VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

NORBERTAS ČERNIAUSKAS

UNEMPLOYMENT IN LITHUANIA IN 1918–1940

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Scientific Supervisor:

Prof. habil. dr. Zenonas Butkus (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05H).

The Dissertation is being defended at the Council of Scientific Field of History at Vilnius University:

Chairman:

Doc. dr. Saulius Kaubrys (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05H).

Members:

Prof. habil. dr. Zenonas Norkus (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, Sociology – 05S);

Prof. dr. Juozas Skirius (Lithuanian University of Educational Siences, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05H);

Prof. dr. Jonas Vaičenonis (Vytautas Magnus University, Humanitarian Sciences, History –

05H);

Doc. dr. Arūnas Streikus (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05H).

Opponents:

Doc.dr. Algis Povilas Kasperavičius (Vilnius University, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05H);

Dr. Dangiras Mačiulis (Lithuanian Institute of History, Humanitarian Sciences, History – 05H).

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Address: Universiteto g. 7, LT-01513, Vilnius, Lithuania.

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Mokslinis vadovas:

Prof. habil. dr. Zenonas Butkus (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05H).

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Pirmininkas:

Doc. dr. Saulius Kaubrys (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05H).

Nariai:

Prof. habil. dr. Zenonas Norkus (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, sociologija –

05S);

Prof. dr. Juozas Skirius (Lietuvos edukologijos universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05H);

Prof. dr. Jonas Vaičenonis (Vytauto didžiojo universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija –

05H);

Doc. dr. Arūnas Streikus (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05H).

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Doc.dr. Algis Povilas Kasperavičius (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05H);

Dr. Dangiras Mačiulis (Lietuvos istorijos institutas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05H).

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The changes brought by the second wave of the industrial revolution and the developing world brought to life some social and economic outcomes that had been non-existent before. Apart from the world's political, technological and social advances, some negative outcomes of such improvement also came into being. Lithuania did not escape hardships either. Unemployment that emerged at the intersection of the 19th and the 20th centuries was particularly prominent in the period of 1918–1940, the period of the general modernisation of Lithuania. Such factors as the consequences of the First World War, the post-war crisis as well as the Great Depression, Lithuania's joining to the world's economic system, the changing structure of the country's economy and the state's persistent economic and social policy affected Lithuanians' social development and employment. The emergence of the problem of unemployment should be considered not as a consequence of an independent state but as an inevitable issue that had to be recognised and acquainted with first and only then tackled.

Research problem. In defining the research questions of the thesis, it is important to emphasise that the history of unemployment is an integral part of the state's socio-economic policy, legal system and legislative framework and the changes of the development of the advancing society. In analysing this phenomenon it is necessary to delve into historical, social, legal and economic contexts, to relate them all and compare them with the experience of neighbouring states or that of the region. Unemployment as a socio-economic problem has many causal issues and we can discuss the different forms of its existence and its multifaceted consequences. In order to analyse this problem it is inevitable to include numerous direct and indirect factors that influenced different outcomes of unemployment as a socio-economic phenomenon.

Unemployment as a phenomenon of a socio-economic modern society has been one of the most crucial human problems. The quest for social peace and the creation of a welfare state have become the key aim of the society of the Contemporary History. As a result, this research is an inseparable part of the studies on the efforts of the Lithuanian state to create and develop an independent and effective system of social protection and to ensure social peace.

Studies on socio-economic history are also related to the traditions of contemporary national state and statehood traditions developed in the first half of the 20^{th} century which continue in the 21^{st} century. The research has also been made more

complicated by the fact that economists and historians of the First Republic of Lithuania were not as much interested in social problems and the phenomenon of unemployment and the state did not start to implement a general unemployment policy or keep statistical records very early. The structure of the Lithuanian society and economy was considerably different not only from the one in Western Europe but also from that of the neighbouring states. As a result, it has been problematic to compare the manifestations of unemployment with other countries' experience. As a new phenomenon, unemployment not only had to be recognised but also evaluated appropriately and a new type of social domestic policy had to be implemented in Lithuania. Since the topic of the thesis is related to the overall socio-economic state of interwar Lithuania, this research aims to analyse the tendencies of the society of this period in a new light, to measure the extent of Lithuanian society's modernisation and change in social relations and to show the significance of different social institutions for the Lithuanian state and society. In order to carry out a comprehensive analysis and disclose the theme, we need studies that would help to determine the structure of the Lithuanian society and its changes in the framework of contemporary Lithuanian history. This requires analysing the structure of citizens' employment, highlighting the effect of urbanisation and agrarian reform on its development. In addition, the study needs to disclose the tendencies in the changes in the different layers of society and social differentiation, to emphasise the fundamental directions of public policy with regard to employment, reduction of unemployment and other social spheres. In specifying research problems it is possible to state that unemployment in Lithuania in 1918–1940 has not yet been examined properly, in the Soviet period its evaluation was biased, whereas in the last two decades of the independence, when socio-economic studies have been somewhat abandoned, in essence unemployment has not been investigated properly. As a result, a wholly new study on unemployment needs to be carried out. In addition, 1) unemployment in Lithuanian historiography has been analysed as a separate and specific problem (for example, in seeking to disclose the exact number of unemployed people) but not as a socio-economic phenomenon; 2) unemployment was only presented in the context of painful social problems but not in the light of a broader context of Lithuanian society's advancement and implementation of governmental social policy; 3) the current scope of historical socio-economic studies on the Republic of Lithuania of 1918–1940 is insufficient; 4)

unemployment as one of the key socio-economic problems of the 20th century discussed in Western national historiographies is not comprehensively familiar and studied in Lithuania.

The object of the thesis is unemployment as a phenomenon which is directly related to socio-economic, political causes and outcomes which manifested in the interwar (1918–1940) Lithuanian society. Another crucial notion in the investigation is that of an unemployed person, which is a tangible outcome of the phenomenon of unemployment that occurs due to the social and economic changes taking place in society. It is important to identify an unemployed person according to different components that allow not only defining the unemployed as whole but also determining the structure of unemployment, providing its full account in the wider context of socioeconomic processes. The above-mentioned components can be used in identifying an unemployed person's profession, gender, age, education, place of residence, financial status, possibilities of uniting and organisation, societal status and daily realities. In this study unemployment is considered not only as a specific concrete concept with its legal and economic definitions but also as a constantly changing phenomenon encompassing less definite changes in employment that existed in Lithuanian society between 1918 and 1940, especially in rural areas. Therefore, in discussing unemployment in interwar Lithuania, it is mandatory to provide the necessary context for the separate sections of the thesis and to compare the information analysed with the general experience of Eastern-Central Europe or even the whole Europe. A contextual investigation and comparison allows "purifying" the object of the research on an international level and provides an opportunity to measure the scale, causes and importance of different related processes. In disclosing the object of unemployment it is crucial to take into account not only horizontal, i.e. diachronic studies but also a vertical analysis of the phenomenon as a research problem. The research object is not limited to a thorough discussion of unemployment as a phenomenon by disclosing it in terms of a historical timeline but rather includes its detailed analysis from unemployment as a phenomenon to an individual unemployed person and his/her daily issues.

Relevance of the thesis. Just like for the state and society of 1918–1940, for the contemporary state and society developed with the aims to achieve civil-national and democratic as well as social welfare it is crucially important to understand the socio-

economic nature and goals of the environment one lives in, to acquire historical knowledge and skills by recognising the importance of these goals for oneself and for the state. There is a scarce number of scholarly works aimed at analysing the social history of Lithuania, the majority of existing works being devoted to monumental, yet ideologically biased Soviet studies of "the working class", which, presumably, greatly deterred contemporary researchers who would rather choose political trends of historical studies. Up to date, the developing Lithuanian society's studies have been limited to the analysis of separate problems, institutions that implement the state's social policy and legal documents regulating social policies or the investigation of the activity of influential people whose duties include the state's domestic affairs.

As regards social mobility developing inside separate states, the development of economy, industrial revival and the changing social and labour relations, it is necessary to highlight that a considerable stimulus for these processes was not only global changes brought about by the industrial revolution but also by the establishment of the national, i.e. Lithuanian state. This marked not only the willingness of states to create their own statehood which is characteristic of the era of nationalism but it also established their goal to take equal social care of their citizens. As a result, the developing social mobility, the development of state-regulated economy, advancing public and labour relations are an inseparable part of the independent Lithuanian state's political and social development.

Research on the sources of the key issues (unemployment) of the society provides the basis for understanding and detecting the trends of the development of modern Lithuanian society both in the first (1918–1940) and the second period (1990–2014) of the twenty years of Lithuanian independence.

The aim of the thesis is to disclose the character, scope, structure and effects of unemployment in Lithuanian social, economic and political life in 1918–1940. The following **objectives** were set in order to achieve the aim:

 To analyse the legislative framework of the Republic of Lithuania established to regulate labour relations and create the system of social protection with respect to the tendencies that were dominating in international legal practice.

- 2. To assess the reasons of the emergence of unemployment in Lithuania at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century and to disclose the effects of this phenomenon on the further social, economic and political development of Lithuania in 1918–1940.
- **3.** To investigate the structure of unemployment in interwar Lithuania as an inseparable part of the concept of labour of that time as well as other socio-economic processes.
- **4.** To disclose the main stages of the development of social policy in the Republic of Lithuania (1918–1940) by assessing their effect on the structure and outcomes of unemployment.
- **5.** To examine the influence of the state's political life on its social development and the solutions of the problem of unemployment.
- **6.** To evaluate the influence of the Lithuanian economic structure in 1918–1940 on the structure of unemployment and the number of the unemployed.
- 7. To establish the typology of unemployment in Lithuania and in accordance with it describe the most vulnerable groups of society by assessing the changes in an unemployed person's daily life and consciousness.
- **8.** To analyse the effects of unemployment on the state's economic and social life.
- **9.** To analyse the methods, scope and results of solving the problem of unemployment in Lithuania in 1918–1940.

Research methods. The present research employs the main methodology applied in social sciences and humanities. The main research tasks, the object of the study, the resources and the defensive statements encompass the application of the traditional (historical) analysis and synthesis. Separate parts of the research require the use of the elements of a comparative analysis and a statistical analysis. In order to reach the aim and the objectives of the thesis, the research relies on both problem-based analysis and the traditional chronological descriptive method. The systematisation of the empirical data is also carried out with respect to the methodological experience of other scientific

disciplines (economics, sociology); in addition, the data of the research is developed by applying interdisciplinary methods, i.e. by incorporating works of fiction into the database of sources of the thesis. To reveal as wide a picture of unemployment as a phenomenon and a problem as possible, the present research is carried out not only by means of a horizontal (relying on the general chronological characterisation of the period under investigation) but also a vertical problem-based analysis of the issue under discussion. An attempt is made to reveal the problem by giving its full picture starting with the analysis of the roots of the emergence of unemployment and the scope of its prevalence and finishing with the analysis of an individual unemployed person (his/her consciousness, daily life, social status) as the smallest integral part of the phenomenon of unemployment.

It is worth discussing the rationale of the decision to include works of fiction into the list of research data. Different prose and poetry excerpts alone are not sufficient to confirm or disprove the existence of specific historical facts, yet, when used appropriately, they can reveal the tendencies of the social life of a specific historical period as well as illustrate the background of the society's daily life of that time. In addition, the chronological framework of the issue under investigation coincides with realism which in Lithuanian art occupied a strong position or modernism in general in its wider sense, in which the transference of the social reality into creative works (or the realism of artistic representation) was one of the crucial literary tasks. Moreover, the willingness of Lithuanian artists (especially the young generation) to write and be modern encouraged the search for new, non-traditional themes and forms of art in which the dominant texts were not only romanticised and symbol-dense but they also included the daily issues of the modernising society together with the imagery of an urban life, social, economic or even political reality. Therefore there is no coincidence that the 20s and 30s include a dozen of literary texts pointing to the problem of unemployment. Fiction serves the research on the topic of unemployment, especially in describing the social picture of an unemployed person, disclosing the outcomes of unemployment in daily life and analysing new forms of the manifestation of unemployment.

Prospective results. The thesis should become the basis for new scientific research and for the preparation of a comprehensive socio-economic history of Lithuania in

1918–1940. The defensive statements summing up the results of the dissertation are as follows:

- During the twenty years the state of Lithuania created an individual and functioning social policy programme which became an indistinguishable part of the tradition of modern statehood. Social reforms, including the activity of increasing employment were the signs of the effectiveness and independence of the state's domestic policy.
- The increase in the number of the unemployed and the emergence of the general statistics of unemployment in the 4th decade of the 20th century showed not the declining state of Lithuanian economy and social affairs but rather the fact that the legal, economic and social regulation of labour was becoming stable. The relationship between the labour supply and labour demand, trade and market were getting more balanced in the state's economy.
- During the period of the twenty years the consciousness of the unemployed and the society's view towards them was changing. Unemployment determined by the social origin was replaced by the concept of economic unemployment. It was determined not only by the social environment of the unemployed and the societal status but also the economic state of the country, for example, economic upturns and downfalls. This demonstrates the modernisation of the society itself and the influence of the state's social and economic policy on the state's life.
- At the beginning of the Independence in 1918–1924 the state was incapable of taking appropriate measures in order to prevent unemployment not only because of the shortage of funds but also because of the fact that unemployment was not a fully comprehended and recognised socio-economic phenomenon. Fundamental experiences in social policy copied from western countries such as the establishment of labour exchange proved to be inefficient. Therefore Lithuania created an independent policy of improving employment suitable for an agrarian society.
- Apart from the total or partial unemployment, unemployment problem manifested not in the increase in the number of unemployed people in cities, their attempts to form organisations but also in people's migration and emigration. The latter

- processes were not determined by the typical unemployment but rather by insufficient wages.
- The land reform required more social than economic or political tasks and was one of the major factors that determined Lithuanian citizens' employment in 1922–1940. For some time its implementation ensured a minimum wage for a large number or rural residents and protected the state from yet higher rates of emigration and from making a large number of provincial residents move to cities which could have given rise to mass unemployment or even social and political unrest.
- In the middle of the fourth decade the Lithuanian state made major changes in its socio-economic position and its approach to the unemployed. The state, which had previously supported the unemployed and organised public works as a kind of welfare and which had still been seeking to create a public-social-personal system of self-benefits and social care, the state officially "nationalised" the unemployed by employing them into the system of public works organised by the state. This was determined not by the exceptional domestic policy of the government but by general European trends, the Great Depression and the starting World War II.
- The concept of a typical unemployed person during the time from 1918 to 1940 did not change considerably. It referred to a poorly educated, non-qualified, young worker migrating between rural and urban areas and earning one's living by doing occasional works. However, in the 20 years there were considerable changes in their mobility as well as legal consciousness, the ability to adapt in the labour market and the awareness and understanding where and how one may hope to find the source of income.

Structure of the thesis. The thesis consists of the Contents, Introduction, Discussion, Conclusions, Sources and the List of References. The Discussion consists of five Chapters. The First Chapter (The emergence of unemployment in Lithuania: causes and character) focuses on different aspects of the emergence of unemployment in Lithuania, the causes of this phenomenon and its characteristics. It describes the conditions and the environment in which unemployment as a phenomenon could emerge. The Second

Chapter (Unemployment "policy" in Lithuania in 1918–1940) dwells on the problem of unemployment in the context of the general Lithuanian social policy and distinguishes the social outcomes of the land reform, the creation of the system of labour exchange (cooperatives' system), the development of the policy of public works, the employment of social insurance in ensuring the implementation of an independent social policy of the Republic of Lithuania. In the Third Chapter (Unemployment in the context of political and economic unrest) unemployment is studied in the context of political and economic unrest, i.e. how the level of employment and its changes were influenced by the 1926 revolution, the Great Depression and the starting World War II. The Fourth Chapter (Unemployment and the Lithuanian society) concentrates on the outcomes of unemployment for the Lithuanian society and its separate profession groups. It deals with the opportunities for the unemployed to gather into groups and form organisations and the "fight" for better working and living conditions. The chapter also discusses the relationship between Lithuanian citizens' (e)migration and employment. Finally, an aim is set to demonstrate that unemployment was reflected not only in the results of sociopolitical processes but also in linguistic changes and artistic activity. The Final Chapter of the thesis (A social portrait of an unemployed person) provides a socio-economic analysis of the daily life of a "representative" of a new social group, i.e. an unemployed person, it discloses the social "profile" of an unemployed person. Thus unemployment as a phenomenon and later as a problem is deconstructed by analysing it from the perspective of the daily life of the state, society and individual. Unemployment is presented by comparing it with the results of the social and economic policy of the Republic of Lithuania, with the society's modernisation, its citizens' emigration and the development of the state's economy.

Conclusions

I. Unemployment in Lithuania in 1918–1940 was inseparable from the state's economic development, a new stage of the regulation of labour relations and the state's independent steps in implementing its social policy. Therefore the emergence of unemployment definitely reflected the modernisation of the interwar Lithuanian state and society. Unemployment in Lithuania was determined by both domestic and global causes characteristic of the western economic world such as the state's active socio-

political policy, increase in the movement (mobility) in trade, capital and labour power, economic downturns and negative socio-economic outcomes of the First World War. The structure of unemployment in Lithuania was determined by the historico-political experience and the specificity of the society's social development, i.e. the long-term dependence to the Russian Empire and the policy of the border provinces implemented by it, economic structure of the region, i.e. the dominating sector of agriculture, the late abolition of serfdom and caste relations.

II. During the whole period of the independence the state was unsuccessful in keeping and administering thorough statistics of unemployment. Meanwhile, the data about the unemployed as provided by the government did not reflect the actual level of unemployment bur rather showed the number of unemployed people that the government was capable of taking care of legally and financially. The strict rules of registering unemployed people were aimed not at precise statistics of keeping the record of unemployment or efficient and purposeful use of the manpower of the unemployed but rather to take care of people who belong to socially more vulnerable groups. The increase in the number of the unemployed and the emergence of more accurate statistical data on unemployment in the fourth decade of the 20th century reflected not only the deteriorating economic and social state of Lithuania due to the global crisis but also the codified legal economic, social and even mentality-related labour regulation which allowed the state to start accumulate more accurate statistical information. This factor was of special significance because at the beginning of the independence a state is incapable of taking sufficient measures to ensure unemployment protection not only because of the lack of funds but also because unemployment was not a fully comprehended and acknowledged phenomenon. Whereas such elements of the social policy accepted in western states as the development of the labour exchange did not catch on in Lithuania. As a result, the Lithuanian state created its own unemployment improvement policy. However, we may state that during the cold season of the fourth decade in Lithuania there were about 10.5 thousand and in summer – up to 3 thousand unemployed people. The consequences of unemployment were most evident in the five largest cities in Lithuania: Kaunas, Klaipėda, Šiauliai, Marijampolė and Panevėžys.

III. Despite the efforts of the government, municipalities and public initiative and the funds allocated, unemployment in the fourth decade became one of the

major socio-economic problems in the country. The greatest losses for the state were caused not because of the funds allocated for the social care of the unemployed or their employment but because of inadequately efficient division of labour and workers' abuse, which emerged as a result of illegal (hidden) and seasonal work. This shows that the Lithuanian economy was not yet fully structured, i.e., there were too many people doing agricultural works and in rural areas there were too many workers dependent on seasonal works. The greatest problem of the interwar Lithuania was not the official number of 2-12 thousand employees but over 300 thousand seasonally unemployed people.

- IV. With regard to socio-economic and political circumstances, the Lithuanian state's approach towards the problem of unemployment was changing during the whole interwar period. Despite the fact that in the Lithuanian territory unemployment as a phenomenon in the economic, political, linguistic or even artistic area was captured as early as the beginning of the 20th century, however, the problem was actually recognised only in the independent Lithuania. It is possible to distinguish the following stages of solving the problem of unemployment:
- a) In the post-war period (1918–1924) unemployment was understood a temporary consequence of the recent conflict, i.e. as a temporary result of global cataclysms and not the outcome of global socio-economic processes affecting Lithuania. In this period, the main tools to fight unemployment were the establishment of labour exchange, an unstructured implementation of public works and providing support to poor people.
- b) In 1924–1927, the programme of public works was started to be implemented actively in Lithuania. The state's parliament held active discussions on the implementation of social insurance (including unemployment).
- c) During the time of the economic rise (1927–1931) which coincided with the beginning and establishment of an authoritarian government, unemployment was considered to be an insignificant and perhaps incidental problem that had emerged due to improper socio-economic policy implemented by the parliamentary government.
- d) In 1932, when economic crisis started affecting Lithuania, unemployment became a significant and painful problem in the country. The state's contribution in solving the issue of unemployment was evident in its attempts to reform and strengthen the policy of public works, to regulate the balance between labour supply and demand, to

develop the social security base and to create worker's self-government controlled by the state government. Especially evident in the changes of state policy are the changes in the policy of public works' organisation. The state that up to the revolution had implemented public works as a kind of support to the unemployed and which had still sought to create the system of self-provision and social care based on state-public-personal agreement, "nationalised" the unemployed by providing them with the massively organised public works. Such a policy marked not only the local specificity but also the European tendencies of solving the problem of unemployment in the fourth decade. Since the beginning of the fourth decade till its end the finances collected to the fund of public works increased almost three times up to 4 million Litas.

e) Unemployment policy in 1939–1940 was conditioned by the dominant international and domestic policy issues such as the loss of Klaipėda, the recent start of World War II and regain of the Vilnius region. During this period the state's role in regulating labour relations became more significant. Irrespective of the above-mentioned issues and the worsened socio-economic state (the state funds allocated to solve social problems in Vilnius were equal to the funds given to tackle social issues in the rest of Lithuania) Lithuanian employment policy slightly changed, yet remained consistent.

V. In the independent Lithuania in 1918–1940 the right to employment was regulated in all permanent state Constitutions, whereas labour relations were started to be administered on the basis of both Lithuanian and international law. This period was the time of establishing the legal base of the accident, sickness and unemployment insurance and the institutional state body of implementing social policy. Despite inconsistencies in the political development, an individual and effectively functioning employment policy became an inseparable part of the state's domestic policy as early as the beginning of the fourth decade. This shows not only the state's ability to deal with certain socio-political problems (the rising influence of the government on the domestic affairs of the country), but also the fact that the relationship between labour demand and supply were getting back to normal and developing and that trade and market were also developing. That was also the time of the introduction of a citizenship based not only on political but also on social rights and duties.

VI. The structure of unemployment in Lithuania corresponded to the typical model of an agricultural state which was affected by seasonal and hidden unemployment

due to the dominance of the sector of agriculture and season-based employment. As a result, the main source of unemployment was not the downturns of the production of market and trade but rather socio-economic processes in the sector of agriculture. Therefore the land reform was one of the key factors having affected the changes in Lithuanian citizens' employment in 1922–1940. The implementation of the reform ensured a minimum wage and the ability to develop economic-trade relations for the citizens of rural areas. However, due to small-scale land ownership and the augmented competition in production and the labour market, partial provincial non-employment started to "manifest" in cities as well (due to inside migration). It was also for these reasons that the scale of emigration from Lithuania also increased. On the one hand, this increased the number of the unemployed as well as led to more social problems in the largest cities, on the other hand, it was a sign of the development of a market based on economic relationships and the close connection of the urban and rural trade relations. Finally, it is possible to state that the economy only suitable to meet the requirements of one's own domestic affairs was replaced by economies aimed at income and larger economic benefit which required labour power not only during certain months but also all year round. Not only did these processes lead to the establishment of the regulation of agriculture workers but also to the emergence of agrarian unemployment.

VII. At the level of both central and local government, in 1918–1940 the Republic of Lithuania made numerous decisions related to the field of social security. The four reforms implemented in the Independent Lithuania should be considered the crucial events in the fight against unemployment. The first one, i.e. the land reform, was a multifaceted and long-term measure aimed at economic and social outcomes not only in the close but also in the distant future. The second reform, i.e. the reform of public works (separate laws passed in 1926 and 1933) was directed towards short-term outcomes of unemployment, the reduction of social tension in that period. The third reform, i.e. the law on the recruitment of agriculture workers (1929) was the first document to legally regulate the labour relations of the biggest part of Lithuanian employees and at the same time "the right" to unemployment. The fourth reform – the development of the base of social security in the cases of an illness (laws adopted in 1926 and 1931) and accidents (law passed in 1936) eliminated unemployment from the list of general causes of social poverty and placed it among the list of economic

phenomena. A person who had no job yet was able and willing to work was treated as a member of the unemployed.

VIII. We could call the introduction of public works (planning, regulation and scale) as one of the most successful projects started at the initiative of and implemented by the Lithuanian state in 1918–1940. In 1933–1939, there were about 5–7 thousand unemployed people in Lithuania who did public works during the cold period of the year.

Like other governmental measures, public works did not solve the problem of unemployment, yet they ensured conditional social peace, helped to the poorest workers not only to survive but also integrate to the system of state social care which was being formed.

IX. At the beginning of the Independence, the Programmes of the main Lithuanian parties reflected strong ideological priorities of the state's social and economic policy. Despite that, the majority of the aims of the parties were not reached and implemented not only due to the economic and political instability of a parliamentary state or due to the strength of the authoritarian rule, but especially due to the state's agrarian socio-economic reality, which required practical solutions rather than ideological discussions. After the state revolution, the directions of social development in essence remained the same even though there was no more real alternative to the policy implemented by the state. Solving socio-economic problems led to the strengthening of the state's role, increase in ideological "employment" propaganda, however, these changes were determined more by the realities of the economic and international state rather than political attitudes of those in power. The provision on the introduction of unemployment insurance involved in the programmes of some political parties was not actually implemented, however, some people in authority considered the establishment of the fund of public works (1933) as an equivalent of this type of insurance.

X. The solution of the unemployed peoples' problems often depended on the level of their ability to unify and gather into organisations. However, the initiative of their unification did not lie in their prior and long-term dissatisfaction but rather by the depth and relevance of specific problems that arose. Therefore the majority of the organisation-based actions by the unemployed (meetings, demonstrations, marches) were

rather spontaneous, without prior planning or strategic management, usually based on specific and short-term demands and requirements. When no compromise was reached between organised groups of workers and government representatives, unemployed people's actions would often grow into less controlled campaigns that would end in physical confrontation with the law enforcement bodies (the most prominent cases of unrest that received greatest commentaries were demonstrations which took place in Kaunas in 1925 and 1934). Despite that, bodies of state security did not perceive any considerable danger in the organised activity of the unemployed. Unemployment, the increase in the number of the unemployed or their augmented organisation did not determine greater domestic issues which could in one way or another influence long-term development of the state or even the loss of statehood.

XI. The greatest majority of registered unemployed people consisted of persons with poor education and insufficient professional skills. A larger part of them were working-age men, residing in larger cities who had previously done unqualified and irregular jobs. Such a typology of the unemployed hardly changed over the whole period between 1918 and 1940. However, what really changed over the 20 years was the mobility of labour force and consciousness, the ability to adapt in the labour market, understanding how and where to find a source of income. Daily issues of the unemployed were started to be recognise in the documents of state institutions, realised in press and works of fiction. In addition, different groups and types of unemployed people also became distinct. In the interwar Lithuania there was a category of unemployed intellectuals, however, even though their unemployment was more "visible" in society, it was quite low and only reached 2-8 percent of all registered unemployed people.

XII. The society's view towards unemployment and the unemployed during the 22 years of the independence was constantly changing. During the first decade unemployed people were perceived and assessed as a rigid group of the society which had emerged due to long-term social causes. Unemployed people were compared to other most socially vulnerable groups of poor people, paupers and other groups that were incapable of working due to an illness or old age and the condition of whom was determined by social rather than economic consequences. During the second decade of the independent Lithuania due to the state-performed socio-economic policy unemployed

people were started to be considered as a group that possessed no source of income temporarily due to economic issues (such as bankruptcy, crises or competition in labour market) causes rather than inborn social capacities. This confirms the hypothesis of the present dissertation about the tendencies of the society's modernisation and the influence of the socio-economic policy on Lithuanian residents.

Disertacijos reziumė

Antroji pramonės perversmo banga ir pasaulio modernėjimas pagimdė iki tol nematytus socialinius ir ekonominius pokyčius. Pirmojo pasaulinio karo pasekmės, pokarinė ir Didžioji ekonominė krizės, Lietuvos įsijungimas į pasaulinę ekonominę sistemą, besikeičianti šalies ūkio sandara ir kryptinga ekonominė bei socialinė valstybės politika – visa tai koregavo Lietuvos gyventojų socialinę raidą ir užimtumą. Todėl nedarbo atsiskleidimą reikėtų vertinti kaip neišvengiamą nepriklausomos valstybės duotybę, kurią pirmiausiai teko pažinti, o tada – stengtis įveikti.

Tyrima apsunkina tai, kad Pirmosios Lietuvos Respublikos ekonomistai ir istorikai menkai domėjosi socialinėmis problemomis ir nedarbo reiškiniu, valstybėje ne iš karto pradėta vykdyti bendra nedarbo politika, statistika vesta nesistemingai. Konkretizuodami problemas galime teigti, kad nedarbas 1918–1940 m. Lietuvoje ištirti. sovietiniais laikais vertintas nespėtas tendencingai, per dabartini apleidus dvidešimtmeti, socialinius-ekonominius nepriklausomybės tyrinėjimus, nedarbas kaip viena pagrindinių XX a. socialinių-ekonominių problemų, priešingai nei Vakarų valstybių nacionalinėse istoriografijose, Lietuvoje dar nėra įvairiapusiškai pažintas ir ištyrinėtas. Be to, 1) nedarbas lietuviškoje istoriografijoje atskirais atvejais nagrinėtas kaip paskira ir lokali problema (pavyzdžiui, siekiant nustatyti konkretų bedarbių skaičių), bet ne kaip socialinis-ekonominis reiškinys; 2) nedarbas vaizduotas tik kaip skaudi socialinė problema, bet ne kaip platesnio Lietuvos visuomenės modernėjimo ir vyriausybės socialinės politikos įgyvendinimo lauko reiškinys; 3) esamų istorinių socialinių-ekonominių tyrimų spektras, skirtas 1918–1940 m. Lietuvos Respublikai, yra nepakankamas.

Tyrimo objektas yra nedarbas kaip reiškinys, kuris tiesiogiai susijęs su socialinėmis-ekonominėmis bei politinėmis priežastimis ir pasekmėmis, atsiskleidusiomis tarpukario (1918–1940) Lietuvos visuomenėje. Taip pat šio darbo objektas – bedarbis, kaip bene vienintelis apčiuopiamas nedarbo reiškinio rezultatas, valstybėje bei visuomenėje egzistuojančių socialinių ir ekonominių pokyčių pasekmė.

Tiek šiuolaikinei, tiek 1918–1940 m. visuomenei, formuojamai pilietinių-tautinių bei demokratinių ir socialinės gerovės siekių, itin svarbu suprasti savo gyvenamosios

aplinkos socialinę-ekonominę prigimtį ir tikslus, suvokti šių tikslų svarbą sau ir valstybei, įgyti apie tai istorinių žinių. Tyrimas apie vieno svarbesnių visuomenės skaudulių – nedarbo – ištakas leidžia suprasti ir pajausti modernios Lietuvos visuomenės raidos kryptis tiek pirmuoju (1918–1940), tiek antruoju (1990–2014) nepriklausomos Lietuvos dvidešimtmečiu.

Disertacijos tikslas – atskleisti nedarbo pobūdį, mastą, struktūrą, priežastis ir pasekmes Lietuvos 1918–1940 m. socialiniame, ekonominiame ir politiniame gyvenime.

Disertacijoje taikoma socialiniams-humanitariniams mokslams būdinga tyrimų metodologija. Darbo užduotys, objektas, šaltinių bazės paieška ir atranka bei ginami teiginiai numato tradicinės (istorinės) analizės ir sintezės naudojimą. Atskiros tyrimo dalys reikalauja lyginamosios bei statistinės analizės elementų. Siekiant įgyvendinti disertacijos tikslą ir uždavinius, tyrimas vykdomas remiantis ne tik tradiciniu chronologiniu aprašomojo laikotarpio atskleidimo principu, bet ir taikant probleminės analizės metodą. Empirinės medžiagos sisteminimas vyksta atsižvelgiant ir į kitų mokslo disciplinų (ekonomikos, sociologijos) metodologinę patirtį, be to, tyrimų priemonių bazė išplečiama panaudojant tarpdisciplininius metodus – į disertacijos šaltinių bazę integruojant grožinės literatūros kūrinius. Temą stengiamasi išskleisti nuo nedarbo atsiradimo užuomazgų ir paplitimo mastų iki paskiro bedarbio (jo savimonės, kasdienybės, socialinio statuso) kaip mažiausios nedarbo sudėtinės dalies tyrimo.

Disertaciją sudaro įvadas, kuriame pristatomi darbo metodai, apžvelgiami šaltiniai bei istoriografiniai vertinimai. Taip pat tyrimų rezultatai, išvados, naudotų šaltinių bei literatūros sąrašas. Tyrimą sudaro 5 skyriai. Pirmame skyriuje ("Nedarbo Lietuvoje pobūdis ir atsiradimo priežastys") nagrinėjamos nedarbo atsiradimo peripetijos Lietuvoje, šio reiškinio priežastys bei charakteristika. Apibūdinamos sąlygos ir aplinka, kurioje nedarbo reiškinys galėjo atsirasti. Antrame skyriuje ("Nedarbo įveikos politika Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais") kalbama apie nedarbo problemą visos Lietuvos socialinės politikos kontekste, išskiriant žemės reformos socialines pasekmes, darbo biržų (tarpininkavimo) sistemos kūrimą, viešųjų darbų politikos suformavimą, socialinių draudimų pasitelkimą užtikrinant savitą Lietuvos Respublikos socialinės politikos įgyvendinimą. Trečia dalis ("Nedarbas ir Lietuvos visuomenė 1918–1940 metais") atskleidžia nedarbo pasekmes Lietuvos visuomenė bendrai ir atskiroms jos profesinėms

grupėms. Kalbama apie bedarbių organizavimosi galimybes bei kovą dėl geresnių darbo bei gyvenimo sąlygų. Aptariamas Lietuvos gyventojų (e)migracijos santykis su užimtumu. Galiausiai siekiama parodyti, kad nedarbas atsispindėjo ne tik socialinių-ekonominių procesų rezultatuose, bet ir kalbiniuose pokyčiuose, meninėje raiškoje. Ketvirtame skyriuje ("Bedarbio socialinis portretas") nagrinėjama socialiniu-ekonominiu aspektu naujos visuomenės grupės atstovo – bedarbio kasdienybė, atskleidžiamas nedirbančiojo socialinis dosjė. Paskutiniame skyriuje ("Nedarbas politinių ir ekonominių sukrėtimų kontekste") nedarbas nagrinėjama, kaip Lietuvos užimtumo lygį ir jo pokyčius sąlygojo 1926 m. perversmas, Didžioji ekonominė krizė bei prasidėjęs Antrasis pasaulinis karas. Taigi nedarbas kaip reiškinys, o vėliau ir problema, skirstomas jį analizuojant per valstybės, visuomenės ir individo (kasdienybės) pjūvius. Nedarbas pristatomas siejant jį su Lietuvos Respublikos socialinės ir ekonominės politikos rezultatais, visuomenės modernėjimu, gyventojų emigracija bei šalies ūkio raida.

Išvados

I. Nedarbas 1918–1940 m. Lietuvoje buvo neatsiejamas nuo šalyje vykusios ekonominės ūkio pažangos, naujo darbo santykių reglamentavimo etapo ir savarankiškų valstybės žingsnių įgyvendinant socialinę politiką. Todėl nedarbą Lietuvoje reikia suvokti ne tik kaip konkrečią socialinę problemą, bet ir kaip reiškinį – neatskiriamą ir neišvengiamą pramoninio perversmo ir visuotinio socialinio-ekonominio modernėjimo sudėtinę dalį.

Nedarbą Lietuvoje sąlygojo vietinės ir globalios (būdingos visam Vakarų ekonominiam pasauliui) priežastys: valstybės socialinės politikos aktyvumas, prekybos, kapitalo ir darbo jėgos judėjimo (mobilumo) išaugimas, pramonės, prekybos bei aptarnavimo sektoriaus plėtra, ekonominės konkurencijos sklaida, ūkio nuosmukiai ir neigiamos socialinės bei ūkinės Pirmojo pasaulinio karo pasekmės. Lietuvos nedarbo struktūrą lėmė savita istorinė patirtis ir visuomenės socialinės raidos išskirtinumas: ilgalaikė priklausomybė Rusijos imperijai ir jos vykdyta ekonominė pasienio gubernijų politika, ūkinė krašto sandara – vyraujantis žemės ūkis, vėlyvas baudžiavos ir luominių santykių suirimas.

II. Per visa nepriklausomybės laikotarpį valstybei nepavyko vesti tikslios ir visapusiškos nedarbo statistikos. Valdžios pateikiami duomenys apie bedarbius ne atspindėjo realų nedarbo lygį, bet parodė bedarbių skaičių, kuriuo valstybė buvo pajėgi teisiškai ir finansiškai pasirūpinti. Griežtomis bedarbių registravimo taisyklėmis buvo siekiama ne tiek tikslios nedarbo statistikos vedimo ar efektyvaus bei kryptingo bedarbiu darbo jėgos išnaudojimo, kiek pasirūpinti labiausiai socialiai pažeidžiamais asmenimis. Bedarbių skaičiaus augimas ir tikslesnės nedarbo statistikos atsiradimas XX a. 4 deš. rodė ne tik dėl pasaulinės ekonominės krizės pablogėjusią Lietuvos ūkinę ir socialinę padėtį, bet ir sunormintą teisinę, ekonominę, socialinę ir netgi mentalinę darbo reglamentaciją, kuri leido pradėti kaupti išsamesnę statistinę informaciją. Tai itin svarbu, nes nepriklausomybės pradžioje valstybė nepajėgė imtis tinkamų priemonių apsaugai nuo nedarbo ne tik dėl lėšų trūkumo, bet ir dėl to, kad nedarbas nebuvo iki galo suvoktas ir įsisamonintas reiškinys. Tuo tarpu Vakarų šalyse prigiję socialinės politikos elementai, kaip antai, darbo biržų plėtra, Lietuvos agrarinėje aplinkoje neprigijo. Todėl Lietuvos valstybė kūrė savitą užimtumo gerinimo politiką. Galime teigti, kad Lietuvoje 4 deš. šaltuoju metų laiku buvo iki 12 tūkst., o vasarą iki 2 tūkst. bedarbių. Nedarbo pasekmės labiausiai išryškėjo penkiuose didžiausiuose Lietuvos miestuose: Kaune, Klaipėdoje, Šiauliuose, Marijampolėje ir Panevėžyje.

III. Nepaisant valstybės, savivaldybių ir visuomeninės iniciatyvos bei skiriamų lėšų, nedarbas 4 deš. tapo viena pagrindinių socialinių-ekonominių šalies problemų. Didžiausius nuostolius valstybei atnešė ne tiesioginės išlaidos, skiriamos bedarbių socialinei globai ar užimtumui, bet nepakankamai veiksmingas darbo jėgos paskirstymas bei išnaudojimas, atsiradęs dėl paslėptojo ir sezoninio nedarbo. Tai rodo, kad Lietuvos ūkinė struktūra dar nebuvo išsisluoksniavusi – žemės ūkyje ir provincijoje ūkine veikla užsiėmė pernelyg daug gyventojų, priklausomų nuo sezoninių darbų. Didžiausia tarpukario Lietuvos problema buvo ne 2–12 tūkst. "oficialių", o iki 300 tūkst. sezoninių bedarbių.

IV. Atsižvelgiant į socialines-ekonomines ir politines aplinkybes, Lietuvos valstybės požiūris į nedarbą kito visu tarpukariu. Nors nedarbas Lietuvos teritorijoje pirmą kartą užfiksuotas dar XX a. pradžioje, tačiau problema iš esmės aktualizuota tik nepriklausomoje Lietuvoje. Galime išskirti tokius nedarbo įveikos politikos etapus: a)

Pokariniais metais (1918–1924) nedarbas suvoktas kaip laikina pasibaigusio konflikto pasekmė, kitaip tariant, laikinas globalių kataklizmų rezultatas, o ne Lietuvą veikiančių pasaulinių socialinių-ekonominių procesų padarinys. Šiuo laikotarpiu su nedarbu kovota biržas, nestruktūruotai vykdant viešuosius darbus ir šelpiant kuriant darbo nepasiturinčiuosius. b) 1924–1927 m. Lietuvoje pradėta aktyviai įgyvendinti viešųjų darbų vykdymo programa. Šalies Seimuose vyko aktyvios diskusijos dėl socialinių draudimų (taip pat ir nedarbo) įgyvendinimo. c) Ekonominio pakilimo metais (1927– 1931), sutapusiais su autoritarinio valdymo pradžia ir įsitvirtinimu, nedarbas vertintas kaip menka ir galbūt atsitiktinė problema, atsiradusi dėl netinkamos parlamentinės valdžios vykdytos socialinės-ekonominės politikos. d) 1932 m. Lietuvoje pradėjus reikštis ekonominei krizei, nedarbas tapo aktualia ir skaudžia šalies problema. Valstybės indėlis sprendžiant nedarbo problemą – tai viešųjų darbų politikos reformavimas ir stiprinimas, darbo pasiūlos bei paklausos santykio reguliavimas, socialinio draudimo bazės plėtimas, vyriausybės kontroliuojamos darbininkų savivaldos kūrimas. Valstybės politikos pasikeitimus bene geriausiai nužymi viešųjų darbų organizavimo politikos pokyčiai. Iki perversmo viešuosius darbus vykdžiusi kaip savotišką bedarbių šelpimą bei vis dar siekusi sukurti valstybės, visuomenės ir konkretaus bedarbio savitarpio susitarimu pagristos savišalpos ir socialinės globos sistemą, valstybė bedarbius oficialiai "suvalstybino" juos įdarbindama masiškai organizuojamuose viešuosiuose darbuose. Tokia politika žymėjo ne tik vietinę specifiką, bet ir europines 4 deš. nedarbo įveikos tendencijas. Į viešųjų darbų fondą surenkamų lėšų skaičius per 4 deš. išaugo beveik 3 kartus – iki 4 mln. Lt. e) 1939–1940 m. nedarbo politiką sąlygojo ryškios tarptautinės ir vidinės politinės realijos – Klaipėdos netektis, prasidėjęs Antrasis pasaulinis karas ir Vilniaus krašto atgavimas. Pastaruoju etapu valstybės indėlis reguliuojant darbo santykius išaugo. Nepaisant minėtų realijų ir pablogėjusios socialinės-ekonominės padėties (Vilniaus socialinėms problemoms skirta tiek pat valstybės biudžeto lėšų kaip ir likusiai Lietuvai), Lietuvos užimtumo politika pakito nežymiai bei išliko nuoseklia.

V. Nepriklausomoje Lietuvoje 1918–1940 m. teisė į darbą buvo reglamentuota visose nuolatinėse šalies Konstitucijose, o darbo santykiai imti reguliuoti remiantis tiek Lietuvos, tiek tarptautine teise. Šiuo laikotarpiu buvo kuriama ligos, senatvės ir nelaimingų atsitikimų socialinio draudimo bazė bei valstybės institucinis aparatas

socialinei politikai įgyvendinti. Nepaisant politinės raidos netolygumų, savita ir veiksminga užimtumo politika jau 4 deš. pradžioje tapo neatskiriama valstybės vidaus politikos dalimi. Tai rodo ne tik valstybės sugebėjimą tvarkytis su tam tikromis socialinėmis-ekonominėmis problemomis bei augančią vyriausybės įtaką šalies vidaus gyvenimui, bet ir tai, kad šalies ūkyje normalizavosi ir plėtojosi darbo pasiūlos bei paklausos santykiai, aktyvėjo prekyba bei rinka. Atsirado ne tik politinėmis, bet ir socialinėmis teisėmis bei pareigomis pagrįsta pilietybė.

VI. Lietuvos nedarbo struktūra atitiko tipinį agrarinės šalies modeli, kur dėl vyraujančio žemės ūkio sektoriaus ir darbų sezoniškumo egzistavo sezoninis ir paslėptasis nedarbas. Todėl pagrindiniu nedarbo šaltiniu buvo ne pramonės ir prekybos gamybos nuosmukiai, bet socialiniai-ekonominiai procesai agrariniame sektoriuje. Todėl žemės reforma buvo vienu pagrindinių veiksnių, padariusių įtaką Lietuvos gyventoju užimtumui 1922–1940 m. Reformos įgyvendinimas didesnei kaimo gyventojų daliai užtikrino minimalų pragyvenimo šaltinį bei galimybę plėtoti ekonominius-prekybinius santykius. Tačiau dėl smulkios žemėvaldos ir išaugusios konkurencijos gamyboje bei darbo rinkoje, dėl vidinės migracijos dalinis provincijos neužimtumas ėmė ryškėti miestuose. Dėl šių priežasčių taip pat išaugo emigracijos iš Lietuvos mastai. Viena vertus, tai didino bedarbių skaičių bei socialines problemas didmiesčiuose, kita vertus, rodė ekonominiais santykiais pagrįstos darbo rinkos formavimąsi, glaudžią miesto ir kaimo prekybinių ryšių sąsają. Galiausiai, kad savo reikmėms pritaikytą namų ūkį pakeitė į pajamas ir didesnę ekonominę naudą orientuoti ūkiai, kuriems papildomos darbo rankos buvo reikalingos ne tik atskirais mėnesiais, bet visais metų laikais. Dėl šių procesų ne tik buvo įtvirtintas žemės ūkio darbininkų teisinis reglamentavimas, bet ir ėmė rastis agrarinis nedarbas.

VII. Pagrindiniais nedarbo įveikos momentais turėtume laikyti keturias nepriklausomoje Lietuvoje įvykdytas reformas. Pirmoji – žemės reforma – buvo daugialypė ir ilgalaikė, orientuota į ekonominius ir socialinius pokyčius ne tik artimoje, bet tolimoje ateityje. Antroji – viešųjų darbų reforma (atskiri įstatymai priimti 1926 ir 1933 m.) – buvo nukreipta į trumpalaikes pasekmes, socialinės įtampos mažinimą einamuoju metu. Trečioji – žemės ūkio darbininkų samdos įstatymas (1929) – pirmą kartą teisiškai reglamentavo didžiausios Lietuvos darbininkų dalies darbo santykius ir

tuo pačiu "teisę" į nedarbą. Ketvirtoji reforma – socialinių draudimų bazės plėtra ligos (įstatymai priimti 1926 m. ir 1931 m.) ir nelaimingų atsitikimų atvejais (įstatymas priimtas 1936 m.), ištraukė nedarbą iš bendrųjų socialinio skurdo priežasčių ir patalpino į ekonominių reiškinių tarpą. Darbo neturintis, bet dirbti galintis ir norintis asmuo imtas traktuoti kaip bedarbis.

VIII. Viešųjų darbų vykdymą (planavimą, reglamentavimą ir mastą) galėtume įvardyti vienu sėkmingiausių Lietuvos valstybės 1918–1940 m. inicijuotų ir įgyvendinamų projektų. Lietuvoje 1933–1939 m. viešuosius darbus šaltuoju metų laiku nuolatos dirbdavo apie 5–7 tūkst. bedarbių.

Viešieji darbai, kaip ir kitos vyriausybės priemonės, neišsprendė nedarbo problemos, tačiau užtikrino sąlyginę socialinę rimtį, padėjo vargingiausiems darbininkams ne tik pragyventi, bet ir integruotis į kuriamą valstybės socialinės globos sistemą.

IX. Nepriklausomybės pradžioje pagrindinių Lietuvos partijų programose atsispindėjo ryškūs idėjiniai krašto socialinės ir ekonominės politikos prioritetai. Nepaisant to, dauguma partijų siekių liko neįgyvendinti ne tik dėl parlamentinės valstybės ekonominio ir politinio nestabilumo ar autoritarizmo įsigalėjimo, bet ypač dėl agrarinės krašto socialinės-ekonominės kasdienybės, kuri reikalavo ne idėjinių diskusijų, bet praktinių sprendimo būdų. Po valstybinio perversmo socialinės raidos kryptys iš esmės nepasikeitė, nors ir neliko realios alternatyvos valstybės vykdomai politikai. Sprendžiant socialines-ekonomines problemas sustiprėjo valstybės įtaka, išaugo ideologinė darbo propaganda, tačiau šiuos pokyčius nulėmė ne politinės valdančiųjų nuostatos, o veikiau ekonominės šalies ir tarptautinės realijos. Politinių jėgų programose buvusi nuostata dėl nedarbo draudimo įvedimo liko neįgyvendinta, tačiau Viešųjų darbų fondo įkūrimą (1933) dalis valdančiųjų traktavo kaip šio draudimo atitikmenį.

X. Bedarbių problemų sprendimą neretai lėmė pačių bedarbių gebėjimas organizuotis. Tačiau vienijimąsi sąlygojo ne išankstinis ir ilgalaikis bedarbių nepasitenkinimas, bet konkrečių iškilusių problemų gilumas ir aktualumas. Todėl dauguma organizuotų bedarbių veiksmų (mitingų, demonstracijų, eitynių) kildavo stichiškai, be išankstinio planavimo ar strategijos, dažniausiai būdavo keliami tik

konkretūs ir trumpalaikiai reikalavimai. Neradus kompromisų tarp organizuotų darbininkų grupių ir valdžios atstovų, bedarbių veiksmai neretai peraugdavo į mažiau kontroliuojamas akcijas, pasibaigiančias fiziniais susidūrimais su teisėsauga (didžiausio atgarsio susilaukė bedarbių mitingai Kaune 1925 ir 1934 m). Nepaisant to, valstybės saugumo organai didesnio pavojaus bedarbių organizuotoje veikloje neįžvelgė. Nedarbas, bedarbių skaičiaus didėjimas ar išaugęs jų organizuotumas nesąlygojo didesnių vidaus problemų, kurios galėjo vienaip ar kitaip paveikti ilgalaikę šalies raidą ar net sąlygoti valstybingumo praradimą.

XI. Didžiąją daugumą registruotų bedarbių sudarė menko išsilavinimo asmenys, neturintys profesinių darbo įgūdžių. Tarp jų vyravo darbingo amžiaus vyrai, gyvenantys didesniuose miestuose, anksčiau dirbę nekvalifikuotą ir nereguliarų darbą. Toks bedarbio portretas per visą 1918–1940 m. laikotarpį mažai tepakito. Tačiau per 20 metų itin pasikeitė darbo jėgos mobilumas ir savivoka, gebėjimas prisitaikyti darbo rinkoje, supratimas, kaip ir kur galima tikėtis uždarbio. Bedarbių kasdieninės problemos pradėtos identifikuoti valstybės institucijų dokumentuose, aktualizuotos spaudos puslapiuose bei grožinės literatūros kūriniuose. Be to, išsisluoksniavo bedarbių grupės, tipai. Tarpukario Lietuvoje egzistavo bedarbio-inteligento kategorija, tačiau pastarųjų nedarbas, nors ir labiau pastebimas visuomenėje, nebuvo didelis ir tesiekė 2–8 % visų užregistruotų bedarbių.

XII. Visuomenės požiūris į nedarbą ir bedarbius per nepriklausomybės metus nuolatos kito. Pirmuoju dešimtmečiu bedarbiai suvokti ir vertinti kaip nepaslanki visuomenės grupė, atsiradusi dėl ilgalaikių socialinių priežasčių. Bedarbiai gretinti su kitomis labiausiai socialiai pažeidžiamos beturčių, elgetų, dėl ligos ar senatvės negalinčių dirbti gyventojų grupėmis, kurių padėtį nulėmė socialinės, o ne ekonominės priežastys. Antruoju nepriklausomos valstybės gyvavimo dešimtmečiu dėl valstybės vykdomos socialinės-ekonominės politikos bedarbiai pradėti traktuoti kaip pragyvenimo šaltinio laikinai neturintys dėl ekonominių (bankrotų, krizių ar konkurencijos darbo rinkoje), o ne dėl socialinių gebėjimų. Tai patvirtina darbe keliamą hipotezę apie visuomenės modernėjimo tendencijas bei valstybinės socialinės-ekonominės politikos įtaką Lietuvos gyventojams.

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Žinios apie disertacijos autorių

Norbertas Černiauskas gimė 1984 m. Utenoje. 2003-2009 m. studijavo Vilniaus universitete, Istorijos fakultete ir įgijo istorijos bakalauro bei magistro kvalifikacinį laipsnį. 2009-2014 m. Vilniaus universiteto Istorijos fakulteto doktorantas. Domėjimosi sritis – XX a. I-os pusės socialinė ir ekonominė Lietuvos istorija, 1944-1953 m. partizanų karas. Priklauso Lietuvos Šaulių sąjungai. Nuo 2005 m. kartu su bendraminčiais rengia šiuolaikiškus Laisvės kovotojų pagerbimo minėjimus-sąskrydžius bei akademines dienas - "Trakinių partizanai". 2013 m. įkurtos "Sovietinės okupacijos tyrimų asociacijos" pirmininkas. Nuo 2013 m. yra Vilniaus universiteto Istorijos fakulteto lektorius. 2013 m. jo visuomeninė veikla įvertinta Gabrielės Petkevičaitės – Bitės atminimo medaliu "Tarnaukite Lietuvai".

Elektroninis paštas: nordberaht@yahoo.com

Information about author of dissertation

Norbertas Černiauskas was born in 1984 in Utena. In 2003-2009 he studied in Vilnius University, Faculty of History and gained a BA and MA degree in history. In 2009-2014 he has been a doctoral student at the Faculty of History. His areas of interest include Lithuanian social and economic history of the first half of the 20th century and partisan war in 1944–1953. N. Černiauskas belongs to the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union. Since 2005, together with colleagues sharing the interest, he organises contemporary meetings-assemblies honouring freedom fighters and an academic event "Trakiniu partizanai". He is the Chairman of the "Association of the Soviet Occupation Research", established in 2013. Since 2013 N. Černiauskas has been a Lecturer at the Faculty of History, Vilnius University. 2013 his civil activity was marked by awarding him the commemorative medal of Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė called "Serve Lithuania".