

THE FEATURES OF THE HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGY IN LITHUANIA

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Abstract

The purpose – is to reveal the stages of the development of history of Lithuanian sociology and its specific features.

Methodology. The article is based on the survey of sources analysing the history of sociology, paying special attention to manifestations of sociology in Lithuania during various periods of time.

Findings. Sociology is one of the youngest academic disciplines established as a distinct field of study in Europe only in the 19th century. Three main fields of investigation can be distinguished in the history of Lithuanian sociology: the pre-war period, the soviet period and the post-soviet period. Each period is characterised by its peculiar opportunities for sociologists' professional expression, challenges and achievements; as well as different topics and directions for sociological research. After the review of sources dealing with the history of sociology, it must be noted that there are three main stages of the development of sociology: (1) the period of 1960-1970, characterised by work study; (2) since the 1970s the main attention has been paid to social planning; (3) the period starting from 1989 is distinguished for the beginning of public opinion poll.

Research limitations/implications. This brief review of the history of sociology in Lithuania is rather fragmentary; a thorough analysis needs more time and more comprehensive studies.

Practical implications. The importance of the study shows in the fact that the research of the history of Lithuanian sociology can be helpful in analysing the issues of sociological professionalism and identity. The status of sociology as science and profession in society cannot be examined without taking into account the historical context of the country.

Originality/Value. This article is an attempt to summarise and systematise different approaches to the circumstances of sociology formation and their impact on the development of the discipline and profession.

Keywords: sociology, history of Lithuanian sociology, legitimacy of sociology.

Research type: literature review.

Introduction

Knowing the history of Lithuanian sociology is essential for understanding the rise and the entrenchment of sociology in society as a science and a profession. Sociology in

Lithuania, as any other science, has its own history and each historical period represents the efforts to develop the identity of the discipline (Pruskus, 2009). According to Kraniauskas, the history of a discipline is one of the most important strategies in constructing professional identity: ‘<...> *historical sense allows the formation of the distinctive features of a sociological identity*’ (2000: 105).

The boom of sociology in the United States, Western and Northern Europe has started approximately in the 6th decade of the 20th century. Although competing with other social sciences that have deeper traditions, sociology in Europe has evolved quite rapidly and has become a popular science. In Lithuania the situation is slightly different. According to Leonavičius (2002), although sociology has been trying to become a practical science for more than a century, still, in comparison with other social sciences, it faces more difficulties in penetration.

Today, there is a quite extensive discussion about the development of sociology as a scientific discipline and a profession. Contemporary sociologists show interest in the development and changes of sociology in Lithuania by discussing the sociological manifestations in different periods (Grigas, 1995; Vosyliūtė, 2002; Pruskus, 2009). Kraniauskas (2000; 2001a; 2001b; 2001c) has thoroughly examined the development of sociological discourse in Lithuania and analysed sociological texts; reviews of sociological studies and the problems of sociologists’ education in Lithuanian high schools were provided (Leonavičius, 1999; Leonavičius, 2002; Matulionis, 2000; Pruskus, 2003). The development of sociology and the questions of its status are discussed in publications of various countries. Keen and Mucha (1994) compiled a collection of articles reviewing the development of sociology in post-socialist countries, in which Gaidys and Vosyliūtė (1994: 149-156) present the characteristics of Lithuanian sociology.

Based on a survey of works that are analysing the development of sociology, this article identifies the main stages of the historical developmental of Lithuanian sociology, their characteristic features and research areas.

The History of Sociology

Sociology, as separate science of public system, emerged only in the middle of the 19th century. The establishment of sociology as a discipline in the late 1830s is formally associated with Comte who believed that science could be also used to study the social world. The progress in natural sciences, the rise of Enlightenment, the decrease of religious influence - all this led to the emergence of sociology (Khan, 2008).

The 19th and 20th centuries were a period of many social upheavals and changes in social order that interested the early sociologists (Stolley, 2005). In the last quarter of the 20th century much attention was given to the history of sociology as a discipline. The period from the 1960s to 1970s was very intense - it was a decade of human rights, the period of students’ protests, urban racial unrest, fights against poverty, the crystallisation of new feminist movements. According to Berger (1992), the discipline of sociology originated as an attempt to understand and to control as much as possible the transformations brought about by the process of modernity. It happened exactly in those

countries where the prominent traditions of sociology had formed first of all, i.e. France, Germany and the United States (Berger, 1992).

Sociology is one of the youngest academic disciplines. On the one hand, this means that the science has still a lot of opportunities to develop, on the other hand, social scientists often have to prove their right to exist (Suleymanov, 2010). In the end of the 19th century, social sciences were rapidly developing in Western Europe; this period is associated with the beginning of academic sociology in the United States (Keen and Mucha, 1994).

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, European and U.S. universities started to teach sociology; the departments of sociology were established. The validation of Lithuanian sociology as an academic discipline began in the late 1918, when a decision to restore Vilnius University was made (Leonavičius, 1999). As for the existence of the studies of sociology in Lithuanian high schools, it should be noted that there were some rises, as well as quite a few serious moments, sociology departments were often closed and sociology courses were suspended from time to time.

The authors (Gaidys and Vosyliūtė, 1994; Grigas, 1995; Vosyliūtė, 2001; 2002; 2010; Kraniauskas, 2001a; Pruskus, 2009), who have analysed the development of sociology in Lithuania, have discussed the opportunities of sociological expression and the research trends during various periods (the pre-war, the Soviet period and the period after the Restoration of Independence).

Hereafter, the article briefly presents these periods and their specific features. The main focus is on the Soviet period, which, according to the scientists who have investigated the development of sociology, was significant to the formation of sociological discourse.

Sociology in the Early Period

The works of social phenomena researchers associate the rise of sociology in Lithuania with the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, after first sparks of sociological thought appeared in newspapers 'Aušra' (The Dawn), 'Varpas' (The Bell) and 'Šviesa' (The Light). At the beginning of the 20th century, L. Janavičius, V. Kapsukas, Z. Angarietis were the first who analysed public phenomena, economist A. Rimka, historian A. Janulaitis carried out some specific sociological researches (Leonavičius, 1991). A. Rimka, in his sociological study of the social bases of national revival, notes the most eminent researches of public questions: J. Šliūpas, J. Andziulaitis-Kaltinėnas, J. Adomaitis-Šernas, P. Leonas and others. M. Riomeris in 1908 published the first Lithuanian sociological study of national revival (Luobikienė, 2001).

The development of sociology in the interwar Lithuania was particularly influenced by the publications of the professors of Lithuanian universities: K. Šaulys 'Sociology' (1920), K. Paltarokas 'The Social Question' (1921), A. Janulaitis' translation of 'The Basics of Sociology' written by L. Gumplovičius (1929), as well as works by S. Gruodis, P. Dielininkaitis, P. Kuraitis, A. Maceina, S. Šalkauskis, also by lectures read to students and works published in the press (Pruskus, 2003). A significant contribution was made by

professor Petras Leonas who was teaching sociology at Vytautas Magnus University; his lectures on sociology were published only after his death (1939).

The above-mentioned authors are related to the beginning of the development of sociology as science in Lithuania (Pruskus, 2003; Leonavicius, 1991).

It is important to note that the aforementioned pioneers of Lithuanian sociological thought referred in their works to the concepts and theories that were used by foreign authors. For example, P. Leonas' attitude was influenced by the sociological principles of Kovalevskij, Comte, Maunier, Gumplowicz, Sorokin, Spencer, Tönnies, Fouillee and etc. His concept of society is related to the methodological principles of evolutionism and neopositivism; the construction of his model of society is based on pluralism, social solidarity and democracy (Vosyliūtė, 2002). Leonas (1939) in his 'Sociology lectures' analysed such categories of sociology as social phenomena, social relations, social values, collective and private ownership, freedom and captivity, morals and immorality, democracy and autocracy.

The social issues related to the stratification of society, social justice, the improvement of the quality of life were typical to the positivist and Catholic thinkers, such as A. Maceina, S. Schulte and P. Leonas. Most works of Lithuanian intellectuals and sociologists criticised capitalist and socialist ideas. A. Maceina got his knowledge about the principles of the new regime from writings of Catholic modernist, especially from the French E. Mounier. Schulte, based on G.W.F. Hegel's and partly on K. Marx's ideas, critically evaluated the capitalist regime (Pruskus, 2012).

Some groups of intellectuals interpreted the issues of society using the concepts of Comte, Marx, Spencer, Darwin, or Morgan. The basis for the first Lithuanian textbook 'Sociology' by Kazimieras Šaulys (1920) was the ideas of the French author Charles Antoine expounded in his book *Cours d'économie sociale*, which represented a Catholic perspective (Vosyliūtė, 2002).

Gaidys and Vosyliūtė (1994), in the article on the features of the development of Lithuanian sociology, claim that at the end of the 19th century sociology became an independent intellectual discipline, involving positivism (J. Šliūpas), liberalism (V. Kudirka), individualism (S. Daukantas). The period of the independent Republic of Lithuania (1918-1940) encouraged social thought, the discipline undergone the processes of validation.

Leonavičius (2002) expresses a slightly different approach to the emergence of sociology. According to the author, although Gaidys and Vosyliūtė referring to J. Šliūpas, V. Kudirka, S. Daukantas, used the term 'sociology', it is unlikely that at that time Lithuania had already differentiated the perspective of sociological reflection, as well as the attempts of P. Leonas and K. Šaulys to disseminate sociology in the interwar Lithuania were more than minimal. In Leonavičius' (2002) opinion, it is possible to talk about the beginning of sociological discourse only in the Soviet Lithuania, when, in the 6th decade, it was allowed to establish the official institutions of sociological researches in the structure of the allied Academy of Sciences.

According to Valantiejus, Lithuanian sociology faces a problem in the search of its roots: *‘On the one hand, “the first sociological swallows” refers to the works of the 7th*

decade, on the other hand, the leaders of different movements in the era of Daukantas, Kudirka, Šliūpas are called sociologists, 'public social activists - ethnic activists' (1995: 83).

Early sociological theorists and their ideas were undoubtedly important to the development of social thought, but the 'true' sociology evolved only in the 1970s.

Sociology in the Soviet Period

Sociologists agree that the Soviet period was important to the formation of sociological discourse in Lithuania (Leonavičius, 1999; Leonavičius 2002; Pruskus, 2009; Matulionis, 2003; Vosyliūtė, 2001; 2002; 2010). The development of sociology in Lithuania during the Soviet period was characterised by prof. R. Grigas (1995) who described its applied nature when sociology was directly related to politics and ideology of the Soviet Union. In professor's view, *'there is no reason to claim that the situation in Lithuania during the Soviet period would have been favourable to the development of sociology as an independent branch of science'* (1995: 9). Grigas (1995) identifies the lack of educated professionals as one of the problems of science development (up to the middle of the 9th decade, this kind of specialists were not prepared not only in Lithuania, but also in the former Soviet Union).

Matulionis (2003) notes, that in the Soviet times not only sociology but also other social sciences faced serious problems. First of all, they were ideologised and had to prove the supposed advantages of the Soviet society, unfavourable information was hidden. Despite the need for sociology in the Soviet society, sociologists were controlled and influenced by the prevailing ideology at the time, they were censored and even politically persecuted (Gaidys and Vosyliūtė 1994; Pruskus, 2009; Vosyliūtė, 2001, 2002, 2010; Grigas, 1995; Kraniauskas, 2001a). According to Pruskus, *'it is also obvious that the continuous ideological supervision, a lack of more solid academic preparation, a shortage of an access to the latest literature and new research methods, applied in the West, significantly limited the opportunities of the professional expression of Lithuanian sociologists'* (2009: 71). However, as Vosyliūtė (2001) noted, even in spite of ideological impurities, social knowledge and ideas were disseminated.

During the Soviet period, the access to the ideas of Western sociology was limited, only few sociologists had the opportunity to analyse the sociological theories in Western science centres. Ordinary sociologists were mainly forced to conduct empirical researches; therefore it is not surprising that the public generally perceived sociology as an empirical science that originated from ideological ideas (Vosyliūtė, 2002; 2010). The Soviet sociological thought was influenced by Marxist ideas, some elements of Western theories and independent sociological thinking (Vosyliūtė, 2002).

According to Raškauskas (2008), during the period of socialism, sociologists have been allowed to speak about the impediments of social development and to suggest recipes. In the context of the intelligentsia's research, sociologists have played a significant role. The aim of sociologists, who were institutionalised in Lithuania since

1969, was to scientifically justify party ideologies and to capture the presumed results (Raškauskas, 2008).

Pruskus (2009), in his analysis of sociology revival in the Soviet period, distinguished two major reasons for the rise of sociology: *the first one* is the introduction of scientific communism in Lithuanian high schools and *the second one* – science-based public management that was necessary for the establishment of communism and social planning, which required the exploration of social issues.

Pursuant to Kraniauskas (2001a; 2001c), the development of sociology discipline legitimisation reflected in magazines and periodicals. The author mentions such periodic journals as 'Komunistas' (Communist), 'Mokslas ir gyvenimas' (Science and Life), 'Šeima' (Family) and so on. Sociology legitimation in Lithuanian started in 1964, when the magazine 'Komunistas' published the article by M. Damidavičius 'About teaching the course of scientific communism'; in the same year, the journal 'Komunistas' presented a new rubric 'Sociological researches' (Kraniauskas, 2001c).

Soviet sociological concepts covered both the Marxist-Leninists ideas and the elements typical to the Western theories. Such concepts as social attitude (Znaniecki and Thomas), social values (Durkheim and Parsons), the humanization of work (Friedman) and etc. were used without reflecting on their genesis (Vosyliūtė, 2002, 2010). After the political atmosphere had improved, the use of Western theoretical approaches (functionalism, phenomenology) and theories has gradually increased in Lithuanian sociology. Such concepts as 'satisfaction with job', 'motives of job', 'content of job' have been taken by Russia from the West, later these concepts were found in Lithuanian sociology as well.

After the 1980s, Lithuanian sociologists were familiar with such concepts as Max Weber's on the organization of bureaucracy, Marx's concepts on human relations, adaptation, authority, social structure and conflict; the theories of Freud, Skinner, and Piaget were used in family sociology (Vosyliūtė, 2002). The sociological perspectives, predominant in the 19th and 20th centuries, included positivism, liberalism and Marxism.

Although sometimes the Soviet sociology can be identified as a false consciousness or the benefits of its scholarliness may be underestimated, we cannot reject all that was achieved (Matulionis, 2003; Kraniauskas, 2001a).

Sociological Researches in Lithuania

Gaidys and Vosyliūtė (1994), depending on the nature of sociological activities, identified several periods of Lithuanian sociology formation: from the 1960s to 1970s – the researches of work sociology, from the 1970s - the stage of social planning, from the 1989s - the beginning of public opinion polls and the phase of independent national sociology.

Gaidys and Tureikytė (1997), in discussing the development of public opinion researches, note that empirical sociological researches in Lithuania were launched in the beginning of 7th decade. According to the authors, the first studies cannot be attributed to

the explorations of 'public opinion', because these studies did not represent all the population, researches were censored and the format of questions was restricted. Public opinion in the totalitarian state was unwanted, but there were studies of neutral topics such as family, demographic problems (Gaidys and Tureikytė, 1997).

Matulionis (2003) notes, social researches in Lithuania were of a relatively high level, although they were limited by the Soviet Union. Since the 1982s, sociologists have participated in the longitudinal study of the youth cohort, in which there were participants not only from the Baltic countries, but also the researchers from many other republics (Matulionis, 2003; Raškauskas, 2008).

In the Soviet period, the sociological research centres were instituted. In 1965 the Laboratory of Sociological Research was established at Vilnius University. In 1964-1965 the Department of Philosophy, Sociology and Law was opened at the Academy of Sciences. In 1966 the Laboratory of Social Research was founded. The activity of centres was limited and coordinated by sociological research control centres instituted by the Soviet authorities (Pruskus, 2009). According to Grigas, *‘despite the extent of applied sociological research, political and even psychological climate at that time was not favourable to more daring researches’* (1995: 13).

According to Gaidys and Vosyliūtė (1994), the writings of that era were required to emphasize the concepts of collectivism, a socialist type of personality. As Pruskus (2009) observes, sociological surveys were associated with the emancipation of people's thinking, but sociologists were obliged to observe methodological orientations being in compliance with Marxism-Leninism provisions. So it is not surprising that the Soviet period is characterised by the research trends that aimed to emphasise collectivism, commitment to society and other ideas, postulated in socialist period; the cult of work was emphasised, topics of religion, politics and nationality were rejected. Since the 1970s, after the formation of the concept of social planning, sociologists' study areas and the scope of work were expanded (see Table 1).

Despite the fact that the differences of social groups were analysed in the Soviet period, however, such aspects as social and psychological gaps between society layers were not studied. The focus was only on the social structure where strong social equality, democracy and the diversity of life were predominant, but there were no studies exploring how the social hierarchy emerges, how party, intellectual, cultural elite appears, the perception of society's values (Pruskus, 2009).

The situation has changed only in the years of independence. It was the time when research paradigms began to change, new theories of sociology and research models appeared, the scientific community started to establish the relations with representatives of various branches of Western sociology, which led to a progress in qualitative and quantitative research (Gaidys and Vosyliūtė, 1994). Although sociology as science, as well as researches, started to develop in Lithuania already at the beginning of the 20th century, the results of studies became available to society only after Lithuania regained its independence (Česnaitytė, 2007). Modern sociology in Lithuania began to develop more rapidly only in post-Independence era (Daujotytė, 1997).

Table 1. The Trends of Sociological Researches and the Topics in the Soviet and the Independence Periods¹

The Soviet Period	The Period After the Restoration of Independence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Workers' satisfaction with the process of work, payment, adaptation in teams; ○ The researches of employment opportunities; ○ The use of workers' time; ○ Social behaviour in work and leisure time; ○ Social activity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Citizens' activity, the unity of nation; ○ Trust in Post-totalitarian conditions in the change of values; ○ The types and features of national values, the change of values; ○ The features and values of elite groups; ○ Family studies: the role of the woman in the family, single-parent families, cohabitation, birth control, ethical family composition; ○ The role of religion, power, sects, people's religious provisions; ○ Public opinion on integration into the European Union; ○ The Sociology of culture: cultural identity, the assessment and need of cultural values; ○ Social structures, the formation of the middle-class, the expression of interest, social mobility; ○ The researches of unemployment; ○ The sociological researches of cities.
<p>Since the 1970s</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Public, cultural, domestic activity; ○ Social structures (classes, social groups, institutions); ○ The professional orientations of youth, the prestige of profession; ○ Sociological family researches; ○ The issues of production and labour sociology (job satisfaction, the microclimate of the team); ○ The investigations of students and lecturers' time budget; ○ Workers' leisure. 	

Sociology after the Regain of Independence

Twenty years of sociology in Lithuania after the restoration of independence was intense. Since 1990 in Lithuania, the disciplines of law, economics, and sociology have been restored or formed newly considering that they had been previously distorted in the period of the Soviet occupation. Sociology in Lithuania is only recently developed, and has not yet gained a sufficient level of activity (Viliūnas, 2004).

In independent Lithuania the structures and functions of a newly formed society have stimulated methodological changes; sociologists had to rethink the subjects of sociological researches. Research areas and topics of sociologists' examinations were extended, the processes and phenomena which were banned in the Soviet period were started to be analysed. The research field of sociologists was broadened by the topics of civic activity, religion; the content of family research was changed (see Table 1).

¹ Compiled by the author, according to Grigas (1995), Gaidys and Vosyliūtė (1994), Vosyliūtė (2001; 2002)

The works of the sociologists of the post-socialist period reflect such theories as post-communist revolutions, social mobility, feminist approach, Z. Bauman’s postmodern theory, P. Bourdieu’s field of power, A. Giddens’ theory of structuration and etc. (Vosyliūtė, 2002). Sociologists have again reflected on the issues of state, citizen participation and national mobilisation. After the restoration of independence, the researchers focused on people’s values, L. Masiulis, I. Matonytė have analysed the characteristic of elite groups (Vosyliūtė, 2001).

During the Soviet period, sociological research has been mostly based on the method of respondents’ survey. Today, trust in the qualitative research methods is increasing among researchers, who aim at performing deeper studies (for example, in existential sociology). Qualitative methods are also popular in sociological studies of culture, women, rural communities, identity, etc. (Vosyliūtė, 2002). Sociologists have explored public opinion on the integration into the European Union, public opinion on this issue was also periodically analysed by the public opinion centres ‘Vilmorus’ and ‘Baltic Research’ (Vosyliūtė, 2001, 2002). Sociological studies have been carried out at the Institute of Culture and Arts (CAI) and Klaipėda (KU), Šiauliai (ŠU) universities. Former students have established new public opinion research centres (Sprint, Rait, European Research). CAI sociologists conducted the research of European values in Lithuania (Matulionis, 2011).

The new legitimacy of Lithuanian sociology, according to Kraniauskas (2001c), is found in 1989, when the Department of Sociology was established in Vilnius University and the studies of sociology were launched. Since 1990, a new journal 'Filosofija. Sociologija' (Philosophy. Sociology) has been published. These events symbolise the autonomy of sociological discourse (Kraniauskas, 2001a; 2001c). Sociology, which was considered as a part of philosophy science in the Soviet times, has formally separated from philosophy and is approaching economic sciences (Vosyliūtė, 2001).

Since 1990, Lithuanian sociologists have gradually taken over the universal experience of world sociology, they have started to feel stability and identify themselves as a community of world sociology (Vosyliūtė, 2002). Lithuanian sociologists are unified by the Society of Sociologists, which originated in the 8th decade of the 20th century. Since 1990, the Lithuanian Sociological Association is a member of the International Sociological Association (ISA) and since 2009 - a member of the European Sociological Association (ESA) (<http://sociology.lt/LT/48/Apie-mus.htm>).

Today sociologists are actively involved in the public sphere and the media; they conduct the surveys of public opinion and openly discuss the results.

Conclusions

After reviewing the sources that are dealing with the history of Lithuanian sociology, it must be admitted that the development of the history of Lithuanian sociology was not consistent. Analysing the questions of sociological status, the image or needs in Lithuania, a series of socio-political events that have hindered the continuous

development of sociology should not be forgotten. For a long time there were favourable conditions for the professional development of sociologists and the identity formation in Lithuania.

The period of the Soviet occupation and the Second World War led to the breakthroughs in Lithuanian social sciences. During the interwar period, there were no systematic studies of the development of Lithuanian sociology, the public was isolated from the sociological ideas that prevailed in the West. At the end of the Second World War, the earlier works of sociologists were rejected and only the heritage of Marxist-Leninist aspects were accepted.

Although during the Soviet period, it was observed that sociological theories can be used in understanding separate spheres of society, only the results of specific sociological studies that have been carried out in the West were invoked, but sociologists were influenced and controlled by the ideology prevailing in the Soviet Union at that time. The need of researches was relevant to the Soviet authorities, which aimed to control the entire human life.

Despite the heritage of post-war sociologists, on the academic level of sociology entrenchment, the domination of Soviet ideology restricted its development and narrowed the object. The works of that time had to stress collectivism, a socialist type of personality, the cult of work, and to reject such themes as religion, politics and national memory. The revival of sociology started approximately in 1960. The 'true' sociology in Lithuania emerged only in 1970, when the scope of sociologists' study expanded and not only working, but also social, cultural, domestic life and activity were described and analysed. Since the 1990s, the areas of sociologists' researches have been broadened; the new structures of society have been described.

The review of the history of sociology allows evaluating the progress and change of sociology as a scientific discipline and profession, revealing what was actual during particular period in our country, what was the influence of works by foreign authors, what areas of research and methods were at the centre of interest by social scientists.

Sociology in Lithuania even today is still relatively young and yet emerging science. Today, the developed countries recognise the importance of responding to global changes in the labour market and knowledge market with the use of social science experts, including sociologists. The author of this article expresses the opinion that in such pluralistic times and constantly increasing globalisation, the role and need of social scientists in society should increase. Sociologists are and will be useful as theorists, social process analysts, who should help people to respond and to understand changes that are ongoing in the country and the whole world. The future of sociology will depend on the quality of higher education and young scientists. Teaching sociology in secondary schools would also be a great opportunity to share the sociological perspective. Sociologists should communicate more with the public and emphasize the significance of the discipline in analysing various problems, which would increase the visibility of sociology and public support.

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