios Rusijos politikos kaimyninių valstybių atžvilgiu, ne vienas kandi-

datas į prezidentus pasisakė už glaudesnį bendradarbiavimą su šia šalimi, tai pirmiausiai grįsdami ekonomine nauda bei poreikiu laikytis bendros pozicijos su partneriais ES.

2019 m. kandidatų į prezidentus debatai. Kitaip ni prieš 2009 m. ir 2014 m. Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento rinkimus, 2019 m. visuomeninio transliuotojo eteryje užsienio politikos ir šalies gynybos temos buvo aptariamos dviejų skirtingų laidų metu. Tiek balandžio 15 d. transliuotoje specialioje užsienio politikai skirtoje rinkimų laidoje („Kandidatų į prezidentus debatai. Užsienio politika: kokios pozicijos laikytųsi būsimas prezidentas?"), tiek balandžio 18 d. - gynybos temai („Kandidatų į prezidentus debatai. Lietuvos gynyba: kokių veiksmų imtųsi būsimas prezidentas?"), kandidatai į Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidentus diskutavo Rusijos ir santykių su ja temomis. Dėl šios priežasties šiame darbo poskyryje yra analizuojami kandidatų pasisakymai abiejų šių laidų metu.

Reikia pastebėti, kad nors visi kandidatai į Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidentus aktyviai diskutavo apie šalies gynybinių pajėgumų stiprinimą ir atsparumo užsienio grėsmėms didinimą, visgi kandidatų požiūris reikšmingai išsiskyrė vertinant Rusijos keliamą grėsmę šalies saugumui bei tai, kokią poziciją santykiuose su šia šalimi turėtų užimti Lietuva.

Kalbėdami apie grėsmes šalies saugumui, kandidatai į prezidentus sutartinai pabrėžė ryšį tarp socialinės gerovės lygio šalyje ir gyventojų atsparumo išorės grėsmėms bei jų pasiryžimo ginti valstybę. Kai kurie būtent socialinės gerovės trūkumą, o ne Rusiją, įvardijo kaip didžiausią grėsmę šalies nacionaliniam saugumui. Anot V. P. Andriukaičio, palyginus su socialinėmis, *„konvencinės grėsmės nėra tokios didelės"* bei tuo pat metu ragino nepaversti Lietuvos *„karinių konfliktų poligonu"*. V. Tomaševskis abiejų laidų metu ne vieną kartą pabrėžė, jog Rusija nėra didžiausia išorės grėsmė šalies saugumui. Pasak kandidato į prezidentus, *„Rusija yra krikščioniškos civilizacijos šalis"* ir *„šiandien, kada stiprėja islamizacija visoje Europoje <…> ateis didesnė grėsmė* [nei, kad yra Rusija]". Pastebėtina, kad V. Tomaševskis buvo linkęs pateisinti Rusijos vykdomą priešišką politiką Lietuvos atžvilgiu, teigdamas, kad Rusijos ilgalaikiai tikslai yra *„tokie patys kaip ir visų kitų valstybių"*. Anot kandidato *„kiekviena savarankiška valstybė nori stiprinti savo valstybės pamatus"* ir teigė, kad *„reikia tą suprasti"* bei ragino Rusijai netaikyti *„dvigubų standartų"*. Nors nei vienas iš kandidatų į prezidentus neneigė Rusijos keliamos grėsmės šalies saugumui, priešingai - dauguma debatų metu kalbėjo tiek apie šios šalies keliamas teritorines, hibridines bei kitokio pobūdžio grėsmes, visgi, pastebėtina, kad ne visi sutiko su tuo, kad būtent Rusijos keliama grėsmė nacionaliniam saugumui yra pati didžiausia.

Debatų metu ne vienas kandidatas pabrėžė gerų santykių su visomis kaimyninėmis valstybėmis svarbą. Kalbėdamas apie santykius su Rusija kandidatas į prezidentus V. Mazuronis teigė, kad nereikėtų ieškoti priešų *„ypatingai kai mes juos bandome įsigyti tokiais <…> tuščiais lozungais"*. Anot V. Tomaševskio *„tik kvailas žmogus ieško draugų toli, o tarp kaimynų - priešų"* ir dėl įtampos regione kaltino JAV, teigdamas, jog šios šalies prezidentas turi suprasti, kad *„mes esame potencialioje fronto linijoje"* bei nebeeskaluoti konflikto. Apie didžiųjų valstybių įtaką Lietuvos užsienio politikai ir saugumui pasisakė ir N. Puteikis. Pastarasis kandidatas teigė, kad kol Europos Sąjungos valstybės tęsia prekybą su Rusija, o Vokietija toliau derina dujotekį, Lietuva, tuo tarpu, yra stumiama su Rusija *„kariauti žodžiais"*. M. Puidokas laikėsi nuomonės, kad *„privalome būti išmintingi"* ir palaikyti JAV vykdomą užsienio politiką, visgi, tuo pat metu, jis kritikavo Lietuvos lyderystę Rusijos klausimu, teigdamas, kad *„negalime visada būti ledlaužio smaigalyje"* ir *„prisiimti visos žalos"*. Minčiai, jog Lietuvos retorika Rusijos atžvilgiu turėtų būti santūresnė pritarė ir V. Mazuronis. Anot kandidato į prezidentus, *„turime matyti, kad Rusija stiprina imperines ambicijas"* visgi *„šiandien požiūris į Rusiją Europos Sąjungoje ir kitose valstybėse keičiasi"*, todėl, pasak V. Mazuronio, reikia tai *„suvokti, matyti ir elgtis atitinkamai"* bei nebijoti kalbėtis *„tame tarpe ir su Rusijos prezidentu V. Putinu"*. Kandidatų pasisakymai atskleidė, kad nepaisant agresyvios Rusijos politikos, dalis jų matė erdvės santykių su Rusija gerinimui, o kaip pirmas žingsnis link geresnių dvišalių santykių dažnu atveju buvo įvardijama nuosaikesnė Lietuvos retorika Rusijos atžvilgiu.

Argumentuodamas, kodėl Lietuvai reikėtų laikytis švelnesnės, bendros su savo partneriais Europos

Sąjunga ir JAV, pozicijos Rusijos atžvilgiu, M. Puidokas debatų metu teigė, kad „*Rusija šiai dienai yra didžiausias* [Lietuvos] *importo ir eksporto partneris*", todėl, anot kandidato, „*agresyviausia pasaulyje politika Rusijos atžvilgiu*" nėra naudinga Lietuvos žmonėms. Apie ekonominio dėmens santykiuose su Rusija svarbą užsiminė ir V. P. Andriukaitis. Pasak kandidato į prezidentus, „*Rusija yra* [neabejotinai] *pažeidusi tarptautinę teisę*", todėl tikslinės Europos Sąjungos sankcijos turi būti tęsiamos, visgi tuo pat metu jis pabrėžė, kad didžiausia šių sankcijų našta tenka „*paprastiems žmonėms*" - tiek Lietuvoje, tiek Europos Sąjungoje, tiek, anot kandidato, ir pačioje Rusijoje.

Kalbėdami apie neseniai įvykusi Estijos prezidentės vizitą į Maskvą, kur ji susitiko su Rusijos prezidentu Vladimiru Putinu, V. Tomaševskis ir V. P. Andriukaitis sveikino tokį jos žingsnį. Pasak pastarojo kandidato, K. Kaljulaid vizitas „*visiškai atitinka Europos Sąjungos valstybių ir vyriausybių vadovų tarybos sprendimus*", o didžioji dalis Estijos visuomenės, anot V. P. Andriukaičio, „*pasveikino šį žingsnį*". Estijos prezidentės susitikimą su V. Putinu teigiamai įvertino ir N. Puteikis, kuris šį žingsnį priešpastatė D. Grybauskaitės, pasak jo, „*įžeidžiančiai retorikai*" Rusijos atžvilgiu.

Tiek N. Puteikio, tiek V. Tomaševskio kritikos sulaukė Lietuvos valdžios atstovų ir kai kurių kitų kandidatų į Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidentus Rusijos valdžiai apibūdinti vartota „režimo" sąvoka. N. Puteikis kėlė klausimą „*kodėl mes vieninteliai Europos Sąjungoje*" vartojame šį terminą ir teigė, kad „*jei* [D.] *Trumpas,* [A.] *Merkel ar* [E.] *Macronas pavadintų Rusijos santvarką režimu - kiltų didžiulis skandalas*". V. Tomaševskis laikėsi nuomonės, kad vadinti Rusiją „*režimu*" nėra teisinga, nes, anot jo, „*jei vyksta rinkimai,* [o Rusijoje] *vyksta rinkimai - tai nėra režimas*" bei tuo pat metu ragino atsisakyti „*karinės retorikos*" Rusijos atžvilgiu.

Visgi, ne visi kandidatai pritarė minčiai dėl santykių su Rusija gerinimo ir retorikos jos atžvilgiu švelninimo. Kandidatai į prezidentus I. Šimonytė, S. Skvernelis ir G. Nausėda laikėsi pozicijos, kad grįžti prie glaudesnio bendradarbiavimo su šia šalimi būtų įmanoma tik tada, jei būtų matomi aiškūs pokyčiai Rusijos vykdomoje politikoje. Tiek I. Šimonytė, tiek S. Skvernelis teigė šiuo metu nematantys galimybės bendradarbiauti aukščiausiu politiniu lygmeniu, visgi jie, kaip ir G. Nausėda bei V. P. Andriukaitis, akcentavo bendradarbiavimo techniniais klausimais, kultūrinių mainų su Rusija svarbą. Pasak I. Šimonytės „*kažkokie santykių* [su Rusija] *pokyčiai <…> reikštų tam tikrą sutartį su sąžine*" bei, leisdama suprasti, kad nemato santykių su Rusija atšilimo galimybės valdžioje esant dabartinei Rusijos vadovybei, pridūrė, kad jau dabar „*reikia ruoštis kalbėtis su ateities Rusija*". G. Nausėda, tuo tarpu, pabrėžė politikos Rusijos atžvilgiu nuoseklumo svarbą bei ragino tokią poziciją atstovauti bendraujant su Europos Sąjungos institucijų atstovais.

Dalis kandidatų į prezidentus, kalbėdami apie santykius su Rusija, akcentavo skirtį tarp šios šalies žmonių ir valdžios. Anot I. Šimonytės „*mes tikrai nieko neturime prieš rusų tautą,* [bet] *yra* [Rusijos] *valdžia, kuri priima sprendimus, kurie pažeidžia tarptautines taisykles*". Kandidatas į prezidentus G. Nausėda debatų metu teigė, kad „*Rusijos žmonės* [yra] *mūsų žmonės*". „*Ir toliau keisis Kremliaus vadovai, keisis valdžios*", tačiau „*mes privalome gyventi šalia, mes turime daugiau žinoti vieni apie kitus teisybės, ne iškraipytos pusiau tiesos*" - ryšių su paprastais rusais palaikymo svarbą pabrėžė G. Nausėda.

Nors nei vienas iš kandidatų į prezidentus neneigė Rusijos keliamos grėsmės Lietuvos nacionaliniam saugumui, visgi ne visi sutiko su tuo, kad būtent Rusijos grėsmė šalies saugumui yra pati didžiausia. Debatų metu ne kartą nuskambėjo nuomonė, jog yra reikalinga palaikyti gerus santykius su visomis kaimyninėmis valstybėmis, tame tarpe, ir Rusija. Ne vienas kandidatas į prezidentus sveikino Estijos prezidentės vizitą į Maskvą susitikti su Rusijos prezidentu V. Putinu, o griežta Lietuvos valdžios atstovų retorika Rusijos atžvilgiu, priešingai, sulaukė nemažai debatų dalyvių kritikos. Reikia pastebėti, kad kol vieni kandidatai į prezidentus laikėsi pozicijos, kad pokyčiai santykiuose su Rusija nėra galimi kol nepasikeis šios šalies vykdoma politika, kiti, tuo tarpu, ragino „neišsišokti", laikytis bendros politikos su Europos Sąjunga ir JAV bei akcentavo ekonominę bendradarbiavimo su Rusija naudą. Dalis kandidatų į prezidentus, kalbėdami apie santykius su Rusija, pabrėžė skirtį tarp šios šalies žmonių bei valdžios ir netgi tie kandidatai, kurie

teigė šiuo metu nemantantys galimybės grįžti prie dvišalių santykių su Rusija aukščiausiu lygmeniu, akcentavo kultūrinių mainų ir bendradarbiavimo su šia šalimi techniniais klausimais svarbą.

Išvados: rinkimų kampanijų lyginamoji analizė

Atlikus 2009 m., 2014 m. ir 2019 m. prezidento rinkimų kampanijų lyginamąją analizę, kurios metu buvo tiriami kandidatų į prezidentus rinkimų programų dokumentai ir kandidatų pasisakymai LRT transliuotuose rinkimams skirtuose debatuose prieš kiekvienus iš tyrimo apimtyje esančių rinkimų, pastebėtina, jog kandidatų retorikoje buvo matomas reikšmingas pokytis Rusijos, dvišalių santykių su ja ir Rusijos grėsmės šalies nacionaliniam saugumui vertinime.

Lyginant trejas rinkimų kampanijas, atkreiptinas dėmesys, kad 2014 m. ir 2019 m., kitaip nei 2009 m., buvo matoma reikšminga kandidatų požiūrio į Rusiją, dvišalius santykius su ja ir Rusijos keliamą grėsmę, poliarizacija. Jei 2009 m. visi kandidatai sutarė, kad Lietuvos užsienio politika, kalbant apie santykius su Rusija, turi būti orientuota į pragmatiškumą bei ekonominės naudos užtikrinimą šalies gyventojams, nei vienas neįvardijo Rusijos, kaip grėsmės šalies saugumui bei visi kritikavo Lietuvos išsikeltą lyderystės Rytų Europoje tikslą, tai 2014 m. ir 2019 m. kandidatų požiūris į Rusiją išsiskyrė daug labiau.

Šis kandidatų požiūrio išsiskyrimas gali būti aiškinamas pasitelkiant anksčiau aptartą rėminimo (angl. *framing*) principą (Arbour, 2014). Remiantis rėminimo teorija galima teigti, kad tiek savo programose, tiek rinkimų debatų laidose, kiekvienas iš kandidatų siekė išryškinti tam tikrus, jiems parankius, Rusijos temos aspektus ir naudojo būtent tas politines žinutes, kurios, jų manymu, turėjo labiausiai rezonuoti su jų rinkėjais.

Nors 2014 m., kaip ir 2009 m., visi kandidatai sutarė dėl šalies pasirinktos provakarietiškos geopolitinės krypties, o dauguma 2014 m. Rusiją įvardijo kaip potencialią grėsmę šalies nacionaliniam saugumui[5], visgi kandidatų vertinimas išsiskyrė dėl to, kokią poziciją santykiuose su šia šalimi turėtų užimti Lietuva. Kol dalis pabrėžė atgrasymo, paremto karinių pajėgumų didinimu, ir energetinės nepriklausomybės svarbą, kiti pasisakė už nuosaikesnę, konfrontacijų su Rusija padėsiančią išvengti, retoriką. 2014 m. dalis kandidatų nors ir vertino Rusijos veiksmus Ukrainoje kaip neteisėtus, visgi tuo pat metu siūlė vystyti dialogą su šia šalimi - taip užsitikrinant geresnes energetinių išteklių kainas.

Raginimų megzti glaudesnius ryšius su Rusija, o taip pat kritikos tuometės valdžios atstovams dėl esą pernelyg griežtos retorikos Rusijos atžvilgiu buvo girdėti ir prieš 2019 m. prezidento rinkimus. Jei vieni kandidatai į prezidentus, kaip ir 2009 m. bei 2014 m. rinkimų kampanijų metu, akcentavo ekonominio bendradarbiavimo su šia šalimi naudą, buvo pabrėžiama bendros pozicijos Rusijos atžvilgiu su partneriais Europos Sąjungoje ir JAV svarba bei raginama pernelyg „neišsišokti", tai kiti kandidatai teikė pirmenybę vertybinei pozicijai, teigdami, kad esminiai pokyčiai santykiuose su Rusija įmanomi tik pasikeitus šios šalies vykdomai politikai. Ir nors nei vienas iš kandidatų į prezidentus 2019 m. rinkimų kampanijos metu neneigė Rusijos keliamos grėsmės šalies saugumui, visgi ne visi sutiko su tuo, kad būtent Rusijos grėsmė nacionaliniam saugumui yra pati didžiausia. Netgi tie kandidatai, kurie laikėsi griežtos pozicijos Rusijos atžvilgiu, akcentavo kultūrinių mainų ir bendradarbiavimo su šia šalimi techniniais klausimais svarbą. Pastebėtina, kad 2019 m., priešingai nei 2009 m., plataus pritarimo sulaukė Lietuvos lyderystė Rytų Europos regione - kandidatai pabrėžė teigiamą Ukrainos, Moldovos ir Sakartvelo demokratėjimo bei tolesnio suartėjimo su Vakarais įtaką tiek Lietuvos saugumo situacijai, tiek politinei padėčiai Rusijoje.

Vertinant bendrai visų, 2009 m., 2014 m. ir 2019 m. Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento rinkimuose dalyvavusių, kandidatų pasisakymus rinkimų debatų laidose bei rinkimų programų dokumentuose, galima daryti išvadą, jog kandidatų retorika Rusijos atžvilgiu šiuo laikotarpiu pasikeitė reikšmingai. Jei po Sakartvelo-Rusijos konflikto Rusija kandidatų į prezidentus vis dar buvo matoma kaip partnerė su kuria

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[5]   Su šiuo teiginiu atvirai nesutiko vos vienas iš kandidatų - V. Tomaševskis.

naudinga plėtoti dvišalį bendradarbiavimą, tai po Krymo aneksijos ir karo Rytų Ukrainoje pradžios, nors ir tebebuvo girdimi siūlymai bendradarbiauti, visgi Rusija daugumos pradėta vertinti pirmiausiai kaip agresorė kelianti grėsmę taip pat ir Lietuvos saugumui.

Atkreiptinas dėmesys, kad 2014 m. ir 2019 m., kitaip nei 2009 m., LRT transliuoti, prezidento rinkimams skirti debatai, apėmė jau ne tik užsienio politiką, bet ir saugumo klausimus, kuriais debatų dalyviai aktyviai diskutavo. Tai leidžia daryti prielaidą, kad bendras Rusijos grėsmės visuomenėje vertinimas praėjus daugiau nei penkiems metams nuo Sakartvelo–Rusijos konflikto pradžios, Rusijai įsiveržus į Ukrainą, reikšmingai pakito.

Kandidatų retorikos pokytis Rusijos grėsmės ir santykių su šia šalimi vertinime gali bent iš dalies būti aiškinamas pasikeitusiu Rusijos, kaip grėsmės šalies nacionaliniam saugumui, vertinimu visuomenėje. Vartojant kaskados aktyvavimo modelio terminologiją, galima sakyti, jog 2014 m. Lietuvos politinio elito suformuota atgimusios Rusijos grėsmės žinutė viešųjų diskusijų „kaskada" (per žiniasklaidą ir socialinę mediją) nusirito iki plačiosios visuomenės, o visuomenės lūkestis tuo pačiu keliu sugrįžo iki elito lygmens ir tarsi nepaliko kitos išeities politikams kaip tik tęsti tokią komunikaciją tikintis sėkmės rinkimuose.

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Lauryna Skrebytė

THE 2009, 2014 AND 2019 LITHUANIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: RUSSIA AND REFLECTION OF ITS THREAT IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Abstract. *This paper aims to find out the rhetoric of Lithuanian presidential candidates during the 2009, 2014 and 2019 election campaigns with respect to Russia and its threat to Lithuania's national security, as well as how candidates' rhetoric changed when comparing these three election campaigns. The 2009, 2014 and 2019 elections as the research object were chosen because the 2009 and 2014 elections were held just a few months after the beginning of the Russo-Georgian War in 2008 and the annexation of Crimea and the beginning of the war in Donbas in 2014, while the 2019 Lithuanian presidential election took place amidst the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. In order to answer the research question, an analysis of candidates' election programs and speeches during televised debates broadcasted by the Lithuanian National Broadcaster before*

all three elections, was performed. Comparative analysis of the election campaigns has shown that there was a significant shift in candidates' rhetoric regarding Russia, Lithuania's bilateral relations with Russia, and the assessment of the threat posed by Russia to Lithuania's national security when comparing the 2009, 2014 and 2019 presidential elections. In 2014 and 2019, unlike in 2009, the majority of candidates began to refer to Russia as an aggressor country that posed a security threat to Lithuania.

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PROFILES OF COGNITIONAL, EMOTIONAL AND BEHAVIOURAL CHARACTERISTICS INFLUENCING VALUE SYSTEMS AND PUBLIC POLICIES

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Abstract. *This study purposed to analyze inter-influences among the administrators' profiles of characteristics, their value systems, and their public policies in the situations of local governments in South Korea. The characteristic profiles are attributed to behavior, emotion, and cognition. The value systems are referred to as economics and job ethics. The public policies were divided into distribution and regulation. The research methods were based on a questionnaire that constructed items for the above three variables and requested Likert scales. The sample size was 1061, recruited from all eight Korean local governments. The results of the structure analysis suggested that the administrators' decisions about their public policy were influenced by their value systems attributed to their characteristics profiles. Further studies required the application of this study's paradigm to the diverse values and policies that were limited in this study and to the world's nations, where the governmental processes are different in economic ideology and political culture from Korean structures.*

Keywords: behavioral, emotional, and cognitional characteristics; value systems; public policies; Korean local governments.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: elgsenos, emocinės ir kognityvinės savybės; vertybių sistemos; viešoji politika; Korėjos vietos valdžia.

Introduction

A policy decision is thought to be the outcome of the complexity of the decision-maker's value systems and, specifically, his or her characteristic profiles. The interrelationships among the three variables are concerned with the various management studies, which were too limited to cover the three variables at once, owing to their respective foci.

According to S. M. Abbasi and K. W. Hollman (1987), the relationship between public managers' value systems and their decision-making was analyzed. Y. G. Kim (2009) extended the varieties of administra-

tors' value systems and public policy sorts to examine the relationships that were observed in the processes of Korean local governments. The research found that democratic value was inversely related to regulatory policy more so than distributional policy, and bureaucratic value was also inversely related to regulation more so than distribution.

Manipulating variables with a little different focus, P. E. Connor and B. W. Becker (2003) investigated the question of whether public managers' personal values are related to their decision styles. G. A. Brewer and J. E. Kellough (2016) analyzed the relationship between administrative values and public personnel management. R. Gvelesiani (2019) investigated the relationships between public values and economic policy decisions. Those concerned the varieties of values and decision items but were limited in the relationship between the value systems and the decision styles.

The above research concerned similar variables as our study but focused on the relationship between managers' values and decisional outputs. The relationship was short in extending to personal characteristics, which were concerned by our study. According to P. Gahan and L. Abeysekera (2009), an individual's work value was shaped by the integration of self-construal, which our paradigm thought could be accounted for as a personal characteristic. Related to that study, N. Marquardt and R. Hoeger (2009) observed that business management was related to implicit moral cognitions, from which our study extended to personal characteristics consisting of behavior, emotion, and cognition. Concerning cognitional processes, D. M. Kahan and D. Braman (2006) observed public policy related to cultural cognition, which our paradigm thought would be one of personal characteristics. For an integrity activity, H. S. Choi, S. J. Cho, J. G. Seo, and M. N. Bechtoldt (2018) analyzed the joint processes of collective value orientation and independent self-representation, which our study regards as an integration of psychological characteristics.

This study questioned whether administrators' public policies, their value systems, and their profiles of behavioral, emotional, and cognitional characteristics were mutually influenced. To go with the questions, the following would discuss what sorts of policies, values, and characteristics are abstracted.

Policy Categories: Public policy is defined in diverse ways. It shares the consensus that public policy is the governmental organization's decision for the actual instruction towards the futures of the responsible community, as discussed with its approaches by M. Howlett and B. Cashore (2020). K. E. Boulding (2018) focused on the elements as the actual instruction with the principle to rule and act, and toward the future with the specific purpose. To consider the public policies proposed by researchers, T. J. Lowi (1964) conceptualized the policies as distribution, regulation, redistribution, and constitution. R. B. Ripley and G. A. Franklin (1986) proposed the policies of competitive regulation and protective regulation. G. A. Almond and G. B. Powell (1966) elaborated on the policies of abstraction, distribution, regulation, and symbolism. The above categorizations shared the distribution and regulation policies that would be abstracted by our study.

Reviewing the above, our study focused on two policies; regulation and distribution. Regarding regulation policy, D. Levi-Faur (2010) discussed the various facets of the regulation, suggesting a significant impact of the regulation on modern capitalism. S. Cunningham (2020) reported what the regulation policies worked in Australia. Referring to the distribution policy, B. E. Hainsworth (1990) discussed the distribution of advantages and disadvantages, pointing out the effect of the distribution on national societies. R. M. Blank (2019) analyzed the problems of national poverty, proposing some ideas on how to design the distribution policies. The regulation policy is defined as the act by which governmental resources are saved for the sake of the reservation. The distribution policy is defined as the act by which governmental resources are distributed to people for the sake of welfare projects. So, the two policies are reversed in the policy cycle.

Value systems: As commented by E. R. A. N. Vigoda-Gadot and S. Meiri (2008), who suggested that organizations' functions are multi-faced by their personnel's value systems, the administrative values in-

herent in policymakers are complicated in diversities. H. F. Gortner (2019) conceptualized value systems such as economic, democratic, social, official, and professional. J. A. Worthley (1981) proclaimed the values of structure, profession, ability, efficiency, and devotion. B. Buchanan and J. Millstone (1979) proposed values related to administrative reason, democratic morality, and the political survival of public officials. Reviewing the value taxonomy suggested in the above research, the value systems are regressed to the material and humanistic systems in conjunction with the conservative and progressive processes.

So, it is suggestive to compare two value systems; economic value, which comes from conservative material, and job ethics, which come from progressive humanism. Concerning two values, W. D. Schulze (1980) suggested ethics and economics could harmonize to facilitate the value of safety. P. Trivellas, A. Rafailidis, P. Polychroniou, and P. Dekoulou (2019) suggested that corporate ethical values influence job performance positively in multiple areas, including the economic state of the current society. S. K. Sokoya (1992) revealed that most managers' ethics are oriented toward pragmatic values covering economics. Remaining in controversy, H. Ortiz (2013) questioned whether economic value is compatible with political morals, suggesting that the two values are problematic in the financial industry. For contrast, professional ethics attracted controversies over whether it rivals economic value or helps to enhance public administration, as questioned by M. Fattah (2011). More critically, professional value systems were converted to everyday ones to help job achievement, as analyzed in social work by S. Banks (2016). B. J. Ale, D. H. Slater, and D. N. Hartford (2023) insisted on the critical role of ethical dilemmas, through which risk decision are made.

Reviewing the above, our study abstracted the values of economics and job ethics. The values were refined in contrast. The economic value deals primarily with a material drive, contrasting with the cultural value of mental pleasure. The job ethics range from duty- or principle-conservative to humanistic- or pragmatic-progressive.

Profiles of behavioral, emotional, and cognitional characteristics: It is proposed and tested that the personal profiles consist of behavioral, emotional, and cognitional (BEC) characteristics, according to Lee et al. J. Kim, B. Khu, and Y. Lee (2022) analyzed BEC profiles of offenders and victims, which influenced processes, symptoms, and recovery related to sexual violence cases. M. Ju, H. Lee, and Y. Lee (2018) found BEC profiles to be differentiated among love types of the God-human, the parent-child, and the man-woman, which were extended to brethren and friendship loves (Ju, Li, & Lee, 2019). S. Lee, J. Jeong, and Y. Lee (2017) differentiated dimensions of physical, emotional, and cognitional labor, and the labor dimensions were found to relate to social ideologies (Lee, Kim, & Lee, 2019). D. Sohn, S. Lee, and Y. Lee (2018) analyzed the BEC dimensions of social efforts in family, which were extended to social relationships in the military (Choi, Lee, & Lee, 2023). The above research concluded that BEC worked as dimensions of labor and social effort, as types of love, and as profiles of the sexual offender and victim.

Reviewing the above, our study attempted to analyze the BEC characteristics of administrators, which are supposed to relate to their administrative processes. Most research focused on the relationship between values and policies, disregarding personal characteristics. So our study anticipated that the profiles of BEC characteristics would influence the constituents of value systems and the types of policies favored.

Purposes and Predictions of this Study: This study proposed that administrator's BEC profiles, their value systems, and their public policies were related and should be further analyzed by factor analysis and structural analysis. What this study supposes are the links of influence among the three variables; it predicted that administrators' character profiles would influence their value systems, which could result in influence on their public policies. Reviewing the above, the character profiles were fixed as BEC characteristics, the value systems were reduced to economic and ethical values, and the public policies were focused on distributional and regulatory policies.

The main analysis focused on the structure of the characters, the values, and the policies. Before the structure analysis, the factors were analyzed if the three variables were abstracted. The last analysis turned to ANOVA to find how significantly the three variables have mutual effects. Analyzing the structure of the

three variables, it is fixed that the starting one is the BEC characteristics and the terminal one is the policies, because of this study's purpose. For the connections between two variables, it is supposed that there is 1) a link between the character and the value, 2) a link between the character and the policy, and 3) a link between the value and the policy. Which is significantly described, will be analyzed. The above purposes made this study's method quantitative, using factor analysis, structure analysis, and ANOVA.

Method

Subject: 1061 people participated, coming from each of the 15 provinces overall in Korea. In each province, the sampled people are aged from 20 to 60. Males amounted to 754 (71.1%) and females to 307 (28.9%). The ages were distributed as 68 people of 20 years, 410 of 30 years, 452 of 40 years, and 131 of 50 years.

Questionnaire: This study constructed a questionnaire to cover three variables; 'BEC' (characteristics as behavior, emotion, and cognition), 'value' (value systems as economics and job ethics), and 'policy' (public policies as distribution and regulation). All items of the questionnaire were asked to be responded to as a Likard 7 scale rating.

The examples for each area were as follows: The items of the BEC were rated by the subjects questioned as "How much do you think of...?" for the cognitional characteristic. For the emotional one, "How much do you feel about...?" was asked. For the behavioral one, "How much do you behave like...?" was asked.

The items of the value system were questioned as "How much do you think (feel, or behave) of the economic profit?" which was rated 'from profitable to non-profitable for the economic value'. For the job ethics, "how much do you think (feel, or behave) of the job ethics?" was asked and rated 'from principle-based to pragmatic-based'.

The items of the policy were questioned as "How much do you support distributional policy?" which is rated 'from negative to positive' for the distribution policy. For the regulation one, "How much do you support regulatory policy?" was asked and rated from negative to positive.

The item reliability of this study's questionnaire was tested by Cronbach's alpha. The total number of items was .792. The value items were .758, of which the economic items were .782 and the ethical items were .811. The policy items were .767 of which the distribution items were .689 and the regulation items were .720. The character items were .758.

Procedural: The papers of the questionnaire for each person were sent to the subjects and received by mail. The responding papers amounted to 1061 and were not returned to 205. It occurred in June 2007. The statistical analyses were processed through Factor analysis, Structure analysis, and Analysis of variance by SPSS (v. 2020) and AMOS (v. 2020).

Result

In this study, the three variables—BEC profiles, value systems, and policy categories—were statistically examined. Factor analysis was used to see how the measured variables were grouped. Structure analysis was used to determine how the three variables were linked. ANOVA was used to examine how the three variables influenced each other.

Factor analysis to check groups of the related items: The BEC characteristics, the value systems, and the policy categories were measured by a variety of items. The factor analysis asked how these measured items were grouped into factors to design the following structure analysis. Figure 1 shows the result of factor analysis. It explained 56.64% of the variance in 6 factors. The factors were grouped into each of the Values as economic and ethical, which were shared with the BEC as cognitional, emotional, and behavioral, and each of the Policies as distributional and regulatory. The distribution of BEC over the Values and the Policies suggests that the former is the starting variable, influencing the latter two variables in the structure of the three variables.
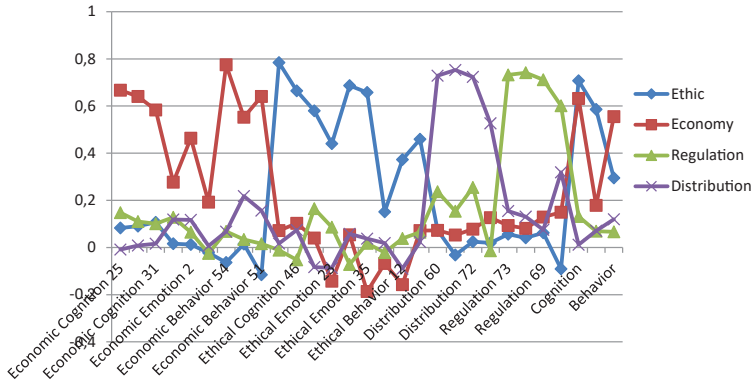
Figure 1. *Factor analysis by extraction of the principal component and rotation of Varimax with Kaiser normalization*

Source: Authors'

Structure analysis to confirm influences among the latent variables: To analyze a structure fitting this data, the measured variables that were embedded in the latent variables were defined. The questionnaire's items of cognition, emotion, and behavior related to values were measured to construct a latent variable, 'Characteristics'. The items of economics and job ethics related to policies were measured to construct a latent variable, 'Value'. The items of the distribution and regulation policies were measured to construct a latent variable, 'Policy'. Reviewing the Factor analysis's results and this study hypothesis, it is figured that the BEC profiles of characteristics, which are defined as the independent variable, would influence the value systems, regarded as the mediate variable, which at last affects the policy categories, defined as the dependent variable.

Like in Figure 2, this hypothesis was not rejected. The starting link from Characteristics to Value was .63, significantly, as $CR = 11.407$, $SE = .055$, $p = .000$, and the ending link from Value to Policy was .41, significantly, as $CR = 5.122$, $SE = .079$, $p = .000$.

As supposed in the above 'this study's purposes', the alternative link from Characteristics to Policy was not significantly structured. Therefore, the structure as shown in Figure 2 was significantly described; a link from Characteristic to Value, another link from Value to Policy, and no direct link from Characteristic to Policy.
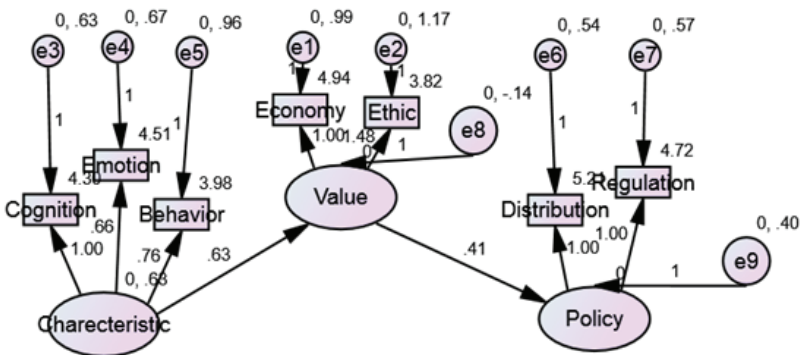
Figure 2. *The analyzed structure of characteristic, value, and policy*

Source: Authors'

ANOVA and correlation analysis: This study concerned each difference within BEC (Behavior/Emotion/Cognition), Value (Economics/Ethics), and Policy (Distribution/Regulation), and specifically how BEC patterns varied with others. The test was confirmed by ANOVA of (Policy x Subject) and (Characteristics x Value x Subject).

Analyzing Policy, the difference between Distribution and Regulation was significant, $F = 232.297$, $df = 1/1060$, $Mse = .555$, $p = .000$, $ß = 1.000$. It showed that Distribution ($M = 5.214$, $SD = .976$) was higher than Regulation ($M = 4.721$, $SD = .993$). The BEC and Value were interacted, $F = 14.783$, $df = 2/2120$, $Mse = 8.758$, $p = .000$, $ß = .999$.

Figure 3 shows the interaction of BEC and Value, suggesting that BEC was differentiated due to Value. Generally, BEC was higher for economic value than for job ethics, and emotional characteristic was higher than behavioral ones. Specifically, emotional characteristic was higher in economic value but lower in job ethics than cognitional and behavioral ones.
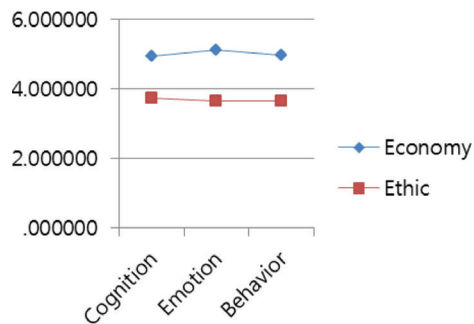
Figure 3. *Characteristics vary according to value*

Source: Authors'

Since the choice of a policy is due to the maker's hierarchy, which is differentiated in government and responsibilities, an analysis of the hierarchy effect was required. This study defined the job ranks by the between-subjects variable; the temporal rank amounted to 112, the 8th to 251, the 7th to 440, the 6th to 222, and the 5th to 36. An ANOVA was designed by Job rank. In the results, at Distribution policy, the job rank effect was significant, $F = 3.101$, $df = 4/1056$, $Mse = .946$, $p = .015$, suggesting that the more middle the ranks, the lower the effect. The policy was anxious to be fixed similarly by the administrators above or below the middle rank. However, at Regulatory policy, the job rank effect was significant in reverse, $F = 3.304$, $df = 4/1056$, $Mse = .977$, $p = .011$, suggesting that the lower the ranks, the higher the effect. The policy was more respected by the lower job ranks than the higher ones.

To analyze the micro-relations between the measured variables, it was concerned with how correlated they were between each of the BEC and each of the Value, and between each of the Value and each of the Policy. Emotion ($r = .668$, $p = .000$) rather than behavior ($r = .627$, $p = .000$) and cognition ($r = .614$, $p = .000$) was higher related to job ethics. Cognition ($r = .623$, $p = .000$) rather than behavior ($r = .570$, $p = .000$) and emotion ($r = 509$, $p = .000$) was higher related to economic policy. Economic policy ($r = .296$, $p = .000$) rather than job ethics ($r = .067$, $p = .029$) was higher related to distributional policy. Economic policy ($r = 276$, $p = .000$) rather than job ethics ($p = .308$) was higher related to regulatory policy.

Discussion

Discussing the above results concerns a structure where the three operational variables, such as the BEC characteristics, the value systems, and the policy categories, influence each other sequentially in the

above order. Following the structure, it elaborates on the micro relationship among the variables.

Suggesting some philosophical concerns, the variable independence among the three variables that were analyzed by a Factor analysis was confirmed between the values and the policies, but not with the BEC, which tangled with the latter two. Regarding a phenomenological view, the BEC was directed toward an object (each of the values), as questioned by "How do you think (feel, or behave) toward one of the values?" The directness was as proposed by E. Husserl as that a consciousness is to direct toward an object (Marosan, 2022). Concerning this study's hypothesis, a Structure analysis needs to follow, assuming the BEC is designed as an independent variable and the values and the policies as the dependent ones.

In terms of results, this study significantly confirmed the flowchart of influence, where the BEC started to flow to the values, which terminated in the policies. The BEC effects in this study supported Lee et al.'s theory (Ju, Lee, & Lee, 2018; Ju, Li, & Lee, 2019; Kim, Khu, & Lee, 2022; Lee, Jeong, & Lee, 2017; Lee, Kim, & Lee, 2019; Sohn, Lee, & Lee, 2018) that the BEC profiles were the basic factor functioning in varieties of human relations.

It is attractive that this study implied the working culture related to the BEC, the values, and the policies of the Korean administration. The results suggested that the economic value was higher than the job ethical value, the distribution policy was higher than the regulation, and all the BEC, and specifically the emotional characteristics, were higher on the economic value than on the job ethical value. Those were commented on to reflect the Korean government managers' attitudes, but it is required to investigate the reasons in the next studies comparing worldwide nations.

This study found an extra result through a question of whether the policy preference is due to the administrator's hierarchy, which is differentiated in governance and responsibilities. So, it analyzed the interaction between the job ranks and the policies, showing that for the distribution policy, the more middle the ranks, the lower the effect. However, for the regulation policy, the lower the ranks, the higher the effect. The reason why it is would be further analyzed, suggesting not only the job hierarchy's influence but also the political culture in the enlightenment of democracy.

Related to the culture of politics and management, J. Hartley, J. Alford, O. Hughes, and S. Yates (2015) analyzed public managers' astuteness toward administrative and political orientations to find the latter biased. Inspired by that one, the next study of ours needs to divide the policies analyzed into the two orientations. Further, since astuteness toward politics is said to be vivid in Korean situations of rivalry between free market development and social control of distribution, this paradigm of ours could be applied to other countries, as commented by P. Gahan and L. Abeysekera (2009). They found that individuals' work values are shaped not only personally but also by national culture. Demonstrating national differences, S. K. Sokoya (1992) revealed that most managers' ethics are oriented toward a pragmatic value to economics in a developing country, Nigeria.

Commenting more on research, this study recommends some more variables reviewed in the previous studies. S. T. Lyons, L. E. Duxbury, and C. A. Higgins (2006) compared the value systems between public and private managers to find some discrepancies in the value distributions of pragmatic, moralistic, effect, and mixed. The finding is suggested, but the categories of values were ambiguous, insomuch as the value and the pragmatic are shared, and the morality includes all others. However, following that one, this study may, in the next project, extend to the ethical profiles of BEC between public and private managers.

Conclusion

Concluding this study's contribution and limitations, at first, it is notable that the participants, which amounted to 1061, were sampled proportionally across the overall provinces of South Korea. The study's results are a kind of public administrative face that reflects the situation and culture of the Korean government.

Second, it is significant that this study analyzed the influence of administrators' BEC profiles on their value systems and their policy favors through a structural analysis. The previous studies were limited to the relationships between values and policies, but this study invited the BEC modeled by Lee et al. as a causal variable.

Third, to attend to the BEC influence to the other variables, the economic value boosted all profiles in addition to the highest emotional characteristics. Those suggest emotional prominence and raise questions about whether it is due to the unique situation of the Korean administration or in general worldwide, requiring some comparison research.

Fourth, suggesting some philosophical concerns, the BEC tangled with the values and the policies, as a factor analysis showed. According to a phenomenological view, the BEC, as a sort of consciousness, is directed toward an object.

Fifth, regarding figures of Korean public administration, this study showed that the economic value was higher than the job ethics value, and the distribution policy was higher than the regulation. Commenting on the administrator's rank effect on policy preference, this study suggested that the middle rank suffered from suppression both of the higher and the lower. So, it is required to analyze the reasons why they are in the further studies comparing worldwide.

At last, some variables that related to administrative situations, such as differences between public and private, political-economic senses, and democratic development, required further research and worldwide projects. Applying this study's paradigm, it is requested that more standard questionnaires be developed. This study's questionnaire for BEC, if evaluated, is an initiative.

Acknowledgement

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PAŽINTINIŲ, EMOCINIŲ IR ELGSENOS SAVYBIŲ, DARANČIŲ ĮTAKĄ VERTYBIŲ SISTEMOMS IR VIEŠAJAI POLITIKAI, PROFILIAI

Anotacija. *Šio tyrimo tikslas - išanalizuoti administratorių charakteristikų, jų vertybių sistemų ir viešosios politikos sąsajas Pietų Korėjos vietos valdžios institucijų situacijose. Savybių profiliai priskiriami elgsenai, emocijoms ir pažinimui. Vertybių sistemos priskiriamos ekonomikai ir darbo etikai. Viešoji politika buvo suskirstyta į paskirstymą ir reguliavimą. Tyrimo metodai buvo grindžiami klausimynu, kuriame sukonstruoti minėtų trijų kintamųjų elementai ir prašomos Likerto skalės. Imties dydis buvo 1061, tai yra iš visų aštuonių Korėjos vietos valdžios institucijų. Struktūros analizės rezultatai parodė, kad administratorių sprendimams dėl viešosios politikos įtakos turėjo jų vertybių sistemos, priskiriamos jų charakteristikų profiliams. Tolesniems tyrimams reikia šio tyrimo paradigmą taikyti įvairioms vertybėms ir politikai, kurių buvo tik šiame tyrime, ir pasaulio valstybėms, kuriose valdžios procesai skiriasi ekonomine ideologija ir politine kultūra nuo Korėjos struktūrų.*

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SOCIALIAI PAŽEIDŽIAMŲ ASMENŲ KELIAS LINK AUKŠTOJO MOKSLO: KULTŪRINIS KAPITALAS IR JO VYSTYMASIS

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Anotacija. *Lygių galimybių švietimo sistemoje užtikrinimas ir švietimo prieinamumas pripažįstamos kaip vertingos priemonės mažinti nelygybei visuomenėje. Aukštojo mokslo prieinamumui gali daryti įtaką įvairūs veiksniai: instituciniai apribojimai, asmens socialinis, kultūrinis, ekonominis kapitalai. Švietimo lauke itin vertinamas kultūrinis kapitalas (kultūriniai objektai, kalbos kodai, elgesio manieros, pomėgiai, aukštosios kultūros vertinimas). Kuo labiau asmens šeimoje suformuotas kultūrinis kapitalas atitinka švietimo lauko reikalavimus, tuo didesnę grąžą (išsilavinimą, pasiekimus) jis gauna. Asmenys, kilę iš žemas pajamas turinčių šeimų, tautinių mažumų grupių, turintys negalią, taip pat tie, kurie gyvena kaimo vietovėse yra socialiai pažeidžiami švietimo lauke, nes dėl negalios, lėšų stokos šeimoje, gyvenamosios vietos ar tautybės (su tuo susijusių kalbos barjerų) neturėjo galimybių įgyti kultūrinio kapitalo šeimos aplinkoje. Straipsnio tikslas – nustatyti, koks yra socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų, pasiekusių aukštąjį išsilavinimą, kultūrinis kapitalas ir kaip jis vystėsi. Tam tikslui pasiekti atliktas tyrimas – pusiau struktūruoti interviu su socialiai pažeidžiamais asmenimis, pasiekusiais aukštąjį išsilavinimą. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad informantų kultūrinis kapitalas mokymosi pradžioje neatitiko švietimo lauko reikalavimų. Švietimo laukas reikalavo iš informantų aktyvaus dalyvavimo pamokose, pastangų mokytis, tobulėjimo, gero mokymosi, mokyklos taisyklių laikymosi, visuomeniškumo. Mokymosi pradžioje informantai turėjo mažai kultūrinių praktikų ir objektų, jiems buvo sudėtinga suprasti mokyklos normas, taisykles. Kultūrinis kapitalas mokymosi eigoje vystytas per: bendras praktikas su draugais, draugų ir šeimos palankias mokymuisi nuostatas, aplinkinių pavyzdį ir paskatinimą, naudojimąsi savo aplinkoje esamais kultūriniais ištekliais, knygų skaitymą, piešimą, grojimą muzikos instrumentais. Informantai dėjo daug pastangų mokytis, neatsilikti nuo bendraamžių, kontroliavo savo elgesį, slėpė savo socialinę kilmę, kad ji neišduotų jų kitoniškumo nuo bendraamžių, socialiniu aktyvumu demonstravo vertumą užimti aukštą poziciją švietimo lauke. Informantai formalaus ugdymo pabaigoje jau buvo pritaikę savo kultūrinį kapitalą prie švietimo lauko, nes jie gaudavo gerus įvertinimus, norėjo toliau tęsti mokymąsi ir studijuoti. Straipsnio rezultatai praplečia žinojimą apie kultūrinio kapitalo vystymo procesą, socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų patirtį švietimo lauke.*

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *socialiai pažeidžiami asmenys, kultūrinis kapitalas, švietimas, aukštasis mokslas.*
Keywords: *socially vulnerable persons, cultural capital, education, higher education.*

Įvadas

Švietimas šiuolaikinėje visuomenėje suprantamas kaip vienas iš pagrindinių socialinės gerovės garantų tiek individui, tiek visuomenei. Aukštesnis išsilavinimo lygis lemia didesnį įsidarbinamumo lygį (asmenų, turinčių tik pagrindinį išsilavinimą, užimtumo lygis yra beveik du kartus mažesnis nei turinčių baka-

lauro ar magistro laipsnį (EBPO, 2017)) ir aukštesnes pajamas (Lietuvoje suaugusieji, kurie turi bakalauro diplomą uždirba 49 proc. daugiau, nei įgiję vidurinį išsilavinimą (EBPO, 2016)). Išsimokslinimo laipsnis akivaizdžiai yra susijęs su pasiektu profesiniu statusu (Leonavičius, 2011). Lygių galimybių švietimo sistemoje užtikrinimas pripažįstamas kaip vertinga priemonė mažinti nelygybei visuomenėje. Dėl to siektina, kad kuo daugiau asmenų turėtų galimybę įgyti aukštąjį išsilavinimą. Visgi, Lietuvoje aukštasis mokslas nėra vienodai prieinamas skirtingoms visuomenės grupėms (LSD, 2016). Amartya Sen (2000) iškėlė pajėgumų lygybės principą, kuris suponuoja ne tik lygias formalias galimybes pasiekti aukštąjį išsilavinimą, bet ir pajėgumų turėjimą pasinaudoti tokiomis formaliomis galimybėmis. Vienas iš tokių pajėgumų yra kultūrinis kapitalas, t. y. asmens gyvenimo būdo visuma (Bourdieu, 1997) (šią sąvoką plačiau aptarsime skyrelyje „Kultūrinio kapitalo reikšmė aukštojo mokslo pasiekimui"). Individo pozicija švietimo lauke priklauso nuo kultūrinio kapitalo, kurį jis gali mobilizuoti, ir papildomų turimų kapitalo rūšių (pvz., socialinio, ekonominio, simbolinio kapitalo) dydžio (Bourdieu, 1984).

Skirtingų visuomenės grupių kultūrinis kapitalas skiriasi, kadangi pirminis kultūrinis kapitalas formuojasi individo šeimoje, o remiantis juo per mokyklą, draugus, bendruomenę formuojamas antrinis kultūrinis kapitalas. Nors kultūrinio kapitalo tyrimų pradininkas Pierre Bourdieu (1984) analizavo kultūrinio kapitalo pasiskirstymą skirtingose visuomenės grupėse pagal socialinę klasę, ir teigė, kad žemesnes pajamas turintys asmenys turi mažiau kultūrinio kapitalo, pasak jo, pajamos neturėtų būti naudojamas kaip vienintelis stratifikacijos kriterijus, kadangi tai neleistų suvokti ir analizuoti patirties, kylančios iš socialinių priespaudos struktūrų. Siekiant visapusiškai apžvelgti visuomenę struktūruojančius aspektus, moksliniame diskurse naudojamos ir socialinio pažeidžiamumo (Castel, 2005), socialinės rizikos (Liutkevi, 2015), socialinės atskirties grupių (Levitas ir kiti, 2007), mažiau galimybių turinčio jaunimo (Lisauskienė, Rimkevičienė, 2019) sampratos, kurios leidžia atsižvelgti ne tik į ekonominius, bet ir į socialinius ir kultūrinius aspektus, kurie struktūruoja visuomenę. Pažeidžiamumą galima apibrėžti kaip gyvenimo situaciją, kurioje individų autonomija ir apsisprendimo teisė gali būti laikinai apribota dėl nestabilios socialinės įtraukties ir išteklių paskirstymo visuomenėje (Ranci 2002). Socialiai pažeidžiamais asmenimis švietimo lauke galime laikyti asmenis, kilusius iš žemas pajamas turinčių šeimų, neįgaliuosius, tautinių mažumų grupių atstovus, iš kaimo vietovių kilusius asmenis, kadangi šių grupių asmenys dėl savo negalios, lėšų stokos šeimoje, gyvenamosios vietos ar tautybės (su tuo susijusių kalbos barjerų) neturėjo galimybių įgyti pirminio kultūrinio kapitalo, reikalingo švietimo lauke, šeimos aplinkoje.

Socialiai pažeidžiamiems asmenims Lietuvoje sunkiau pasiekti aukštąjį išsilavinimą – aukščiausio ir žemiausio socialinio, ekonominio statuso moksleivių tikimybės studijuoti atotrūkis Lietuvoje siekia 51 proc. (STRATA, 2020a). Aukštesni už šalies vidurkį Tarptautinio mokinių pasiekimų tyrimo (angl. Organization's of Economic Cooperation and Developement Programme for International Student Assessment, toliau – OECD PISA) rezultatai stebimi sostinėje ir didžiuosiuose miestuose, kaimo mokinių – mažesni visose tyrimo srityse (Skurdo mažinimo organizacijų tinklas, 2022). Kaimo ir didžiųjų miestų mokyklų mokinių rezultatų skirtumas 2018 m. tapo didesnis negu 60 EBPO PISA tyrimo skalės taškų, atskirtis tarp miesto ir kaimo mokyklų mokinių pasiekimų vis didėja (Zabulionis, 2020). Pagal STRATA (2022), matomas mažesnis valstybinių brandos egzaminų išlaikymo lygis tarp: mokinių, kilusių iš žemas pajamas turinčių šeimų (gaunančių finansinę ar kitokią paramą) (nuo bendraamžių atsiliko 27 proc.), moksleivių, kuriems nustatytas sunkus neįgalumas (atsiliko 38 proc.), moksleivių, kurie mokėsi lenkų ir rusų kalbomis (atsiliko 15 proc.). Negalią turintys asmenys į aukštąsias mokyklas įstoja rečiau nei neturintys specialiųjų poreikių, negalios: 2019 m. atotrūkis siekė 4 kartus (STRATA, 2020b). Neįgaliųjų, asmenų, įgijusių vidurinį išsilavinimą lenkų ar rusų kalba, asmenų, kilusių iš socialiai nepalankios aplinkos, asmenų, turinčių menku finansinius pajėgumus, galimybės pasiekti aukštąjį išsilavinimą yra mažesnės (Aleksandravičiūtė, Jakštys, 2014).

Todėl reikšminga analizuoti sėkmės atvejus – asmenis, kilusius iš socialiai pažeidžiamų visuomenės grupių, kuriems pavyko pasiekti aukštąjį išsilavinimą ir atskleisti, kaip jie pritaikė savo kultūrinį kapitalą prie švietimo lauko. Socialinę stratifikaciją analizavo Lietuvos autoriai (Brazienė, 2002; Taljūnaitė, 2004;

Matulionis, 2016; Luobikienė, 2016, Mikutavičienė, 2009) ir užsienio autoriai (Arends, 1998; Giddens, 2005; Nunn ir kiti, 2007; Serna, Woulfe, 2017; Bodovski ir kiti, 2017), tačiau esamiems tyrimams trūksta išsamumo, menkai analizuotos subjektyvios individų patirtys. Matulionis (2016) pažymi, kad Lietuvos visuomenės socialinė struktūra tiriama nepakankamai visapusiškai. Quinn (2004) pabrėžia, kad itin svarbu tyrimų lauke neapsiriboti mokinių socialinės paramos poreikiais ar institucinėmis kliūtimis, o tirti kultūrinį naratyvą ir šeimos aplinkos kontekstą, darbininkų klasės studentus. Susikoncentravimas į vieną socialinės struktūros pjūvį yra reikšmingas tam tikroje socialinių santykių tyrimo srityje (Matulionis, 2016) – pavyzdžiui švietimo sistemoje. Lietuvoje pasigendama tyrimų, kuriuose būtų vertinamas emancipacinis švietimo pobūdis, socialinis teisingumas, socialinė integracija ir įgalinimas, lygios galimybės (Mikutavičienė, 2009); subjektyvus socialinis teisingumas švietime (Žalimienė ir kiti (2011), atskleidžiamas individų gyvenimo kelias (Matulionis ir kiti, 2010).

Šio straipsnio **tyrimo objektas** yra socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų, pasiekusių aukštąjį mokslą, kultūrinis kapitalas ir jo vystymasis. Tyrimas, kitaip nei daguma esamų tyrimų, susitelkia ne į klausimą, kodėl tam tikroms visuomenės grupėms nesiseka švietimo sistemoje, o į sėkmės atvejus, analizuojant, kaip socialiai pažeidžiami asmenys, kuriems pavyko pasiekti aukštąjį išsilavinimą, įgijo trūkstamą kultūrinį kapitalą. Tai suteikia naujų žinių apie skirtingų socialinių grupių socialinį mobilumą bei socialinį teisingumą švietime. Šis straipsnis užpildo spragą žinių apie socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų kultūrinio kapitalo formavimąsi. Straipsnyje analizuojamos subjektyvios individo praktikos, nuostatos, susijusios su aukštojo mokslo studijų pasirinkimu ir kultūrinio kapitalo vystymosi procesas. Aktualu analizuoti asmenų gyvenimo trajektorijas per individualią prizmę, nes asmeniniai žmonių sunkumai, jų subjektyvios įtampos ir problemos dažnai atspindi socialines struktūras ir jų problemas (Bourdieu, 1997). Esamuose socialinės stratifikacijos švietime tyrimuose dažniausiai susitelkiama į patį studijų procesą, kaip jį tobulinti siekiant užtikrinti lygias galimybes studijuoti visoms visuomenės grupėms. Tuo tarpu šiame straipsnyje analizuojamas laikotarpis iki studijų pradžios. Straipsnyje remiamasi Bourdieu (1984) stratifikacijos pagal kapitalus teorija, kuri leidžia tyrinėti individų gyvenimo būdą, polinkius, kurie turi didelę įtaką asmens galimybėms švietimo sistemoje (Burke, Wilkins, 2015).

Straipsnio **tikslas** – nustatyti, koks yra socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų, pasiekusių aukštąjį išsilavinimą, kultūrinis kapitalas ir kaip jis vystėsi. Straipsnio tikslą padės atskleisti šie *klausimai:* 1. Kokia yra teorinė kultūrinio kapitalo reikšmė aukštojo mokslo pasiekimui, 2. Koks yra socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų, pasiekusių aukštojo mokslo studijas, kultūrinis kapitalas, kaip jis vystėsi ir kokio kultūrinio kapitalo reikalavo švietimo laukas?

Kultūrinio kapitalo reikšmė aukštojo mokslo pasiekimui

Kultūrinis kapitalas suprantamas kaip: objektai (pvz., kultūriniai artefaktai, knygos, meno dirbiniai), įkūnytas kultūrinis kapitalas (pvz., skonis, kalbos kodai, elgesio manieros, pomėgiai, laisvalaikio praleidimo būdai, aukštosios kultūros vertinimas) ir institucionalizuotas kultūrinis kapitalas (akademiniai kredencialai) (Bourdieu, 1997). Individui, norint būti efektyviam švietimo lauke, reikalingas kultūrinis kapitalas. Švietimo lauke norint gauti akademinius kredencialus individui reikia išmanyti vyraujantį akademinį kalbos kodą, gebėti kategorizuoti ir išreikšti sudėtingas idėjas, suprasti mokymosi medžiagą ir gebėti planuoti laiką, naudotis informacijos šaltiniais, turėti karjeros planavimo gebėjimus (Johnston ir kiti, 2010). Taip pat reikalingos žinios apie galiojančias normas, vertybes ir bendravimo būdus, kurios gali net radikaliai skirtis nuo to, ką asmuo buvo įgijęs šeimoje (Conley, 2001). Turintiems kultūrinį kapitalą, geriau sekasi suprasti abstrakčias ir formalias kategorijas, su kuriomis susiduriama švietimo lauke, ir transformuoti savo žinojimą ir gebėjimus į oficialius kredencialus – aukštąjį išsilavinimą (Bennet ir kiti, 2009). Kultūrinis kapitalas leidžia individams pritapti akademinėje aplinkoje, suteikia įrankius kategorizuoti ir išreikšti sudėtingas idėjas (Serna, Woulfe, 2017). Pasak Kozolo (1993) švietimo įstaigos yra persmelktos lūkesčių, susijusių su elgesio taisyklėmis, raiškos būdais ir biografijos sukonstruotu žinojimu, suteikiančiu

tam tikriems asmenims (pvz., tiems, kurie šeimoje įgijo pirminį kultūrinį kapitalą) konkurencinį pranašumą prieš kitus asmenis. Pavyzdžiui, mokykloje dominuojantis legitimus būdas vertinti kultūrą ir meno darbus yra palankus tiems, kurie nuo ankstyvo amžiaus turėjo prieigą prie kultūros resursų namuose (Bourdieu, 1984).

Žemesnių socialinių klasių atstovų ir aukštesnių socialinių klasių atstovų kultūrinis kapitalas skiriasi. Socialinės grupės turi skirtingą, kartais net antagonistišką santykį su kultūra, priklausantį nuo sąlygų, kuriomis įgijo savo kultūrinį kapitalą (Bourdieu, 1984), pvz., aukštesnės socialinės klasės asmenims būdingas domėjimasis opera, teatru – meno rūšimis, kurios reikalauja gilesnio mąstymo ir supratimo, o žemesnės socialinės klasės asmenys vertina meną, kuris yra nuolankus, paprastas, pagarbus (Bourdieu, 1984). Individų kultūrinis kapitalas gali skirtis dėl jų tautybės, gyvenamosios vietos (Trakšelys, 2009). Kaimo gyventojai kenčia dėl prastesnio socialinių, kultūros paslaugų prieinamumo (Strateginių studijų centras ir kiti, 2007), o tai gali neigiamai veikti jų kultūrinį kapitalą dėl kultūrinių išteklių stokos. Matomi kultūrinių praktikų skirtumai pagal gyvenamąją vietą (Bourdieu, 1984) – mažesnėse vietovėse mažesnis kultūros „vartojimas" dėl to, kad mažesnė kultūrinių resursų pasiūla, o tuo pačiu dėl mažo kultūros resursų vartojimo (mažos „paklausos") mažai ir kultūrinių resursų. Neįgalieji dažnai jaučia kultūrinę stigmą, kad jų gebėjimai yra prastesni nei neturinčių negalios, todėl jiems sunkiau pasiekti aukštąjį išsilavinimą. Šią stigmą jie įsisąmonina per tėvų nuostatas, aplinkinių žemesnius lūkesčius. Tautinių mažumų atstovams sunkiau įgyti kultūrinį kapitalą dėl kalbos barjero.

Nevienodą asmenų kultūrinį kapitalą, įgytą šeimoje, lemia skurdas, šeimos disfunkcija, nes individo šeima, gyvenamoji aplinka formuoja atitinkamas asmens nuostatas, vertybes ir gyvenimo būdą, t. y. kultūrinį kapitalą. Pvz., aukštas pajamas turinčių šeimų vaikai dažniausiai šeimoje turi kultūrinius resursus, yra socializuojami ir ten įgyja kultūrinį kapitalą, kuris leidžia pritapti akademinėje aplinkoje, o skurdžiose šeimose augantys vaikai tokių galimybių dažniausiai neturi (pvz., yra mažiau ištobulinę socialinius gebėjimus (Kalvaitis, 1996)). Tokios šeimos negali suteikti vaikui būtinų mokymosi priemonių, leisti į mokamus būrelius, sudaryti tinkamų sąlygų mokytis namuose (Trakšelys, 2015), tokioje šeimose augantys vaikai turi mažesnę motyvaciją siekti aukštojo išsilavinimo (Platūkytė, 2020). Vaikų, kurie auga rizikos šeimose, kalba ir vertybės neatitinka akademinės mokyklos kultūros (Bernstein, 1985, cituota Giddens, 2005). Kilusieji iš žemas pajamas turinčių šeimų, tautinių mažumų grupių, gyvenantys kaimo vietovėse gali patirti sunkumų ugdantis dėl kultūrinių ir lingvistinių barjerų, informacijos stokos (European Commission, EACEA, Eurydice, 2019).

Bourdieu, Passeron kiti (1981) teigė, kad kultūrinis kapitalas dažniausiai perduodamas šeimoje, socialinėje aplinkoje. Šis, pirminis kultūrinis kapitalas veikia kaip pagrindas, suteikiantis bazinius kultūrinius modelius, nuo kurių atsispyrus galima plėtoti kultūrinį kapitalą (Bourdieu, 1984). Individų įnešamas kapitalas (jo dydis ir struktūra) lemia jų trajektoriją ir poziciją švietimo lauke (Bourdieu, Wacquant, 1992). Per vertybinių nuostatų ugdymą ir praktiką mokykla padeda formuoti bendras, perkeliamas dispozicijas, nukreiptas į legitimią kultūrą. Šios dispozicijos formuojamos per moksliškai pripažįstamas žinias ir praktikas, ir gali vystytis ne tik per ugdymo turinį, bet ir per nepastebimus polinkius akumuliuoti patirtis ir žinias (Bourdieu, 1984). Švietimo sistema suteikia labiau racionalizuotą, akademizuotą kultūrinį kapitalą, o ne paremtą instinktais, kaip įgyjant jį šeimoje. Tiems, kurie įpratę mokytis šeimoje nuo ankstyvų dienų, švietimo sistema jų kultūrinį kapitalą tik papildo, praturtina, ir jų kultūrinis kapitalas skiriasi nuo tų, kurie jį įgijo tik mokykloje.

Pasak Bourdieu (1984) švietimo laukas palaiko esamą stratifikaciją visuomenėje ir „veda" individus tokiomis trajektorijomis, kokios atitinka jų kultūrinį kapitalą. Visgi, individai turi galimybę keisti jiems „nulemtą" gyvenimo trajektoriją**.** Sėkmę švietimo lauke gali lemti individo gebėjimas maksimaliai išnaudoti kultūrinį kapitalą, įgytą šeimoje, nepaisant jo kiekio. Laimėjimai švietimo lauke taip pat priklauso nuo individo turimo kapitalo evoliucijos, t. y. nuo jo socialinės trajektorijos ir dispozicijų (polinkių). Kultūrinis kapitalas įgyjamas palaipsniui, per reguliarų susidūrimą su kultūros darbais ir kultūringais žmonėmis

(Bourdieu, 1984). Individams pakeisti savo „nulemtą" trajektoriją gali padėti savistaba, refleksyvumas, kurie leidžia iki tam tikro laipsnio kontroliuoti kai kuriuos individą determinuojančius veiksnius (Bourdieu,1984). Lewis (1966) teigia, kad skurde augantys asmenys gali turėti nusiteikimą mokytis, vertinti kultūrinius objektus, o skurdo kultūrą leidžia įveikti: intelektualus ugdymas, stiprybės (asmeninės, esamų resursų išnaudojimas), tikėjimas (kaip pozityvistinės psichologijos pagrindas).

Metolodogija

Šio straipsnio tikslui pasiekti atliktas tyrimas remiasi indukcine tyrimo logika. Siekiant atskleisti individų kultūrinį kapitalą, jo vystymąsi, duomenų rinkimui naudotas giluminio pusiau struktūruoto interviu metodas. Konstruojant interviu gaires taip pat atsižvelgta į biografinio interviu metodą – siekiama aprėpti informantų biografiją nuo gyvenimo pradžios iki studijų. Tokiu būdu tyrimo instrumentas leidžia atskleisti subjektyvią socialinių procesų reikšmę ir prasmę, individo perspektyvą apie analizuojamus jo gyvenimo aspektus.

Šiame tyrime taikyta kriterinė imties vienetų atranka. Kriterinės atrankos tikslas – atrinkti informantus, atitinkančius kriterijus, kurie būtų aktualūs tyrimo tikslui. Pasirinkti tokie informantų kriterijai: pasiekę aukštąjį išsilavinimą (studijuojantys arba yra baigę studijas), 19-27 metų amžiaus (gim. 1995-2003 m.) ir, yra kilę iš socialiai pažeidžiamų visuomenės grupių: kilę iš kaimo vietovės, neįgalieji (turintys bet kokią negalią), žemas pajamas turintys ir dėl to socialinę stipendiją gaunantys asmenys; tautinių mažumų atstovai. Tyrime pasirinkta tirti 19-27 metų asmenis (gim. 1995-2003 m.), nes ši karta patyrė naujos, po Lietuvos Respublikos nepriklausomybės atkūrimo metu suformuotos švietimo sistemos poveikį, kuris skiriasi nuo ankstesnių kartų, kurios mokėsi sovietinėje švietimo sistemoje (tiriami informantai pradėjo formalų ugdymą nuo 2000-ųjų metų, kai jau buvo pilnai susiformavusi nepriklausomos Lietuvos švietimo sistema, patvirtinti visus jos lygmenis reglamentuojantys teisės aktai). Socialiniai pažeidžiamus asmenis identifikuojantys kriterijai pasirinkti dėl to, kad individai, gyvenantys kaimo vietovėse, neįgalieji, žemas pajamas turintieji, tautinių mažumų atstovai turi menkesnes galimybes įgyti kultūrinį kapitalą šeimoje (Bellandi ir kiti, 2020; Bourdieu, 1984).

Tyrimo metu atrinktas 21 informantas (detalesnė informacija apie informantus yra 1-oje lentelėje) su kuriais buvo atlikti interviu; interviu trukmė sudarė 45-100 min. Interviu buvo atlikti nuotoliniu būdu (per Zoom platformą) 2021 lapkričio – 2022 m. balandžio mėn. Interviu pasirinkta atlikti nuotoliniu būdu dėl tuo metu galiojusių karantino suvaržymų.

Duomenų analizei taikyta kokybinė turinio (angl. content) analizė **atviro kodavimo** principu iš surinkto duomenų masyvo išskiriant subkategorijas ir kategorijas, naudojant programą "MaxQda 2020". Po to duomenų masyvas analizuotas pasitelkiant pirminį pagal Bourdieu (1984) teorines kategorijas (pvz., kultūrinio, socialinio, ekonominio kapitalo sampratas) kaip gaires priskiriant teksto segmentus prie kodų. Po to esami kodai peržiūrėti atsižvelgiant į jų pagrįstumą, prireikus kodai apjungti. Susisteminus duomenis identifikuotos tapačios frazės, bruožai, ryšiai, seka, skirtumai tarp konkrečių kodų, išskirtos temos / kodai aktualūs tyrimo tikslui, apibendrinti ir interpretuoti duomenys.

Tyrimo etika buvo užtikrinta prieš tyrimą supažindinant informantus su tyrėjos atstovaujama įstaiga, tyrimo tikslais, kaip vyks tyrimas, kur bus naudojami tyrimo rezultatai, gaunant informantų rašytinį sutikimą dalyvauti tyrime, nuasmeninant tyrimo duomenis.

Tyrimas turi apribojimų: apima tik tam tikro amžiaus tiriamuosius (kitos kartos asmenų patirtis ir švietimo lauko reikalavimai gali skirtis), neapima kitų socialinių grupių, kurios gali būti socialiai pažeidžiamos švietimo lauke (teoriniuose šaltiniuose socialiai pažeidžiami asmenys suprantami įvairiapusiškai ir gali apimti ir pvz., grįžusius iš užsienio, kurie dėl gyvenimo kitoje kultūroje galimai sunkiau prisitaiko prie Lietuvos švietimo sistemos reikalavimų). Pažymima, kad kultūrinio kapitalo neatitikimas švietimo laukui nebūtinai lemia prastesnius rezultatus švietimo lauke, nes galimybės švietimo lauke yra susiję ir su kitais veiksniais – pvz., individo socialiniu (Bourdieu, Wacquant, 1992; Putnam, 2000), ekonominiu kapi-

talu (Bourdieu, 1986), institucinėmis sąlygomis (Adhikari, Lovett, 2006). Tyrimo duomenys buvo renkami atliekant interviu nuotoliniu būdu. Toks interviu atlikimo būdas galėjo daryti įtaką informantams: viena vertus, gali būti sunkiau užmegzti ryšį su tyrėju, pasitikėti juo nematant jo „gyvai" (Howlett, 2022), kita vertus – informantai gali būti linkę laisviau kalbėti jautriomis temomis būdami savo pažįstamoje namų aplinkoje (Jenner, Myers, 2019).

1 lentelė. *Informantų požymiai*

Informanto Nr.	Išsilavinimas	Amžius	Socialinio pažeidžiamumo požymis				Kiti požymiai
			Turi žemas pajamas	Gyve-na kaime	Turi negalią	Priklauso tautinės mažumos grupėms	
I1	Bakalauras (dar studijuojama)	21	+	+			augino globėjai
I2	Bakalauras (dar studijuojama)	22	+				LGBTQ asmuo
I3	Magistras	25			+		
I4	Bakalauras (dar studijuojama)	21	+	+			
I5	Magistras	27	+	+			
I6	Bakalauras (dar studijuojama)	20	+	+			
I7	Bakalauras	23				+	augo daugiavaikėje šeimoje
I8	Bakalauras (dar studijuojama)	20		+			
I9	Bakalauras (dar studijuojama)	23			+		
I10	Magistras (dar studijuojama)	23		+		+	augino globėjai, gavo globoja-mo vaiko išmoką
I11	Bakalauras (dar studijuojama)	20	+				vienintelis šeimoje turi aukštą-jį išsilavinimą
I12	Bakalauras (dar studijuojama)	19		+			turi nerimo problemų
I13	Magistras (dar studijuojama)	24	+	+			augo globėjų šeimoje
I14	Bakalauras (dar studijuojama)	21		+			augo daugiavaikėje šeimoje
I15	Magistras (dar studijuojama)	26	+				
I16	Magistras (dar studijuojama)	27		+			gavo globojamo vaiko išmoką, augo globėjų šeimoje, vien-intelė šeimoje su aukštuoju išsilavinimu
I17	Magistras	26		+			
I18	Magistras (dar studijuojama)	27		+			
I19	Magistras (dar studijuojama)	24		+			augo tik su mama (vieniša šeima)
I20	Bakalauras (dar studijuojama)	22	+				
I21	Bakalauras (dar studijuojama)	19		+			

Šaltinis: sudaryta autorės.

Rezultatai

Atlikta išsami interviu analizė (interviu analizės rezultatai pateikti 1 paveiksle) atskleidė, kad socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų kultūrinis kapitalas pradėjus formalų ugdymą buvo panašus į Bourdieu (1984) įvardytų žemesnių socialinių klasių asmenų, tačiau skyrėsi tuo, kad šeimos turėjo palankias nuostatas mokymuisi. Informantų kultūrinės praktikos buvo retos: jie retai lankydavosi kultūros įstaigose, jų laisvalaikis apsiribodavo muzikos klausimu, televizoriaus žiūrėjimu, buities darbų atlikimu pvz., „<...>*visada stengdavausi, jeigu kažkokie papildomi darbai, prisidėti, nes vis tiek, ir maistas, ir išlaikymas, visa tai kainuoja.*" (I4). Informantai stokojo mokymosi motyvacijos (pvz., „<...> mokymosi motyvacijos praktiškai neturėjau<...>"(I16)), nebuvo pasiruošę mokytis mokykloje (pvz., „<...> *pusbrolis buvo jau kažkiek pasiruošęs pirmai klasei, o aš tai visiškai nebuvau pasiruošusi.*" (I10)), jiems atrodė neaktualu tai, ko mokoma mokykloje, pvz., „<...> *atrodė, kad ir kitus dalykus norėtųsi mokytis*" (I1). Jie nemokėjo naudotis kompiuteriu, neturėjo hobių, tad buvo sudėtinga rasti bendrą kalbą su bendraamžiais. Informantų šeimose trūko kultūrinių objektų (jie namuose jų neturėjo arba jie neatitiko jų amžiaus), šeimos įpročiai iš dalies ribojo kultūrinio kapitalo vystymąsi: retai lankytasi kultūros renginiuose, tėvai / globėjai dėl didelio darbinio užimtumo retai įsitraukdavo į vaikų laisvalaikį; vaikai neorganizuodavo veiklų laisvu laiku (pvz., *kadangi kaip ir visi dirbo, visi buvo užsiėmę, manęs niekas neturėjo laiko kažkur vesti, niekur neišleisdavo.*" (I19). Kita vertus, informantai mėgo skaityti knygas, piešti, kai kurie mokėsi groti. Tuo informantai buvo šiek tiek panašūs į bendraamžius, kurie ne tik skaitė knygas, mokėsi piešti, bet ir laisvalaikiu lankė įvairius būrelius, jiems gerai sekėsi mokytis nuo pat formalaus ugdymo pradžios. Informantai mokymosi pradžioje nesuprato mokyklos elgesio taisyklių, stokojo ir socialinių ryšių, kurie galėtų padėti kompensuoti kultūrinio kapitalo trūkumą (pvz., kiti vaikai jau buvo susidraugavę, kadangi prieš tai lankė darželį, turėjo savo palaikantį draugų ratą). Informantai pradėję mokytis iš dalies neatitiko mokyklos keliamų lūkesčių (pvz., kaip teigė informantė, kadangi prieš mokyklą nelankė darželio, „<...>*nemačiau mokymosi aplinkos, kaip ji atrodo, kaip funkcionuoja*"(I16)), neturėjo kai kurių mokymosi priemonių.
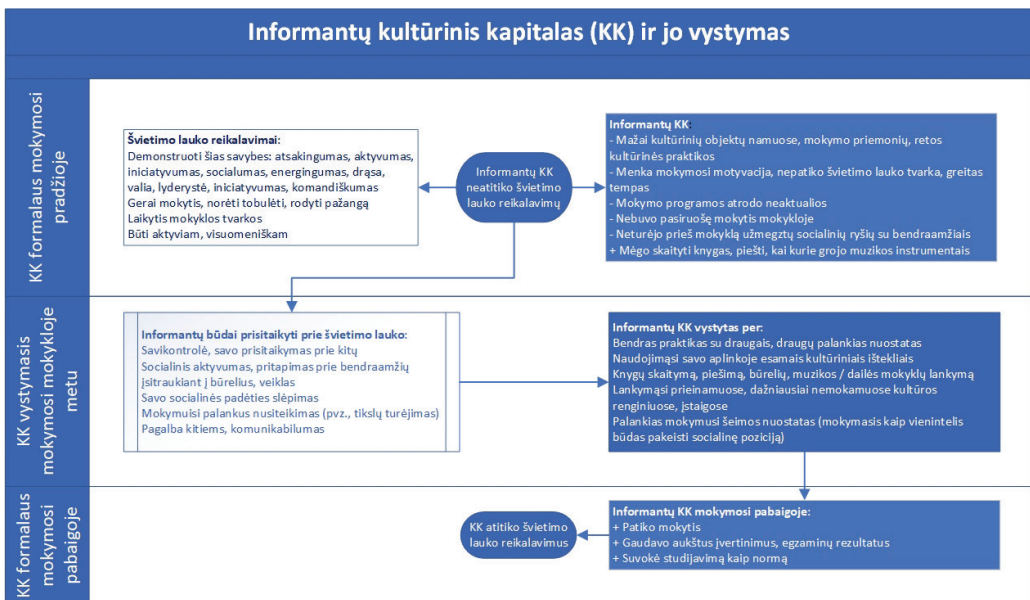
1 Pav. *Informantų kultūrinis kapitalas ir jo vystymas*
Šaltinis: sudaryta autorės.

Švietimo laukas reikalavo iš individų tam tikro kultūrinio kapitalo: švietimo lauke priimtinų normų (pagarbos, paklusnumo (pvz., „<...> *jei jų elgesys yra kitoks, neklauso mokytojo reikalavimų, tai tave gali vertinti kitaip*" (I11)), atsakingumo, aktyvumo, iniciatyvumo, socialumo, energingumo, drąsos, valios, lyderystės, iniciatyvumo, komandiškumo (pvz., „<...>*daug reikalaudavo galbūt mūsų nuomonės ir diskusijų. Man tas nelabai patikdavo ir aš užsidarydavau, ir galų gale net nebeatsakydavau*" (I8)), gero mokymosi, mokymosi tęsimo aukštajame moksle (pvz., (pvz., „<...> *gimnazijoje yra kaip ir nerašyta taisyklė, kad visi eis studijuoti<...>.*" (I1)). Norėta, kad mokiniai aktyviai dalyvautų pamokose, laikytųsi mokyklos tvarkos ir taisyklių (pvz., nevėluotų į pamokas, netrukdytų mokytojui vesti pamokos ir pan. (pvz., „<...> *būdavo, jei kažko vieną kartą nepadarai, tai vos ne nurašydavo, kad iš tavęs bus koks nors „pašalpinis".*" (I2)), būtų visuomeniški (savanoriautų, atstovautų kitus mokinius). Švietimo lauke tikėtasi, kad mokiniai domėsis klasikine literatūra, norės mokytis groti muzikos instrumentais. Švietimo lauke pozityviau žiūrėta į mokinius, kurie sugebėjo parodyti savo gebėjimą mokytis (rodydavo pastangas mokytis), padarydavo pažangą mokymesi. Individų *habitus* (nuostatos, polinkiai) skyrėsi nuo švietimo lauko reikalavimų: jiems nepatiko švietimo lauko tvarka, taisyklės, greitas tempas (pvz., „<...> *numesdavo pavyzdžiui matematiką paaiškinę, o kitą pamoką jau kitą temą pradeda.*" (I14)).; ugdyme jie norėjo daugiau aspektų, kurie būtų praktiški, pritaikomi jų kasdienybėje. Informantų kultūrinis kapitalas formalaus ugdymosi pradžioje buvo kitoks nei jų bendraamžių („<...> *labai svarbu turėti tų žmonių vaikystėje, kad tave pastumtų į tą mokymąsi. <...> visi klasiokai būdavo, tėvai būdavo jų turtingieji, ir žinodavo, kad mokslas tikrai yra pirmoje vietoje. Ir juos skatindavo <...>*" (I5)), neatitiko švietimo lauko reikalavimų.

Informantų prisitaikymo prie švietimo lauko būdai dalinai atitinka Bourdieu (1984) įvardytus aspektus, per kuriuos žemesnių socialinių klasių asmenys gali priderinti savo kultūrinį kapitalą prie bendraamžių ir švietimo lauko bei pasiekti švietimo lauko laimėjimus. Informantai buvo linkę prisitaikyti prie kitų, nepaisyti savo poreikių, jiems buvo būdinga savikontrolė. Norėdami „pritapti" prie bendraamžių, informantai rodė valios pastangas elgtis taip, kaip elgiasi bendraamžiai, stengdavosi įgyti bendraamžių pasitikėjimą, dalyvauti visur kartu su bendraamžiais, kad nebūti atskiram, įrodyti savo vertę užimti aukštas pozicijas švietimo lauke (pvz., „<...>*būna kiti, kurie tiesiog mokykloje, iš kurių yra tyčiojamasi, kurie tiesiog pasiduoda <...> Aš tai stengiuosi tam nepasiduoti ir savo jėgomis irtis pirmyn*" (I4)). Informantai nuolat jautė „pareigą" savo socialiniu aktyvumu demonstruoti savo vertingumą, stengtis neatsilikti nuo bendraamžių, pvz., „<...> *tu turi tose grupėse dalyvauti, tu turi bendrauti, tu turi pritarti vienam ar kitam dalykui, turi kažką inicijuoti*" (I13). Informantams būdingas tam tikras emocinis nusiteikimas (psichologinis savęs stūmimas), kuris kompensuoja ekonominio, kultūrinio ar socialinio kapitalo trūkumą, pvz., informantai pasižymėjo pozityviu mąstymu (pvz., nuteikė save, kad studijos yra naudingos), pasitikėjo savimi, turėjo tikslų (pvz., „<...> *reikia to užsispyrimo truputį, supratimo, ką tu nori daryti.*" (I14). Informantams taip pat rūpėjo pasirūpinti kitais, kuriems sunkiau sekasi, jie buvo altruistiški. Noras padėti „panašiems į save" anot Bourdieu (1984) taip pat būdingas žemesnėms socialinėms klasėms. Informantų tėvų (globėjų, rūpintojų) požiūryje į vaiko mokymąsi atsiskleidžia žemesnėms socialinėms klasėms anot Bourdieu (1984) būdingas dvilypumas, kai skatinama kuo daugiau siekti, bet tuo pačiu nenorima, kad individas ne nutoltų nuo savo socialinės grupės, savo aplinkos. Prisitaikant prie bendraamžių individams tekdavo kontroliuoti savo elgesį (pvz., stengtis įveikti savo baimę dalyvauti būreliuose, visuomeninėje veikloje), slėpti savo socialinę kilmę, kad ji neišduotų jų kitoniškumo. Kai kurie individai komunikabilumu bandė užsitikrinti pripažinimą švietimo lauke, stengdavosi rasti bendrą kalbą su įvairiais asmenimis (pvz., „*turėjau tokį nesveiką įprotį, kai savo asmenybę priderindavau prie kitų*" (I1)), išsakyti ir apginti savo nuomonę, pvz., „*Svarbu yra nebūti droviam, būti drąsiam yra svarbu <...> nebijoti pasakyti, jeigu nesupratai kažko*"(I9).

Tyrimas atskleidė socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų, pasiekusių aukštąjį išsilavinimą, kultūrinio kapitalo vystymosi procesą. Kultūrinis kapitalas vystytas per: draugus, kurie turėjo kultūrinį kapitalą ir skatino jį įgyti ir pačius informantus bei padėjo pažinti save, savo polinkius ir pasirinkti kelią švietimo sistemoje. Draugų kultūrinis kapitalas perduotas per bendras praktikas: laiko leidimą kartu vaikštant, žaidimą kartu, aktyvų laiko leidimą (pvz., sportavimą), švenčių šventimą, muzikos klausymą. Muzika klausyta

pasinaudojant tėvų (globėjų, rūpintojų) ar brolių / sesių turimais muzikos įrašais, draugų rekomendacijomis. Informantai taip pat pasinaudojo savo aplinkoje esamais kultūriniais ištekliais (bibliotekomis, muzikos / dailės mokyklomis, būreliais, muziejais, kultūros centrais ir pan.). Informantų kultūriniai gebėjimai ugdyti per muzikos klausymą, kai kuriais atvejais – mokymąsi groti muzikos instrumentais, piešti (pvz. „<...> *labai daug piešdavom kartu, tiesiog piešdavom, nežinau kodėl, tiesiog patikdavo. Bet čia, kai buvau labai labai maža.*“ (I6)). Šeima dažniausiai palaikydavo vaiko kultūrinius polinkius (rasdavo, kaip vaikui parūpinti muzikos instrumentus; lankydavosi vaiko koncertuose, eksponuodavo jo piešinius). Viena iš dažniausių informantų kultūrinių praktikų buvo knygų skaitymas (pvz., „<...> *man labiausiai patikdavo, tai skaityti knygas*“ (I1)). Informantai naudojosi bibliotekomis (pvz., „<...>*man visokios nuotykių knygos labai patikdavo, ir aš ten* (aut. past.: bibliotekoje) *labai daug laiko praleisdavau.*„(I4)), skaitė mokykloje privalomas perskaityti klasikinės literatūros knygas. Namuose informantams buvo prieinamos grožinės literatūros knygos, kai kuriais atvejais ir enciklopedijos; vaikiškos knygos buvo menkai prieinamos namų aplinkoje. Knygas skaityti kai kuriuos individus pratino šeima (pvz., kai kurios šeimos nuo mažumės skaitydavo knygas vaikui ar supažindindavo su biblioteka), taip pat ir tai, kad turėta mažai laisvalaikio praleidimo galimybių (t.y. nebuvo kitų laisvalaikio praleidimo alternatyvų), knygų skaitymas buvo pigus. Informantai stengėsi lankyti kultūros įstaigas, renginius, bet dažniausiai apsiribota savo gyvenamojoje vietoje prieinamais nemokamais kultūros renginiais (pvz., nemokamais koncertais, knygų pristatymais, mugėmis ir pan.), įstaigomis (pvz., vietiniais muziejais). Kultūrinis vartojimas dažnu atveju buvo pritaikytas prie esamos pasiūlos (kuri pvz., kaimo vietovėse yra menka). Su aukštesne kultūra susipažinta per draugus (pvz., draugai pakvietė į kokį nors renginį) ir per mokyklos organizuotas ekskursijas. Informantai lankė muzikos / dailės mokyklas ar kitus užsiėmimus (akademinius užsiėmimus, pvz., olimpiadas), taip pat meninius, šokių, sporto būrelius. Būrelius, užsiėmimus lankyti galimai paskatino šie aspektai: aplinkinių pavyzdys (pvz., draugai lankė), aplinkinių paskatinimas (pvz., „<...> *mokytoja manęs prašė, kad lankyčiau, tobulėčiau ties tuo, tai aš sutikau dailės būrelį lankyti <...>*“ (I9)); noras plėtoti savo pomėgius; galimybės gauti tam tikras lengvatas ar simbolinį kapitalą (pvz., bendraamžių pripažinimą). Būrelius lankyti taip pat motyvavo, kai sekdavosi pradėta veikla. Informantų tėvai (globėjai, rūpintojai) dažniausiai skatino vaikus lankyti būrelius arba bent jau palaikė vaikų iniciatyvą lankyti norimus būrelius (pvz., „<...>*paskatinimas buvo iš mamos ir brolio pusės, kad turėti užsiėmimą.*“(I5)). Jie taip pat norėjo, kad vaikas gerai mokytųsi, nes mokslą matė kaip vienintelį būdą vaikams pasigerinti socialinę poziciją. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad informantų šeimose dažnu atveju patiems vaikams perkelta atsakomybė už jų pačių mokymąsi (pvz., "<...>*buvau atsakinga pati už save ir kaip mokausi.*“ (I1)), kai tuo tarpu aukštesnių socialinių klasių šeimose tą atsakomybę dalinasi ir tėvai (globėjai, rūpintojai). Tai rodo, kad, kaip mini ir Bourdieu (1984), žemesnių socialinių klasių šeimose tėvai, suprasdami, kad negali užtikrinti gerų ekonominių, socialinių ar kultūrinių sąlygų vaikui, riboja savo atsakomybę dėl vaikų, todėl vaikai anksti perima suaugusiesiems būdingas savybes. Informantų šeimose tėvai (globėjai, rūpintojai) labai norėjo, kad vaikai gerai mokytųsi ir pakiltų socialinėje hierarchijoje per mokslą (pvz., „<...>*bent jau kažką pradėti, kažką mokytis, kad bent jau diplomą turėti <...> Nes po to ir darbą lengviau, ir po to tiesiog gyvenime lengviau, dėl to ir darbą susirasti, įgūdžių įgauti.*“ (I12)). Skatinta mokytis sudarant sąlygas vaikui mokytis, patenkinant jo bazinius poreikius, palaikant vaiko mokymąsi, bet tuo pačiu reikalaujant iš vaiko aukščiausių mokymosi rezultatų, pvz., taikytos sankcijos šeimoje, kad vaikas kuo geriau mokytųsi (pvz., uždraudžiant lankyti būrelius). Visgi, tėvai (globėjai, rūpintojai) ne visada tikėjo, kad vaikas gali pasiekti aukštus rezultatus švietimo sistemoje (pvz., *„aš jaučiau, kad manim nėra tokio pasitikėjimo ir tikėjimo, kad man pavyks“*(I7)). Daugumai informantų šeima „įskiepimo“ naratyvą, kad mokymasis yra jo atsakomybė ir jų gerovė ateityje priklauso nuo to, kaip jis mokysis, o ne nuo šeimos (tai pasireiškė ir per vaikui ugdytą savarankiškumą, atsakingumą). Informantai, norėdami pasiekti aukštų rezultatų švietimo lauke, dėjo daug pastangų mokantis: papildomai mokydavosi, ruošdavosi egzaminams, dalyvaudavo olimpiadose (pvz., „<...> *mokiausi, stengiausi, dėjau daug pastangų, stengiausi gauti geresnius pažymius.*“ (I8)). Patirta mokymosi sėkmė skatino informantus stengtis dar geriau mokytis, jiems patiko įveikti sunkumus, jie norėjo „įveikti save“ (pvz., „*Kai kyla sun-*

kumai besimokant, kai matai, kaip sunku yra kažką išmokt, pažymį geresnį kaip yra gerą gauti, kiek tu turi mokytis, bandyti atrasti tą savo mokymosi stilių, tiesiog kaip ir žmogus daug kur tobulėji.“ (I14)). Individų pastangos prisitaikyti prie švietimo lauko reikalavimų taip pat pasireikšdavo pvz., poreikiu išmokti lietuvių kalbą (tautinėms mažumoms) arba išmokti skaityti iš lūpų (kurtiesiems). Individai taip pat vystė simbolinį kapitalą – tą daryti jiems padėjo šeimos gera reputacija dėl šeimos tvarkingumo arba brolių / sesių gero mokymosi, jų pačių geras mokymasis, asmeninės savybės, kurios atitiko švietimo lauko reikalavimus (pvz., ramumas, atsakingumas). Kai kurie individai įgavo simbolinį kapitalą dėl gebėjimo pasipriešinti švietimo lauko simbolinei prievartai, pvz., atsikirsti tiems, kurie tyčiojasi, socialinio aktyvumo pvz., atstovaujant kitų mokinių interesus (pvz., „<...>*aš būdavau mokykloje aktyvi, tai tikriausiai man reikėdavo tik pasisakyti ir visi...*“ (I13)).

Analizuojant interviu metu gautus duomenis pastebima, kad formalaus ugdymo pabaigoje informantai jau buvo pritaikę savo kultūrinį kapitalą prie švietimo lauko. Jie mokymąsi, studijavimą laikė norma, turėjo polinkį mokytis, turėjo karjeros planavo gebėjimų (tokių kaip: savęs pažinimas, profesijos pasirinkimo apgalvojimas, tikslų turėjimas), gerai mokėsi (gaudavo gerus pažymius, paskatinus mokykloje (pvz., „<...> *baigiau ją* (aut.past. gimnaziją) *kaip viena iš geriau besimokančių mokinių.*“ (I16))), norėjo tęsti mokymąsi aukštajame moksle (pvz., „<...> *tiesiog studijuoti, tai nebuvo ir kitų minčių<...>*“ (I8)).

Išvados

Šiuo straipsniu buvo siekiama atskleisti, koks yra socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų, pasiekusių aukštąjį išsilavinimą, kultūrinis kapitalas, kaip jis vystėsi, kokio kultūrinio kapitalo reikalavo švietimo laukas. Atlikus empirinį tyrimą nustatyta, kad:

1. Kultūrinis kapitalas teoriniu aspektu yra reikšmingas aukštojo mokslo pasiekimui. Individui, norint būti efektyviam švietimo lauke, reikalingas kultūrinis kapitalas: turintiems kultūrinį kapitalą geriau sekasi suprasti abstrakčias ir formalias kategorijas, su kuriomis susiduriama švietimo lauke, ir transformuoti savo žinojimą ir gebėjimus į oficialius kredencialus – aukštąjį išsilavinimą. Pirminis kultūrinis kapitalas įgyjamas šeimoje, o mokykla suteikia labiau racionalizuotą, akademizuotą kultūrinį kapitalą, kuris skiriasi nuo to, kuris įgyjamas šeimoje. Jei šeimoje neįgytas pirminis kultūrinis kapitalas ar jis nėra toks, koks vertinamas švietimo lauke, jis gali būti vystomas per individo savistabą, refleksyvumą, kurie leidžia iki tam tikro laipsnio kontroliuoti kai kuriuos individo galimybes determinuojančius veiksnius.

2. Socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų kultūrinis kapitalas formalaus ugdymo pradžioje buvo panašus į žemesnių socialinių klasių kultūrinį kapitalą: jų kultūrinės praktiko buvo retos, jie nesuprato mokykloje vyraujančios tvarkos, normų. Švietimo laukas reikalavo iš individų: priimtinų normų, aktyvaus dalyvavimo pamokose, pastangų mokytis, tobulėjimo mokymesi, gero mokymosi, mokyklos taisyklių laikymosi, visuomeniškumo. Socialiai pažeidžiami asmenys vystė savo kultūrinį kapitalą per: bendras praktikas su draugais, draugų palankias nuostatas, naudojimąsi savo aplinkoje esamais kultūriniais ištekliais, knygų skaitymą, piešimą, būrelių, muzikos / dailės mokyklų lankymą, lankymąsi savo gyvenamojoje vietoje prieinamuose, dažniausiai nemokamuose kultūros renginiuose, įstaigose. Kultūrinio kapitalo vystymą galimai paskatino ir palankios šeimos nuostatos: šeima dažniausiai palaikydavo individo kultūrinius polinkius, skatino lankyti būrelius arba bent jau palaikė pačių individų iniciatyvą lankyti norimus būrelius, sudarė sąlygas mokymuisi ir kėlė aukštus lūkesčius vaiko mokymosi rezultatams. Socialiai pažeidžiami asmenys, norėdami pasiekti aukštų rezultatų švietimo lauke, dėjo daug pastangų mokantis. Formalaus mokymosi pabaigoje socialiai pažeidžiami asmenys, pasiekę aukštąjį išsilavinimą, jau atitiko švietimo lauko reikalavimus, kadangi jiems patiko mokytis, jie gaudavo aukštus įvertinimus, egzaminų rezultatus, suvokė studijavimą kaip normą.

3. Straipsnis praplečia žinojimą apie tai, kaip žemesnių socialinių klasių asmenys (arba straipsnio atveju – socialiai pažeidžiami asmenys) gali pritaikyti savo kultūrinį kapitalą prie švietimo lauko ir pasiekti

aukštus rezultatus švietimo lauke (t. y, įstoti į aukštojo mokslo studijas). Tam reikalingos ne tik individo valios pastangos kaip teigė Bourdieu (1986), bet ir šeimos nuostatos, palankios mokymuisi (mokslo vertinimas), individo socialinėje aplinkoje prieinamos kultūrinio ugdymo galimybės (pvz., būreliai, muzikos / dailės mokyklos, ekskursijos), palaikanti socialinė aplinka (pvz., ilgalaikių draugų turėjimas, mokytojų paskatinimas lankyti būrelius). Straipsnis patvirtina Lewis (1966) teiginius, kad individo galimybės priklauso ir nuo jo nusiteikimo, asmeninių resursų išnaudojimo, visgi matoma, kad individas veikia švietimo lauko reikalavimų rėmuose ir turi prie jų prisitaikyti norėdamas pasiekti aukštus rezultatus šiame lauke. Taip pat detaliau atskleidžia, kaip pasireiškia ir tam tikras socialinis kapitalas (Bourdieu, Wacquant, 1992; Putnam, 2000) (pvz., socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų bendros praktikos su draugais, bendruomene). Straipsnis taip pat papildo Matulionio (2016), Žalimienės ir kitų autorių (2011) tyrimus atskleisdamas subjektyvias socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų praktikas, emancipaciją ir gyvenimo kelią švietimo lauke.

Straipsnyje nustatyti aspektai, kurie pasireiškė socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų kelyje link aukštojo mokslo, todėl tolesniuose tyrimuose aktualu analizuoti, koks yra tų aspektų poveikis socialiai pažeidžiamų asmenų galimybėms studijuoti. Taip pat aktualu analizuoti ne tik kultūrinio, bet ir socialinio, ekonominio kapitalų rolę švietimo lauke, institucines sąlygas skirtingoms visuomenės grupėms pasiekti aukštojo mokslo studijas.

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THE PATH OF SOCIALLY VULNERABLE PERSONS TOWARDS HIGHER EDUCATION: THE CULTURAL CAPITAL AND ITS' FORMATION

Summary. *Equal opportunities in the education system is a valuable measure for reducing inequality in society. Individuals from low-income families, ethnic minority groups, living in rural areas, persons with disabilities may experience difficulties in education due to lack of cultural capital. They are understood as socially vulnerable persons in this article. The purpose of the article is to determine the cultural capital of socially vulnerable persons who achieved higher education, and how it developed. To achieve that goal, a study was conducted that uses semi-structured interviews with socially vulnerable persons who have achieved higher education. The results of the study show that the cultural capital of informant's did not meet the requirements of the educational field (for example, requirement to comply with norms and rules, show effort to learn, actively participate in lessons) at the beginning of their education. Informants had just a few cultural*

practices and objects, they didn't understand school norms and rules. In the course of learning their cultural capital was developed through: shared practices with friends, positive example and encouragement of their friends and family, usage of existing cultural objects in one's environment, cultural practises. Informants had to put a lot of effort into learning and limit themselves, hide their social origin so that it would not betray their difference from their peers. At the end of formal education, informants had already adapted their cultural capital to the field of education (they received good grades, wanted to continue studying). The article expands the knowledge about the process of cultural capital development, the experience of socially vulnerable persons in the field of education.

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EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION THROUGH INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES: THE CASE OF PEOPLE ANALYTICS COURSE

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Abstract. *Recently, education and teaching have been significantly impacted by information and communication technologies. New cohorts of students, COVID-19 pandemic and pressure in the labour market on the labour force to master the technology-related skills and competence serve as main drivers for universities to redesign the way of teaching. A radical transformation of education caused by technologies is related to several aspects, such as online teaching or using other technologies in both physical and online learning environments with the focus on student-centred learning. The existing literature suggests that educational innovation through technologies allows for the adoption of collaborative, inclusive and student-driven pedagogy. The paper aims at revealing educational innovation through information and communication technologies in one of the courses for master's students, namely People Analytics. While disclosing the particular case of one course, the paper seeks to provide the argumentation (advantages and disadvantages) for choosing specific tools and how these tools are embedded. The use of tools such as Zoom, digital escape rooms, Mentimeter, and Padlet, is presented. The paper concludes that technologies may offer many wide-ranging benefits in education; however, the further study is needed for revealing the students' acceptance of technologies and the impact of technologies on learning outcomes.*

Keywords: *ICT, educational innovation, Zoom, Mentimeter, Escape rooms, Padlet, People analytics.*

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *informacinės komunikacinės technologijos, inovacijos švietime, Zoom, Mentimeter, pabėgimo kambarys, Padlet, Žmonių išteklių analitika.*

Introduction

University studies in business and management have experienced significant changes in Europe over the last 30 years (Núñez-Canal et al., 2022). First, with the Bologna Process, a new perspective in higher education was introduced with the focus on student-centred learning, competences, and learning outputs (Marcelo & Yot-Domínguez, 2019). Later, universities extended their activities beyond teaching and learning, becoming complex institutions linked to society and business world (Forliano et al., 2021). Further, due to the pandemic, universities have had to adapt to the new restrictions and accordingly the transition from face-to-face teaching to distance teaching has become a must (Myyry et al., 2022). Within a couple of days and nights, the former call to use technologies in the education process, and particularly, in higher education more intensively (García-Morales et al., 2021; Portuguez Castro & Gómez Zermeño, 2020), was

responded to revealing no readiness to do this as "teachers found themselves in a challenging situation where they had to transform overnight all of their teaching plans to fit the needs of online distance learning" (Myyry et al., 2022, p.1). More recently, a new hybrid educational model that combines in-person learning with online education has been discussed and proposed for universities widely (Nikolopoulou, 2022; Núñez-Canal et al., 2022).

Information and communication technologies (ICT) are becoming increasingly critical in higher education (Fernández-Batanero et al., 2021). Teachers employ technology in two ways (Sayaf et al., 2022; Tubin, 2006). The first way refers to applications that simply make it easier, faster, or more convenient to continue teaching in traditional ways (Tubin, 2006). In other words, teachers use ICT for achieving the same traditional aims in the same settings without having to drastically alter classroom activities (Sayaf et al., 2022). The second way involves using technology into the classroom to break down the barriers, connect students to real-world activities, and help them in becoming self-sufficient learners (Sayaf et al., 2022). Despite two different pathways, in general ICT are believed to enhance the design of student-centred learning environments (Myyry et al., 2022).

The argumentation behind the choice and need to implement ICT in teaching-learning process has several facets. First, the acceptance of technologies is a part of the process. 'Digital Natives' students of today think and process information differently, thus posing a challenge to their teachers to keep them motivated and engaged in the learning process (Fotaris & Mastoras, 2019).

Second, the COVID-19 pandemic had a massive impact on the education sector, especially on higher education (García-Morales et al., 2021). The shift from physical learning spaces to digital ones due to the pandemic was both rapid and dramatic: with little or no preparation, many teachers started working online without prior experience, knowledge, or training (McArthur, 2022). Technologies, especially conference organising tools, invaded life and occupied most of the working – studying time. As such, terms like "Zoom fatigue" and "Zoom exhaustion" became well known (Nesher Shoshan & Wehrt, 2022). However, despite some challenges, in the future, the technologies will take an even bigger role in teaching (Myyry et al., 2022).

Third, as increasingly more jobs require ICT skills, university must play a pivotal role in enhancing and fostering such skills in the younger generation (Núñez-Canal et al., 2022). Considering that universities are responsible for developing student competences as bridges to employment (Núñez-Canal et al., 2022), teachers should also take initiative to increase the student employability.

Fourth, the added value of technology integration in teaching is widely recognised (Vlachogianni & Tselios, 2022). Technologies can be used for many purposes, such as supporting collaborative learning and knowledge building, facilitating student understanding of the topic, implementing online examinations and assessments for learning (Myyry et al., 2022; Qaddumi et al., 2021)

Rogers (2003) defined innovation as "an idea, practice, or object that is perceived to be new by an individual or other unit of adoption" (Rogers, 2003, p. 12). Thus, the concept of innovation involves something new, changes in the way things are done, changes to processes or modifying what has already been done (Portuguez Castro & Gómez Zermeño, 2020). Education is one of the fields in which technologies have modified the way of teaching and learning; the functioning of established educational models has been transformed in unexpected way (García-Morales et al., 2021). Accordingly, the courses for students are designed and taught in different ways promoting new means of communication, knowledge creation and delivering, and learning.

The paper aims at revealing educational innovation through ICT in one of the courses for master's students, namely People Analytics. While disclosing the particular case of one course, the paper seeks to provide the argumentation (advantages and disadvantages) of choosing one or another tool and how these tools are embedded. The technologies described include Zoom, digital escape rooms, Mentimeter, and Padlet. The paper does not analyse specific tools for People Analytics such as Power BI or SPSS, which are

also part of the course as these tools are related to material content delivery. The paper has no intention to describe good practice, as it is more aimed at demonstrating one of the examples.

The paper is structured as follows. It starts with a short presentation of the People Analytics course. Further, some insights into ICT as a source for educational innovation is presented. Later, technologies used in the People Analytics course are described. Finally, discussion and some conclusions are provided.

People Analytics – what does it mean?

People Analytics has recently become an emerging trend within the field of human resource management (McCartney & Fu, 2022). Generally speaking, People Analytics seeks to help organisations understand their workforce by making data about employee attributes, behaviour and performance more accessible, interpretable and actionable (Tursunbayeva et al., 2018). While most hiring, training, promotion and reward decisions are based on intuition, People Analytics offers a more data-driven approach to making those decisions (Kremer, 2018). Accordingly, the term "People Analytics" does not refer to a technology, but to a novel, evidence-based, quantitative, and data-driven approach to manage the workforce (Giermindl et al., 2022). Although scholars disagree on People Analytics conceptualisation, one of the most influential definitions provided by Marler and Boudreau (2017) describes People Analytics as "A HR practice enabled by information technology that uses descriptive, visual, and statistical analyses of data related to HR processes, human capital, organizational performance, and external economic benchmarks to establish business impact and enable data-driven decision-making" (Marler & Boudreau, 2017, p. 15).

For delivering the competence in people analytics field, the course named People Analytics was offered at the university. The aim of the course is for the students to acquire the knowledge of people analytics, to acquire practical skills needed to perform human resource and people analytics and to make data-driven decisions striving for human and organisational sustainability.

ICT as a source for educational innovation

Educational innovation can be described as the implementation of a significant change in the teaching–learning process in terms of materials used, methods of delivery of sessions, and contents or contexts that imply teaching (Krstikj et al., 2022). Such innovations are seen as a source to attract students and to earn a competitive advantage (ADELOWOTAN, 2021). Several educational innovation trends have been introduced in the last two decades, such as collaborative learning, cooperative learning or student centered pedagogy (Caliskan & Zhu, 2020). However, the most influential trend refers to the implementation of information technologies in education (Krstikj et al., 2022).

The literature review supports the notion that progress in ICT field has arguably dominated all aspects of our life, including teaching (Qaddumi et al., 2021). One of theories that lies behind ICT use for education is connectivism. Connectivism is a learning theory that is based on the idea that people process information and learn by forming connections (Waltemeyer, Shaunna; Hembree, Jason R.; Hammond, 2021). Connectivism suggests that students should combine thoughts, theories, and general information in a useful manner; it accepts that technology is a major part of the learning process; it promotes group collaboration and discussion, allowing for different viewpoints (*Connectivism Learning Theory*, n.d.). As such, technology is transforming the ways in which teachers teach and accordingly students learn. ICT allow creating, storing, spreading and sharing content of the course in the collaborative way. Thanks to ICT, teachers can guide the students to achieve educational objectives and to enhance competences when it comes to decision-making or problem-solving. It is widely accepted that technology can be defined as "the systematic application of scientific knowledge" (Qaddumi et al., 2021) leading to more intensive use for various purposes, including educational. Integration of ICT in teaching reflects educational innovation as ICT create a more flexible and inclusive environment for various stakeholders, teachers, and students.

The ICT tools used in People Analytics course

Today, there are no doubts that digital technologies play a crucial role in the success of teaching and learning (Myyry et al., 2022). There are many learning tools that can be employed to support teaching and learning activities. According to the functions and roles, various tools could be divided into four main categories, which are content creation, content distribution, content curation, and content assessment (Megat Mohd. Zainuddin et al., 2020). Further, the current paper explores and describes the tools used in People Analytics course, namely Zoom, digital escape rooms, Mentimeter, and Padlet. Zoom serves as a content distribution tool. Digital escape rooms deal mainly with content creation, content curation, and content assessment. Mentimeter serves as a content distribution and content assessment tool. In the meantime, Padlet is relevant mainly for content distribution, content curation, and content assessment. As it was mentioned before, the paper does not analyse specific tools for People Analytics such as Power BI or SPSS, which are also part of the course.

Online teaching via the Zoom platform. Globally, in the context of pandemic, rapid transition from classroom learning to distance learning was possible due to computer-mediated communication platforms such as Zoom (Katz & Kedem-Yemini, 2021). Recently, a growing number of studies provided evidence and encouraged the universities to opt for a hybrid education in the future (Nikolopoulou, 2022). Drawing on the idea of combining face-to-face and online sessions, comprehensive use of computer-mediated communication platforms is of high importance. Nonetheless, it should be admitted that although the media richness theory suggests that video conferences are "richer" than other communication media (e.g. phone calls and emails), compared to face-to-face communication, video conferences are considered not as rich (Nesher Shoshan & Wehrt, 2022). This aspect has been taken into account and having this in mind only some topics of the People Analytics course can be taught online.

Previous studies revealed several advantages and disadvantages of Zoom as a video conference platform for educational setting (Katz & Kedem-Yemini, 2021). Some examples of the advantages: students could join and leave the Zoom class without attracting attention or disrupting the others; the ability of teacher to mute students also minimised background noises and allowed everyone to stay focused on learning; lesson recordings allow for asynchronous learning. However, from a pedagogical point of view, more disadvantages could be revealed (Katz & Kedem-Yemini, 2021). First, teacher's difficulty should be mentioned to convey the messages and understand the recipient responses to messages due to the fact that during Zoom class meetings, most students do not turn on the camera. Further, it is difficult for the teacher to interpret silence as most of the time, the teacher speaks and the students listen. Next, usually, on Zoom students start talking simultaneously and it becomes difficult for the teacher to conduct a fruitful and continuous discussion.

Following the literature (Katz & Kedem-Yemini, 2021; Nesher Shoshan & Wehrt, 2022), the teaching via Zoom in the People Analytics course is designed having in mind several features, which are:

a) agreement with students regarding cameras (turned on);
b) appropriate time proportions for delivering teacher's message and solving individual or team tasks;
c) invitations to ask questions regarding topics discussed by the teacher;
d) limited use of Zoom - for student consultations, some team work, guest lectures (business and other universities) and under certain extraordinary circumstances.

Digital escape rooms. The escape room phenomenon has a quite short history (Taraldsen et al., 2022). The first well-documented activity of Real Escape Game Event started in Kyoto, Japan, in 2007, as a single room game for teams of 5–6 players (Nicholson, 2015). Following the most cited definition, escape room refers to a "live-action team-based game where players discover clues, solve puzzles, and accomplish tasks in one or more rooms in order to accomplish a specific goal (usually escaping from the room) in a limited amount of time" (Nicholson, 2015, p. 1). In general, use of an escape room may take different approaches;

however, the core idea is that the escape room concept involves several main attributes: a) a common goal, b) a need for collaboration to solve problems in time and c) achieve a common goal (Veldkamp et al., 2020).

Borrowing elements from point-and-click adventure games, live-action role-playing, interactive theatre, treasure hunts, or movies and TV shows (Fotaris & Mastoras, 2019), at the beginning, escape rooms have been mostly created for recreational purposes (Makri et al., 2021). However, over the last year, there has been a growing interest among teachers, adapting the escape room concept in classrooms, in both physical and online learning environments (Makri et al., 2021; Ouariachi & Wim, 2020), especially in the higher educational institutions (Makri et al., 2021).

From an educational perspective, escape rooms are linked to the methodology of gamification (Taraldsen et al., 2022). Game-based learning (Clarke et al., 2017) is not new to the educational environment, and it offers opportunities related to creativity, active learning, self-regulation, problem solving, fun, and social interaction (Taraldsen et al., 2022). In education, gamification is a technique that proposes dynamics with the purpose to stimulate and have direct interaction with students, allowing them to significantly develop their curricular, cognitive, and social competences (Manzano-León et al., 2021). Moreover, gamification increases students' concentration, motivation, engagement and flow experience (Oliveira et al., 2023).

From a pedagogical point of view, escape rooms are based mainly on three learning theories, namely behaviourism, social learning, and constructivism (Ouariachi & Wim, 2020). Constructivism is applied because learners construct their own knowledge based on real-time experiences of advancing through challenges they meet in the escape room (Fotaris & Mastoras, 2019; Vygotsky, 1978). As regards to behaviourism, "positive" behaviour is reinforced by providing progression through the escape room process, whereas "negative" behaviour either does not help the players escape the room or even negatively impacts their ability to escape (Zhang et al., 2018). In relation to social learning, it is acknowledged that learners imitate or perpetuate behaviours of successful puzzle solving and assimilate their previous knowledge and skills to help them to solve issues (Ouariachi & Wim, 2020). Additionally, according to the social learning theory, people learn from observing other people, and in escape rooms, learning is also related to social relationships (Ouariachi & Wim, 2020). However, due to its nature as being a "live-action team-based game", an escape room activity is primarily recognised to be a didactic tool (Ouariachi & Wim, 2020; Taraldsen et al., 2022). In other words, an escape room activity used for educational purposes is an example of how educators can help the students to cooperate, communicate, and be critical and active learners.

In the People Analytics course, digital escape room is used as it is immersive, engaging, dynamic, active-oriented, online learning experience (Makri et al., 2021). Following literature (Makri et al., 2021), the mentioned digital escape room has been designed having in mind several features, which are provided below:

a) the escape room has a specific well-defined learning goal and objectives;

b) learners are interactively involved in team-based and collaborative activities to construct knowledge;

c) the puzzles in the escape room are balanced, as easy puzzles can become boring, while ones that are too difficult can cause frustration;

d) balance between the teachers' supervision and the students' autonomy in learning is respected;

e) single domain in terms of People Analytics is presented as part of the game experience.

Mentimeter. Mentimeter represents one of so-called the Audience-Response Systems (Mayhew, 2019; Wood & Shirazi, 2020) or Student Response Systems (Mohin et al., 2022). Audience-Response Systems are some of the student-centred and interactive technologies (Kocak, 2022) Using Audience-Response Systems students can answer the questions asked by the teacher via external devices or smartphones (Kocak,

2022). Systems analyse students' responses and present the results to the whole class as an abstract in a table, graph, or other methods (Kocak, 2022). The ideas, knowledge level, and opinions of all students are seen allowing teachers to test and evaluate the students' preparation (Mayhew, 2019).

Launched in 2014, Mentimeter has received a huge success as an Audience-Response System due to several reasons (Mayhew, 2019). The use of Mentimeter itself is intuitive, even for those who lack confidence using technologies. The platform adopts a similar layout style, and has some of the user features of PowerPoint. Moreover, it is possible to combine static slides with those requiring student participation. The timing and speed of presentations can be controlled by the presenter. Finally, Mentimeter offers a broad range of pre-existing questions and quizzes templates.

The literature review demonstrate the benefits of Audience-Response Systems in attendance, attention, anonymity, participation, engagement, interaction, discussion, contingent teaching, learning performance, quality of learning, feedback, formative assessment, and comparison between peers (Morillas Barrio et al., 2016). More recently, it was revealed that the use of Mentimeter in educational processes results in students significantly increasing their attention and participation, while promoting inclusion and commitment to the learning process (Pichardo et al., 2021).

Following the literature (Kocak, 2022; Mayhew, 2019; Pichardo et al., 2021; Wood & Shirazi, 2020), Mentimeter is applied in People Analytics course having in mind several features which are provided below:

a)   each Mentimeter activity has specific well-defined learning goal and objectives;

b)   students responding to the questions and the results displayed on the screen in real time make it possible to measure the level of comprehension and to adapt the contents accordingly and to improve teaching in the coming academic years;

c)   all students have the opportunity to answer all questions, possibility to respond anonymously and finally to reflect on the questions;

d)   use of a broad range of pre-existing Mentimeter question and quiz template, as Word cloud, multiple choice, etc.

e)   assessment based on test results is included in general assessment.

Padlet. Padlet, is a platform where virtual walls can be created (Deni & Zainal, 2018). A virtual wall functions like a notice or a white board where it is possible to include different types of files (Deni & Zainal, 2018). Padlet can be used in multiple ways, such as pre-class preparation, in-class activities, post-class consolidation, and group project work (Fisher, 2017). Thus, Padlet serves as a tool to provide course content to students or as a web-based storage space for teachers to house resources including links, images, text, and files (Waltemeyer, Shaunna; Hembree, Jason R.; Hammond, 2021). The teacher (creator of a particular wall) has control over the content, design, layout, and privacy of the walls (Deni & Zainal, 2018).

Padlet can be employed in both traditional, face-to-face, and online learning environments. Padlet is seen as a collaborative tool, which is used to conduct interactive debates among students; it provides a backchannel for questions, discussions, feedback, opinions or comments on anything going on in class or related to the topic (Fisher, 2017). Actually, Padlet can reduce the communication gap among teacher and students, and among students themselves.

Following the literature (Deni & Zainal, 2018; Fisher, 2017), Padlet is applied in People Analytics course having in mind several features, which are provided below:

a.   each Padlet activity has a specific well-defined learning goal and objectives;

b.   Padlet serves mainly as brainstorming tool;

c.   Padlet serves as a board to share ideas.

The table which summarises the tools used in People Analytics course while explaining the purpose of

use, activities performed by students, intended and expected positive outcomes, challenges, and the role of teacher is provided below.

Table 1. *Description of tools used in People Analytics course*

Tool	Purpose of the use	Activities performed by students	Intended and expected positive outcomes	Challenges
Digital escape rooms	Enliven classroom learning experiences and lead to more learner-focused strategies (Makri et al., 2021)	Facing and solving new and often complex problems Interacting with peers Getting support from teacher	Team work Experience Sense of urgency Critical thinking Problem solving	Level of difficulty of puzzles Time restrictions Different students' backgrounds
Mentimeter	Promote and facilitate participation, collaborative learning and interaction between all the individuals involved in the learning process (Pichardo et al., 2021)	Providing answers Providing opinions Competing with peers	Active participation Involvement Getting quick feedback Possibility to reflect	Have to wait for all of students to finish Challenging to get an answer quickly and correctly
Zoom platform	Enable distance learning	Listening to teacher Asking questions	Listening to teacher Asking questions Possibility to attend from any place	Students' silence Being present
Padlet	Encourage student collaboration and provide a virtual bulletin board for students to collaborate on classroom tasks, share learning resources, and organise related course content in terms of files, videos, etc. (Waltemeyer, Shaunna; Hembree, Jason R.; Hammond, 2021)	Reading content Asking questions Providing opinions Sharing insights	Interaction Collaboration Feedback	Navigation in case of huge amount of material

Discussion and conclusions

Nowadays, in education institutions teachers are no longer asked but required to use ICT in their daily activities, including teaching (Sayaf et al., 2022). Teachers act as change agents while redesigning courses and adapting content they intend to deliver to students. Previous literature supported the notion that the use of ICT in education offers many wide-ranging benefits in terms of providing feedback to the learner; increasing achievement in learning; supporting the acquisition of learning skills and computer literacy; acquiring positive digital habits; speeding up the learning process; developing problem-solving skills; or diversifying learning experiences (Qaddumi et al., 2021). Various tools can be used for achieving the above-mentioned value. The paper describes 4 tools used in the People Analytics course, which reflect content creation, content distribution, content curation, and content assessment.

Drawing on the notion that video conferences would be considered richer than other media (for instance, emails and phone calls) but not as rich as face-to-face communication (Nesher Shoshan & Wehrt, 2022), the use of Zoom has some limitations. Zoom is mainly used in the course for such purposes as consultations, some team work, guest lectures and in some urgent cases. As Zoom allows multiple cues

via video, enables synchronic chat and screen-sharing (Katz & Kedem-Yemini, 2021), the content related to People Analytics course could be shared in a collaborative manner ensuring time for discussions and questions.

Treating escape rooms as a didactic tool (Taraldsen et al., 2022), the People Analytics course provides the opportunity for students to gain new knowledge, to test their knowledge level and to acquire new skills and competences by solving puzzles and to accomplish tasks in a limited amount of time. Such practice reflect the idea of educational innovation (Portuguez Castro & Gómez Zermeño, 2020) and corresponds to new stream in education while including gamification for foster learning outcomes (Makri et al., 2021).

Mentimeter, as technological innovation, is a key element for facilitating active involvement of students (Pichardo et al., 2021). As students' active participation in classes is one of key challenges teachers focus on, in the course of People Analytics, Mentimeter is supposed to act as catalyst in making educational environment more lively. In the case described in this paper, Padlet is used as a collaborative tool mainly for interactive debates among students, for questions, discussions, feedback, opinions or comments.

The paper has some practical implications as it describes the some of the technologies that could be used in teaching for achieving some positive outcomes like students' engagement or quick feedback. However, it should be admitted that practitioners should take into considerations several aspects while dealing with technologies for educational purposes, namely the teachers' digital literacy, university infrastructure, digital divide, and students' acceptance of technologies.

The paper has several limitations, which need to be addressed in the future. The paper provides only the description of ICT used by teachers in People Analytics course. However, the students acceptance of these tools and the impact these tools have on the learning process, outcomes and results are not included in the scope of this paper. Further research could focus on the view of students analysing their attitude towards the technologies' effect on attaining better academic results and better preparation for the labour market in terms of competence and employability. The second limitations refers to the call in the literature to use the technologies in pedagogically meaningful ways as introduction and use of technologies only do not guarantee an improved student learning experience and outcomes (Mayhew, 2019). This leads to future studies investigating the meaningfulness of the use of particular technologies. It remains yet to establish whether a set of technologies rather than individual ones might probably serve as a better tool for supporting the university's intent to contribute to future leaders' education.

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INFORMACINIŲ KOMUNIKACINIŲ TECHNOLOGIJŲ SĄLYGOTOS DĖSTYMO INOVACIJOS: ŽMONIŲ IŠTEKLIŲ ANALITIKOS MODULIO ATVEJIS

Santrauka. *Pastaruoju metu informacinės komunikacinės technologijos tampa neatsiejama švietimo dalimi, darančia didžiulę įtaką ugdymo procesui, įskaitant dėstymą bei mokymąsi. Studentų ypatumai, nulemti jų priklausymo skirtingoms kartoms, Covid-19 pandemija bei darbo rinkos spaudimas potencialiems ir esamiems darbuotojams tobulinti skaitmeninį raštingumą yra pagrindiniai stimulai Universitetams keisti dėstymo prieigą ir metodus, aktyviau įtraukiant technologijų dedamąją. Nors radikali technologijų sąlygota transformacija dėstymo srityje visų pirma sietina su nuotoliniu mokymu, visgi gali būti naudojamos ir kitos technologijos. Mokslinės literatūros analizė atskleidžia, jog švietimo inovacijos pasitelkiant technologijas leidžia taikyti bendradarbiavimu grįstą, įtraukią ir į studentą orientuotą pedagogiką. Straipsnyje siekiama atskleisti dėstymo naujoves pasitelkiant informacines komunikacines technologijas viename iš magistrantams skirtų modulių – Žmonių išteklių analitika. Pristatomas Zoom, skaitmeninių pabėgimo kambarių, Mentimeter ir Padlet naudojimas. Atskleidžiant konkretų vieno modulio atvejį, straipsnyje siekiama pateikti argumentus (privalumus ir trūkumus), kodėl pasirinktas vienas arba kitas įrankis ir kaip tie įrankiai naudojami. Straipsnyje daroma išvada, kad technologijų įveiklinimas dėstant neabejotinai suteikia daug privalumų, visgi tolesnis tyrimas reikalingas siekiant atskleisti ar ir kaip studentai priima technologijas, ir ar ir kokia technologijų įtaka yra mokymosi rezultatams.*

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT COLLABORATIVE INNOVATION POLICY

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Abstract. *The lack of stakeholder collaboration is considered one of the main triggers for unsustainable regional innovation. This phenomenon often occurs in archipelago countries due to limited access to information in the region. In this context, the current discourse between public administration scholars and policy practitioners emphasizes the importance of collaboration in policy innovation. This study aims to examine local government innovation policies in Indonesia, an archipelago country in Southeast Asia, with a focus on the policy formulation process which involves collaboration to produce innovative policies. This study uses a mixed methods research approach based on a sequential explanatory design consisting of two main stages. The first stage uses a quantitative method, followed by the second stage which uses a qualitative approach. The research data consisted of a combination of primary and secondary data obtained from questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. This data was analysed descriptively using NVivo software and supplemented with statistical analysis results. The results of this study confirm the existence of a pattern of dependence between collaborative actors, in which regional heads have a dominant role in the formulation of innovative policies. However, business actors, academics, and community leaders are rarely involved, indicating that they are highly dependent on regional leadership initiatives. As a result, the resulting innovation policies tend to be unsustainable. Therefore, this research suggests that collaboration forums become the main reference in building and creating sustainable regional innovations. This forum is expected to facilitate common aspirations and innovative arguments, as well as encourage the creation of broader innovative policies. In conclusion, the lack of stakeholder collaboration is one of the main obstacles to creating sustainable policy innovations in the regions. To overcome this challenge, collaboration forums are important to facilitate collaboration and active participation of various stakeholders. With stronger collaboration, it is hoped that sustainable innovative policies will be created, addressing regional problems, and improving people's quality of life.*

Keywords: *local government, innovation policy, collaboration, policy formulation*
Reikšminiai žodžiai: *vietos valdžia, inovacijų politika, bendradarbiavimas, politikos formavimas*

Introduction

Future turbulence has emanated expectations for public services that are distinctive and superior, as well as regional success at the peak of competition. This is forcing local governments to focus on sustain-

able creativity and innovation (Tammi et al., 2020). This situation is a consequence of the type of government that has experienced a significant shift. The availability of new digital communication methods has changed the engagement of people and government authorities (Yuan et al., 2022). In other words, the local government of the future will have effective policies that focus on the needs and involvement of the community and employees who are adaptable and flexible in changing and collaborating. External actors (from outside the local government) are concerned about the environment of the government and emphasize the need for supporting technology.

In this regard, local governments now operate systemically in an environment that is not a vacuum because of the aforementioned future developments and changes. This is in the competitive domain. Consequently, efficiency and effectiveness alone are not sufficient for the achievements of the current local government. In addition, local governments must actively participate in realizing this through imagination and ingenuity.

In Indonesia, there has been a change in the development of innovation among local governments. However, many innovations do not change the level of other fields forever (Noor, 2019). Likewise, the data submitted by Tan (2019) regarding the development of regional innovation in Indonesia states: "Only 55.57 percent of the 542 provincial, regency/city governments in Indonesia have entered their local government innovation data". According to data from the Ministry of Home Affairs, many regions lack innovation (Mujiani, 2020). Meanwhile, there are many cases of maladministration of public services by local governments. The Indonesian Ombudsman stated the data for 2017-2021 as follows:
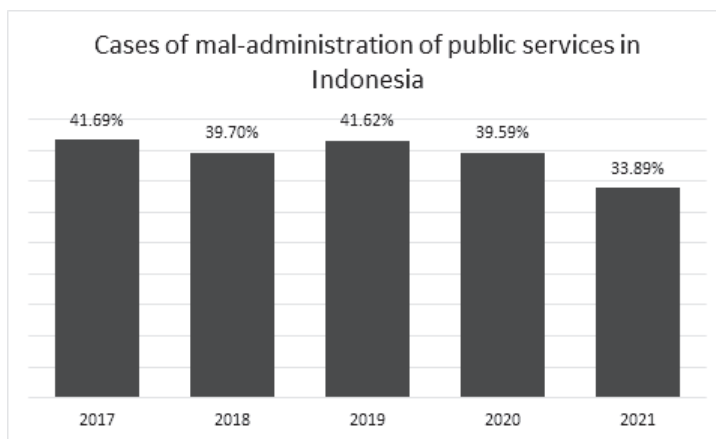
Figure 1. *Proportion of mal-administration practice in local governments of Indonesia in 2017-2021*
Source: Ombudsman of Republic of Indonesia (2021)

There are at least two primary reasons underpinning this phenomenon: (1) The formulation of innovation policies is carried out individually and within the scope of a stand-alone unit. Consequently, policy implementation (innovation) is uncertain. Innovation under the umbrella of regional head policies is the responsibility of individuals or groups in the local government. Actors other than local governments play an important role in local government policies. Noor (2013) shows the dominant role of political actors in innovation policy. In addition, Noor (2013) shows the dominant role of political actors in innovation policy. In addition, consideration of the role of universities or colleges has already begun (Tian, Su, & Yang, 2021); (Ćudić, Alešnik, & Hazemali, 2022). It is also not much different from the roles of society and businesspeople (Van Ham, 2011). The second cause (2) is the result of a lack of fairness and discipline, as well as poor employee relations.

One answer to completing the development of sustainable innovation in local governments is collaboration in the formulation of innovation policies. Two things underlie this: (1) Juridically, it is the embodiment of the mandate of Government Regulation No. 38/2017, especially in Article 7. The article states that "regional innovation proposals can come from regional heads, local council members, state civil apparatuses, regional apparatuses, and community members. Thus, policies can be formulated through collaborations among these actors. (2) Collaborative studies on innovation policy have become a concern for academics in various contemporary studies. Marasco, et al (2018); Sorensen & Waldorff (2014).

A collaborative approach to innovation policy involves not only internal parts of the organization but also external parties in developing new ideas for the sustainability and improvement of innovation policies. The assumption is that the acceleration of innovation policies in local governrats is neither independent nor individual. It moves into the realm of togetherness. Collaboration is needed to formulate and implement policies.

Unfortunately, very few studies have been conducted on this topic. An understanding of innovation policy is seen only on one side. Generally, studies have focused on technological, organizational, individual, and organizational environmental factors (Haneem & Kama, 2018); (Rosenblatt, 2011). In addition, innovation studies on local governments, as in the study conducted by Muluk, Rizki, and Muzaqi (2021, September), Pratama (2020) look at it from an influential actor in formulating innovation, namely the government. To address this gap, this study examines the roles of several actors in the collaborative innovation process and how collaboration forms between actors through the policy formulation process. The policy formulation process is the embodiment of collaboration products, namely the knowledgeability of actors, their commitment, and their dependencies. As collaborative innovation is a new concept that combines findings from recent research on collaborative governance with insights from innovation theory, the originality of this research lies in its application and exploration of the concept in one of Indonesia's regions.

Despite one of the efforts to avoid increasingly fierce competition turbulence in the future, a collaborative approach to policy formulation needs to be adopted by local governments in Indonesia. This can speed up time by examining various social phenomena in local governments. Thus, many opportunities exist to accept and implement innovation policies. Based on this, the question proposed in this study is how to build a collaboration model for local governments' innovation policies.

Theoretical study

Innovation Policy. Innovation is the introduction of new solutions in response to problems, challenges, or opportunities that arise in the social and/or economic environment (Fagerberg et al., 2005). The role of innovation is to turn research novelties into new and better services and products to remain competitive in the global marketplace and improve people's quality of life. Innovation policy is the confluence of technology research with development and industrial policies. It aims to create a framework conducive to bringing ideas into the market (Gouardères, 2021). Fegerberg (2017) explained that attention to innovation policy continues to increase with the development of a new systematic understanding of innovation. However, despite being a concern, there is still much understanding of innovation policy. Clarifying this definition, the World Bank (2010) revealed that innovation is highly dependent on the overall conditions of the economy, government, education, and infrastructure. Such a framework is particularly problematic in developing countries, but experience has shown not only that proactive innovation policies are possible and effective, but also that they help create an environment for broader reforms. This study focuses on the policy formulation process. One of the most important aspects of the formulation process is the role of the actors involved. Policymaking is known to be an actor in formulating or making policies. Ramesh and Howlett (2003) suggested that several actors are involved in the policy process, such as executives and legislatures produced through elections (elected officials), appointed officials, bureaucrats (appointed officials), interest groups, research organizations, and mass media.

Collaborative Innovation. Public organizations have adopted innovation and collaboration as a strategy to achieve better results in general crisis management (Elston et al., 2018; Nohrstedt et al., 2018), optimization of available resources (Diamond & Vangen, 2017; Lewis et al., 2018), and as a response to technological and social development (Seo et al., 2018). Collaborative innovation is a new term that combines findings from recent research on collaborative governance with insights from the innovation theory (Torfing, 2013). Collaborative innovation, as stated by Ketchen et al. (2007) is defined as "the pursuit of innovations across firms' boundaries through the sharing of ideas, knowledge, expertise, and opportunities." Sørensen and Torfing (2015) understand innovation collaboration from the perspective of business, systems theory, or innovation theory in economics. However, in the latest context, this study examines it from the perspective of open innovation theory. The focus is on collaboration in policy formulation from a process standpoint, using the Cognition and Information approach. This approach views the formulation of innovation policies as accommodation and involvement of various elements. Collaborative innovation can take place in various forms, contexts, and partnerships across sectors, for example, in the Triple Helix (university-industry-government) model (Audretsch & Belitski, 2021).

Collaborative innovation is a means of developing synergy through interactions with organizations with different backgrounds. This shows that collaborative innovation is key to sustainable organizational development (Bai et al., 2020). Lindblom (1992) revealed that to understand who formulates policies, one must first understand the characteristics of all actors and participants. What part or role do they play, the authority or form of power they have, and how do they relate to and supervise each other? Simply put, Anderson (1984) reveals that policy actors include internal bureaucratic actors and external actors who always have an interest in the policy. Three factors play a role in the collaboration in the formulation of the innovation policy: 1) the Knowledgeability of Actors, (2) the actors' commitment, and (3) resource dependence.

Research methods

This study uses a mixed research method with a sequential explanatory design. In the first stage, qualitative methods were used. Triangulation concerning data convergence was initiated during the early stages of this study. This method provides informative insights into the research object. Various narrative data gathered during this qualitative research method assisted researchers in developing questions for questionnaires. The second stage employed quantitative methods, specifically survey types. Selection of research locations using the multiple cluster sampling method. Based on data from the Ministry of Home Affairs, East Kalimantan Province has ten regencies and cities, consisting of seven regencies and three cities. The number of sample areas was determined using an online sample size calculator with a confidence level of 95 and a confidence interval of 75 percent. Establish a dividing area between the municipal government (represented by Banjarmasin City) and the regency government (represented by the Penajam Regency). The research unit consists of 32 actors, five of which make up the research unit: politicians (12.5%), businesspeople (21.9%), community leaders (37.5%), academics from nearby universities (15.6%), and government officials (12.5%). Each actor was from the city government (50 percent) and the district government (50 percent).

This study focuses on the concept of the policy formulation process, which is the embodiment of the product of collaboration. The focus consists of three things: (1) the knowledgeability of actors, namely, knowledge and understanding of actors on innovation policies; (2) actor's commitment, namely, support and involvement of actors in the formulation of innovation policies; and (3) actor dependency, namely, the level of dependency of the actor on the source of power he has. Research sources were (a) informants, (b) questionnaire distribution, and (c) documents. To analyse interview data using the NVivo 12 program, while statistical analysis using the SPSS program.

Discussion

In this paper, we describe the research results in two subsections. First, we discuss the phenomenon of innovation policy in the research area, and then in the next subchapter, we discuss the innovation policy collaboration model in the local government.

The Phenomenon of Innovation Policy in the Research Area. There has been a shift in local government innovation over the past five years. Initially, innovation was the sole responsibility of local governments, particularly regional heads. However, demands for the involvement of actors outside the government have arisen along with changes in people's lives and social order. The concept of collaboration serves as a reference for developing innovation in local governments. Outside government, actors began to question their involvement in the formulation activities.

These conditions are not significantly different from those of the two research areas. Based on discussions with several informants, they revealed their views and complaints about the policies made by the local government. In general, informants are still the object of the policy. Although their involvement is the driving force behind the implementation of a policy, it is not far from innovation policies. In general, informants said they knew of an innovation policy after it became a policy product. This study further investigates this phenomenon by focusing on three factors: (a) the actor's knowledge, which is the actor's knowledge and understanding of innovation policy; (b) the actor's commitment, which is the support and involvement of actors in the formulation of innovation policies; and (c) resource dependence, which is the level of dependency of actors on the source of power they have.

a) Knowledge-ability actors. The first is the actor's understanding and knowledge of the innovation. The assumption is that someone understands and can explain why they do something. Therefore, these two factors are pillars for building collaborative innovation policies. Research has revealed that most informants understand and have knowledge of innovation.

Based on research, 75 percent of actors know the local government's innovation policies. 21.9 percent answered that they did not know about this, but knew what innovation meant. Only 3.1 percent of respondents were undecided. This is not entirely different from the actors' understanding of local government innovation policies.
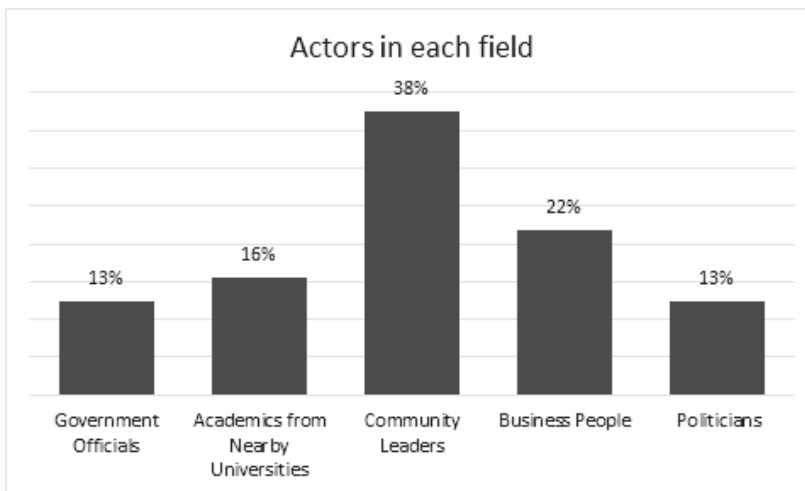
Figure 2. *The number of actors in each field*
Source: Ombudsman of Republic of Indonesia (2021)

In statistical tests using the chi-square test, there is a relationship between knowledge and understanding of innovation among actors. Statistical tests showed a significant relationship at an alpha level of 5 percent. This is in line with research conducted by Yu and Yan (2021). The results of this study indicate that the depth and breadth of knowledge affect innovation. This explains why the depth and breadth of knowledge together drive business model innovation. Kim and Chang (2009) also explained that information and knowledge sharing and learning culture are determinant factors in institutional innovation in the government.

b) Actor's commitment. To observe the commitment of actors in collaborative innovation, the second central factor that is the focus of this research is involvement and support in innovation policy formulations. In general, informants (more than 80 percent) understand that if a policy concerns the needs of many people, it requires the involvement of actors outside the government. This is consistent with research conducted by Dzieńdziora, et al. (2022) where the results of his research show that commitment influences innovation through a set of determinants that can be linked to innovative behaviour in the workplace. However, not all actors participate in formulating innovation policies. However, their knowledge and understanding of innovation are adequate.
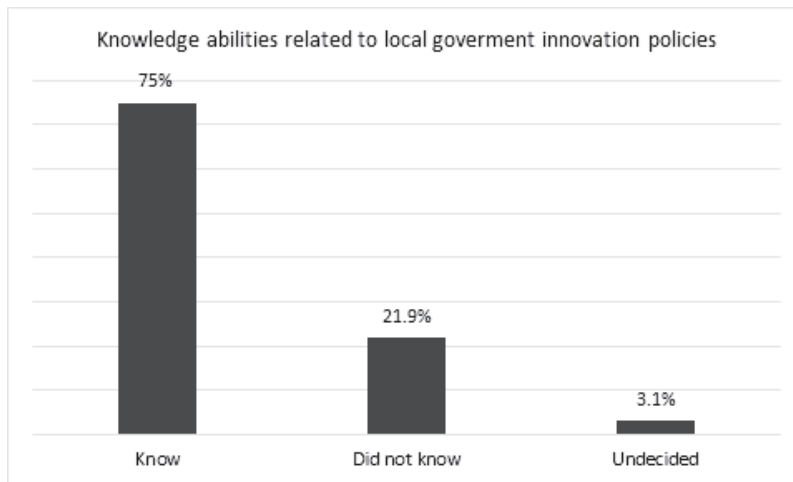
Figure 3. *Percentage of knowledge abilities of actors related to local government innovation policies*
Source: Ombudsman of Republic of Indonesia (2021)

The statistical test shows (in the statistical test using the chi-square test at alpha 5 percent) that there is a relationship between knowledge and understanding of actors' commitment to innovation. They were not involved because they were not invited to the formulation process. One of them is academic. An academic interview yielded the following results. *We are not involved in the policy formulation for innovation. Once, but not significantly so. Even if there is an FGD, it is only a formality: we are just listeners. Discussions about innovation were only occasional, not involved until today, insignificant, and taken from outside universities, even though those who know are us. The academics are local scientists. Innovation is also our need and that of the community, and the impact of road congestion is not increasing.*

Likewise, with the statement of a community leader, the answer was as follows: *We do not invite anyone. We don't get involved. This is similar to brainstorming ideas. As a result, people have become too lazy to think about them. Although many people in the area, particularly young people, have creative thinking, the*

impact of this is the lack of involvement of the two actors in innovation policy in the research area. The statement of a member of a politician as well as an academic even stated that: *We know of various innovation awards. TOP 99 or the Innovative Government Award. As we have heard, the local government has accepted them. However, what does the local government do, and how is the process? We don't know at all.*

These results are different from those of Wang and Ellinger (2011), who indirectly revealed that the external environment, in this case, including its actors, influences organizational innovation through organizational learning. As stated by Hassel (2015), at the government level, the community (stakeholders) as the affected party also influences policy and plays a vital role in policy. Political actors are an essential part of the development and achievement of innovation in the local governments of developing countries.

c) Resource dependence. The third factor is the source of innovation. This study explores the primary sources of innovation in local governments. Ninety-five percent of respondents stated that "Regents or mayors are the main drivers of local government innovation." These are support centers for innovation development. Their reason is that without the commitment and support of regional leaders, the proposed innovations will not go well. This condition was observed in the two studied areas. The regional head is the dominant actor in regional innovation. This is in line with what was conveyed by Yoon's (2006) finding that leadership is a key factor in innovation success. There is no doubt that leadership is the most important success factor in government innovation. However, it is essential to expand commitment and leadership to other leaders and organizations within the government.

The support of regional heads and budget decisions are factors that cause this condition to arise. Regional leaders who are unresponsive to the progress of innovation have the potential to become obstacles to innovation. Statistical tests supported this statement. At a significance level of 5 percent, there is a significant relationship between regional innovation development and regional leadership. In addition, several politicians and local government officials have stated that the budget is also an obstacle to the development of innovation.

The results of an interview with a local government official revealed: "We have lots of ideas and lots of innovations, but implementation is rather difficult, due to a limited budget." According to them, the budget itself requires the approval of the members of the legislature. Agreeing with Capuno (2010), leaders are the main drivers of innovation in the local government. However, as stated by Shankera et al. (2017) and Schuldt and Gomes (2020), there are other stimulants for organizations to be innovative, namely, organizational climate and organizational culture.

Innovation Policy Collaboration in Local Government

Collaboration occurs because there are similarities in views between government actors and stakeholders, namely business people, society, and academics. Sustainable innovation occurs if these actors cooperate. Local emotional issues can affect actors' views of the government, resulting in a negative view of the policies developed by the local government. Ansel and Gash (2008) reveal that in collaboration, there are important aspects that need attention, namely, face-to-face dialogue, trust building, and the development of commitment and shared understanding. We found that a virtuous cycle of collaboration tends to develop when collaborative forums focus on "small wins," which deepens trust, commitment, and shared understanding.

Thus, the first innovation policy for the government is to build togetherness between actors. Building trust and actively involving all actors are the most essential factors in the Regional Government Collaborative Innovation Policy. This is because the barriers to trust in actors outside the government are the main obstacles for the two governments in building collaborative innovation policies. The impact of academic dissatisfaction, public indifference, or ignorance of business people towards local government innovation policies was the main point during the interviews when the research was conducted.

Reducing barriers to innovation policy in this study is a major factor in the sustainability of these innovations. Regional heads who build trust in academics, business people, and the community are the main lever for the success of local government innovation. Face-to-face dialogue is a tool for building commitment and trust in the collaboration process.

Dialogues in the nuances of trust create a balance between actors in formulating innovation policies. Direct involvement in formulating policies occurs in an open process and is not merely a forum for consultation between these actors. In particular, the government's relationship and trust in the community's abilities. The Pearson correlation coefficient in the SPSS analysis shows that the value of the relationship between the government and community leaders is the weakest when compared to the relationship with other actors.

The absence of togetherness in developing innovation policies in local governments, and the absence of synergy and coordination between existing institutions in local governments and legislative institutions. Innovation policies in local governments are not well-developed. This is why resource dependence has the same value as actors' commitment in both research areas. Resource dependence on regional leaders or heads was the dominant factor in the study in both research areas.

Dependence on dominant resources can be a boomerang for regional leaders. With the dominance of an innovative leader, the region will indeed advance, i.e., become an innovative region. Leadership behaviour is one of the most important drivers of innovation, and there is no innovation without leaders with great innovation. However, there are negatives if they depend excessively on leaders. If a person is no longer the regional head, the region will lose its prestige as an innovative region. Such cases often occur in Indonesia, where a change in leadership occurs every five years.

Initially, it was considered a highly innovative area. However, after the regional head changed, the region lost its prestige as innovative. Oke, E. (2009) explains that while some innovations may be bottom-up activities, arising from members of the organization who are not necessarily leaders or top management. Most innovations tend to be the result of strategic responses or initiatives within the organization to compete effectively in the marketplace. For innovations to be successful in an organization, they require a commitment to key resources and strategies that are controlled by top management or organizational leadership.

However, if a region is less innovative, the fault lies with the regional head. Interview results conducted: "The regional leader is the main factor causing the two research areas to be less innovative. In general, the actors said that this condition arose because of the lack of responsiveness of regional heads to existing innovations. For example, lack of coordination and cooperation is a strong reason for this condition.

Based on this phenomenon, collaborative innovation policies, which will then trigger sustainable innovative local governments, can take place if the regional head is only a lever for innovation policy, namely, through brainstorming among existing actors. Knowledgeability Actors are the basic capital for regional heads in challenging the awareness of these actors to be involved in formulating regional innovation policies. In participation in the formulation of these policies, actors' commitment will be awakened in each actor to promote innovative areas. Thus, resource dependence for innovation policies spreads evenly among the actors in the area.

Based on the above studies, building collaborative innovative policies is a collaborative forum among existing actors, namely business people, communities, academics, politicians, and SKPD. Utilizing the Knowledgeability of Actors and transferring sources of innovation are not only focused on regional heads but on all existing actors. Where the Regional Head is only the main trigger and lever in collaboration, the Actors' commitment is the shared responsibility of the actors in the area. This means that the progress of the region is not only the responsibility of the regional head but is a joint task for each component in the area.

Conclusion

Based on the studies conducted, the two research areas were two areas that were less successful in the regional innovation event (TOP 45 or IGA) held by the KemenPAN-RB or the Ministry of Home Affairs, in the 2017-2021 period. The study conducted revealed that innovation in the regions is more concentrated on regional government, namely the Regional Head or SKPD (Balitang). Actors who play more roles are only related apparatus, while political actors are only partners in the discussion and approval of the budget that will be used. Meanwhile, business actors, academics, or community leaders are rarely involved. They are more often used as objects of a policy. This is shown by the results of discussions with the three actors, who revealed that they were only invited when there was the socialization of an innovation policy that would be developed in the community. This certainly has an impact on collaboration between actors so that collaboration innovation does not run optimally. Collaboration innovation should be able to generate innovation based on ideas, knowledge, expertise, and opportunities that can be obtained from the full collaboration of all actors. The need for the personal awareness of the actors as well as the need for encouragement to carry out functions optimally and collaborate in a better way. Business actors, academics, or community leaders, who are rarely involved, may be more critical when invited to outreach events.

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VIETOS VALDŽIOS INSTITUCIJŲ BENDRADARBIAVIMO INOVACIJŲ SRITYJE POLITIKA

Anotacija. *Suinteresuotųjų šalių bendradarbiavimo trūkumas laikomas viena iš pagrindinių netvarių regioninių inovacijų priežasčių. Šis reiškinys dažnai pasitaiko archipelago šalyse dėl ribotų galimybių gauti informaciją regione. Atsižvelgiant į tai, dabartiniame viešojo administravimo mokslininkų ir politikos praktikų diskurse pabrėžiama bendradarbiavimo svarba diegiant politikos inovacijas. Šiuo tyrimu siekiama išnagrinėti vietos valdžios inovacijų politiką Indonezijoje, Pietryčių Azijos archipelago šalyje, daugiausia dėmesio skiriant politikos formavimo procesui, kuris apima bendradarbiavimą siekiant kurti inovatyvią politiką.*

Šiame tyrime taikomas mišrių metodų tyrimo metodas, pagrįstas nuosekliu aiškinamuoju planu, kurį sudaro du pagrindiniai etapai. Pirmajame etape taikomas kiekybinis metodas, o antrajame etape - kokybinis metodas. Tyrimo duomenis sudarė pirminių ir antrinių duomenų, gautų iš klausimynų ir pusiau struktūruotų interviu, derinys. Šie duomenys buvo analizuojami aprašomuoju būdu naudojant NVivo programinę įrangą ir papildyti statistinės analizės rezultatais.

Šio tyrimo rezultatai patvirtina, kad tarp bendradarbiaujančių subjektų egzistuoja priklausomybės modelis, kuriame regionų vadovams tenka dominuojantis vaidmuo formuojant inovacijų politiką. Tačiau verslo subjektai, mokslininkai ir bendruomenių lyderiai dalyvauja retai, o tai rodo, kad jie yra labai priklausomi nuo regioninių vadovų iniciatyvų. Dėl to formuojama inovacijų politika paprastai būna netvari. Todėl šiame tyrime siūloma, kad bendradarbiavimo forumai taptų pagrindiniu orientyru kuriant ir kuriant tvarias regionines inovacijas. Tikimasi, kad šis forumas palengvins bendrus siekius ir inovacinius argumentus, taip pat paskatins kurti platesnio masto inovacijų politiką.

Apibendrinant galima teigti, kad suinteresuotųjų šalių bendradarbiavimo trūkumas yra viena iš pagrindinių kliūčių kuriant tvarias politikos inovacijas regionuose. Siekiant įveikti šį iššūkį, svarbu organizuoti bendradarbiavimo forumus, kurie palengvintų įvairių suinteresuotųjų šalių bendradarbiavimą ir aktyvų dalyvavimą. Tikimasi, kad stipriau bendradarbiaujant bus kuriama tvari inovatyvi politika, sprendžiamos regioninės problemos ir gerinama žmonių gyvenimo kokybė.

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THE BARGAINING POLITICS: DETERMINING REGIONAL PUBLIC POLICY IN FORMULATING THE SAMISAKE REVOLVING FUND PROGRAM IN BENGKULU CITY, INDONESIA

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Abstract. *The political arena influences the selection of an alternative policy for Samisake Revolving Fund program. In this phase, various interests affect the policy outcome, including conflict and bargaining positions among policymakers. Therefore, this study aimed to examine public participation in policy formulation for the Samisake Revolving Fund program in Bengkulu City, Indonesia. A qualitative method was used with a case study approach to the policy design, as well as typical conditions and variables. Data were collected by interviewing seven informants of five stakeholder elements and analyzed using flowing analysis. The results indicated high community involvement in the public policy formulation process that entails pushing issues into the policy agenda. The best policy alternative should satisfy all interested parties. Additionally, the policy was established by issuing the Regional Regulation draft on allocating the funding. This Regional Regulation should be accepted and implemented by all parties transparently with accountability to increase community participation and empowerment. The policy process displays a complex interaction among the policymakers. These policymakers include the executives of the Bengkulu City government from the Regional Technical Unit, community leaders and organizations, NGOs, and university academics. The interaction influences choices and policy decisions by creating conflict and tension in discussing the draft of Samisake Fund Regional Regulation. Therefore, future studies could examine stakeholder network participation in policy formulation and strengthening inter-institutional capacity to avoid conflict.*

Introduction

Public policy orientation solves problems in society as an applied social science. In this process, the critical phase is policy formulation, which allows a compromise between groups to balance the public interest (Dye, 2008). This ensures that the process results in effective and efficient decisions regarding policies that benefit the community.

Policy formulation is a deliberate step taken regarding a particular problem. This process focuses on what is done and not on the proposed or intended (Ansell, 2012; Chimhowu, Hulme, & Munro, 2019; Nugroho Riant, 2009; Schmeer, 199AD). Conceptually, a public policy must have a strong public interest orientation to solve the existing problem. Public policy analysis aims to recommend better problem-solving approaches. Policy formulation suggests alternative policies to solve public problems, including local government. For instance, the Bengkulu City local government formulated a policy called Samisake to solve economic problems.

Samisake is a Village development program that empowers and develops the local economy and the people's productivity by providing revolving fund loans. Various stakeholder elements are involved in the policy formulation process. These elements are classified into government, private, society, and college actors, with an essential role in the policymaking process of the Samisake Revolving Fund program. As elements of policy designing, making, and implementation, government actors, make up the leading sector, starting from the agenda setting, formulation, legitimacy, and assessment. The government policy actors comprise the Mayor, his apparatus, and the Bengkulu City Parliament that makes Regional Regulation.

The Mayor appointed the Regional Secretary, the Regional Development Planning Agency (BAPEDA), the Cooperatives and Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) Office, as well as Regional Financial and Asset Management Agency. Others appointed are district leaders, sub-district heads, and Lurah or village leaders. The Mayor apparatus is the leading actor in the Samisake fund program policy.

The involvement of private actors in the Samisake Revolving Fund program is significant because this policy aims to make MSMEs highly competitive. In this policy, the MSMEs Association represents MSMEs units as private actors that solve public economic problems. The community elements participating as policy actors include youth leaders and community organizations, the Kabahil Non-Governmental Organization, the Blue Foundation, and university academics. The Rector's Forum appointed Bengkulu and Muhammadiyah Bengkulu universities as providers of human resources. Consequently, the two universities have more scientists and experts in policymaking.

Bengkulu City's Medium-Term Regional Development Plan for 2013-2018 has made the Samisake Revolving Fund loan program a regional flagship poverty alleviation and job creation program. Regulation arranges technical guidelines for managing Samisake Revolving Fund program based on Mayor Regulation Number 28 of 2013 due to policy formulation. The Samisake Revolving Fund program aims to realize people's welfare by increasing socially equitable income. However, the program cannot solve the community's economic problems indicated by the high poverty rate and unemployment. The poverty rate reached 22.23% in 2016, far exceeding the local and national poverty rates of 17.36% and 12.36%, respectively. Additionally, the labor force decreased from 3.70% in 2017 to 3.50% in 2018 (Anonim, 2019).

The Samisake Revolving Fund program was initiated through policy formulation involving various parties. Stakeholders have contributed to program planning to empower the community's small and productive economies through revolving funds. However, the program's goal for the people's welfare was not achieved.

Based on the multi-stakeholder partnerships (MSP) model, a policy formulation that promotes stakeholders' involvement has a higher chance of success. However, the program is not optimal based on the actual formulation process and existing actors' involvement. The formulation process should be examined to determine its weak point and the community's role. Therefore, this study aimed to examine citizen participation in the policy formulation process in the Samisake Revolving Fund program

Literature Review

This section describes how stakeholder involvement in policy formulation is integrated from MSP theory. According to Momen (2020), it is essential to involve multi-stakeholders in policymaking. The MSP concept implements policy formulation involving stakeholders, which helps resolve conflicts. Therefore, it is important to involve the community, private sector, universities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and international, national, and regional organizations. Other stakeholders to be engaged include social, cultural, governance, and information systems, as well as financial.

The MSP concept involves stakeholder engagement in policy formulation to foster community participation. This potential opportunity to develop regional development instruments involves stakeholder participation (Viťaliˇsovˇ, Murray-Svidroˇnovˇ, & Jakuˇs-Muthov, 2021). Participation could entail sharing information, discussing, and consulting on policy formulation (Teder & Kaimre, 2017). In the globalization or industrial revolution 4.0 era, public participation is future development in deciding public Policy (Alexander, Vogt, & Kabst, 2016). Therefore, stakeholder representation and proportional involvement in public policymaking promote and balance the group's power (Raišienė & Skulskis, 2018).

With political and democratic changes, relations between government, society, private sector, academics (PT), and netizens have shifted from a hierarchical to a horizontal system. Therefore, the MSP approach could address the more complex social problems governments and other parties face. Supporters of this approach believe that collaboration in formulating public Policy in Indonesia has promoted the involvement of the public and policy target stakeholders. This shows the nuances of democracy in formulating public policy. In Parsons terminology, this condition could be categorized in the public choices approach (Elston, 2016; Grammatikopoulou, Badura, & Vačkářová, 2020). Policy-making requires several stages, including government agenda setting, policy formulation and legitimacy, statements, outcomes, evaluations, and decisions regarding the follow-up of programs made (Azevedo, Corrêa, & Federal, 2020; Djosetro & Behagel, 2020; Neeff & Piazza, 2020).

In preparing the agenda, many actors or institutions are interested in the policy to be made by the government. This serves to warm the atmosphere in the preparation of the government agenda. However, many public policy experts recognize that agenda setting is challenging due to the interaction of many actors with varying interests. This means that bringing the existing issues to the government agenda requires a long time (Christiansen, 2018; Cirone & Urpelainen, 2013; Mccowan, 2006).

The preparation of this agenda is more complicated in democratic than non-democratic countries. Democracy is a system of government based on people's participation. Therefore, solving public problems requires the high involvement of the people in the agenda setting. This results in high competition among actors in putting issues on the government agenda.

Democratic countries have political parties, interest groups, and organizations to accommodate the aspirations and participation of the people. This condition results in significant competition between groups. The countries overcome this situation through a well-structured and institutionalized political process. Conflicting political groups compromise differences in policy decisions through an open political election. The relationship between factors in a democratic country is described as follows (Biagi, Giovanna, & Ortega-argiles, 2020; Grammatikopoulou et al., 2020).

The picture shows how people in democratic countries channel their aspirations and participation in formulating public policies. Communities express their wishes to the government directly or through

interest groups and political parties, which require the support of the mass media. In democratic countries, the relationship between actors or institutions in policy formulation is very complex. Democratic countries legitimize policy decisions because society, groups, political parties, mass media, government, and institutions produce acceptable policies. However, enforcing these decisions depends on economic development and each country's administrative service effectiveness. Higher economic development and administrative services increase the ability to implement policy decisions (Asatryan & Witte, 2015; Stier, 2015; Tedesco, 2015).
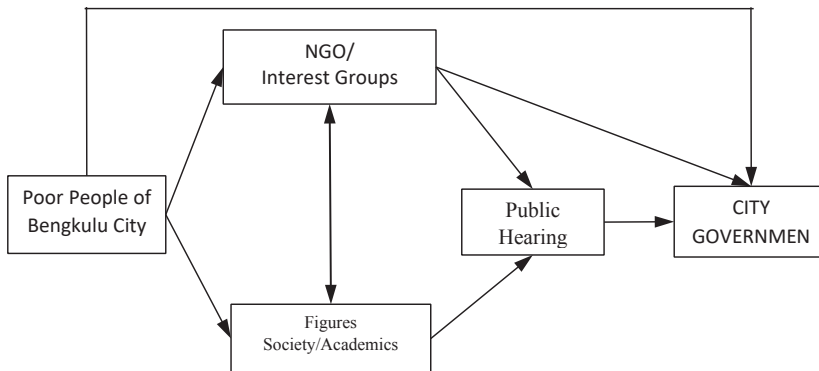
Figure 1. *Access Channel from the Community to the Government*
Source: Authors

Democracies are more open and structured in formulating public policies than non-democratic countries. This openness is demonstrated by the involvement of many parties representing people's participation. Therefore, people's participation is structured through organizations that represent their interests. This ensures that a policy representing all parties' interests is eventually achieved. The parties whose interests are not represented accept and make corrections to implementing the policies.

Howlett (2019) found that MSP supporters believe several actors are interrelated and interact to agree on policy making. The actors are the legislative and executive elements, the private sector, the community, and the mass media. This is in line with Momen (2020), which emphasized the importance of MSP. In this case, MSP involvement could manage resources effectively (Darmi, 2017; Yuniningsi, Darmi, & Sulandari, 2019). Conflicts cannot be avoided with many actors and institutions involved in policy formulation. The high or low conflict level depends on how the policy is handled. Distributive policies have a low conflict level, while protective regulatory policies have moderate conflicts. Moreover, redistributive, structural, strategic, and crisis policies have high, low, moderate, and varying conflict levels depending on the issue. The relationship between these actors and institutions could also be stable or unstable, depending on the policy being handled (Djosetro & Behagel, 2020; Elston, 2016; Feyaerts, Deguerry, Deboosere, & Spiegelaere, 2017)

Sukwika (2018), Sulistiowati et al. (2020), Taufik (2017), and Wibow (2013) stated that the policy-making process could involve official or informal actors. Official actors include government agents or bureaucracy, the president, the legislature, and the judiciary. The informal actor includes interest groups, political parties, and individual citizens.

The policy maker is the dominant actor with the power or authority to determine the content and provide legitimacy to the policy formulation. The involvement of actors is determined by the government

system adopted by a country. For instance, a policy in a totalitarian country is formulated and made by the state. In a democratic country, the participation of the community is high because the standard question is who gets what, how many, in what way, and when all of that would be obtained.

A policy's effectiveness in overcoming public problems is determined by its quality. Several studies showed that the policy's quality is determined by stakeholders, the environment, and public choices. First, the stakeholders are actors that aggregate and articulate people's aspirations as raw material for making a single policy (Ansell, 2012; Dawes, Vidiasova, & Parkhimovich, 2016; Sheng, Zhou, & Zhu, 2019). They include the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), political parties, community groups, professional organizations, and other parties interested in the policy. Second, public choices relate to society's aspirations and the opportunities to achieve common goals. Third, the policy environment deals with cultural, social, economic, and political conditions, as well as human and natural resources.

In Indonesia, the most excellent attention must be paid to stakeholders because they determine and are influenced public choices and the changing environment (Mujtahid, Suwitri, & Darmi, 2018; Schueller, Booth, Fleming, & Abad, 2020). Since this occurs culturally, it could be assumed that political affairs relate to intelligent people or political elites. Conversely, society is in the position of receiving and utilizing public policies. In this context, DPRD becomes an essential stakeholder in formulating public policy. It is necessary to develop the participation of the public and all interested stakeholders to formulate high-quality policies that address public problems and desires.

The public and stakeholders should participate in policymaking as the central focus and goal of the process. Without community participation, the development process would fail. Therefore, various political and development jargon demands public participation in every activity. Community participation is essential because of three important reasons. First, it is a means of obtaining information on the community's conditions, needs, aspirations, and attitudes about a problem. Second, the community becomes more confident in a development program or policy through involvement in the preparation and planning process. They develop a sense of ownership and support the program or policy to grow. Third, it is a democratic right when the community is involved in formulating programs or policies that relate to and regulates them (Taylor & Grieken, 2015; Waheduzzaman, 2010; Wang, 2014).

Participation is a reasonably old term that has only been discussed since the 1970s when several international agencies promoted participation in development planning and implementation. Therefore, the concept has developed and has various meanings, though it is convergent. The three traditions of participation in democratic community development are political, social, and citizen participation. In line with this, participation is the core of democracy. This explains why the concept was initially associated with democratic political processes (Glass & Newig, 2019; Navid, Moghaddam, & Ra, 2020).

Political participation involves the interaction of individuals or political parties with the state. It is often associated with political democracy, representation, and indirect participation. Furthermore, political participation is expressed in individual or group actions to vote, campaign, or protest to influence government representatives. Therefore, it is more oriented towards influencing and placing people's representatives in government institutions than active and direct involvement in governance processes.

Since the 1970s, the concept of participation has been oriented towards development planning and implementation. Regarding development, Jaeger (2007) and Vessuri (2003) defined participation as increasing supervision of resources and regulatory agencies in certain social conditions by various groups and movements sidelined in their supervisory function. Participation is placed outside the state or formal government institutions. This means social participation is positioned as community involvement, specifically development beneficiaries in consultation or decision-making. It occurs in the development project cycle from needs assessment, planning, and implementation, to program monitoring and evaluation. There are many generally accepted assumptions for promoting social participation. The first assumption is that the people know their needs best and have the right to identify and determine development needs at

their local level. Second, social participation guarantees the interests and voices of marginalized groups in legal, economic, social, and cultural development. Third, social participation in monitoring the development process reduces irregularities, as well as the quality and quantity of development programs. Fourth, people should build organizations through movements or independent groups to aggregate and articulate their interests in social participation.

The discussion has positioned citizen participation as a concept and a necessary practice. Political and social participation emphasizes representation and external governmental institutions, respectively. In contrast, citizen participation emphasizes direct involvement in decision-making in government institutions and processes. Choi & Song (2020) and Protik, Nichols-barrer, Berman, & Sloan (2018) stated that citizen participation has shifted from caring for beneficiaries or marginalized people to a concern for policy and decision-making in critical areas affecting citizens' lives.

The Samisake Revolving Fund program case and the models show the involvement of internal and external stakeholders or policy actors. Internal actors include the government, such as the Mayor with his apparatus, parliament, political elites, the executive, and legislature. The external stakeholders include the private sector, mass media, colleges, interested groups, and citizens. Therefore, this study aimed to examine public participation in policy formulation. It described problems, issues, and agenda regarding the selection of an alternative policy. Additionally, the study explained actor contribution to ideas, suggestions, negotiation, and determination of policies.

Methods

This study aimed to examine citizen participation in policy formulation for the Samisake Revolving Fund program in Bengkulu City. Data were collected using interviews, observations, and documentation based on the average stakeholder involvement in policy making.

This study held interviews with stakeholder elements regarding the policy formulation. The informants comprised local government apparatus, parliament members, community leaders, NGOs, academics, and private sectors, such as MSMEs Associations.

These informants were selected using the purposive sampling technique with previously determined criteria. The informants understood the process of formulating policies for the Samisake Relvoving Fund program. Source triangulation was conducted to confirm the data collected and ensure that the results have a high confidence level. Table 1 shows the informants' information:

Table 1. *Characteristics of Informants*

Gender	Total	Age	Total
Female	2	21 - 30	1
Male	5	31 - 40	3
		41 - 50	3
Stakeholder Element		**Education**	
Local Government	2	Senior High School	2
Member of Parliament	2	Bachelor Degree	1
NGO	1	Magister Degree	3
UMKM Association	1	PhD Degree	1
Scholar	1		
Total	**7**	**Total**	**7**

Source: Authors

This study used a descriptive qualitative method to examine the formulation of the Samisake Revolving Fund program. The method was based on policy formulation and stakeholders' participation.

This study examined the public policy formulation process regarding actors and the resulting conflicts. It described policy problems, issues, and agenda, the selection of an alternative policy, and explained actor contribution to ideas, suggestions, negotiation, and determination. The results were presented qualitatively as statements interpreted to encourage scholars to obtain other paradigms in formulating regional public policies.

Results and Discussion

This study aimed to examine the Samisake Revolving Fund program policy formulation process based on stakeholder participation to identify, collect, define, and specify problems. It also examined the discussions on making joint decisions to solve the community's problems. The stage-wise public policy formulation process triggered the desire to understand the community's aspirations (Howlett & Mukherjee, 2014).

The policy formulation process involves the government, private sector, college actors, and the community, but no mass media and citizens. An informant stated that poverty and unemployment contribute to reducing people's welfare. Therefore, the program is a better choice for people in Bengkulu.

The informants stated that Samisake Revolving Fund program is a better solution to the main economic problem. A government element also stated that the program could help increase people's welfare. The situation was confirmed by an informant and can be seen in Bahasa as follows:

"The Samisake Revolving Fund program helps reduce poverty in Bengkulu by increasing capability of human resource and creating job opportunities for citizens. The high poverty rate means the regional public policy of should be a Regional Regulation (Perda). There is much information and ideas from policy actors in the trial phase. However, the Regional Regulation was agreed to be issued, provided the Perda is implemented effectively and efficiently" (MI, 46 years old, parliament member).

"In formulating the Samisake Revolving Fund policy, there was a tug-of-war between the executive and the Legislature. There was a conflict of individual and group interests between the parliament and the State Civil Apparatus, prompting a debate during the trial in deciding policies" (TR, 35 years old, NGOs).

"A decision made on a policy goes through various stages of the trial, which involves many discussions and arguments from participants. Each trial participant invites stakeholders to provide information, suggestions, and input regarding the program. This program is appropriate for identifying problems to increase the income of people engaged in MSMEs and reduce the poverty rate in Bengkulu" (AR, 42 years old, State Civil Apparatus).

Informants from NGOs and apparatus stated that the policy issue causes conflicts of interest and debates regarding the ideal agenda. During discussions, the participants expressed their egos and attempted to empower MSMEs and community production.

The policy formulation mechanism that includes stakeholders from various elements involves interaction between the executive (DPRD), local government, and other actors that help avoid conflicts and obtain quality policies. This is consistent with formulating policies that accommodate various actors to minimize conflict (Momen, 2020). However, the government should control the source of advice (Craft & Howlett, 2012).

Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2013 was formulated with a budgeting review for managing Samisake Fund to reduce poverty. The first review concerned the allocation budget through a plenary meeting between the government and parliament inviting academics, media, and NGOs. This resulted in alternatives to remove other budget allocations, such as purchasing luxury cars, diverting social assistance to productive funds, and reducing the officials' travel activities out of town. The alternative supports the development of the local economy through the Samisake Revolving Fund program, which adopts the Local Economic Development (LED) concept.

The field report confirmed the mechanism policy formulation as follows:

1. The program policy idea from the Mayor of Bengkulu proved political promises
2. The study by the Mayor's team found that the ultra-microeconomic community needed guarantee-free business capital loans.
3. The study was followed by a seminar at the Chancellor's forum in Bengkulu. The seminar invited academics, microfinance institutions, business actors, empowerment activists, and the banking sector.
4. The seminar results recommended that the Mayor provide assistance and unsecured loans for micro-enterprises.
5. The Mayor submitted this recommendation to the Research and Development Planning Institution (BAPPEDA) of Bengkulu City.
6. BAPPEDA conveyed to the sub-districts in Bengkulu City. Each sub-district invited the Kelurahan/ Village and Rukun Tetangga (RT) /sub-village.
7. The sub-district development planning convened a deliberation meeting. Also, a development planning meeting shall be held to prepare, identify, and map economic potential in the Kelurahan.
8. Policy formulation began with issuing a Mayor's Decree on forming a technical team for the Samisake program.
9. Field review by the technical team in each Kelurahan
10. The Mayor established a Regional Technical Implementation Unit (UPTD)
11. UPTD identifies, maps, and facilitates the creation of microfinance institutions in each kelurahan as partners in implementing the Samisake Revolving Fund program.
12. The Samisake Program proposal is included in the working plan, and development planning forums are included in the Bengkulu City master plan

The filed reports obtained by actors in formulating policies showed that official stakeholders include the Regional Secretary, Planning and Research Institution, as well as district and village leaders. These primary actors have a significant influence and importance. Secondary actors, including NGOs, academics, and the media, have significant influence but low-level importance. However, actors with low influence but high interest are business actors, one of the program's targets.

These actors' interactions in the policy formulation should be based on professional and organizational values, fairness, and public interest. There are values of group and policy networks, though there is a tug of war. However, public values remain a crucial factor in formulating policies. These data confirmed the situation, which involves primary and secondary actors.

Samisake Revolving Fund program aims to increase people's income and welfare to develop micro businesses. The achievement of the program is reflected in the reduced poverty rate, as shown in Figure 2.
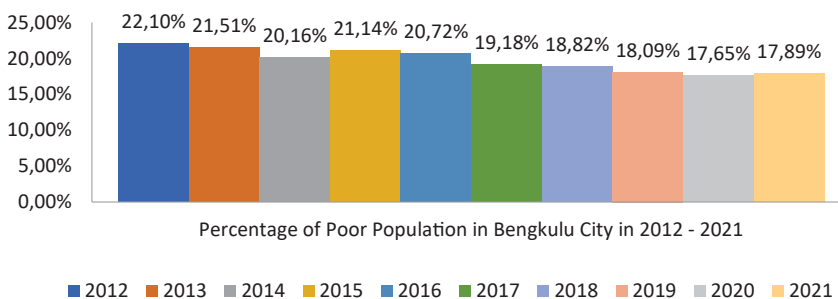
Figure 2. *Poverty Rate in Bengkulu City*
Source: Authors

The Samisake Revolving Fund program is a breakthrough in alleviating unemployment and poverty in Bengkulu City. Observations showed that unemployment and poverty are problems that need urgent solutions. In 2011, the Social Protection Program (PPLS) reported that Bengkulu City had 74,646 poor people. Central Bureau of Statistics data also showed that 17,545 people were unemployed. However, PPLS could not be immediately carried out, necessitating the most appropriate mechanisms and instruments for its implementation. This would ensure that field implementation does not encounter legal or technical challenges. Samisake Revolving Fund program management needed mechanisms and instruments to determine the most appropriate model. Therefore, several meetings, discussions, and opinion exchanges were held with academics, Regional Leadership Coordination Forum (FKPD), traditional figures, community leaders, Regional Work Units (SKPD), and NGOs. The aim was to obtain inputs, opinions, and experience regarding a proper formulation in implementing Samisake Revolving Fund program.

This study aimed to identify the needs of the target group related to the Samisake Revolving Fund Program planned by the Bengkulu City Government. The aim was to ensure that the policies implemented solved public problems. Identification was conducted to assess the community map and the diversification of business groups. Furthermore, interviews were conducted with BAPPEDA Bengkulu City in charge of program design to identify the needs of the people targeted by the policies.
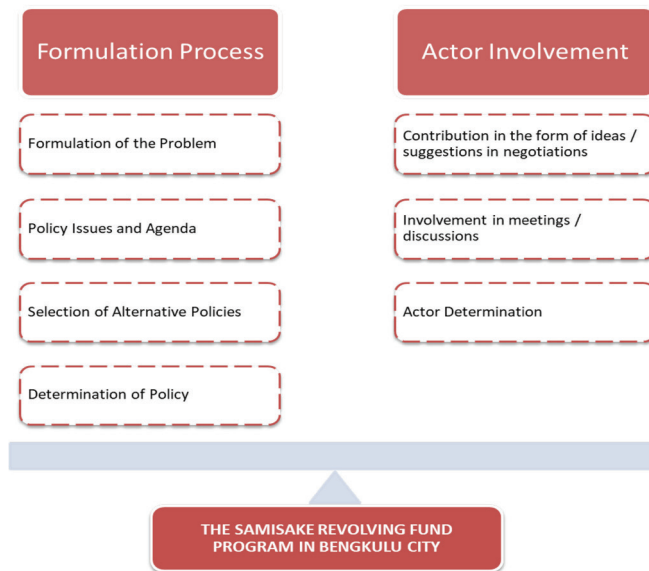
Figure 3. *Study Framework*
Source: Authors

The interview excerpts indicated that employment, access to capital, and supporting skills would enable the poor to fight poverty chain rotation. Therefore, the government should formulate the right strategy regarding poverty alleviation programs and identify the target group. This would ensure that the program designed is not biased in its implementation.

Many policy alternatives are acceptable in the initial formulation stages but decrease after discussion and evaluation. The formulators prepare a definite suggestion about alternative policies in the final stages. They must consider attitudes, rules, and demands that limit the legitimators' behavior regarding the alternatives taken by the Bengkulu City government to address the needs of target groups. The issue and

policy agenda highlight the need for easy access to business and capital, as well as supporting skills for the poor. The identification process indicated that the primary needs for the poor are more financial capital and supporting skills to develop themselves.

The Samisake travel document states that determining the alternative program was the best choice by the government. This is based on the public hearing held to capture issues related to the needs of the poor. The hearing revealed that around 63,000 people were poor, while about 70,000 were unemployed. Therefore, the government developed a local economic policy with the concept of One Billion One Sub-district. This policy involves everyone utilizing and developing the local economy to help increase income and create new jobs. In Jones's view (1996: 161), Samisake gradually determines policy alternatives in several ways through (1) identifying alternatives to similar problems; (2) defining and formulating alternatives; (3) assessing and determining profitable alternatives; and (4) selecting a satisfactory alternative.

The policy formulation regarding the agenda-setting implemented by the government in facing community demands aimed to enhance business operations. This would be achieved using capital, skills, and the business product identified through the public hearing process. Another approach is to implement the Samisake Revolving Fund Policy using the UPTD model until the formation of the Regional Public Service Agency (BLUD). However, the model's assessment has not met the four standard criteria, including (a) technical feasibility, (b) economic and financial viability, (c) political viability, and (d) administrative feasibility.

After the eight-month conflict discussions and bargaining, the community's demands regarding poverty and job availability contained in the issue and policy agenda were established as a public policy. The policy is Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2013 concerning the Management of the Samisake Revolving Fund program in Bengkulu City. It stipulates that UPTD manages the Samisake Revolving Fund at the office of MSMEs. The UPTD is a Regional Public Service Agency that manages the Samisake Revolving Fund in collaboration with Micro Finance Institutions (LKM) in each village. Moreover, the regulation's realization is regulated in the Samisake Revolving Fund Management Implementation Guidelines and Regulation of Mayor Number 28 of 2013 concerning Technical Guidelines for the Management of the Samisake Revolving Fund program.

BAPPEDA conducted various activities in planning for the Samisake Revolving Fund program in the Regional Middle Range Development Plan (RPJMD) document. These activities could also be interpreted as a chronological process for preparing the RPJMD. The process starts from the problem formulation to the legislation stage, where the RPJMD document is stipulated as a binding legal product. This legislative process becomes the basis for making policies on the Samisake Revolving Fund. It contains a comprehensive mechanism for rolling out revolving funds to the public.

Policy actors play a vital role in formulating various alternatives and determining the chosen policy. Community participation is also crucial in pushing issues into the policy agenda, followed by policymaking.

Determining the public Policy of the Samisake Revolving Fund program involved the Executive Team as a vital stakeholder that reviewed and discussed the Raperda. The team comprised the Regional Secretary, BAPPEDA, Department of Finance and Asset Management Revenue (DPPKA), UPTD, LKM, Legal Division, and Head of District. Other actors were community leaders, youth, and religious leaders, as well as NGOs that voice people's interests in every oration.

University academics were also involved in the policy formulation process to discuss and find a solution to the public problem of the Samisake Revolving Fund program. The interactions between these actors were colored by debates, arguments, and conflicts. Each actor believed their opinion was the best alternative in implementing rotating funds in the field. The interaction resulted in the public policy that could satisfy all parties by accommodating initially different interests through the bargaining process. This shows that participating in public policy formulation aims to obtain a win-win solution. The policy should

accommodate all parties' interests and address community needs. As a political process, the formulation aims to equalize the actors' perceptions and interests to produce a quality policy.

The results show the people's need for capital and supporting skills to alleviate poverty through the public hearing approach. In the current democratic era, the public is increasingly critical in responding to every problem. The government's dominance in policy initiatives has shifted to the community. Subsequently, society significantly influences the government, which implies the characteristics of a democratic state. The relationship between democracy and public policy is significant. Public policy is born in a democratic atmosphere, with the high involvement of policy actors. Furthermore, the public participates in the policy formulation process, resulting in a tug-of-war between various social interests that transform into public opinion.

The policy issue of the Samisake Revolving Fund program came from the community regarding poverty and unemployment. Subsequently, it became public opinion and was included in the policy agenda by the Bengkulu City government. The Legislature and other stakeholders agreed that enacting the Raperda proved the victory of the people and all parties involved in policy formulation. Moreover, they agreed that this is proof of democracy in Bengkulu City. This opinion was conveyed by the Mayor when he stipulated the Raperda to be submitted and discussed with the Legislature.

Conclusion

This study contributes to the understanding of multi-stakeholder involvement in regional public policy formulation characterized by the participation of various actors. The MSP theory was employed to describe the potential role of Penta Helix actors in sharing information to make quality public policies. The results confirmed the typical process of formulating the Samisake Revolving Fund program policy in Bengkulu City. The people's aspirations are accepted and followed by a Regional Regulation (Perda). Therefore, the community's role and participation are significant in policy formulation.

The community provides rational thoughts about the importance of the Samisake Revolving Fund program. Apart from specific political interests, village communities could identify their various public problems. The Bengkulu City government failed to include the community aspirations in the policy agenda to be discussed by the Legislature or the executive. Subsequently, the community carried out movements to push for discussions regarding the policy issue. The intensive hearing finally pushed the issue onto the policy agenda discussed by the government.

The Bengkulu City government expressed its willingness and good faith by drafting a Regional Regulation on the Samisake Revolving Fund program. However, selecting an alternative policy is an arena of political influence, where various interests color the policy outcome. The alternative policy selection process was marked by conflicts and bargaining among actors. The policy selected was the best and satisfied all parties interested. In stipulating the Regional Regulation draft, all interested parties hope the Samisake Revolving Fund Regional Regulation would be accepted. They believe the policy would be transparent and accountable to increase community participation and empowerment. The policy formulation process displays a very complex interaction among policy actors.

These actors are the executives of the Bengkulu City government, community leaders and organizations, as well as university academics. The actors try to influence the choices and policymaking process by creating conflicts in every discussion of the Regional draft Regulation. The growing regional autonomy and democracy promote the government to increase citizen participation in public policy formulation. The high public participation provides many contributions, increasing the choice of alternative policies. As a result, many options facilitate the realization of a high-quality public policy.

This study obtained data from a few informants comprising stakeholder elements in regional policy formulation. Therefore, future studies could involve more associations and print or online media as an alternative for disseminating policy information.

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DERYBŲ POLITIKA: REGIONINĖS VIEŠOSIOS POLITIKOS NUSTATYMAS FORMUOJANT SAMISAKE APYVARTINIO FONDO PROGRAMĄ BENGKULU MIESTE, INDONEZIJOJE

Anotacija. *Suinteresuotųjų šalių bendradarbiavimo trūkumas laikomas viena iš pagrindinių netvarių regioniniųPolitinė arena daro įtaką alternatyvios politikos pasirinkimui Samisake atnaujinamojo fondo programai. Šiame etape įvairūs interesai daro įtaką politikos rezultatams, įskaitant politikos formuotojų konf-*

liktus ir derybines pozicijas. Todėl šio tyrimo tikslas - ištirti visuomenės dalyvavimą formuojant Samisake revoliucinio fondo programos politiką Bengkulu mieste, Indonezijoje. Taikytas kokybinis metodas, taikant atvejo studijos metodą politikos formavimui, taip pat tipinėms sąlygoms ir kintamiesiems. Duomenys buvo renkami apklausiant septynis informantus iš penkių suinteresuotųjų elementų ir analizuojami taikant srautinę analizę. Rezultatai parodė didelį bendruomenės įsitraukimą į viešosios politikos formavimo procesą, kuris reiškia klausimų stūmimą į politikos darbotvarkę. Geriausia politikos alternatyva turėtų tenkinti visas suinteresuotąsias šalis. Be to, politika buvo nustatyta išleidžiant regioninio reglamento projektą dėl finansavimo paskirstymo. Šiam regioniniam reglamentui turėtų pritarti visos šalys ir jį įgyvendinti skaidriai ir atskaitingai, kad būtų padidintas bendruomenės dalyvavimas ir jos įgalinimas. Politikos procesas rodo sudėtingą politikos formuotojų sąveiką. Tarp šių politikos formuotojų yra Bengkulu miesto valdžios vadovai iš Regioninio techninio skyriaus, bendruomenių lyderiai ir organizacijos, nevyriausybinės organizacijos ir universitetų mokslininkai. Ši sąveika daro įtaką pasirinkimams ir politiniams sprendimams, sukeldama konfliktus ir įtampą svarstant Samisake fondo regioninio reglamento projektą. Todėl būsimuose tyrimuose galėtų būti nagrinėjamas suinteresuotųjų šalių tinklo dalyvavimas formuojant politiką ir tarpinstitucinių gebėjimų stiprinimas siekiant išvengti konfliktų.

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DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION'S IMPACT ON SUSTAINABLE HR MANAGEMENT: COMPARATIVE STUDY OF WORK-LIFE BALANCE AND SKILL DEVELOPMENT IN PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE SECTORS OF A DEVELOPING COUNTRY

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Abstract. *The quick development of digitalization has transformed the nature of work and has brought new opportunities for businesses to achieve sustainable human resource management in many ways, including remote working as a means to achieve work-life balance and training access for new skill development. Objective - the objective of this study is to offer a comprehensive understanding of the challenges faced by private and public organizations in Kosovo. This study tries to make a comparison between these two sectors aiming to help public administration policymakers spot the gaps between sectors and improve digitalization in the public sector. Methods: we have conducted a qualitative analysis. 21 interviewed businesses explained in detail the process of digitalization and its effect on achieving work-life balance and new skills development as ways to achieve SHRM. Results: according to the analysis, digitalization is improving both public and private workers' skills. However, private companies are more likely to use remote work to achieve work-life balance, while in public organisations; digitalization has mostly helped in the training of employees. Conclusions: In general, digitalization has helped businesses achieve SHRM. Despite the fact that, in general, private-sector businesses benefit more from digitalization than public organizations.*

Keywords: *Sustainable HRM, Digital Transformation, Work-life Balance, Skill Development, Trainings, Online Platforms*

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *tvarus žmogiškųjų išteklių valdymas, skaitmeninė transformacija, darbo ir asmeninio gyvenimo pusiausvyra, įgūdžių ugdymas, mokymai, internetinės platformos*

Introduction

The increasing adoption of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and the digital transformation of human resource management are having a big effect on business processes. Smart technology, artificial intelligence (AI) and automation, robotics, cloud computing, digital storytelling and the Internet of Things (IoT) are some of the developments that are transforming the way people work and that are causing concerns about the future of jobs and businesses (Trenerry et al., 2021; Sirca et al., 2022). To remain competitive in the

face of rapid change, businesses updated and transformed their business models. The increased adoption of digital systems was even more important after COVID-19 (Qorraj et al., 2023).

The top corporations in the world are becoming more willing to show their dedication to corporate sustainability as a result of increased public awareness and sensitivity about the role that commercial organizations play in ecological, social, and economic issues. The term sustainable development is defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Oxford, 1987).

According to Day et al., (2010) well-being at work can be defined as an environment that consists of "low levels of physical symptoms, stress, burnout, and negative mental health symptoms and who possess positive indicators of physical health, satisfaction, engagement, energy, professional efficacy, integrity, and respect towards others, their environment, and themselves".

Common features to achieve sustainable competitiveness through HRM include leadership with vision, transfer of experience, taking care of the quality of the non-working life of employees, developing the creativity of employees, sustainable management of quality, competitive strategies in line with CSR, long-term contracts, investment in the future workforce, etc. (Karman, 2019).

Sustainable Human Resource Management is perceived as an advancement of strategic human resource management with a special focus on employee and environmental care, employee participation and development, flexibility, and equality (Davidescu, 2020). According to Zaugg (2001) the main characteristics of sustainable HRM are flexibility, employee participation, value orientation, stakeholder orientation, and trustful employee-employer relationships. Sustainable HRM is seen as a new concept contributing to the development of sustainable business models economically, socially, and ecologically (Wilkinson et al. 2001; Ehnert & Harry 2012). HR flexibility, which includes employee skills flexibility, employee behavior flexibility, and HR practice flexibility, along with HR agility, have a significant impact on organizational competitiveness. Specifically, these factors enhance the flexibility and creativity of human resources, improve quality performance, and positively influence the quality of life of employees and social relations (Karman, 2019). According to Ehnert et al. (2016), sustainable HRM can be defined as 'the adoption of HRM strategies and practices that enable the achievement of financial, social, and ecological goals, with an impact inside and outside of the organization and over a long-term time horizon while controlling for unintended side effects and negative feedback'.

Different studies previously confirmed that emerging technologies, including digital platforms, Artificial Intelligence, robotics, augmented reality, and blockchain, would change the functions HR professionals perform (Parry & Battista, 2019).

The improvement of effective employee expression mechanisms is vital to the implementation and maintenance of sustainable HRM (Paulet et al., 2021). Following the extraordinary changes after COVID-19 and the enforcement of the digital transition, HRM remains at the heart of these transformations (Gigauri, 2020).

Digital technology has become an integral part of our personal lives, allowing employees to be more productive and adaptable in their work schedules. Digital transformation is seen as a process of transforming business operations, processes, and structures in order to benefit from the recent technological developments that have impacted day-to-day HR practices (Fenech et., 2019). The use of AI in human resource management has also increased efficiency and productivity (Abdeldayem & Aldulaimi, 2020).

 According to Zuzaku and Abazi (2022), the COVID-19 pandemic has had an influence on the pace at which businesses are carrying out digital transformation in Kosovo too. The COVID-19 pandemic has caused enterprises to perceive digitalization as not only an additional prospect but also a mechanism for ensuring their sustained survival. It appears that companies in Kosovo recognize the significance of digitalization; however, they are experiencing a delay in the implementation of concrete digitalization strategies and action plans. One of the primary obstacles identified by the authors is the lack of adequate

workforce skills to implement these strategies. In addition, Qorraj and Kaçaniku (2023), conclude that the digitalization process in Kosovo faces a number of obstacles. The most important ones to mention are institutional development, limited administrative capabilities, and educational and digitalization challenges.

Recently, the progress towards developing and strengthening the supply of digital skills can be assessed by two indicators included in the Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI). A broader indicator that covers necessary skills and usage is the share of Internet users who frequently use the Internet, while a narrower indicator reflecting ICT skills is the share of individuals with basic or above-required digital skills. Analyzing the proportion of individuals who frequently use the Internet, this share was highest for Kosovo (90%) in 2019 and the Republic of North Macedonia (80%). The proportion was slightly lower for Serbia (76%), Montenegro (72%), and Bosnia and Herzegovina (69%). The lowest share of Internet users was seen in Albania with 62% (in 2018). Interestingly, compared to their SEE peers, the WB economies did relatively well and held shares even above those of their peers: in Slovenia, the share reached 81%, followed by Croatia (77%), Romania (72%), and Bulgaria (67%). Between 2017 and 2019, the share of frequent Internet users increased in all WB economies. Even though the pandemic is forcing developing countries to adopt the new system quickly, this is not an easy task for every country when considering their economic and social development.

Many governments all over the world are in crucial need of digitizing their public services. In addition to having a growing impact on businesses, improved government through digitization will also be able to increase citizen engagement and promote economic growth. Digitalization is a goal for both private and public sector businesses and organizations.

Literature Review

Digitalization and Work-life Balance. Digital transformation has been identified as a factor contributing positively to human resource development, talent management, and performance management (Betchoo, 2016). Digital transformation has also changed the work design of companies. According to Schwarzmuller et al. (2018), it can be noticed that there are four key themes of change: work-life and health, the use of information and communication technology, performance and talent management, and organizational hierarchies.

There are many definitions of "work-life balance," and they include both family and non-family activities. It is evidenced that a balanced work-life balance results in higher performance and increased job satisfaction (Allen et al., 2000; Kalliath & Brough, 2009).

Remote working is one of the most beneficial aspects of ICT development. Messenger and Gschwind (2016) conclude that this new technology is creating a new working culture of working remotely. Remote working enables employees to achieve work-life balance and increase job satisfaction (Kossek et al., 2015; Ninaus et al., 2015). However, even though remote working is more popular after the pandemic, according to Vyas (2022), this solution does not benefit all employers similarly. Furthermore, this author suggests that the trend towards better work-life balance could be divided into three categories. The "acceleration", including the labor market, consists of the predicted changes that were already underway, the "normalization," which is the increased use of technologies to enable flexible working, a practice that started to become normal even after the pandemic, and the "remodeling" of pre-pandemic work, which doesn't include remote working but emphasizes new ways of dealing with pressure and stress in the workplace.

Digitalization and Gaining New Skills. New information and communication technologies can have both positive and negative effects on employee well-being. The implementation of the new ICT tools requires new training, which may cause pressure for continuous learning (Hurtienne, 2014; Nokelainen, 2018). Another negative factor of ICT development is the element of constant availability, which is mentioned as a stressful factor (Breaugh & Farabee, 2012 & Kossek et al., 2015). However, ICT tools also have

positive elements such as the increase in time flexibility to organize work can produce job satisfaction among employees (Day et al., 2010; Seyda, 2018).

Additionally, analyzing the positive aspects of digitalization firms that digitalize are more likely to invest more in the training of the employees (Effendi, 2014). Online learning also has a significant influence in developing new skills for employees, Areiqat et al., (2018) analyzed the level of adoption of e-training through the use of technological devices such as the internet, CDs, satellites and computerized websites on the part of Jordanian banks. The findings indicate that digital training has a greater potential to improve employees' competencies in knowledge and skills, by providing more updated information. Additionally, it has been accepted by all participants that e-training is a more advantageous method of training in comparison to traditional training, and is also more cost-effective. Powers and Hewett (2008) suggest that enterprises operating in fully digital or blended settings (i.e., virtual and in-person) hold a distinctive advantage in the modern global marketplace. These companies also are in a unique position when it comes to training and preparing their employees to assist the clients.

Objective

The significance of comprehending the impact of modern technologies on work-life balance and their influence on diverse industries has been amplified in the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic has expedited the implementation of remote work and digitalization in various industries. Apart from highlighting the necessity of adaptable working schedules, the transition towards remote working has also granted workers the opportunity to enhance their professional development via educational initiatives offered in digital settings. The objective of this research is to provide insight into the unique obstacles and advantages encountered by public and private organizations in Kosovo. Examining how digital transformation aids in the development of new skills and the maintenance of a work-life balance for employees will help achieve this.

Moreover, this study is related to SDG Goal 8.5, which is focused on decent work and economic growth. The work-life balance element and the new skill development analyzed here are very important aspects of employee well-being.

Work flexibility—the ability of workers to choose their preferred working hours, which is made possible mostly because of technological advancements—has been evidenced as an important factor in work satisfaction, employee motivation, and lower attrition rates (Davidescu, 2020). In this study, we will try to assess how these technologies are enabling workers to achieve work-life balance in Kosovo. A comparison is made between public and private organizations, trying to assess if there is a difference between the sectors, what are the tools that companies in these two different sectors are using for digitalization towards SHRM, and if there is something that companies from these two sectors could benefit from each other. In general, this study will try to answer this question: What is the role of modern technologies in facilitating working from home and achieving work-life balance, and how do these technologies affect different public and private organizations?

The main research questions applied in the paper are:

- How does digital transformation facilitate employees in achieving work-life balance?
- How does digital transformation help employees gain new skills by using digitalized platforms for training?
- Is there a difference in how public and private organizations utilize digitalization to improve SHRM?

Methods

This study employs a qualitative narrative approach to examine how digitalization affects work and how interviewees perceive it in terms of their well-being on the job. Qualitative research in this case will

enable us to obtain a detailed analysis of under-explored concepts regarding the effect of digitalization on work-life balance and access to training.

Qualitative research methods tend to be concerned with obtaining an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon or are centered on meaning, which is commonly focused on how and why a particular issue, process, or situation occurs. Any range from five to fifty participants can be adequate for an interview like this (Dworkin, 2012).

This study employs a qualitative narrative approach, more specifically thematic narrative inquiry, to examine how digitalization affects work and how interviewees perceive it in terms of their well-being on the job.

For the purpose of this analysis, we conducted 20 structured interviews, from different private businesses and public organizations. The questions relate to the digitalization process that their companies are undertaking, the effect of digitalization on career development through training, and making the job more attractive by offering the opportunity to work from home. The reason for interviewing people from the public and private sectors is to compare them and see the difference in achieving sustainable human resource management in different sectors. The interviewees comprised different employee levels, including, e.g., CEOs (2), managers (7), foremen (2), and workers (9). A structured interview consisting of six main questions was conducted using the online Google Forms platform. The questions were focused on:

1. the process of digitalization;

2. the effect of digitalization on daily activities;

3. the effect of digitalization in achieving work-life balance;

4. if digitalization enables working from home;

5. the effect of digitalization on new skill development through training; and 6. what digital tools are being used to achieve these goals.

Results

In general, data analysis generated diverse results. However, not all findings are sufficiently significant to be presented in this study. The objective is to present only those findings applicable to the research questions.

The Process of Digitalization in Kosovo Business. When describing the process of digitalization in their companies, 19 participants emphasize that digitalization in their organizations is developed to some extent, and only one of them state that they do not have any kind of digitalization.

The respondent MH, a lecturer from Universum, notes that they "use the digitalization for a variety of quiz programmes and online lectures 'accessible via the big blue button, etc."

Respondent BR from the company Aralytics, a programming company, states that "For work management, we use Azure DevOps, where previously emails and Excel were used. Meanwhile, for monitoring the development of projects, we use tools such as Oracle SQL, PowerApps, and PowerBI", which means that they have improved in the use of digital technologies.

Respondent AU from another programming company in Kosovo, when asked about the details of the digitalization of their company, states: "The last technology that we have applied for the management of tasks for developers is Azure DevOps, an application that helps project management processes through the Scrum methodology, where the development of tasks is divided into two- to three-week phases (sprints), and these tasks are assigned to specific individuals to perform. Through this application, all tasks are seen in real-time to see if they are being performed, if they are being performed late, or if they need to be rescheduled. In addition, all notifications regarding any changes in these tasks come via email, so we are always aware of the progress of the development projects in real time.

Recently, with individual initiatives, our employees have started using ChatGPT, the artificial intelligence application, with the aim of facilitating the finding of solutions for writing different codes."

Respondent KZ, working as an IT engineer in 3CIS, stated that "almost everything is digital, from entering the facility to various requests, employee evaluations, notifications, certifications, chats, etc. In terms of technologies, they vary based on the mode of functionality; for example, chat: Teams; certification: Cisco; review: Intranet; etc."

Respondent MF, a contract specialist at Kosbit, when asked also regarding the use of digital processes in his company, notes that "the company where I work has digitized the communication channels between the workers and the management, where communication is done through different applications such as Microsoft Teams or Slack. Likewise, entrances and exits within the workplace are made with cards that are scanned at the entrance."

Digitalization in Kosovo is developing quickly in the manufacturing sector as well. Respondent QB, working as an engineer in a manufacturing company, states that they use digitalization for "registration of sales in the SalesForce electronic system."

Respondent PN, working as a foreman at RC Cola, a beverage-producing company, says that "our manufacturing company has implemented ERP (enterprise resource planning) systems and online training platforms."

Respondent SI, a manager in a design and printing company, gives some interesting insights about the level of digitalization in his business: "The digitization process at our printing and Design Company has included the adoption of several new technologies in recent times. We have developed a specialized job and project management platform where employees can access current projects, update job status, collaborate as a team, and communicate with clients. We have also invested in tools and software for graphic design and image processing."

These are some of the responses that help us have a clear understanding of the level of digitalization that the companies in Kosovo are using. This is important to know before digging into our two main research questions about the effect of digitalization on gaining new skills through training and achieving work-life balance, as well as comparing the two different sectors.

The General Effect of Digitalization. The 19 companies included in this analysis that are using digitalization in their daily operations also noted that the general effect of digitalization has been positive in many ways such as:

Digitalization has had a positive impact on flexibility and the organization of working tasks. Respondent GQ states that "Digitalization has increased flexibility and enabled better organization". According to respondent BR "the influence of digitization is positive in terms of performance, time management, and productivity". Regarding the impact of digitalization in this regard, respondent AU provides a more detailed explanation: "The effect can be seen in work management effectiveness, where there is very precise work planning and a detailed division of responsibilities for each employee. Also, digitalization offers 100% transparency in the work that employees do. A by-product of digitization is also working from home, where employees have the opportunity to work from any place without having to be physically in the office, enabling a better balance between work and everyday life outside of it".

Digitalization has made work more effective. According to respondent EA, digitalization has enabled the "achievement and completion of daily tasks in a more effective time, the preparation of quantitative and visual reports in a very fast and effective time, etc." Respondent QB states that "the control of sales activities and stock management is easier after digitalization". Respondent BB, working as a translator, notes that digitalization "has made our work easier and faster, and it has influenced the reduction of manual errors that were more numerous in the past". Respondent FK, a manager and owner of a furniture manufacturing company, concludes that "the effect of digitization on my daily work is that it has reduced

the need for manual labor and increased our efficiency in mobile manufacturing. Using technology to automate some processes has made my job easier and reduced errors". Another person owning a PVC manufacturing company, respondent SB, states that "the digitization of the company has had a big impact on our daily work. With the help of new technologies, work has become more efficient and productive. Some manufacturing processes are now done automatically, which has made our work easier and cut down on mistakes. Inventory management systems make sure that materials are there when they are needed. This cuts down on waiting times and production bottlenecks".

In general, we can conclude that, when it comes to effectiveness and flexibility, digitalization has helped both public-sector organizations and private-sector companies to enhance and facilitate their daily tasks.

Public Sector: The Effect of Digitalization on Gaining New Skills and Achieving Work-life Balance. In this section, we will present the findings from public sector organizations regarding the effect of digitalization on gaining new skills and achieving a work-life balance, and we will see what kind of software and programs are being used for the training.

Asked whether digitalization enabled working from home and achieving work-life balance, 9 out of 10 respondents from public sector organizations stated that this process has helped them. Respondent GQ states that "digitalization has created more opportunities for work and learning to be organized from home; it has influenced the saving of time and reduced costs". According to the respondent MH "digitalization has made it easier to access training and work meetings, as well as student projects". AU notes that "the development of digitalization has enabled employees to work from any place without having to be physically in the office, having a flexible schedule within the working day". Working from home also brings a new sense of responsibility for employees. Respondent GK states that "flexibility increases the work-life balance, but the responsibility for task management falls on the employee". Flexibility due to digitalization has also helped employees with stress relief; according to respondent KZ "this is undoubtedly a relief in every work process that necessarily affects the easing of the completion of predetermined tasks, which affects the minimization of stress first and then also the will for success at work". Respondent NO, notes that "the digitization of jobs in our company has contributed to achieving a work-life balance. The possibility of working from home and the use of mobile technology have brought greater flexibility in organizing work time and eased the pressure of travel. This has allowed me to set a more convenient schedule, use my free time to be closer to my family, and create a good harmony between personal life and work".

When it comes to gaining new skills through training using digital technologies, the interviewed people also bring some interesting insights. All 10 public sector organizations are experiencing the benefits of digitalization for skill development.

Respondent GQ concludes, "digitization has made it possible to have access not only to training but also to online conferences, conveying the latest scientific and technological developments". Respondent AU states that in the organization he manages, "trainings are held in physical, virtual, or combined form. From my personal observations, I can confirm that virtual training is no less effective than physical training held in the office". When speaking about his company, respondent GK notes, "the company has a special policy for the training and development of human resources. This is done in cooperation with partners. Almost all training is digitized, whether led by an instructor or even on a digital learning platform. In addition to attending training, the company also offers resources for practical (laboratory) work. This, however, helps to increase skills". Respondent GK also provides the names of the tools that they use for online training: "Beacon (web- platform), cisco netacad (web platform), Cbt-nuggets(web platform), INE(web platform), acloudguru (web platform), cisco packet tracer(software), GNS3(software), eve-ng(-software), VMWare(software)". According to the respondent BB, in his company, they "have followed the last training online through the "Zoom" platform, and I have not noticed any disadvantages from this form of holding the training". Respondent NO also explains the benefits of digitalization in new skill de-

velopment by stating: "Digitization has significantly facilitated the follow-up of training in our company. The use of online training platforms, which include specialized programming courses and new technologies, has offered us the opportunity to expand our knowledge and develop new skills. The opportunity to learn at convenient times and receive online training has become an advantage for our personal and professional growth".

Private Sector: the Effect of Digitalization on Gaining New Skills From Training and Achieving Work-life Balance Through Working From Home. Respondents coming from the manufacturing sector notice a big effect of digitalization in developing new skills, and some of them notice that digitalization is helping employees achieve a better work-life balance. In this section, we will present the elaboration of 10 respondents interviewed in the manufacturing sector.

Asked if digitalization is enabling working from home, seven of them responded negatively; two of them stated that digitalization has enabled working from home partly only for some of the departments, and only one of them has been able to achieve a fully flexible working schedule.

Even though digitalization has not enabled working from home in his company, the respondent PN states, "the digitization of jobs in our company has helped to achieve work-life balance, improving organization and flexibility in working hours". Respondent SI, the only manufacturing business that has been able to digitalize and enable working from home to a greater extent compared to other businesses, states that "digitization of jobs has contributed to achieving work-life balance in our company. The possibility of working from home has facilitated the organization of time and the adjustment of the work schedule according to our personal needs. Using technology to access documents and information remotely has allowed work to become more efficient and reduce the need to stay long in the office. This has created opportunities to have more time for family and different hobbies".

However, in most of the businesses in this sector, digitalization has helped little or not at all to achieve a work-life balance. Respondent FK, an entrepreneur in a furniture facility, did not notice a positive impact of digitalization on achieving work-life balance: "At this stage, the digitization of jobs in our company has not significantly affected the achievement of work-life balance. Factory work requires the physical presence of employees and has a certain time structure". Respondent MB, a fashion designer, also does not think that at this stage, digitalization can help to achieve a work-life balance. According to her, "if the digitalization of jobs in our company progresses further and includes the possibility of working from home, it will be able to influence the achievement of work-life balance. Working from home can offer greater flexibility to our employees, allowing them to better organize their time and take advantage of proximity to family and personal activities".

Even though digitalization did not enable working from home, some other businesses still think that there is a possibility to achieve work-life balance in another way. Respondent SB states that "job digitization has helped work-life balance. We have more time and flexibility with efficient, automated work management systems. This helps us organize our schedule and adapt to our lifestyle, freeing up time for personal activities". According to the respondent AS, "digitization of jobs in our company has the potential to help achieve work-life balance. By using technology, we can optimize some processes and reduce the time needed to perform administrative tasks. This can give us more flexibility and free time to use in personal and family activities". Or, as respondent ASH states, "we have the chance to make better use of our time and have more freedom to change our work schedules to meet our individual needs".

From the literature, we know that SHRM can be achieved not only by providing a flexible working schedule but also through other means. Personal development and gaining new skills are important factors in achieving SHRM. Manufacturing businesses are also benefiting from digitalization and are using different tools to help employees gain new skills.

Respondent QB states that "meetings and training have started to be largely held through online platforms". While the respondent PN, providing a more detailed explanation, states that "digitalization has

made company training easier in several ways. Online training platforms make training available at all times. This eliminates physical space and time constraints. Our employees use online platforms to receive personalized training. Technology makes training performance evaluations more objective and precise. Online training platforms offer tests, trials, and performance reports for employee evaluation. This has allowed us to track new employee skill development and offer personalized growth advice". Respondent AS notes that "digitization has brought ease to attending training in our company. Through online learning apps and platforms, employees have access to training materials, tutorials, and tests to develop their skills. This has influenced the growth of our professional skills and the improvement of our performance in the workplace".

Conclusions

- The development of digitalization and artificial intelligence has resulted in transformations in various aspects of our daily lives, including the management of human resources. During an era in which sustainable human resource management (SHRM) is considered essential, the utilization of digitalization has emerged as an attractive strategy to enhance work-life balance and increase skill development.

- As theory also suggests, from this study, it can be concluded that digitalization is facilitating the advancement of workers' skill sets in both the manufacturing and service industries. However, in terms of achieving a satisfactory work-life balance, particularly through remote work, this practice is more common in service-oriented enterprises and mostly in private businesses.

- The significant adoption of digitalization among businesses in Kosovo is evident from the findings of our survey conducted on a sample of 21 businesses, of which only two reported not utilizing any form of digitalization. Kosovo provides a remarkably high level of internet penetration, a widely recognized fact. According to a report by the World Bank in 2023 (Aliu & Walch, 2023) Kosovo has successfully established high-speed broadband internet connectivity in its latest village, therefore achieving one of the highest levels of internet penetration in Europe.

- Public organizations effectively implemented digitalization to facilitate employee training and accelerate skill development. However, there is an evident deficiency in utilizing digitalization to promote work-life balance. As indicated, the majority of tasks performed in this sector require a physical presence, making remote work challenging. Nevertheless, certain individuals have observed that the process of digitalization has facilitated the completion of tasks at a quicker pace, thereby providing employees the opportunity to dedicate more time to their families and other activities. Certain enterprises in this industry have noticed different impacts in different departments, with some departments within manufacturing enterprises being capable of using digitalization to facilitate remote work while other departments are not.

- As concluded in other studies mentioned in the first section, the private sector was able to reap the benefits of digitalization in a more efficient way. Digitalization has facilitated remote work as a strategy to attain a balance between work and personal life as well as develop new skills, which has improved sustainable human resource management. Most of them do not even notice a difference in performance between tasks being performed physically and virtually.

- This study was able to provide some valuable conclusions about SHRM. However, certain limitations were identified. This study is qualitative in nature and comprises a sample of 21 participants. It is recommended that future researchers undertake a comparative quantitative analysis across various countries, examining the same concepts in both developing and developed countries, in order to determine the extent to which the adoption of sustainable human resource management (SHRM) varies based on the level of development and the causes of such differences.

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SKAITMENINĖS TRANSFORMACIJOS POVEIKIS TVARIAM ŽMOGIŠKŲJŲ IŠTEKLIŲ VALDYMUI: DARBO IR ASMENINIO GYVENIMO PUSIAUSVYROS IR ĮGŪDŽIŲ UGDYMO BESIVYSTANČIOS ŠALIES VIEŠAJAME IR PRIVAČIAJAME SEKTORIUOSE LYGINAMASIS TYRIMAS

Anotacija. *Sparti skaitmeninimo plėtra pakeitė darbo pobūdį ir suteikė įmonėms naujų galimybių įvairiais būdais siekti tvaraus žmogiškųjų išteklių valdymo, įskaitant nuotolinį darbą kaip priemonę darbo ir asmeninio gyvenimo pusiausvyrai pasiekti ir galimybę mokytis, kad būtų ugdomi nauji įgūdžiai. Tikslas - šio tyrimo tikslas - pasiūlyti išsamų supratimą apie iššūkius, su kuriais susiduria privačios ir viešosios organizacijos Kosove. Šiuo tyrimu bandoma palyginti šiuos du sektorius, siekiant padėti viešojo administravimo politikos formuotojams pastebėti skirtumus tarp sektorių ir pagerinti skaitmeninimą viešajame sektoriuje. Metodai: atlikome kokybinę analizę. 21 apklausta įmonė išsamiai paaiškino skaitmeninimo procesą ir jo poveikį siekiant darbo ir asmeninio gyvenimo pusiausvyros bei naujų įgūdžių ugdymo kaip SHRM būdų. Rezultatai: remiantis analizės duomenimis, skaitmeninimas gerina tiek viešojo, tiek privataus sektoriaus darbuotojų įgūdžius. Tačiau privačiose įmonėse siekiant darbo ir asmeninio gyvenimo pusiausvyros dažniau naudojamas nuotolinis darbas, o viešosiose organizacijose; skaitmeninimas dažniausiai padėjo mokyti darbuotojus. Išvados: Apskritai, skaitmeninimas padėjo įmonėms siekti SHRM. Nepaisant to, kad apskritai privataus sektoriaus įmonėms skaitmeninimas naudingesnis nei viešosioms organizacijoms.*

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THE IMPACT OF THE STATE REGULATION SYSTEM ON THE INCOME OF FREELANCERS

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Absract. *This article presents the tools with which the state can influence the level of income of freelance professionals in Kazakhstan. Foreign methods and ways of state regulation of the freelance market in terms of freelancers' income, the infrastructure of Kazakhstan's remote work market reviewed and analyzed in this article, identified the main characteristics of independent professionals in 2021: working hours, income level, length of service of freelancers, etc. It is noted that freelancers' incomes depend on the influence of the state policy in the field of education and length of service as a freelancer. The stereotype that the more a freelancer works, the more he earns is refuted. In this case, the well-known eight-hour workday standard established by the state is the most optimal option for freelancers to earn more income, which is confirmed by the data of our study. Information is provided on the educational structure of freelancers, the amount of personal monthly income by type of freelancer employment, the experience of freelancers by type of employment, and the average number of hours allocated to work during the week. Multiple regression models of the dependence of freelancers' pay on their education level, work experience, and number of hours worked per week are presented and analyzed in this article. The authors propose recommendations for state regulation that would ensure an effective impact on the level of freelancers' income both in Kazakhstan and in former Soviet Union.*

Keywords: *state regulation, freelance market, survey, COVID-19, freelancers' income, level of education, standard working hours, labor market, former Soviet Union.*

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *vyriausybės reguliavimas, laisvai samdomų vertėjų rinka, tyrimas, COVID-19, laisvai samdomų vertėjų pajamos, išsilavinimo lygis, darbo laiko standartas, darbo rinka, buvusi Sovietų Sąjunga.*

Introduction

As a result of the transformation of Kazakhstan's market economy, new non-standard forms of employment have emerged. The pandemic and the related unstable situation in the world economy were the reasons for the drop-in demand for labor and the establishment of freelancing as an alternative form of traditional employment of the population. Freelancers are understood as independent professionals of intellectual-innovative self-employment, rendering services, as a rule, by means of information and communication technologies. The purpose of the article is to consider the influence of state regulation on the wages of freelancers in Kazakhstan to develop recommendations for its improvement.

Millions of freelancers sell their intellectual services in exchange for receiving payment for their product. Thus, payment is income derived from the realization of the intellectual-innovative ability to create the

weal. Freelancers' income is significantly influenced by government policies. For example, the conducted policy in the field of education, in determination of working hours, etc. In Kazakhstan the level of education of youth is high enough, which with development of information technologies passes from traditional labor to work of freelancers. A well-known factor influencing the salary of any specialist is education and work experience. These factors are important and determine the individual income of a freelancer. For example, in an article by Baitenizov et al. 2018, it was proved that the development of self-employment is indirectly affected by GDP through the unemployment rate, enrollment in higher education and the share of the service sector. The theory of human capital states that a high level of education contributes to additional income of a specialist. The knowledge, skills and abilities acquired in the process of education lead to increased productivity of workers. A freelancer's work experience directly affects his or her hourly wage rate. Consequently, as a freelancer's work experience increases, his/her individual income increases.

Since freelancers have a free schedule, they can afford to carry out work regardless of time constraints. Consequently, it can be assumed that this factor of the amount of time spent on work affects the level of individual income of a freelancer. In order to realize their creative intellectual potential freelancers, have to face many obstacles related to the imperfection of state regulation, namely: high requirements on the part of customers regarding education and work experience of a freelance market specialist, mismatch between the income level and the number of hours spent on the execution of the contract. Freelance became a creative mode of self-employment in a new economy and contributes to the development of countries (Baitenizov et al., 2019). These contradictions prompt a study of the phenomenon of state regulation in terms of education and the standard of working hours on the level of freelancers' income.

Based on all of the above, two hypotheses can be put forward:

1. The state statistical indicator gross enrollment in higher education and the availability of work experience is indicative of the level of income of specialists in freelancing;

2. The state-established norm of an eight-hour workday does not allow freelancers to earn high incomes.

To confirm these hypotheses, it is necessary to consider the following tasks:

- Analyze the composition of freelancers depending on the level of education;
- Build a multiple regression of the dependence of wages on the level of education;
- Build a multiple regression of the dependence of wages on the work experience as a freelancer;
- Build a multiple regression of the dependence of wages on the length of the work week.

The state's understanding of the issues outlined in the hypotheses will contribute to the rational regulation of the freelance market, which will ensure its development in the future. In Kazakhstan, the freelance services market is developing rapidly, although the very notion of "freelance services market" is not common either in scientific literature or in economic practice. In this connection it is very important to define the legal status of freelancers. This circumstance actualizes the need for research and substantiation of the theory and development of the freelancing market.

In the world of freelance research began relatively recently. The first researchers to write about it 20 years ago were D.Pink and T. Malone. They described freelancers and gave forecasts about the development of this form of employment in the future economy (Pink, 2006; Malone, 2006).

The works devoted to the study of the role of freelancers in the economy during the financial crisis of 2008 in European countries attract attention in the aspect of the problems of our study. Many problems of employment were solved by the state precisely by creating favorable conditions for freelancers, which allowed to identify freelancing as a major factor in sustainable development, the authors stressed the importance of encouraging it and removing obstacles to its development, as it is the development of this area will increase the overall welfare of the population (Sharp et al., 2017). The changing freelancing market at present is most vividly reflected by scientific research of scientists on the changing freelancing market during the COVID-19 pandemic and in the post-pandemic period (Atkeson, 2020; Mckibbin & Fernando,

2020). American scientists Dunn M., Munyos I. and Sawyer S. according to empirical data, investigating American freelancers working on online platforms concluded that online freelancing is unreliable and the most common form of modern labor at the moment (Dunn et al., 2021). This fact is also confirmed by the research conducted by O'Farrell R. and Montagnier P., who attempted to quantify workers on digital platforms as well as their characteristics regarding education (O'Farrell & Montagnier, 2019). In addition to analyzing empirical data, these researchers have provided recommendations for estimating the number of freelance market workers, despite the difficulty in quantifying the scale of online platform workers. The quantitative increase in the number of online workers during the COVID-19 pandemic was written about by researchers Stephany F., Cassie O., etc. who proposed, in addition to empirical measurement of the global remote freelance market, the Online Labor Index (OLI) to track foreign platforms, changing geography of labor supply, and gender aspects (Stephany et al., 2020). The freelance market, due to the sharp influx of specialists in this field, imposes its own requirements and limitations regarding the literacy of freelance professionals. The authors identified that freelancers need to have certain knowledge and skills in order to work creatively and productively on digital freelancing market platforms (Sutherland et al., 2020). And researchers from Slovenia emphasize the fact that most freelancers engaged in professional, scientific and technical activities have a second university degree and extensive work experience. These factors have a positive effect on the life satisfaction of freelancers (financial and moral satisfaction). However, not in all countries freelancers are satisfied with their earnings. Thus, researchers Banovic S., Djukanovic B., Markovic D., Krivokapic N. analyzed the advantages and limitations of freelancing in four countries of the Western Balkans, which revealed that residents of Montenegro are not satisfied with their earnings from freelance employment.

The authors believe that freelancing cannot solve the state's unemployment and brain drain problems. The researchers attributed this dissatisfaction with earnings to poor job structure, lower incomes, and unfavorable socioeconomic status (Banovic et al., 2022). Having considered all the above-mentioned factors influencing the wages of freelancers, the researchers Radic V., Blagoyevic M.M., Markovic M.R. and others when conducting a survey among students who received higher education came to the conclusion that most educated youth will be employed exactly in the freelancing market. In this connection, the authors make recommendations on revision of curricula in higher education institutions to include disciplines teaching students how to adapt to such conditions (Radic et al., 2022). Researchers in Bangladesh, when studying the factors that influence the level of income of freelancers, noted that young people need to learn English and gave recommendations for the revision of higher education programs (Rahman et al., 2017).

At present, the scientific elaboration of the issues related to the state regulation of the freelance sector in terms of influencing the level of their income remains low. These circumstances make it necessary to consider the leading factors influencing the wages of freelancers.

Methods

In our study we considered Russian-speaking freelancers working in the Kazakh freelance market. Russian-speaking freelancers are international specialists of the former Soviet Union, as they work mainly with Russian-speaking customers from the former Soviet republics. The qualitative composition and characteristics of freelancers in Kazakhstan are in many ways similar to freelancers in the countries of the former Soviet Union, since these states are approximately at the same socioeconomic level of development, which is confirmed by world rankings (Gtmarket, 2022). And Russian is the international language of communication between these countries. In this regard, this study can be used to study freelancing in the former Soviet Union.

A total of 400 contacts of freelancers in Kazakhstan were randomly selected from various sources of the World Wide Web. Information about freelancer data was taken in part from social networks "tele-

gram", "instagram", as well as from the official Kazakh freelance platforms *allfreelance.kz*, *enbek.kz*, etc. To achieve the purpose the method of research was chosen - electronic survey, which was conducted with the use of questionnaire. The survey was organized in the Russian language for Kazakh freelancers. The target group was represented by freelancers, whose work brought some income. In this sample 66% of respondents were women and 34% men. There was no age limit, due to the purpose of determining the age characteristics of freelancing in Kazakhstan.

We were able to obtain data that are not reflected in official sources. According to the study, the average age of freelancers was 38 years old. The youngest was 14 years old, and the adult was 61. The largest share of the youngest age audience is between 19 and 39 years old, which accounted for 85% of the respondents (178 people out of 209 respondents). The smallest share is among the 50+ age group and teenagers at 3% each. Conclusion: In Kazakhstan, the young population of the country is predominantly engaged in freelancing 88% of those surveyed, while the remaining 12% are in the adult age category.

The largest groups among the respondents surveyed are "pure freelancers" and "part-timers" (45% and 40%, respectively). The share of entrepreneurs in the overall structure of freelancer status is 12%. And the share of students and housekeepers was a particularly small percentage. The most common areas of professional training for freelancers were economics - 25% of all freelancers, information technology - 18%, engineering and humanities - 16% each, creative and artistic specialties - 11%. At the same time, there are respondents who are professionals in several fields: in three fields - 1.5%, in two fields - 16%. All respondents were informed about the study and voluntarily participated in it. Compensation for participation in the study was not provided. The survey procedure was conducted online with the help of google form. The timing was January 2022.

Instruments

This article presents only some of the data that have been collected as a result of the study. The research was conducted from the position of structural-functional approach based on the methods of analysis and synthesis within the research of the process of freelancers appearance in the structure of employed population in order to analyze and summarize the sociological survey, to identify trends and features of the freelance services market.

The course of the study consisted of the following stages:

1. On the basis of generalization of the results of previous studies by other scientists, formed a theoretical framework, which was analyzed through the use of system-logical and comparative research methods, to identify factors that influence the remuneration of freelancers

2. The analysis of the results of freelancers' questionnaires: educational and professional characteristics, work experience as a freelancer, etc. was conducted.

3. Based on the results the authors made the main conclusions about the Kazakh freelance market, which are necessary for effective state regulation of the freelance market, allowing freelancers to earn a decent wage.

The main empirical basis of the study was the data obtained in the online questionnaire on the data for the year 2021. There were 27 questions in the online questionnaire, reflecting the sides of work and life of Kazakh freelancers.

The research sample was calculated from the total number of questionnaires sent for the electronic survey on the basis of the Paniotto formula, represented by the following formula (Paniotto & Maksimenko, 1982).

$$\text{п} = 1/(\Delta^2 + 1/H) = 1/(0{,}05^2 + 1/400) = 200 \qquad (1)$$

Results

The restraining factor in the development of Kazakh freelancing is the lack of specific normative-legal acts regulating this sphere. The Labor Code of the RK stipulates the possibility to work as a freelancer legally in Art. 13 "Home workers" 7 and 138 "Distance work". However, in practice, these articles practically do not work, because they are not profitable for the employer. After all, a remote worker becomes a full-time employee, who is legally entitled to a social package: vacation, pension contributions, sick pay, etc. In addition, the lack of legislation leads to difficulty regulating the payment of taxes by freelancers. Freelancers do not pay taxes to the state treasury. This suggests that the shadow economy is developing intensively. Currently, it is simply not profitable for freelancers to come out of the "shadows" under the existing legislation with large gaps. The second restraining factor in the development of Kazakh freelancing is the lack of freelancing statistics, which would allow conclusions to be drawn on the development and state regulation of this branch of the labor market.

Dynamic economic development in Kazakhstan has led to an increase in the level of education among the country's youth. It is the quality of higher education that predetermines the long-term competitiveness of the country in the context of globalization. The state, by increasing the gross enrollment in higher education, influences the increase in income of freelance specialists. Freelancers are one of the most educated strata of independent workers. 83% of freelancers have completed (72%) and incomplete higher education (14%). The share of specialized secondary education is 11% of the total number of respondents. Only 3% (7 people) are freelancers without education. The share of persons with a master's degree and PhD has a high rate of 22%, which indicates the education level of young people in Kazakhstan working in the freelance market.

Analyzing the data obtained, we can conclude that freelance employment is more profitable than office employment with a combination in freelancing (Figure 1).
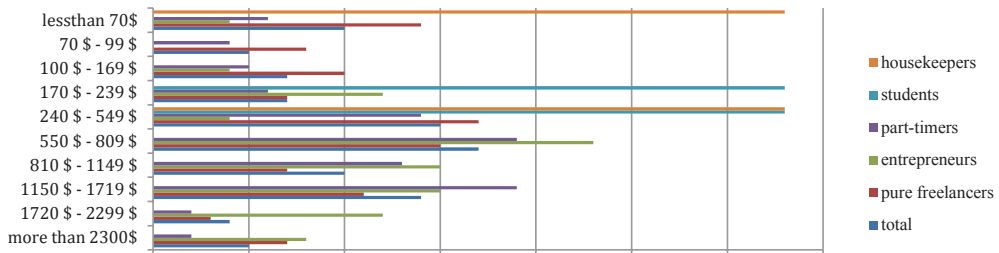
Figure 1. *Freelancer's average personal monthly income, %, 2021*
Source: authors' own calculations.

Also one of the striking dependencies that has a significant impact on the income of freelancers is experience in freelancing. The data shows that a quarter of freelancers with less than one year of experience have earnings of less than \$70, and specialists with more than 11 years of freelance experience have earnings that do not fall below \$240. This fact is logical, because the more experience a freelancer has, the higher his level of professionalism, respectively, the cost of his services is significantly higher.

The survey data showed that the main share of freelancers are young people. Most of them have not yet managed to accumulate experience as an independent employee. One fourth of all freelancers (26%) belong to the category of beginners (with one year or less of experience), while the share of experienced freelancers with 11 years of experience is 6% (Figure 2).
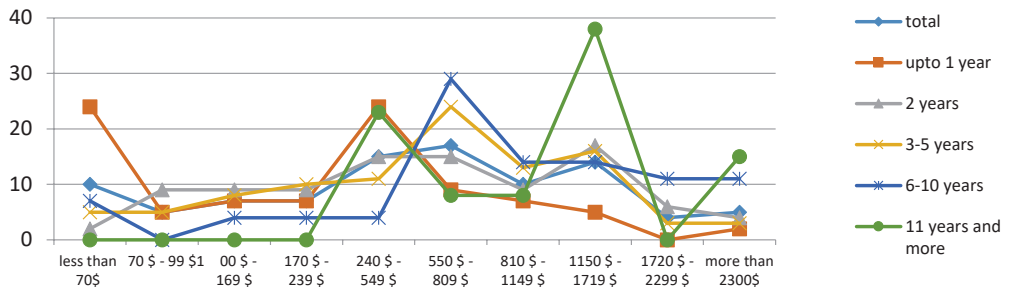
Figure 2. *Average personal monthly income for 2021 based on length of service as a freelancer, %*
Source: authors' own calculations.

19% of freelancers surveyed did not have a clear time limit, but noted the maximum number of hours within which they worked as a freelancer. This group of people prefer to work randomly, and only 21% of respondents work on a standard 5/2 schedule. As can be seen from the data presented in Table 1, 40% of Russian-speaking freelancers can afford to work less than 22 hours per week.

Table 1. *Quantity of hours per week by type of employment*

Number of working hours per week	Type of employment					Total
	Pure Freelancers	entrepreneurs	part-timers	students	housekeepers	
20 and less	24	7	48		1	80
21-35	17	5	11			33
36-45	16	3	8	1		28
46-60	5	0	0		1	6
More than 60	14	2	1			17
No time limit	18	9	15	2	1	45
Total	94	26	83	3	3	209
Average number of working hours per week	35,6	26,3	17,9	45	40	27.3

Source: authors' own calculations

The average working week as a freelancer for the sample as a whole was 27 hours per week. Students spend the most time on orders - 45 hours. This can be explained by the fact that this group of people are not professionals and have not yet established themselves in the freelance services market. And the part-timers, having the basic eight-hour work schedule, have additional 18 hours a week as a freelancer. That is, their working week will average about 60 hours.

Discussion

There is a lack of research that reveals the impact of enrollment in higher education on self-employment and freelancing.

One of the first works of this kind was the work of Baitenizov et al. 2018, where the author proved the hypothesis about the impact of gross enrollment in higher education on the level of self-employment. In addition, this paper presents the degree of influence of gross tertiary enrollment in comparison with other factors.

Kazakh authors reveal the problems of the labor market, but the topic of freelancing remains underexplored. (Tolepbergen, 2022; Mussurov et al., 2019)

In general, freelancing in the CIS is actively explored by Higher School of Economics (HSE University) scientists A. Shevchuk and D. Strebkov. In one of their latest works, they point out how the Russian language and specific socio-economic factors facilitate a distinct online labor market that operates across the vast territory of the former Soviet Union and beyond (Shevchuk et al., 2021).

Considering the impact of the state statistical indicator of gross enrollment in higher education and the availability of work experience on the level of income of specialists in freelancing, we obtained the following data presented in Table 2.

Table 2. *Distribution of freelancers according to salary and level of education*

Personal income per month, US dollars	Lower limit	Upper limit	Y (dependent)	No education	Vocational secondary	Incomplete higher	bachelor/ specialist	master	PhD candidate/ doctor
less than 70 $	0	70	35	1	4	3	10	3	0
70 $ - 99 $	71	99	85	1	3	2	5	2	0
100 $ - 169 $	100	169	134,5	0	4	4	6	1	0
170 $ - 239 $	170	239	204,5	0	0	3	10	4	0
240 $ - 549 $	240	549	394,5	0	2	8	15	7	0
550 $ - 809 $	550	809	679,5	2	3	5	19	8	0
810 $ - 1149 $	810	1149	979,5	0	3	3	12	5	0
1150 $ - 1719 $	1150	1719	1434,5	1	3	0	20	7	1
1720 $ - 2299 $	1720	2299	2009,5	2	0	1	3	3	0
more than 2300 $	2300	5000	3650	0	0	1	5	3	1
total				7	22	30	105	43	2

Source: authors' own calculations

In our case the p-value for the Fisher statistic was approximately 0.1, which is less than α = 0.1. This means that the null hypothesis of insignificance of the regression equation is rejected with 90% reliability. According to Fisher's test the regression is adequate, there is a significant linear relationship between the variables X and Y(salary) (Figure 3).

Regression statistics

Multiple R	0,95
R-square	0,90
Normalized R- square	0,71
Standard error	614,79
Observation	10

Variance analysis

	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	6	10701132,19	1783522,032	4,71874779	0,1
Residuals	3	1133895,333	377965,1109		
Total	9	11835027,53			

	Coefficient	Standard error	t-statistics	P-value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95,0%	Upper 95,0%
Y-crossing	865,79	645,79	1,34	0,27	-1189,39	2920,97	-1189,39	2920,97
up to 1 year	-26,83	376,73	-0,07	0,95	-1225,76	1172,11	-1225,76	1172,11
2 years	94,84	248,53	0,38	0,73	-696,08	885,76	-696,08	885,76
3-5 years	-47,60	178,56	-0,27	0,81	-615,85	520,65	-615,85	520,65
6-10 years	-323,24	158,58	-2,04	0,13	-827,92	181,44	-827,92	181,44
11 years and more	702,86	416,59	1,69	0,19	-622,92	2028,65	-622,92	2028,65
PhD candidate/doctor	2097,63	814,66	2,57	0,08	-494,98	4690,23	-494,98	4690,23

Figure 3. *Regression analysis*
Source: authors' own calculations.

Confidence limits of the coefficients do not include "zero" value, which confirms the statistical significance (unlike zero) of the regression equation coefficients. Let's write down the initial linear multiple regression model:

$$Y=865,79-26,83 \cdot X_1+94,84 \cdot X_2-47,6 \cdot X_3-323,24 \cdot X_4+702,86 \cdot X_5+2097,63 \cdot X_6$$

After constructing a multiple regression model, let us conclude that the greatest influence on the level of wages has a master's and PhD degree, which is quite logical. It should also be noted that it is the transition from the level of education "bachelor/specialist" to the next level of master's degree, there is a sharp jump in the growth of freelancer's wages. This is evidenced by the positive coefficients at X_5 and X_6 in the regression equation. As a result of the data we can draw the following conclusions that more than 70% of freelancers in Kazakhstan are educated professionals with a bachelor's degree or higher. According to our multiple regression the level of freelancers' remuneration directly depends on their level of education. Consequently, the higher the level of education of a freelancer, the more expensive his services are.

When constructing a multiple regression of the relationship between wages and length of service as a freelancer, we also found a direct correlation between the indicators (Table 3).

Table 3. *Distribution of freelancers according to salary and length of service as a freelancer*

Personal income per month, US $	Lower limit	Upper limit	Y (de-pendent)	up to 1 year	2 years	3-5 years	6-10 years	11 years and more	PhD candi-date/doctor
Less than 70 $	0	70	35	24	2	5	7	0	0
70 $ - 99 $	71	99	85	5	9	5	0	0	0
100 $ - 169 $	100	169	134,5	7	9	8	4	0	0
170 $ - 239 $	170	239	204,5	7	9	10	4	0	0
240 $ - 549 $	240	549	394,5	24	15	11	4	23	0
550 $ - 809 $	550	809	679,5	9	15	24	29	8	0
810 $ - 1149 $	810	1149	979,5	7	9	13	14	8	0
1150 $ - 1719 $	1150	1719	1434,5	5	17	16	14	38	1
1720 $ - 2299 $	1720	2299	2009,5	0	6	3	11	0	0
More than 2300 $	2300	10000	6150	2	4	3	11	15	1
total				7	22	30	105	43	2

Source: authors' own calculations

Regression statistics

Multiple R	0,89
R-square	0,79
Normalized R- square	0,52
Standard error	1284,35
Observation	10

Variance analysis

	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	5	24308566,68	4861713,336	2,95	0,1
Residuals	4	6598210,847	1649552,712		
Total	9	30906777,53			

	Coefficient	Standard error	t-statistics	P-value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95,0%	Upper 95,0%
Y-crossing	3031,09	1528,50	1,98	0,12	-1212,71	7274,89	-1212,71	7274,89
up to 1 year	-73,86	62,85	-1,18	0,31	-248,37	100,65	-248,37	100,65
2 years	-179,39	265,14	-0,68	0,54	-915,52	556,75	-915,52	556,75
3-5 years	-167,26	235,50	-0,71	0,52	-821,11	486,60	-821,11	486,60
6-10 years	128,16	121,45	1,06	0,35	-209,05	465,37	-209,05	465,37
11 years and more	101,26	53,26	1,90	0,13	-46,61	249,13	-46,61	249,13

Figure 4. *Regression analysis. Source: authors' own calculations.*

In our regression, the p-value for the Fisher statistic was approximately 0.1, which is less than $\alpha =$ 0.1. This means that the null hypothesis of insignificance of the regression equation is rejected with 90% reliability. According to Fisher's test the regression is adequate, there is a significant linear relationship between variables X and Y(salary) (Figure 4).

Confidence limits of the coefficients do not include the value "zero", which confirms the statistical significance (unlike zero) of the regression equation coefficients. Let's write down the initial linear multiple regression model:

$$Y = 3031,09 - 73,86 \cdot X_1 - 179,39 \cdot X_2 - 167,26 \cdot X_3 + 128,16 \cdot X_4 + 101,26 \cdot X_5$$

After constructing a multiple regression model, let us conclude that the greatest influence on the level of wages has a work experience of 6-10 years or more, that is, freelancers with a long work experience in their field have higher wage rates than freelancers with less work experience. Thus, the factors X_4 and X_5, which have positive coefficients in the regression equation, have the greatest influence on Y (salary). Summing up our second multiple regression relationship, we can say that the level of freelancer's salary is affected by his experience in the field. Conclusion: Our multiple regressions of the dependence of freelancers' wages on their level of education and on their length of service have fully confirmed our hypothesis 1.

The results of the dependence of salary on the number of working hours per week, presented in Table 4, showed the absence of a direct correlation, and also dimentled the stereotype that freelancers work 2-3 hours a day.

Table 4. *Distribution of freelancers according to the wages and number of working hours per week*

Personal income per month, US $	Lower limit	Upper limit	Y (dependent)	Work hours per week				
				Less than 20 h	21-35	36-45	46-60	More than 60
less than 70 $	0	70	35	7	4	2	2	2
70 $ - 99 $	71	99	85	6	2	0	1	1
100 $ - 169 $	100	169	134,5	3	1	3	0	4
170 $ - 239 $	170	239	204,5	8	1	1	1	0
240 $ - 549 $	240	549	394,5	9	8	5	0	1
550 $ - 809 $	550	809	679,5	15	6	5	1	4
810 $ - 1149 $	810	1149	979,5	9	2	2	0	1
1150 $ - 1719 $	1150	1719	1434,5	12	4	4	1	3
1720 $ - 2299 $	1720	2299	2009,5	3	2	3	0	0
more than 2300 $	2300	5000	3650	2	2	3	0	1
total				74	32	28	6	17

Source: authors' own calculations

In our case the p-value for the Fisher statistic was approximately 0.55, which is greater than $\alpha = 0.1$. This means that the null hypothesis of insignificance of the regression equation is accepted with 90% reliability (Figure 5).

Regression statistics	
Multiple R	0,73
R-square	0,54
Normalized R- square	-0,04
Standard error	1170,94
Observation	10

Variance analysis	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	5	6350658,414	1270131,683	0,926364843	0,544722179
Residuals	4	5484369,111	1371092,278		
Total	9	11835027,53			

	Coefficient	Standard error	t-statistics	P-value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95,0%	Upper 95,0%
Y-crossing	829,41	1026,75	0,81	0,46	-2021,31	3680,14	-2021,31	3680,14
Less than 20 h	-58,84	136,67	-0,43	0,69	-438,29	320,61	-438,29	320,61
21-35	-399,17	337,76	-1,18	0,30	-1336,95	538,61	-1336,95	538,61
36-45	861,35	547,97	1,57	0,19	-660,05	2382,75	-660,05	2382,75
46-60	282,83	838,11	0,34	0,75	-2044,15	2609,80	-2044,15	2609,80
More than 60	-433,82	365,72	-1,19	0,30	-1449,21	581,57	-1449,21	581,57

Figure 5. *Regression analysis*
Source: authors' own calculations.

Let's write down the initial linear multiple regression model:

$$Y=829{,}41-58{,}84 \cdot X_1-399{,}17 \cdot X_2+$$
$$+861{,}35 \cdot X_3+282{,}83 \cdot X_4-433{,}82 \cdot X_5$$

After constructing a multiple regression model, we conclude that the greatest influence on the level of wages has the number of hours equal to 36-45 per week, which corresponds to the state norms of the working day. There is no direct dependence of wages on the time spent on the performance of work. Consequently, we can conclude that the state's recommended standard of an eight-hour workday is the most optimal amount of time to get more productivity, allowing to provide a decent wage.

In comparison with the survey of Russian scientists the results of the research has a positive correlation with follows: every second Russian surveyed by the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) believes that an increase in workload and work with greater impact will not lead to an increase in his income (54%), and 46% are sure that with less intensity of work, their salary will remain the same.

Conclusions

Summarizing the above, we believe that it is necessary to identify the following main priorities of state regulation in the sphere of electronic freelancing:

1. According to the results of the study, hypothesis 1 was confirmed. According to hypothesis 1 «The state statistical indicator gross enrollment in higher education and the availability of work experience is indicative of the level of income of specialists in freelancing», freelancers with higher education and more experience actually earn more. In turn, wealthier and more successful citizens of a country make a greater contribution to the development of the state, the tax base, forming the middle class and counteracting poverty and unemployment. So, the state should actively intervene in increasing the share of higher education coverage of potential freelancers and young people. An effective solution would be to consider a list of in-demand specialties in freelancing and to target training grants through a state mechanism involving the relevant ministry. One of the measures for the acquisition and development of experience for freelance students is to provide for internships for them on freelance exchanges while studying at universities subordinate to a state.

2. According to the results of the study hypothesis 2 «The state-established norm of an eight-hour workday does not allow freelancers to earn high incomes» was refuted. Thus, the greatest influence on the level of wages has the number of hours equal to 36-45 per week, which corresponds to the state norms of the working day. Perhaps this conclusion to some extent confirms one of the laws of the economic theory on diminishing returns. The state program of freelancing development should take into account that the optimal freelancer load is an 8-hour workday for a high freelancer income.

3. The results of our study, according to the hypotheses, can be projected to all Russian-speaking freelancers in the CIS (former Soviet Union).

To summarize, it should be noted that freelancing is a new form of labor relations, to recognize that its scale is growing and the world economy is transformed to the fact that subjects no longer want to work for the common weal, but pursue their individual (personal) goals. Freelancing is an opportunity to earn extra money by doing a lot of work at the freelancer's convenience. The lack of a legal framework encourages shady employment. Meanwhile, freelancing can significantly reduce the costs of the employer, increase productivity and worker satisfaction, etc. Thus, we can say that Kazakhstan needs radical changes at the legislative level for the effective development of freelancing.

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Diana Abdreissova, Daniyar Baitenizov

VALSTYBINIO REGULIAVIMO SISTEMOS ĮTAKA LAISVAI SAMDOMŲ DARBUOTOJŲ PAJAMOMS

Anotacija. *Šiame straipsnyje pateikiamos priemonės, kuriomis valstybė gali daryti įtaką laisvai samdomų specialistų pajamų lygiui Kazachstane. Straipsnyje aptariami ir analizuojami užsienio metodai ir laisvai samdomų darbuotojų rinkos valstybinio reguliavimo metodai, atsižvelgiant į laisvai samdomų vertėjų pajamas, Kazachstano nuotolinio darbo rinkos infrastruktūra, identifikuojamos pagrindinės nepriklausomų specialistų charakteristikos 2021 metais: darbo laikas, pajamų lygis, laisvai samdomas darbuotojas. patirtis ir kt. Pažymima, kad laisvai samdomų darbuotojų pajamos priklauso nuo valstybės politikos įtakos švietimo srityje ir laisvai samdomo darbuotojo darbo stažo. Stereotipas, kad kuo daugiau laisvai samdomas darbuotojas dirba, tuo daugiau uždirba, buvo paneigtas. Šiuo atveju gerai žinomas valstybės nustatytas aštuonių val-*

andų darbo dienos standartas yra geriausias pasirinkimas laisvai samdomiems darbuotojams gauti daugiau pajamų, tai patvirtina ir mūsų tyrimo duomenys. Pateikiama informacija apie laisvai samdomų darbuotojų išsilavinimo struktūrą, asmeninių mėnesinių pajamų dydį pagal laisvai samdomo darbo pobūdį, laisvai samdomų darbuotojų patirtį pagal darbo pobūdį, taip pat vidutinį darbui per savaitę skiriamų valandų skaičių. Šiame straipsnyje pateikiami ir analizuojami daugialypiai laisvai samdomų darbuotojų darbo užmokesčio priklausomybės nuo išsilavinimo lygio, darbo patirties ir darbo valandų per savaitę skaičiaus, regresiniai modeliai. Autoriai siūlo valstybinio reguliavimo rekomendacijas, kurios užtikrins efektyvų poveikį laisvai samdomų darbuotojų pajamų lygiui tiek Kazachstane, tiek posovietinėje erdvėje.

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