Gender Roles in Lithuanian Society

VirginijaJurėnienė

Abstract-The 1990s in Lithuania can be regarded as a period of bloom of gender equal opportunities during which not only researchers who studied issues of gender equal opportunities in foreign theory and practice but also governmental structures of the highest level played a crucial role. The Government of Lithuania played an active role in creating the state conception of gender equal opportunities and its realization policy. Creating conditions for realizing gender equal opportunities at state level was a basis for a democratic society of the 21st century in Lithuania. These processes can be regarded as ground-breaking phenomena in post-soviet history. This break in gender ideology raises a task to analyse the processes from a practical perspective, to better understand its importance to socio-economic policy and social interrelations.Hence, the goal of this article is to analyse gender equal opportunity in post-soviet Lithuanian society from a practical perspective.

Keywords- participation in political, gender equal, parlament, composition of women's family names.

I. LITHUANIAN FEMINISM AS A NEW STAGE OF LITHUANIAN WOMEN„S MOVEMENT

One of the most obvious transformations in the Lithuanian society is its deepening understanding of a woman as an equal partner. Yet, judging from public, academic and legal discourse in Lithuania, interestin gender problems in the country is very new compared to the feminist studies in Western Europe or the US. So far, the historical aspect of feminism has been most analysed in Lithuanian academic discourse. With the rise of a feminist approach in the science of history, the definition of woman embraced not only a social but also a historical category (Ţevţi kova 1999:42), which is important to woman's perception of herself.The re-created Lithuanian women's movement in 1990-1991 can be called a stage of feminism development because Lithuanian women's awareness was expressed by a structure that allowed to speak about the freedom and self-realization. On the other hand, this stage is closely intertwined with Lithuanian nationalism. In this paper, Lithuanian nationalism is understood as an ideological background characterized by a value system that clearly distinguishes and rejects the gender topic. The development of feminist and nationalist trends was supported by the Lithuanian diaspora who financially contributed to translation of feminist works from foreign languages (Pociute 1999:37). The feminism of the 20th century was based on the principles of gender equality and individual liberty.However, feminism in Lithuanian society has a negative connotation. Thus, attempts to realize feminist ideas are resisted. Feminists are criticized both by men who defend the interests of a patriarchal society and women who do not acknowledge the importance of feminist

ideas and defend the models of a patriarchal society (Ţvinklienė 2000:7). The media also contribute to a negative understanding of feminism, portraying the relations between a man and a woman as primitive. A critical role in strengthening feminist ideas in the society is played by curricula in Lithuanian universities which have added women studies to different programmes. In 1992 Vilnius University established the Centre of Women Studies that was the first not only in Lithuania but also in Eastern Europe at that time. The Centre raised the aim to change the society's stereotypical attitude to family, gender, relation and entrench the principle of equal opportunities in family and society. At present the Centre is interdisciplinary and carries out a number of research projects. Besides, analogous centres were founded at Kaunas University of Technology and Šiauliai University.

Despite this advancement, it is not fashionable to be a feminist in Lithuania. Even women researchers interested in gender issues and involved in related studies usually do not identify themselves as feminists. A crucial characteritic of Lithuanian feminist actions is issues of political equality and criticism of composition of women„s family names as well as attempts to change it. I will discuss these characteristics in the following sections.

1) Changes In Women's Participation In Political Life Of The State

At the end of the 1980s soviet regime became weaker. In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev, the secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party in order to save economy and soviet empire started political and economic reforms known as *perestroika*. This period gave rise to the development of national and democratic liberation in East and Central Europe. In summer 1988 peaceful national revolution began in Lithuania, led by the organization *Sajūdis*(Movement) that united people of all social classes, occupations, ethnic backgrounds, confessions, party members and nonpartisans. *Sajūdis*raised the demands of reestablishing the rights of Lithuanian nation. At first it demanded democracy, economic independence and later – full Lithuanian independence. Since *Sajūdis*united all democratic powers and promoted ideas of national revival, it became very popular and gained the greatest political power in Lithuania. From the end of 1989 to the beginning of 1990 the Supreme Council of Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, as a result of the pressure from *Sajūdis*, made constitutional amendments and established priority of Lithuanian laws over USSR ones. Lithuania was the first state in the Soviet Union to abolish Constitution article on the leading role of the Communist party and legitimize multiparty system. Lithuania reestablished political parties (Christian democrats, Social democrats, Nationalists,

About-Dr.Assoc. Prof.Department of Philosophy and Culture Studies Vilnius University Kaunas Faculty of Humanities1962 03 17

Democrats etc.) and associations which were active till 1940, founded new organizations, women, temperance and green movements. At the beginning of 1990 the first democratic election to the Supreme Council of Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic was held. In 1990 there were 14 women who made up 10% of the elected in the Supreme Council of the Seimas (*Parliament*).On March 11, 1990 restoration of the Lithuanian independence was proclaimed and democratic and free-market reforms were launched. Innovations in the post-communist parliamentary gender representation started in Lithuania. KazimieraPrunskienė was designated the first Prime minister of independent Lithuania. Revolutionary election in 1990 produced a remarkable decrease of the number of women in the Seimas to 9% (compared to 33% female representation in the Soviet parliament).

A. Effective Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania of 1992 consolidates the equality of men and women

Article 29 of the Constitution of Lithuanian Republic states that human rights cannot be limited or privileges provided on the basis of gender, race, nationality, language, ethnic origin, social status, religion, convictions or opinion. A legal measure to eliminate gender discrimination is the Law of Equal Opportunities which was passed in 1999 (called Law of Women and Men Equal Opportunities then). This law was the first of its kind in Central and Eastern Europe. The law is enforced by the Controller's Office of Women and Men Equal Opportunity. Besides, a number of legal acts regulating various fields integrate the principle of gender equality. On June 7, 2003 State Programme of Women and Men Equal Opportunities for 2003-2004 became valid. This programme has been carried out up to these days. One of the most difficult challenges to it is women's discrimination in labour market. From a normative viewpoint, Lithuanian laws ensure equal opportunities and rights for women and men and do not discriminate citizens on the basis of gender. Yet, from a factual viewpoint, there are a lot of gender-related problems in practice. Realization of equal opportunities is hindered by institutional, political, ideological and cultural factors. In particular, cultural factors related to society's attitudes are important because they contribute to daily discrimination of gender (Tereškinas 2004). To quote a sociologist Artūras Tereškinas: [„...when having a close look at Lithuanian pop-culture one can notice that women are often described as sensitive, passive, weak in contrast to rational, assertive (aggressive), strong men. Woman in our culture is constantly related to the "lower". Woman's activity is not that significant as men's. Woman's works are never-ending. Woman's behaviour is the one of the weaker. These gender-related differences in our society exist as a dominating form which is expressed through direct physical violence against women as well" (Tereškinas 2004)].In 1990 after regaining Lithuanian independence, women organizations started their active performance. The majority of these organizations summoned reconstructive congresses, for example Lithuanian Women Catholic organization which was forbidden in the 1940s when the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania.February 25, 1995 a

constitutive congress of Lithuanian women party founded an independent voluntary and self-directing political organization whose members were united by the aim of participating in political activity and solving issues actual to the society. The party was a structurally new one in Lithuania which did not have an equivalent in the history of the country. Its main goal was to develop women's political experience and represent them in state structures at all levels, at the same time strengthening moral values that had retreated from politics (Birmontienė/ Jurėnienė 2009: 41)

The number of party members grew: in May 1995 it was 800 and at the end of 1995 – over 1000. In June 1995 the party had 18 divisions in the country of which the most numerous were the ones in Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipėda, Alytus and Šiauliai.Relevant political parties became more sensitive to women's issues. Democratic elections in 1996 brought 16,8% of women into the parliament. Parliamentary women's caucus, reuniting all women MPS across the political spectrum, has been created in this parliament. In 1996 upon initiative of the caucus a pioneering in the East Central Europe Law on Equal gender opportunities was adopted and respective Ombudsman's office was established in Lithuania. Yet, in 2000 level of women's parliamentary representation flattened again to low 10,6%. This drop might be explained by party recruitment patterns (specifically positive conservative nomination of women candidates) and electoral results (left-center winning coalition). However, it is worth mentioning that in the run up to the 2000 election there were serious economic problems in Lithuania, related to the financial crisis in Russia (Matonytė 2004: 201). Later in 2002 Lithuanian women party merged with Peasants party. In this way Lithuanian women do not have an independent women's party any longer.In 2004 women's representation in the Seimas reached satisfactory 22%. Again, the greatest part of this success story is attributable to specific party candidate nomination strategies, namely to emerging populist Labor party, which used female candidates to attract voters' sympathies. The social-democratic party followed the 33% quota principle and conservatives used their peculiar women friendly nomination techniques.Indeed, in 2004 women composed 22% (31) of the Seimas. It has been a record number in Lithuanian history. However, in Lithuania comparisons to the post-communist countries began disappearing once the country joined the European Union.

In the elections of the Seimas in 2008, 27 women were elected, which constitutes 20%. A woman, Vida MarijaČigrijienė was the chairperson of the Seimas(Birmontienė/Jurėnienė 2009:41). During the election in 2008 the proportion of women candidates in the party lists in general and at the top of the lists was higher than in 2004. Then, women comprised 25,46% of the candidates on the lists. 25,33% were among the first ten on the lists. In 2000, they constituted 17,85% of the lists, and just 10% among top 10. Three parties out of 15 had 2 women among the first ten candidates on their lists. Three parties did not have women candidates at all. In 2004 and 2008 all parties and coalitions included women into the first ten candidates on their lists. In 2008 one party had 6 women,

two parties 5 women in top 10 of their lists. In total on party lists in 2000 there were 209 women, in 2004 – 305, in 2008 – 456. Among the first ten candidates on the lists there were 15 women in 2000, 38 in 2004 and 43 in 2008. The number of women in the Seimas considerably depends on their place in the lists of parties and coalitions. Only 15 women were elected to the Seimas of 2000, which comprised 10,6% of the elected, 31 in 2004 and they constituted 22% of the MPs (Matonytė 2004: 203).

On August 21, 2008 the Ministry of Social Security and Labour discussed recommendations of the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women to Lithuania. According to representatives of the Ministry, the recommendations listed shortcomings of realizing the politics of elimination of discrimination against women. Possible changes in ensuring equal rights in Lithuanian society can be evaluated in 2011 when the state has to submit a report on actual steps to eliminate women discrimination.On September 29, 2008 the Seimas signed National agreement on realizing women and men's equal rights and opportunities. The agreement was initiated by the National women's consulting forum striving to enforce equal opportunities of genders in reality. The National agreement was signed by all 9 parliamentary parties, business community and representatives of trade unions.

The situation has considerably changed not only in the bod of the Seimas where women comprise 20% but also in other state institutions. Alongside modernizing changes in Lithuanian society, the number of women competing with men is increasing. More and more often they seek the highest positions in the state. At present women's influence in political life of the country is increasing. In 2008, Dalia Grybauskaitė was elected president by the 80% of the electorate. However, this fact speaks of the growing importance of competence, and not gender. In September 2009, Irena Degutienė, a member of the Christian-Democrats party, was elected the speaker of the 10th Seimas. The position of Minister of National Defence is held by a member of the same party, Rasa Juknevičienė(Ramelienė 2009). Hence, Lithuanian society has an opportunity to consider whether the presence of three women in high positions is an accident or a result of the society's maturity in respect of gender equity. An answer to this question is not yet available and can only be found in the course ofpolitical development.A political scientist Tomas Janeliūnas acknowledges that it is no longer a sensation that women begin dominating the government: [„I think that it is a result of certain favorable conditions that women were elected or appointed to these positions. They best met the needs and expectations to politicians or state officials of that level" (Sytas 2009)].In his opinion, it is a promising tendency that fictitious differences between men and women are naturally disappearing, a false opinion that politics is a male profession is denied. [„It is the best example that the principle of gender equity should not artificially promoted because it naturally roots in all fields", Janeliūnas contends. (Sytas 2009)].A sociologist Vladas Gaidys argues that Kazimiera Prunskienė and Vilija

Blinkevičiūtė showed up in the run for presidency. The Defence Minister Rasa Juknevičienė and Seimas Speaker Irena Degutienė are well-known politicians with experience. [„It just coincided that talented women who were in proper place at proper time rose to the top", he thinks (Sytas 2009)]. However, a sociologist Rasa Ališauskienė does not think that women's stronger position in the government was determined by the current critical situation. She points out that Irena Degutienė became the Speaker not because of her gender but because of her human and professional characteristics (Ramelienė 2009). Yet, a research in 2003 „Survey of Lithuanian population: women and politics" showed 4 out of 10 (41%) respondents thought that women could be encouraged to become more active in politics if they were free from housework, less occupied, personally determined to strive for career, motivated and supported by men, an old-fashioned attitude to women changed and more respect to them were shown. Today we can discuss whether the above-mentioned "incentives" have come true. The leading positions in the national defense, finance, legislation and the country as a whole are held by women (Population survey of 2003:45). It follows that acknowledgment of women as leaders has been maturing in Lithuanian society for a long time. Besides, it is a proof that changes in the attitude to woman have been taking place for the last decades (Budrys 2009). However, an important question is open: why women electorate do not vote for women candidates. One answer flows from the question: there are not many popular women politicians and they are not granted a possibility to earn the electorate's trust in an important position. Secondly, there is a characteristic in Lithuanian political culture that is not favorable to women. Even when they occupy state positions, they do not, in fact, participate in formation of politics because they are not integrated into informal social networks, actual decision-making groups which generate ideas for political moves in the future. According to a sociologist GiedrėPurvaneckienė, politics is a contest of hunting, sauna and sports but not sittings and official banquets. Therefore, women politicians need to exploit all forms of political activity (Purvaneckienė 2004:15).In conclusion it could be stated that current changes in the country life are favourable to women's movement. Only deeper and wider research of society will allow to answer the question which factors encouraged women to strive for the highest positions in the government.

i. Indirect social women discrimination

A crucial characteristic of Lithuanian feminism is criticism of composition of women„s family names and attempts to change it. The main reason for these attempts is that a family name's composition reflects woman's social status (Čepaitienė 2004: 21). For example, a doctor of natural sciences Angelina Zalatorienė claims that [„the suffix –ait– creates a certain dike of energy. In such a conservative country with patriarchal traditions like ours, a woman with such a family name is noticed by the surrounding environment. A question arises whether she is married or not; if not why" (Vazbutaitė:2009).]Her words reflect

some traditional and stereotypical attitudes to woman in Lithuanian society. They are more important in labour market than in private life, affecting the employer's decision to hire a female employee. Young women till 30 with a family name with the suffix of a married woman ien are viewed with suspicion because the possibility of maternity leave or absence from work due to child care is very high. On the other hand, women around 35-40 and above with a maiden family name are also viewed with certain suspicion, questioning her character and the ability to get along with other people, leaving her competence and qualification aside when making a decision to hire. A victory by Lithuanian feminists was achieved on May 14, 2003 Lithuanian women gained the right to have their family without a suffix indicating their marital status (e.g. Jurėnienė is a married woman as indicated by the suffix –ien–; if she were not married she could be Ališauskaitė (her father's family name as indicated by the suffix –ait-). That was not an achievement of various Lithuanian women's non-governmental organizations. On June 26, 2003 State Commission of the Lithuanian Language passed a decree No. N-2 (87) „On Composition of Women's Family Names" which eliminated the discriminating suffix. Yet, Lithuanian women still cannot have a family name with a feminine ending a if her husband's family name ends with it. For example, Duoba's wife cannot take the same name but rather Duobė or Duobienė, Kalėda's wife Kalėdė or Kalėdienė. Besides, girls can change their family name only after attaining majority (in Lithuania, 18 years), her parents do not have the right to give her a family name without a suffix. The right to change the family name to a neutral one is obtained by major single women. State Commission of the Lithuanian Language granted the right that girls' family names may be composed with the neutral ending –ė, e.g. Talmantė, Urbė, Laukaitė, Sutkė, Zujė, Naudtė .. The same decree states that, when getting married, a woman may choose a compound family name consisting of a maiden and husband's family name, e.g. RūtaSimutytė-Gaidienė, AstaButkė-Jurgaitienė.Letus shortly consider the history of development of family names in Lithuania. Lithuanian woman's family name has a long history. Writing of a given and a family names became a norm in the 16th-17th centuries.In the 16th century Lithuania, acts of civil, criminal and family law were passed and standardized in statutes. Based on a Polish example, they established a norm that woman's social status was determined by the family name. As it has been mentioned, woman's family name indicated whether she was married or not. This norm became widespread because according the first Statute (1529) and later ones (the second Statute 1566, the third one 1588) noble women got the right to inherit (a part of the) husband's estate after his death based on her family name. This practice did not exist in any other European country at that time. Yet, in his book „Lithuanian names" a linguist ZigmasZinkevičius states the opposite, i.e. that [„The system of naming a Lithuanian person developed independently from the influence of the Polish language, what is often maintained. Names themselves are a different story because they were Polonized, Germanized and recomposed in other ways by foreign [ruling] administration" (Zinkevičius 2009:300).]In 1927 Lithuanian women addressed the League of Nations with a request to solve existing social as well as moral discrimination in the society. A single woman in her 50s with a maiden family name was viewed with contempt and called a spinster. The League of Nations considered the Lithuanian request, yet, it made a decision that this was an internal issue in the state (Jurėnienė 2007: 87). Hence, Lithuanian women did not manage to solve an actual issue of discrimination. From 1940 to 1990 Lithuania was occupied by the Soviet Union, thus, the most important issue was preserving national identity. Besides, independent women organizations which could raise and solve the issue did not exist. After reestablishment of the state in 1990 the question of women's family name was not raised until 1998 when the problem of social discrimination appeared in the public discourse. That can be explained by increased women's self-awareness as politically independent and free to speak about their self-expression. This personal freedom was understood as the right to have a family name that does not indicate a social status.In 1998the law of Women and Men's Equal Opportunities was passed. It came into force in 1999. The law is made of six chapters that foresee means, articles and functions of law execution. There is Control Office of Women and Men's Equal Opportunities which solves gender discrimination, sexual harassment and other questions. This is the only institution in Lithuania that can be addressed by women and men who experienced discrimination at work. Thus, gender equality in legal, social and economic spheres has been sought to be achieved and secured.In1998 women grew concerned about discrimination on the basis of their family names and addressed the control officer of Equal Opportunities AušrinėBurneikienė who investigated the complaint and made a conclusion that names do not discriminate women. Active women turned with this issue to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. Their argument was based on the European Convention of human rights which guarantees the right to privacy, keeping information about one's marital status private. Hence, they asked the Court to decide whether human right to privacy or the state's right to keep a tradition of some centuries was more important. The Court refused to consider the case and sent an answer that at first national courts should be appealed. In this story there is a fact that calls for specific attention. In the fight for abolishing the rule to have family names without suffixes were only single women (journalists, writers) active. Where were women organizations? It has to be acknowledged that none of the existing non-governmental women organizations noticed discrimination in family names or considered the issue important. A majority of them were rather passive and interested in gaining profit but not women, children, family-related issues. Society was passive and the issue did not resonate in it. However, in May 2003 AušrinėBurneikienė passed a decree to change the rules of the Lithuanian language on which the registry office grounded its prohibitions on changing the family name. The Officer explained that since 1998 a notion of indirect discrimination

was introduced to the Law of Women and Men's Equal Opportunities, based on the EU directives. Lithuanian family names violated an act that forbids to request information concerning a person's marital status and private life from job-seekers.

Some merits of the achievement go to the linguist Irena Smetonienė who became the head of the National Commission of the Lithuanian Language at that time. The Commission considered the issue and announced a conclusion that the Lithuanian language has resources for women's family names without suffixes. Smetonienė says, [„I came to lead the Commission not from academic world, thus, I am very well aware of real life needs" **(**Vazbutaitė 2009).]She explained that the suffixes of the 16th-18th century were based on property and legal relations as well as inheritance matters. The conclusion was sufficient to crumble a tradition of 4 centuries. However, there have been no signs so far that the Lithuanian language has become poorer.Beside linguistic changes, social meaning of the right to choose a family name without a suffix is much more important. Women more and more clearly understand that the right not to have a family name with a compulsory suffix has become the right to choose the information which she wants to make public about herself. Moreover, it is a right to a lifestyle and different self-perception. According to the deputy director of Vilnius civil registry office Dalia Sivickienė, when the law came into force in 2003, change of women's family name was not a phenomenon of mass scale. In her opinion, determination to have a neutral family name does not depend on age or family/marrital status. However, it is mostly women aged from 30 to 45 who more often apply to the registry office. In particular women who often travel or have other relations with foreign countries are active. Divorced middle-aged or elder women also prefer a neutral family name because they do not want to become an aitė or ytė (Lithuanian women 2006).From time to time there are attempts in the society to call out discussions on women's family names with the aim to persuade its members that family names without suffixes are a negative phenomenon. For example, a journalist Rūta Grinevičiūtė expresses her opinion as follows: [„Change of the maiden family name to the one of the husband speaks of the attitude to the man who I married. (…) I like the archaic character of the Lithuanian language, and the new composition of the women's family names which sounds similar to the Latvian is not my favourite. Some people say that if one can distinguish whether a woman is married from her name they discriminate her. It is fun that we have something antique!" (Vazbutaitė 2009). **]** The journalist's words illustrate a popular attitude in Lithuanian society that reproaches the achievement of Lithuanian feminists because it destroys unique heritage of the nation. However, newly married women more often shorten their family names, which increases their safety in social sphere and employment relations.Another interesting attitude that has become stronger in Lithuanian society which has been witnessing an increasing number of divorces is whether a marrying women should not keep their father‚s family name. For example, a

business woman DainaPetrauskaitė-Bosas says, **[**„I would prefer my maiden name. One can have more than one husband, as practice shows, and father's name is father's, it should be respected" (Vazbutaitė 2009). **]** Her opinion is supported by Angelina Zalatorienė, **[**„Those who respect old traditions could keep not only their father‚s but also their mother‚s family name when getting married" (Vazbutaitė 2009). **]**Finally, a reverse effect of the phenomenon should be noted as well. The number of family names with suffixes is not decreasing. As a reaction to the possibility to refuse a suffix, a lot of women claim that they appreciate a family name with a suffix and proudly pronounce their long name.

II.   CONCLUSIONS

It has been 20 years since reestablishment of Lithuanian independence. In 1990 Seimas (Parliament) was elected which was based on multiparty system and multimandate election system. 141 MPs were elected. Women have taken part in Seimas activity since the state's reestablishment and their percentage has ranged from 10 to 20. Lithuania does not have a quota system for gender representation, although some parties apply it voluntary, e.g. Social democrats. The year 2009 was the apogee of women's success in politics. Women take the two most important positions in the country, i.e. the ones of President and the Speaker. The ministries of Finance and National Defense are also led by women. Most researchers agree that this happened not by chance but because of women's competences. There are also observations in Lithuanian public discourse that in reality gender issues do not exist and they are artificially made topical. The year 2003 is noted for solving the issue of indirect women's discrimination in the state. From the 16th century a Lithuanian woman's social status has been shown by the suffix of the family name, i.e. ien for a married woman and –ait– or –yt– for a single one. Women in their 30s, not speaking about 40s, with a maiden name were considered spinsters and discriminated in the labour market, morally humiliated in the society. After the Republic of Lithuania, in compliance with legal acts of the EU, changed or amended its laws and allowed women to shorten their family names so that they do not reflect their social status, the issue became less actual. The equal opportunity policy is realized in post-soviet Lithuanian society, although actual changes are slower than legal advances. The field of political representation is noted for the most visible changes meanwhile other fields of social life remain rather neglected. Barriers to ensuring equal opportunities in different professions and industry sectors and instruments to eliminating them still have to be identified and created in the future.

III.   REFERENCE

1) Birmontienė, Toma & Jurėnienė, Virginija. (2009). Development of women's rights in Lithuania: recognition of women's political rights.Jurisprudencija, 2 (116), 23-44.

2) Budrys, Nerijus. (2009). Dvi iš trijų moterys (Two out of three are women). Date of access 17 September 2009 at http://www.verslosavaite. Lt

3) Čepaitienė, Rasa. (2004). Feminizmas ir visuomenė Lietuvoje (Feminism and Society in Lithuania). Kultūros barai (Cultural bars), 8/9, 23-29.

4) Dėl moterų pavardžių darymo. (On Composition of Women's Family Names). 2003 Valstybės Ţinios(State news), 2(87), 1.

5) Lietuvos moterys neutralias pavardes renkasi retai, bet daţniausiai – visamlaikui (Lithuanian women seldom choose neutral family names but most often – for ever). Date of access 4 March2006 at www.delfi.lt

6) Jurėnienė, Virginija. (2006). Lietuvių moterųjudėjimas XIX amţi auspabaigoje–XX amţi auspirmojepusėje (The Lithuanian Women's movement from the End of the 19th to the Middle of the 20th Century).Vilnius: Vilniausuniversitetoleidykla.

7) Matonytė, Irmina. (2004). Women in politics- "Europeanization" of the Lithuanian parliament?(Post-Accession in East Central Europe.The Emergence of the EU 25).Budapest: Hungarian center for democracy studies.

8) Pociūte, Rima. (1999). Postfeminizm, katorinpinadleţi tnam.Ţenskuje i genderskije isledovanije v Baltiskix i cevernix stranax, 32-37.

9) Purvaneckienė, Giedrė. (2004). Gender dimension in the process of social change. Socialiniai mokslai (Social sciences), 1, 11-19.

10) Research of 2003 Lietuvosgyventojųapklausa: moterysirpolitika.(Lithuanian population survey: women and politics).Baltijostyrimai (Baltic researches).Date of access 2003at http://www.gap.lt/tyrimai/moterys_ir_politika

11) Ramelienė, Raimonda.(2009). Lietuvą valdo moterys: sutapimas ar taisyklė? (Lithuania is governed by women: a coincidence or a rule?). Date of access 19 September 2009 athttp://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/lietuva-valdo-moterys-sutapimas-ar-taisykle.d?id=24123908

12) Ramelienė, Raimonda.(2009). Kodėlvaldomoterys? (Why do women rule?). Date of access 19 September 2009 at http://www.balsas.lt/naujiena/310078/kodel-valdo-moterys

13) Sytas, Andrius. (2009). Lietuvos valdţia – moteriškiausia Europos Sąjungoje (Lithuanian government is the most feminine in the EU). Date of access 21 September 2009 at http://www.alfa.lt

14) Tereškinas, Artūras. (2004). Lytinė diskriminacija: moterys ir vyrai stereotipų ir įvaizdţių nelaisvėje (Gender discrimination: women and men imprisoned by stereotypes and images). A presentation made in the event for commemoration of International Day of Human Rights in the Seimas of Lithuanian Republic. Date of access 10 December 2004 at http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter/w5_show?p_r3371&p_d38027&p_k1

15) Vazbutaitė, Jolanta. (2009). Kokiąpavardęrenkasiištekėjusiosmoterys (What family name is chosen by married women). Date of access11 May 2009 at http://www.moteris.lt

16) Zinkevičius, Zigmas. (2009). Lietuvių asmenvardţiai (Lithuanian names). Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas.

17) Ţevţikova, Elena. (1999). EmancipuotaKlėjaarbamoterisšiuolaikinioistorijos mokslopoţiūriu (Emancipated Clio or woman from the perspective of contemporary history science) Feminizmas, visuomenė, kultūra (Feminism, society, culture),40-48

18) Ţvinklienė, Alina.(2000). Moterųirvyrųdialogasapiefeminizmąirfeministes (Women and men's dialogue on feminism and feminists) Feminizmas, visuomenė, kultūra) (Feminism, society, culture), 5-10.