

**SIXTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
PRIORITY 7**

Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society



Contract for:

SPECIFIC TARGETED RESEARCH OR INNOVATION PROJECT

PROJECT

**“POLICY RESPONSES OVERCOMING FACTORS IN THE INTERGENERATIONAL
TRANSMISSION OF INEQUALITIES”**

Report on Focus Group Interview Results

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RESEARCH DESCRIPTION

Semi-structured group interviews **aimed at** identifying distinct patterns of thinking about inheriting social inequalities, inequality dimensions, factors petrifying them, and the role of policies in overcoming Ilofl and poverty on the local level.

Field work time and location: Focus group interviews (FGI) were conducted on October 12-13, 2005 and took place in Jonava district municipality which facilitated research activities by providing necessary information and facilities. Jonava district description can be found in the Town Description Form (Annex A). Data provided by the Lithuanian Statistical Department, as well as Jonava district municipality were used to fill in the form. It is necessary to notice that some questions could not be answered because of the lack of data.

Sample. Focus group interviews were conducted with 4 focus groups of locally active persons divided into homogenous groups, representing different spheres of activities –local politicians, NGOs and local communities, respondents working directly with poor people, and headmasters of executive institutions.

First, project team made contacts with the mayor office of Jonava district, which mediated in organizing FGI research. All the respondents were contacted in advance by informing them on the project idea, objectives and the cast of executive consortium. Questionnaires were also enclosed, so that to respondents could find out about the interview content in advance. Later the date and time of the meeting was settled by phone or email.

The **questionnaire** was constructed considering the guidelines sent by the coordinators, i.e. open-ended questions were formulated in such a way that respondents were free to express their opinion. Each discussion lasted for about 2 hours.

Besides unified FGI questionnaires for all partner countries, every research team had a task to prepare a vignette based on very specific national social issues concerning intergenerational social status inheritance. Lithuanian research team prepared the vignette, which illustrates state-of-the-art social issue in Lithuania in general (Appendix B).

Short description of focus groups

1st focus group was formed of respondents working directly with poor people, and the inheritance of poverty and low status is very topical issue in this group (9 participants):

- compulsory school and gymnasium teachers;
- senior profession teacher in vocational school;
- foster home educator;
- social pedagogues;
- headmaster of the charity organization “Caritas”;
- Jonava labour exchange advisers.

2nd focus group was formed of executive branch representatives (4 participants):

- compulsory school top manager;
- headmaster of the foster home;
- headmaster of the Social service department of Jonava municipality;
- vice director of the local gymnasium.

3rd focus group was formed of local politicians (4 participants):

- representatives of the council of Jonava district municipality;
- representatives of different political parties.

4th focus group was formed of the representatives of local NGOs¹ (4 participants):

- NGO representatives;
- representatives of trade unions;
- local communities' representatives;
- Catholic priest.

To ensure respondents' confidentiality, each quotation presented in the report is identified only with the focus group number.

Data collection methods used during the interviews: two digital dictaphones, interviewer assistant notes.

¹ NGO sector is very weak in Jonava district. Therefore, it was really difficult to find respondents following the recommendations on sample formation. Social life in Lithuanian smaller towns and rural territories is quite passive in general.

I. Perception of the transmission of low social status and poverty from one generation to another in Jonava

At the beginning of the interview respondents were asked to evaluate the presence of the phenomenon of the transmission of low social status and poverty from generation to generation in Jonava town and its district. All focus groups representatives/respondents acknowledged that the phenomenon of poverty is common in Jonava, however they thought that Jonava town wouldn't differ from general poverty situation in Lithuania. One of the respondents, who has been living in Jonava for all her life, noticed that low status and poverty had not been a new social problem in the region: the phenomenon had also existed in the Soviet times:

“I live in Jonava all my life and can ensure that poverty and intergenerational transmission of low status exist here more than ten or twenty years. That's why it is not expressed so obviously because it has been existed here in the Soviet times also. Some of presently poor people inherited their low social status even from their grandparents.” (*Focus group 3*)

Talking about poverty manifestation in every day life representatives of vocational school, comprehensive school and charity organization “Caritas” were mostly aware of the issue and precise providing concrete cases. For instance, majority of vocational school pupils comes from families with socio-economic problems. The most common profile of a vocational school attendee is a 20-year-old young person with completed 4-5 years of education at a comprehensive school, coming from a very poor family, having no motivation to study, requesting social care agency, local office of SoDra (State social insurance agency) or other local social institutions for a confirmation of eligibility to get free of charge meal.

“We have a lot of pupils who, being at their 20s, have 4-5 year secondary education. Approximately 480 pupils of 506 apply to social care agency, local agency of SoDra, parents' workplaces and so on for a letter confirming their eligibility to get free of charge meal. Most of them come from very poor families, and it is a common practice that the student grant they get is the only source of revenue for their families. It is necessary to acknowledge that some of them work hard to learn something and to gain some professional skills and to break this intergenerational inheritance of poverty, but the study problem still is very sore point at our school.” (*Focus group 1*)

“The problem of low status transmission is evident in our pupils' families. It is common that one or even both of parents are unemployed. The lack of regular and normal income reflects on the children. They lack of motivation to reach for something to have dreams, to fancy. It is really hard to motivate this child, to change his/her thinking. It is necessary to work individually with every child in order to make a step forward in their motivation.” (*Focus group 1, Jonava vocational training school*)

The representative of charity organization “Caritas” acknowledged that poverty inheritance issue could be both an objective and subjective individual problem. Poverty and low status could also have psychological background:

“Sometimes poor people create that kind of life themselves. After being unemployed and receiving unemployment benefits they do not want to work any more. They only claim and claim to give them; they get some clothes and free of charge meal from “Caritas” and “Red Cross”, some benefits from municipality Social care agency and manage with it somehow. I think that they get used to this situation and don't want to work any more. They choose an easier way of life.” (*Focus group 1*)

Talking about the extent of poverty and low social status inheritance phenomenon in Jonava, a lot of respondents noticed that the evidence of the phenomenon was not so obvious comparing present situation and the time 3-4 years ago. The respondents shared some examples, cases from “Caritas”, comprehensive school, and municipality Social care agency experience.

“Some 3 years ago begging children were very sore problem in Jonava. The inhabitants informed Social care agency and municipality administration about begging children almost several times a week. As far as I remember, since free of charge meal service was implemented in schools the level of children begging cases decreased and became quite rare phenomenon.” (*Focus group 2*)

The “Caritas” representative also noticed that the number of “clients” decreased during the last four years.

“We used to have 30 children coming for free of charge lunch every day some 4 years ago. And we had no child in the beginning of the last year. We applied to schools in order to find children in that kind of need. Teachers set lists of poor families. We visited children in these families, and they didn’t want to come for a meal. We had 6 children coming for a meal after our visits to families, and no one this year. The same situation is with second-hand clothes: 35-36 persons used to come for clothes some years ago, and now we have 6-8 “clients”. (*Focus group 1*)

II. Most vulnerable groups of people in Jonava district

Significant part of the respondents agreed that **unemployed, women, children, youth, disabled, old people** are social groups most vulnerable to fall in poverty and participate in low status regeneration circle. Children inherit their parents’ way of life. “*Parents life always makes influence on the children’s life. If father drinks, what should a child do? Children come to “Caritas” to get free meal, but they find no values there*” (*Focus group 4, V1*). The respondents working in foster home stated that **foster home children** also belong to a risk group to continue their biological parents’ experience: second or third generation have been growing in the foster home. These children are lacking social skills which are necessary to integrate into society when they leave the foster home. Unfortunately, the legal base of social integration programme for foster children is unsuccessful and does not create opportunities and favourable conditions for these children to find their place in social life.

Some respondents stated that people with **low qualification** also have many chances to transmit their low status to their children. These people have few chances to successfully compete in the labour market. Even more, low qualified or unqualified people are usually equated to poor beggars.

Also **former prisoners** after served sentence were identified as a risk group. This group of people has very few chances to get out of poverty, low status and faulty way of life circle, because “*they have nothing when they leave prison: nowhere to live, no human help etc. and society alienates this category of people and then expresses disgust concerning their wish to make any kind of crime to return back to prison*” (*Focus group 2*).

III. Reasons for the reproduction of low social status

The respondents were asked to specify the reasons for the reproduction of low status. **Low qualification, unemployment** and **poverty** were mentioned as first ones. It would be too artificial to characterize these reasons as separate ones, because they are interrelated. Low qualification determines long-term unemployment and finally falls into complex poverty: economic, social, value, psychological etc. All these conditions mentioned above make influence on twisted values application in family life and education of their children.

Faulty personal and family life practice of parents develop adequate *personal characteristics* of their children. According to the respondents, these are very general reasons concerning either higher school graduates having no “rich and active uncle” or foster home children who have no social skills to integrate into social life after they leave foster home. The respondents working at different schools and facing poverty reproduction on a daily basis presented many examples to illustrate their statements.

“Parents, when they come to us, tell our pupils *“why do you study? I haven’t studied but my life is not much worse than your teacher’s or headmaster’s one. So what? They have to go to work every day, have to get up early, have to be concerned of this and that. I blag something, and I’m a prince of a day. You can follow me too”*.<...> And a child likes to tell after a while *“I’ll go to rubbish heap and be a unshod headmaster, and it will not be so bad!”* (Focus group 2)

One more reason for the reproduction of low social status mentioned by the respondents is a specific geographic location. Respondents noticed that Jonava and its district, being close to a big and relatively expensive city Kaunas, are attractive to people in risk groups, i.e. those with lower qualification, long-term unemployed etc. The respondents identified the formation of the phenomenon so called *poverty concentration* in literature sources. There is a settlement close to Jonava called Rukla² where the poverty concentration has been particularly marked. Favourable conditions to transmit poverty, faulty social practice and low status have been dominating in for quite some time.

“Big cities deplete from all kind of delinquent people. Jonava is not an exception. Social risk families from Kaunas move to Jonava at first and to Rukla later on, because they are closest to Kaunas. These families usually are single parent families, unemployed, social risk families. They feel constraint to sell their apartments in Kaunas for many reasons, and move to Jonava, because realty is relatively cheap here comparing to Kaunas and other big cities. They sell their apartments in Kaunas and buy in Rukla. They save some extra-money for further development of alcohol and drug abuse. Alcohol and drugs condition appearance of such social phenomena as violence in a family, children rights violation, and children don’t feel safe in a family. They usually are not motivated to study, to be graduated from school, to gain better education; finally they are not motivated to work.” (Focus group 2)

IV. Vignette analysis and comments

After vignette presentation respondents were asked to make comments on the discussed topic and tell their opinion about the presented situation. Some respondents stated that leaving children became a mass phenomenon in Lithuania. It becomes a state-of-the-art in the context of social problems. More and more children are left in foster homes or to relatives because of economic migration of their parents. Even more children leave school because of the same reason and go with their parents to look for a better life.

In general, the respondents were not very active analyzing vignette in itself, but came back to the issue during further discussion and developed it in the following questions.

² Rukla was a military campus of the Soviet army where were located about 15.000 Soviet soldiers. After the Soviet army left Lithuania a lot of empty houses were left by the officers. Rukla is still used as a military campus where Lithuanian military corps are located. However, most army personnel comes to Rukla because of work. They usually live in Jonava with better developed social, cultural, economic infrastructure or other big cities. Rukla is mostly inhabited by social benefit receivers.

V. Policy measures applied to prevent the transmission of inequalities in Jonava

Asked to single out what, if any, policy measures (ongoing programme or individual projects) exist in their town that are aimed at preventing the transmission of inequalities or improving the opportunities of children and teenagers from disadvantaged families, the focus groups focussed on the measures best known and usually met in the respondents everyday work activities. Local politicians stressed on the possibilities created by the state social programmes to employ young, disabled people. Some of them shared their experience in personal initiatives; for example, *“to set up roller-skates square in the town in order to organize active leisure for youngsters”*. One of the respondents – local businessman and a member of the municipality council – stated that he made use of the national labour market policy measures employing young and disabled people in his enterprise. *“Why shouldn’t they use? Businessmen can get tax concession for several months if he/she employs a young person just entering labour market.”* According to the respondent, other entrepreneurs also have applied such labour market measures in their firms. The *“only drawback is that the fixed employment quota per year for young and disabled is too low”* (Focus group 3).

Respondents representing educational institutions enumerated such social measures as free of charge meal, juvenile delinquency prevention programmes, summer camps and other. Foster home representatives told about *“inner-institutional activities to develop self-sustaining life skills, motherhood/fatherhood skills, sexual and family life education programme”* etc.

Some of the respondents mentioned the European Union Structural Funds to be used to prevent the transmission of inequalities or improving the opportunities of children and teenagers from disadvantaged families. *“We have to teach young people to fish, not to give a fish”*, used to say many of the respondents; i.e. it is necessary that young people acquire social and vocational skills and develop their willingness to work and earn for living in a honourable way.

VI. Local resources to prevent children from being poor

Trying to find out local resources to overcome intergenerational inheritance of poverty and inequality three absolutely contradictory positions have been distinguished during the interviews.

First of all, though local politicians used to demonstrate their good will and power to do something good for this or that person in Jonava in discussion above, they were willing to attribute no duties and responsibilities to local government to change situation essentially. The Government in behalf of the State was stated as a responsible to *“create and pass correct laws in the spheres of education and social issues”*. It seems that nobody is directly responsible to take care of the situation in the local and national level.

NGO representatives criticized national government, as well as local authorities as being incapable to effectively deal with the issue of intergenerational inheritance of inequality. *Poverty reduction strategy in Lithuania* was also called ineffective, and local initiatives – those by NGOs and local social programmes – identified as the only ones capable to decrease low status inheritance scale in Jonava, *“because they know local problems best”*. Though NGOs did a lot in order to prevent further development of inequalities their activities and solitary initiatives were *“not coordinated and there were not very effective because of lack of harmonization of their tasks and measures”*.

The third position expressed during the discussions was that a person is responsible for his/her life and the decisions he/she makes. *“Nobody is capable to help a person if he/she doesn’t demonstrate initiative.”* It seems the local community is very passive: people are still willing to wait for somebody or something what will solve all their problems. Local politicians themselves criticised municipality and its council for their ineffective activities.

VII. Use of local resources to counteract the risk of inheritance of low social status

The respondents were asked to contemplate about possibilities to use local resources to counteract the risk of inheritance of low social status. They were not very active answering this question and marked only some points concerning the issue. First of all respondents mentioned the importance of *“direct social work with risk families”*. Saying risk families they had in mind not only poor families (*“because there are families among them which try to create better life for young generations”*), also families with long term unemployment, low qualification or non-qualified, alcohol/drug abuse family members. Being the social actors, which playing the determinative role in personality formation in every human being life, risk families are most vulnerable to create favourable conditions to transmit the values and habits causing the inequalities. It means there should be created *a complex social support system for a family as a whole*, not only its separate members.

The second point marked by the respondents is special attention to *the complex education* of children and young people. It is necessary to develop not only general skills which children usually acquire during class activities, but also to empower young person to become a responsible society member. That means, according to some respondents, *“the state should take care to teach children to work for living, especially if children grow in risk families. Also families should be taught to work for living”*. Asked to single out particular measures to implement this complex education they were willing to shift this issue to state institutions competence.

VIII. Cooperation between central government and local authorities

Respondents in three focus groups (out of four) did not feel comfortable and competent to answer the question concerning power distribution between local and national authorities. Most of the respondents, representing ordinary Jonava district inhabitants, stated the discretion of the municipality activity. They felt lack of open discussions with local communities, open door action in municipality and other similar activities.

Local politicians stated the restricted powers of local authorities to make decisions: *“municipality will do what the national government will tell to do”*. Representatives of local community and NGOs criticized the mayor of Jonava district for being more as a marionette of the national and local powers. The respondents declared that *there is no equal dialogue* between national government and local authorities. Further more, some respondents in different focus groups stated that municipality and its top managers serve very specific needs of particular interest groups in the district.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Town Description Form³

1. Town Office data

Full name of the Town Office (Council/Hall) – Jonava District Municipality

Address – Žeimių st. 13 LT-55158

Administrative type of town (e.g. district, parish, community, etc.) District

Region/Voivodeship tel.+370 349 961394 fax. +370 349 50012

Internet address – www.jonava.lt

Town Mayor - Bronislavas Liutkus

Town Secretary – Edita Jakutiene

II. Town population

Town population

Total – 52388

Males – 24657

Females – 27731

Town population by age structure:

0-17 – 2461

18-24 – 5528

25-29 – 3615

30-44 – 11925

45-64 – 12424

65 years and more – 6435

Town population aged 15 and over by education level:

Tertiary – 5025

Secondary – 12 538

Basic vocational – 7513 (basic)

Primary and incomplete primary – 2539

III. Economic (Occupational) Activity

Economic (occupational) activity rates in town [in %]:

Total – 21400

Males – 65,5

Females – 34,9

Economic activity rate by age [in %]:

³ Current statistics from the town. For the items marked /* please indicate characteristics over time (please include period: 2000 – 2005)

15 – 24 – 91,2
25 – 29 – 92,4
30 – 34 – 91,3
35 – 44 – 76,5
45 – 59/64 – 51,4
60/65 and more – 97,2

Economic activity rate by education level [in %]:

Tertiary – 96,2
Secondary – 76,7
Basic vocational – 59,6
Primary and incomplete primary – 82

Employed persons by section of national economy :

Total number of persons – 11777

Of which: enterprise sector :

Agriculture, hunting and forestry – 693
Industry, manufacturing, mining, electricity, gas and water supply – 3920
Construction – 963
Trade and repair – 1.057
Hotels and restaurants – 181
Transport, storage, communications – 617
Financial intermediation – 9
Real estate, renting and business activities – 687
Public administration and defence – 1.010
Education – 1.478
Health and social work – 945

Employed persons by sector of national economy [in %]:

Public sector – data unavailable
Private sector – data unavailable

IV. Unemployment

Registered unemployment rate [in %]:

Total – 2237
Males – 34, 9
Females – 65, 1

Unemployment rate by age [in %]:

15 - 24 – 8,8
25 - 29 – 7,6
30 - 34 – 8,7
35 - 44 – 23,5
45- 59/64 – 48,6
60/65 and more – 2,8

Unemployment rate by education level [in %]:

Tertiary – 3,8
Secondary – 23,3
Basic vocational – 40, 4
Primary and incomplete primary – 18

Unemployed by period of job seeking [in %]:

6 months and less – 40,6
 7 – 12 months – 19,5
 More than 12 months – 39,9

Average period of job seeking in months

Total – 279
 Males – 118
 Females – 161

/ Unemployment rate in town [in %]*

Total
 Males
 Females

Unemployment rate in town (2000 - 2005)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005 (9 month)
Total	18,9	21,6	19,7	11,6	9,6	6,8
Males	9,5	10,6	9,0	9,6	7,3	4,7
Females	9,4	11,0	10,8	13,7	12,0	8,9

V. Town economy

Enumeration of 10 the biggest employers in town, including the following information:

	<i>Name of Enterprise</i>	<i>Date of foundation</i>	<i>Nr of employees</i>	<i>Private / public</i>
1.	Achema	1965	1287	private
2.	Baldai Jums	Data unavailable	Data unavailable	private
3.	Leonas ir partneriai	Data unavailable	Data unavailable	private
4.	Topo centras	Data unavailable	Data unavailable	private
5.	Jonavos vandenys	Data unavailable	Data unavailable	public
6.	Hidrotechnika	Data unavailable	Data unavailable	private
7.	Jonavos grūdai	1974	Data unavailable	private
8.	Prekybos tinklas "IKI"	Data unavailable	Data unavailable	private
9.	Prekybos tinklas "Norfa"	Data unavailable	Data unavailable	private
10.	Jonavos duona	1951	Data unavailable	private

Number of enterprises in town – data unavailable

Number of vacancy announcements in region – 39

VI. Budget

Town per capita income – 1249 Lt.

Share of state subsidies in town's total income –36.227.000 Lt.

Own income sources in town's total income – 44, 6 %.

/ The size of town's budget deficit in % of total budget – data unavailable*

*Gross Domestic Product per capita in region – data unavailable
and subregion – data unavailable*

*Expenditures from municipal budget on (for) education (including educational subvention)-
34.268.400 Lt.*

Public expenditure on labour market policies - 433.000 Lt.

VII. Housing and accommodation

Total number of dwellings (housing units) in town – 20.339

Dwellings by type of ownership (% of total number of dwellings):

Private – 5782

Communal – 14.555

Other – 2

Number of persons per room – data unavailable

VIII. Education and culture

Types and number of schools in town

Pre-schools (in total) – 14

Number of children covered by pre-school (nursery) education -1.755

Primary schools (in total) -3

Number of pupils - 960

Secondary schools (in total) – 19

Number of students – 7.636

*Tertiary (higher education) schools (in total) – There are no tertiary schools in
Jonava.*

Number of students

2. Percentage of early school leavers – 973

Number of students per one teacher

In primary schools – 12

In secondary schools – 15

Number of funds for pupils and students financed by the municipal budget – 2.175.090 Lt.

Number of public libraries in the town – 17

Number of registered library users in town - 10.080

Number of book loans from public libraries in town – 322.256

IX. Social welfare

Social assistance benefits – material assistance

Total number of beneficiaries – 3.518

Benefits granted [in EUR] – 22, 17 (76,33 Lt).

Number of social workers in town - 60

Number of allday care centres for children - 4

X. Civil society and local authorities

Number and names of local organizations operating in town

There are over fifty local organizations: sports, wellness, beer lovers, travellers, women clubs, ethnic groups, ballroom dancing, automobiles, beekeepers, poetries, diseases, politics, community organizations.

Number and names of non-local organizations, unions and other associations from outside town having their agencies in town

There are over ten non-local organizations: politic deportees, diseases, hunters and fishermen, benefit organizations.

Number and types and of church parishes, religious congregations, etc.

Eight Catholic Churches and two Orthodox Churches.

Percentage of citizens participating in the last local elections and the local elections preceding the last – 38545 (October 10 2004)

The most important elements of the town's development strategy for the years 2006 – 2007

Attractive municipality

- To improve municipality image
- To develop municipality relations
- To develop integration with Kaunas city

Modern economy

- To promote business development
- To develop Jonava district municipality as modern and competitive industry regional center
- To increase citizenry employment and competitive ability in labour market
- To improve and develop ways and streets net facility infrastructure in region, district and local importance

Innovative community

- To capacitate citizenry for life long learning and creative self-expression
- To assurance social safety for all members of community
- To develop healthy community

Sociable environment for human

- To inculcate modern treatment for slow down up plumbing, air pollution and landscape systems in Jonava municipality
- To seek the high quality of populated locality
- To develop infrastructure of tourism and re-creation

Contemporary countryside

- To promote communities development
- To increase agricultural competitive ability

- To modernize and develop infrastructure agricultural and country

Is the town's development strategy for the years 2007 – 2013 accessible on town website?

YES

no

How many programmes financed by the EU (partly or entirely) do town institutions participate in?

XI. Communication and new technologies

Number of cars per 100 citizens – data unavailable

Is there an e-Office in the Town Office? - Four

Are there free Public Internet Access Points in town? - Yes

How many free Public Internet Access Points are there in town? - Four

Percentage of individuals using the Internet for interacting with public/municipal authorities

Total – 2200 per month

Broken down by purpose

Obtaining information – data unavailable

Obtaining forms – data unavailable

Returning filled in forms – data unavailable

Percentage of enterprises using the Internet for interacting with public/municipal authorities

Total – data unavailable

Broken down by purpose

Obtaining information – data unavailable

Obtaining forms – data unavailable

Returning filled in forms – data unavailable

Full electronic case handling – data unavailable

XII. Other remarks

1. The data provided above covers not only Jonava town, but also its district.
2. It was very difficult to find information required by the form because of different classification standards used in Lithuania.

APPENDIX B

VIGNETTE

Mrs Wanda, an active office clerk, takes care of her 8-year-old grand-daughter Neringa, and two elder grandsons visit her and her pensioner husband every weekend. They live in children foster home. Her son who was a certified professional and lost his job after Jonava “Achema” was reorganized. He used to earn for living by working for several years, and finally migrated to Ireland for better life. The daughter in law left for Ireland in a year leaving three children in children foster home. Though both of parents have promised children to take them to Ireland in few years, they have lived there for 5 years already, and delay to take children to Ireland every time they visit Lithuania.

Mrs Wanda pities her grand-children. She cooks for them every weekend, prepares purveyance for winter, buys second-hand clothes, shoes for them, but she is not able to take care of all of them. She earns 500 Lt. per month, and her husband’s only income is a social benefit of 250 Lt. He can’t work for extra money because of health problems. Neringa attends third grade in a primary school, and she is a very artistic girl. Her teachers recommend enrolling her to an art school. However artistic training is provided for money, as most of other extra-curricular activities. Mrs Wanda isn’t able to save some extra money after she pays all taxes and buys medicine for her husband. Two elder boys always live for promises; they feel permanent tension because of that. They became angry, incommunicative; they don’t want to interact with their contemporaries. Recently both boys have had problems at school: the elder one states that there is no reason for them to study here because their parents will take them to Ireland soon, and they will have to attend local school there and to study everything in English. The younger boy agrees with his brother enthusiastically.

Mrs Wanda has no right to claim even for a sick-leave when her grand-daughter gets ill. Also she has a lot of claims to Children Rights Protection Agency. As it happens, she was repairing her apartment when social workers from the agency came to find out the living conditions of little Neringa. According to Mrs Wanda, the clerks decided that if she had money for repairs, she should have enough money to take care of her grand-children. She thinks that has been the reason she was not awarded a legal status of temporary foster-mother of her grand-children.