

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH YOUNG ADULTS IN JONAVA CITY

RESEARCH REPORT

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INTRODUCTION

20 informants (12 women and 8 men) have been interviewed during the field work to find out their experience of social mobility and their perception of the influence of different actors in their transitional period, from school to higher education, labour market and their own family. Half of the research participants have basic, i.e. lower secondary education, while the second half of young people have either secondary, upper secondary or higher education (see Table 1).

Table 1. Informants' distribution by education

	Upward mobility	No upward/ downward mobility	Total
Basic	6	4	10
Secondary	5	2	7
Upper secondary, college education	1	-	1
University	1	1	2
Total	13	7	20

13 informants appear in the first group, i.e. *upward mobility group*, as they indicated that their current living conditions are better or much better than those of their parental family. 8 women and 5 men recognized that they achieved more than their parents could when they were teenagers. Distribution of these informants by education is provided in the Table 1. Four respondents from the group are currently studying. Ten out of 13 informants are currently working, 2 women are on maternity leave and 1 woman is unemployed. 11 respondents are married, 1 divorced and 1 single parent raising children alone.

Respondents who originated in low status family and experienced difficulties in their childhood often mentioned such problems in their parental family as: alcoholism, divorce, unemployment, housing and food problems, poor relationships among family members also. Difficult intercourses with the parents in some cases remain, especially if parents continue the same life style (eg. drinking parents). It appears those respondents who experienced particularly difficult childhood, when living with drinking parents, taking care of their siblings, hiding the situation from the others. They are not keen to openly talk about the past, which is often painful to remember:

“I was ashamed, because classmates were from normal families, not drinking ones. That time I was ashamed and did not want to tell that to anybody. And now at work nobody knows anything, since I am not inclined to talk about it.” (Interview No.13, woman, upward mobility)

The main arguments why their life has improved in comparison with the parents' situation include better education, employment, better financial situation, full family, good family intercourses, no alcoholism problems and commitment to improve one's life:

"I live better now, because parents provided the opportunity to gain university education, which helped me to create better life conditions. My salary is almost like both salaries of my parents together. Parents' encouragement to study, education, and finding of a good job determined that I live better now." (Interview No.12, man, upward mobility)

When talking about the main factors of poverty among other people, this group of people tended to emphasize lack of individual aspirations, low education, insufficient income, ineffective state support and general economic situation in the country. However, the role of family seems to be one of the most important factors:

"I think, people are guilty themselves, if they roll down. Children see poverty, drinking and when being grown up do not even think that it could be otherwise. And first of all those people's attitude must change to seek something rather than live on benefits(welfares). Simply desire is necessary." (Interview No.11, woman, upward mobility)

7 young adults of the sample can be characterized as those who have not experienced any mobility or their mobility was downward. When asked to assess their current life conditions with those of their parents, this group of people expressed the feeling that their life hasn't significantly improved, but sometimes worsened. 3 men and 4 women regarded their current life conditions and opportunities as more or less the same or even worse: *"What to compare, the same unskilled workers and that's it. If my wife is a baker, mother also works in a bakery, father is a construction worker, I am a turner..."* (Interview No.15, man, no upward mobility)

Most informants from this group have basic education, the rest have secondary and higher education. Only one informant is currently studying to achieve better education. 5 of the informants are employed, while 2 women are currently on maternal leave. 4 people are married and 3 have been divorced. The main problems being faced by these young adults are housing issue, rent, and too low income to secure a decent life, poor health and social security, also personal problems (eg. divorce). They often blame general political, economic and social situation in the country, lack of state support. Some of them remember the Soviet system which provided their parents with the housing for free, employment was secured and everybody could have a decent life. This group of people could be called pessimists who do not think they have any opportunities to improve their life in the near future.

MAIN PART

I. Transition from compulsory (primary) school to school of higher level

Miscellaneous family role in school/term-time of respondents unfolded during the interview. In most cases, if the family isn't asocial, the parents having no higher education supported and motivated their children to learn. They implanted their children worth of education as way to better life. „*Parents motivated to learn well, told not to be as they are. Is it your dream to work as watcher? They thought, education will secure a better future*” (Interview No.11, woman, secondary education, upward mobility)

The significant influence of parents to respondents in the face of choice to continue studies in secondary or professional school showed up. In most cases, parents opposed the children's wish to choose professional school, which was based on desire, “*quicker to finish from professional school and go to work*” and on influence of friends. Respondents underlined, if parents had allowed – they would have quit secondary school.

„My parents haven't got high education, so I think, they motivated me to acquire it. I didn't perceive yet what the university means. I played with the idea of different alternatives that the sooner I'll graduate, the sooner I'll get the job, the sooner become independent. <...> Lots of friends moved to professional school, I was also thinking about that <...> But when I told parents about professional school, they said not to play the fool and continue studies in the secondary school“ (Interview No.12, man, higher education, upward mobility)

But not always this motivation of parents reached the desired result. In such case the significant role played friends and demand to have own material resources.

The analyzed period of respondents living in parental family clashed with recovery of Lithuanian independence and major political, economical and social changes, thus in most cases influenced, that the parents lost the job or needed to change it. Lots of families faced with financial embarrassment, but anyway tried to create opening for learning.

„What concerns studies – mother did a lot, we had everything. We were provided with everything for the school.“ (Interview No.8, man, basic education, upward mobility)
„Later father worked on weekends, and we did all mother said to finish the school. <...> I and my sister were always well-dressed. <...> Nobody noted we miss something. <...> I took extra lessons, and mother paid for them.“ (Interview No.9, woman, college education, now studying, upward mobility)

Parents helped not only during school-time, but also during studentship. Lots of respondents have to move to other city for studies. In such time material support from parents was very important, however, not always sufficient. Then, in some cases, respondents' attained support from relatives or friends and, in solitary instances, the studentship was the only means of subsistence.

Respondents, who grew in asocial (alcoholics) family or boarding-school don't felt family support, “*parents were not interested how I do, how my studies are*”. Though at the beginning they learned good or so-so, later lost their motivation, played truant or left the school.

Problem in the family directed them towards the “trial”, not towards the learning, self-expressing and seeking for better results.

„A lot has happened. I wanted to spit to everything, escaped, even tried to lay my hand on me, but then stopped. <...> I borrowed potatoes from my classmate. There was a time I watched my brother eating. He said: „take and eat”, and I answered, that I don't want. But when he left I ate all crumbs – a lot has happened. <...> there was a moment I didn't want to go to school. There were older friends, walks, later smoking, drinking. The same now you can see lots of children standing near the corners as well as I did.“ (Interview No.13, woman, basic education, upward mobility)

In such cases, studentship in professional school was the only means of subsistence. *„I passed an exam in the 9th class, began to go to the 10th, but soon noticed, that I can't any more – I was overtired, I needed money so I left to professional school. At that time the scholarship there was 90 Litas, that was enough for minimum nourishment, to buy grits, and living.”* (Interview No.13, woman, upward mobility). Sometimes such a situation of respondents was facilitated by relatives, mainly by aunt, grandmother or friends. However, their possibilities were also limited. Respondents, who grew in boarding-school underlined, that there was *„discrimination of children”*, besides *„even relatives discriminated us while we were small. Now, seeing us got to our own feet, they would like to socialize with us, but I don't want to. Earlier on they had no need to do so”*. One of the respondents experienced enforcement from the parental family to leave the school and move to vocational training school. *“Well, I started going (to the secondary school), graduated from 9th form, entered 10th, but then a pressure began in the family: go to the vocational (school), you would get a stipend, extra money brought home.”* (Interview No.5, woman, vocational education, currently studying, no upward mobility)

Analyzing the life pathway of respondents, who have family support and motivation to learn, showed up, that their life developed a little bit more successful if compare to respondents, who grew in asocial family or boarding-school. The education aspiration and life objectives of first group respondents are higher, relations with the people round about are more successful, and they looked to the future more optimistic.

Negative **influence of friends** mainly unfolded during school-time. That was related with declining of advancement, nonattendance of school, declining learning motivation. *„I was achiever in primary school, later studies got worse, I became lazy. There was also influence of friends, forecourt”* (Interview No.8, man, basic education, upward mobility). *„I was lazy. I don't know why, maybe because of friends. While I was in friendship with one girlfriend I learned well, we were the best schoolgirls in the class. Later the friends changed and I became lazy.”* (Interview No.11, woman, upward mobility)

In most cases, friends influenced intentions of respondents to leave the school and move to professional school. However, not always it became realistic choice. There an important role fell on family, nurturance of valuables in it and giving support to child.

„From the fifth class I was in friendship with one girlfriend. She was very weak in learning, and I was always good. So she decided to move to professional school and wanted me to go with her. But when I told my mother about this, she was against, and struggled, that we finished secondary school.” (Interview No.9, woman, college education, now studying, upward mobility)

Some of respondents noted the significant support of friends during rough crossing, inspite of any conditions: *"when there is no money... and in any situation they support me. When I told, that I would go to the 12th class, they strongly supported, said, when you finish, you would enter somewhere."* (Interview No.20, woman, basic vocational, now studying, upward mobility)

Some of respondents underlined their self-sufficiency of choices, where friends didn't play any important role.

Respondents' **experience at school** is closely linked with family situation. Some of them didn't feel discrimination neither from teachers, nor from schoolmates. Enough good clothes, all educational resources didn't show difficult circumstances of the family. Sometimes parents were able to send children on an excursion or enabled to attend various circles. Some of respondents themselves or encouraged by their family members never spoke with teachers and schoolmates about the real situation in the family trying to make an impression of average living family. This shows that respondents haven't trust in school and teachers. Even classes in some schools were formed regarding parental status. However respondents underlined, that even learning in class in which learned children whose parents got average or slender income, they didn't feel excluded because of scarcity in the family.

„Me and my sister were always well-dressed. I learned well. I always was second or third in the class. Nobody suspected we lack something. But I never spoke up about that with teachers. <...> Class was from average living children, there was nobody who lived very well. That helped too. Another class was formed of children whose parents were affluent. If I had learned in this class it would has been difficult.“ (Interview No.9, woman, college education, now studying, upward mobility)

Another segment of respondents, who lived in asocial family or boarding-school, faced with negative attitude from classmates and especially teachers towards them. It showed up, that children were ranked according their parents status. Respondents underlined, that teachers disliked children whose parents were alcoholics and never disguised that. Often such children felt unfair or too low graded if compared with classmates, as well as they have less possibilities experience success in the learning process.

„I just think, that they are used to behave like this. They pay respect not to individual, but to his parents. There were some in our class, who learned badly, but teachers tried to help such a learner just because his parents were affluent, have money, contacts and so on. But if you live poorly, the attitude differs. This is such attitude.“ (Interview No.20, woman, basic vocational education, upward mobility)

Children, trying to avoid discrimination in the school, hided their family problems from teachers and classmates. However, sometimes, even knowing hard situation of learner in the family, school never assumed measures to deal with such situation.

"I felt cheap, because classmates were from normal families, where parents don't drink. At that time I felt cheap and didn't want to tell about that anybody. Even now nobody knows anything in my workplace, because I'm not used to speak about that." (Interview No.13, woman, basic vocational education, upward mobility)

Trying as less as possible characterize themselves from the overall school context, respondents were prone not to use privileges or relief, free nurture, because those who got free nurture felt cheap and somehow excluded.

„We never asked. When the father treated himself it was possible to get free nurture. At one time mother didn't want that, later changed her mind, but then I and my sister didn't want. We didn't want anybody to know that. This could visibly exclude us from others.“ (Interview No.9, woman, college education, now studying, upward mobility)

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Educator was enough important person in school for respondents. She often fulfilled role of advisor, comforter, helped to improve learning or make a decision to continue learning in secondary school. Help of school administration representatives, although important for respondents from asocial families, was more formal than warm, and was oriented to help to solve problems related with school nonattendance or no advancement.

„In the higher classes, maybe in 7-8th, when I begin escape from school, assistant manager asked me to come and I told her everything, because there was decision to exclude me from school because of nonattendance. And that's it. We cleared everything and I stayed in school. I wasn't excluded. That's it.“ (Interview No.13, woman, basic vocational education, upward mobility)

Respondents, who grew in asocial family or family with cold intercourses with parents, extremely sensitively reacted to negative behavior of teachers and very receptively to humanity and warm of teachers. Negative behavior of teachers influenced demotivating, nonattendance increased. Strong personality, regularity, humanity of teacher has major educational influence, was resource of motivation for learner and stimulated major interest of respondents in subject. Regrettably, but only solitary teachers were mentioned and only in solitary instances.

<...> there is one teacher, who never look at learner as at asocial. I now she knew, that child was put-upon, so she went there and helped. And others – just sit and make manicure and don't care about such learner. Teacher is teacher, she should pay more attention. You spend half a day in this school, it's already one third of your life. Teachers could pay attention to this fact and start to work otherwise and not to range as it was earlier – you are such, you – different. <...> My teacher of Lithuanian language even didn't let me to attend 12th class, because my sister affronted to her. <....> she just was down on me. After that I was loathed to attend the school, because you know, the escaping starts and so on.“ (Interview No.20, woman, basic vocational education, now studying, upward mobility)

In school experience of some respondents very strong inequality showed up if compared to their feelings and success in secondary, professional or night-school. The atmosphere in professional school was more positive with regard to them than in secondary school. They felt to be not inferior because of social status of their family than other classmates. Closer relations with teenagers and teachers were set. More possibilities for self-expression appeared. Major support was the scholarship.

„But ...there is so in schools, maybe in professional school it's different. I attended night-school, there totally everything differ. Absolutely...I even was a vice-chairman of

scholar board. All treat you otherwise, other understanding.“ (Interview No.20, woman, basic vocational education, now studying, upward mobility)

The vast majority of respondents have no motivation to learn. They even couldn't name reasons of such situation, they stated, that they just were „lazy” to learn. Sometimes as reasons of such „laziness” were named uninteresting lessons, „incompetent teachers”, sometimes the influence of their friends. „I didn't like to learn <...> being in school I waited for time I graduate it, because it was sickened of it“. Also things showed up, that the more narrow circumstances were in which respondent grew, the less was his motivation to learn in the school. The main motive for moving from secondary to professional school was the desire to earn money.

Respondents consider significance of education in human life quite controversially. Three different positions showed during the interview.

Significant segment of respondents **link education with better perspectives and improved future**. For one of them, acquired higher education cleared the way for well paid job and „*creation of improved living conditions*”, necessitate environmental changes.

„Other people surrounding you, you are going to work well-dressed. I don't want to listen to woes of others, I want the „normal” people surround me. Also, I want to get higher position because of money. When you have money you are free to travel everywhere, to see more. The life became better.“ (Interview No.9, woman, college education, now studying, upward mobility)

Almost all respondents from this segment are continuing their studies. Some of them study in the university, other try to finish nigh-school and continue to study, to gain profession, third part actively think about potential studies. It is interesting to notice, that the motives choice of studies or specialty of vast majority who already have profession or still study, were determined by external reasons, such as friends or advices of family members, or they just entered there because it was easier to enter and no one linked that with their own interests. The basic objective for them was to gain any education and at any price to tear loose to better life.

Segment of respondents having no higher education also name education as the main factor, that constitute premises for getting higher status than their parents do. „*Certainly – the perspectives are major, when there is something graduated, and the job <...>*“ (Interview No.20, woman, basic vocational education, now studying, upward mobility)

Some of respondents **do not link education with better social status**. The main role in seeking for better life is assigned to human activity and intention to achieve something. „*There is no need for education nowadays. It's just you must be „neat-handed*”. Respondents also underlined marked changes in labour market, caused by growing emigration phenomenon. According their opinion, significance of education decreases, because of decreasing of labour force and increasing of labour supply.

„Earlier on it really has weight, but now you may go to any building company and they'll hire you. And it doesn't matter, that you don't know how to work, they will teach you” (Interview No.8, man, basic education, upward mobility)

„It's easier now to find a job, because lots of people moved abroad. Dabar lengviau gauti darbą, nes dauguma išvažiavo į užsienį. It's easier now to find a better paid job, even if you don't have high education diploma. It's important, that you want and are able to work“ (Interview No.13, woman, basic vocational education, upward mobility)

Respondents of this group more often sustained the negative experience at school in terms of lack teachers attention, discrimination and etc.

The third segment of respondents **give equal „fifty-fifty” weight to education as well as inner personal factors** on purpose to work and get better social status than their parents have. *„If the man graduate something, it doesn't mean he will be the best manager or jeweller when he starts to work. The man must have an intention to do this and education is like an impulse“ (Interview No.18, man, secondary education, now studying, upward mobility).*

II. Transition from school to work

Parental family influence

The topic discussed in this chapter is directly related to financial and psychological atmosphere in the respondents' parental family and their achievements at secondary school. The in-depth interview analysis allows making an implication that most of respondents' parental families made worse instead of good influence entering labour market. Bad financial situation at parental home caused that the bigger part of the respondents left secondary school early and continued their education at vocational school or at best graduated high school and entered labour market. Some of the respondents have only secondary school graduation diploma. According them, bad financial situation in their families usually was followed by other emotional problems and problems related to alcohol abuse and/or single parenthood.

Talking about first earnings many respondents were willing to refer to student grant at vocational school as their first earnings. It meant that the financial aspect made impact making decision to leave high school and continue studies at vocational institutions. Extra money helped to survive to some respondents or contributed to poor household budget. Due to these reasons some parental families welcomed children's decision to leave high school for vocational one or even pushed them to make this decision.

“I went for a vocational school because of my family's pressure to go to the vocational (school). Well, I started going (to the secondary school), graduated from 9th form, entered 10th, but then a pressure began in the family: go to the vocational (school), you would get a stipend, extra money brought home.” (Interview No.5, woman, vocational education, currently studying, no upward mobility)

Also there were some respondents' families what were absolutely indifferent to children's life because of alcohol abuse or other reasons.

Peers and other people influence

Asked to name people other than family members who made bigger influence entering labour market, the respondents tied this influence explaining the time they looked for the job. Since most of the respondents entered labour market around the middle of 1990s, when the situation

in Lithuanian labour market was quite complicated (fast growing unemployment), friends and acquaintances were the most reliable and sometimes the only ones who assisted young people finding a job: they informed about job vacancies in their workplaces and job announcements, etc.

Some of the respondents mentioned that friends and acquaintances helped them to find a job abroad.

It is also necessary to take into account that current respondents' family status also influences their flexibility in the labour market. Little children, single parenthood limit labour market flexibility significantly. This problem was stressed by women, especially who described their social status as lower or the same as their parents. Sometimes it seemed that they tried to cover or find an excuse for their passivity in the labour market referring to their children and their health problems, having nobody to look after children while they were in job, etc.

“I got a job right after vocational school graduation. Later on I'd left for a job in Kaunas but returned to Jonava. Though my salary and operating conditions were higher in Kaunas but tiredness, distance, and children... all this complex of reasons caused my return to work to Jonava. The salary is lower but I save the time and don't become so tired. Anyway when I used to book the bus ticket, finally the profit was similar.”
(Interview No.7, woman, employed, currently studying, upward mobility)

Educational institutions' impact

Most of the respondents acknowledged that higher education caused better employment perspectives, though more of them also noticed that they wouldn't like to continue their education. Some of the respondents who graduated vocational school described these institutions as direct bridge to labour market, i.e. the respondents succeeded to find their first jobs while studying or while their obligatory internship under study programme.

Some of the respondents other than Lithuanian nationality named the secondary school and their bad treatment by teachers there as the reason to leave the school early. This decision played a crucial role in their further life: some of them continued their studies at vocational schools or at School Extension, others returned to study in some years. Their status and perspectives in labour market are quite limited. Those who continue their studies at the current time relate them to particular job requirements or improvement of their labour market position.

Labour market institutions' impact

Labour market institutions were named as playing low impact on successful labour market entrance. Asked about the respondents' awareness concerning Labour Exchange, they were aware and some part applied for the Labour Exchange temporary assistance during unemployment period. It is interesting to distinguish two opinions concerning Labour Exchange services efficiency. Part of Labour Exchange applicants applied for help to find a job and were disappointed about the lack of expedience and attention to clients, passivity of these kinds of institutions. Most of these applicants were not satisfied with the provided Labour Exchange service and looked for job themselves. The respondents were disappointed and used to reject employment proposals because of “*low salary*”, “*health status inadequate to work requirements*”, “*inconvenient or inconsistent timetable*”, etc.

“Labour Exchange advisor offered me public works, but I rejected this proposal because I thought that I was too young and nice to do this job and I could find a better one”. (Interview No.10, woman, single mother, long term unemployed)

The interview data also showed some of the respondents who could be named as permanent Labour Exchange clients were ‘experts’ in their rights concerning labour market institutions’ services. They shared their knowledge how often and how to apply for unemployment benefit or that they need for Labour Exchange registration to keep right to social benefits and free-of-charge health care services and so on.

Social welfare institutions’ impact

Since there are no social welfare policy intervention at the level discussed in this chapter, respondents didn’t involve this topic in their interviews.

Additional information:

- 1) It was interesting to find out that respondents had been finding job quit easily. We would explain this by rather realistic understanding of their labour market status and quit low employment and carrier ambitions.
- 2) Second thing what was interesting to notice most of the respondents’ parental family members who had favored their early school leave earlier changed their opinion later on and even encouraged the respondents to study.

III Transition from parental family to that family established by the respondents

Most respondents (18 out of 20) are living separately from their parental family. When looking at the marital status of the respondents, 16 people are married and live with their spouse, 3 are divorced and 1 person is a single parent. Despite the new family established by the respondents, parents’ support is often mentioned as the most important in the transitional period. Young families often keep close relations with their parental family or close relatives who might help them financially or provide with assistance when raising children.

Both groups of the informants emphasized the importance of their parents’ life, which often serves as a model for their children own family life in terms of relationships with spouse and children, attitudes and values. For instance, a few research participants mentioned that their family roles are clearly divided in the current family and it comes from their parental family model, where men are occupied with earning money, while women take care of the family and housework.

“That application comes automatically. What have you seen, you bring, and do something own, of course. But it is very important thing, what you bring, how you were treated, so you treat others now. Maybe those things, which are unnecessary, something wrong, those you don’t do. But a person even not willingly behaves so.” (Interview No.18, man, upward mobility)

It seems that both groups of respondents (upward mobility and no/downward mobility) experience similar problems in their current life period. Even though more than a half young adults admitted that their life conditions and opportunities have improved and are better than

their parents', however they are not completely satisfied with their current situation and talk about a number of problems and difficulties they are facing now. Housing problem is most often mentioned as a major difficulty for young people who want to start their own life. Mortgage offered by the banks is also considered as a big risk, not always affordable for a young family.

Many respondents do criticize national family support policy for insignificant financial assistance for young families with children, usually in a form of child allowance or maternal leave benefit:

“Well, 90 litas (about 26 EUR) is better than nothing. Also I will receive something from employer. Of course, these are pennies, more is spent for eating. Only for baby food we spent 30 litas every week and that's not enough. Also, Pampers, vitamins, different oils, soaps...” (Interview No.14, woman, upward mobility, on maternity leave)

In addition, huge bureaucracy and lack of information at the public institutions (eg. social security office, labour exchange office, medical institutions) has been also emphasized by the respondents, who were criticizing social security, labour exchange work, as well as health care system. Also, political and economic situation, state and government are blamed for the major difficulties. Following the informants, the state has not been successful in supporting its citizens.

It seems that most young adults under study have been most satisfied with their current family relationships. Personal problems were mentioned by only a few respondents, who experience misunderstandings with their spouse or do not have close contacts with their parents:

“We have been recently married, for a year, but have been friends for a long time. Mother was not interested what I did that time, where I was. Of course, during the clearance (not drinking), she was interested, but then I did not want to talk to her. I used to say not to bother me, because she did not have authority for me, so that I could tell her what is wrong. We did not have what to talk about. Now we talk more, we meet at work, when a shift coincides, she visits me, I visit her, but I do not talk about my problems. My problems are my problems.” (Interview No.13, woman, upward mobility)

Importance of friends and peers has been mentioned only by a few persons, usually women. Men more often emphasized their independence in taking their decisions. Of course, young parents do care about their children and worry about their future so that their life would be better than their parents. Having a goal and seeking for a goal is considered as a very important factor in person's life:

“... but the biggest aspiration to seek for a better life is mine own. I do not want to live so, I want to live as a normal person. To have my own, I do not want that my child would live so. In general, I would not like, that somebody would live so. This whole aspiration for a better life cost me much health.” (Interview No.13, woman, upward mobility)

CONCLUSIONS

1. Thirteen respondents from 20 stated that their current living conditions are better or much better than those of their parental family (upward mobility, optimists) and 7

declared about downward mobility (pessimists) regarding their living conditions to compare with parental family.

2. Family status, family role models and life styles experienced by young people in their childhood is one of the major factors for children's social mobility.
3. The main arguments why life has improved of upwards mobility group in comparison with the parents' situation were: family support and encouragement, better education, employment, better financial situation, full family, good family relationships, no alcoholism problems and last, but not least strong commitment to improve one's life.
4. The main factors of poverty following the opinion of upward mobility group respondents are: low status of family, lack of individual aspirations, low education, insufficient income, ineffective state support and general economic situation in the country. Some respondents from downward mobility group emphasized the advantages of previous Soviet system which provided their parents with the housing for free, employment and everybody could have a more or less decent life.
5. In case of transition from compulsory school to higher level of education the role of the family was also significant. If parents supported and motivated their children to learn implanting the worth of education as the key for opening the doors for the better life. The role of friends, relatives and teachers was also emphasized in many cases.
6. In case of respondents, who grew in problem families (eg. alcohol-dependent ones) or boarding-school, did not feel family support during their studies. Though at the beginning they learned well or so-so, later on often lost their motivation, played truant or left the school. Problems in the family directed them towards the "trial", not towards the learning, self-expressing and seeking for better results. Friends' and peers' negative influence was pointed out in some cases.
7. The informants from upward mobility group stressed influence of school and especially of some teachers. Negative approach of teachers increased demotivation and nonattendance. Strong personality, regularity, humanity of teachers' has major educational influence, and was resource of motivation for better learning.
8. School experience is closely related with the situation in the family. Those who grew in problem families or boarding-schools tend to hide their real life conditions from the classmates not to be discriminated or excluded. The discrimination from teachers' side was also mentioned, since not the individuality of student played the role for the teacher's attitude towards student, but his or her family status.
9. Significance of education in human life respondents consider quite controversially. Three different positions revealed during the interview:
 - a) significant segment of respondents **link education with better perspectives and improved future;**
 - b) Some of respondents **do not link education with better social status;**
 - c) The third segment of respondents **give equal „fifty-fifty” weight to education as well as inner factors of person** on purpose to work and get better social status than their parents have.
10. The in-depth interview analysis allows making an implication that mainly four factors influenced on transition from education to labour market: parental family, friends (peers), educational and labour market institutions.
11. Parental family influence sometimes was more negative rather than positive when entering labour market. This was mainly related with financial and psychological atmosphere in the respondents' parental family and their achievements at secondary

school. Some respondents' families were absolutely indifferent to children's future because of alcohol abuse or other reasons.

12. Other than family members who made bigger influence entering labour market, the respondents pointed out friends and other acquaintances that assisted them in finding job in Lithuania and abroad during growing unemployment in the middle of 1990s. Little children, single parenthood limit labour market flexibility significantly. This problem was stressed by representative of downward mobility group who described it's social status as lower or the same as their parents.
13. Respondents acknowledged that higher education caused better employment. Vocational institutions were pointed out as a direct bridge to the labour market. Those who left the secondary school without finishing it now have worth position in labour market and continue their education hoping to improve own job situation.
14. Labour market institutions were named as playing low impact on successful labour market entrance. Institution of Labour Exchange was evaluated by two opinions: part of respondents were disappointed by services which provide Labour Exchange, another part of respondents told that Labour Exchange has its permanent clients who know very well their rights how to apply for unemployment benefits.
15. In-depths interview revealed that most respondents (18 from 20) live separately from their parental family, are married (15). Nevertheless most respondents mentioned that parents support (financial or raising children) for them was and is most important in the transitional period. Both groups of the informants (upward and downward mobility) emphasized the importance of their parents' life, which often serves as a model for their children own family life in terms of relationships with spouse and children, attitudes and values, experience similar problems in their current life period.
16. Housing problem is most often mentioned as a major difficulty for young people who want to start their own life. Mortgage offered by the banks is also considered as a big risk, not always affordable for a young family. Many respondents do criticize national family support policy for insignificant financial assistance for young families with children, usually in a form of child allowance or maternal leave benefit.
17. Huge bureaucracy and lack of information at the public institutions (eg. social security office, labour exchange office, medical institutions) has been also emphasized by the respondents from negative side. Political and economic situation, state and government was blamed for the major difficulties also, and the state has not been mentioned as successful in supporting its citizens.

ANNEX – METHODOLOGY

Annex should include information about:

- *The selection of the sample*

What procedure has been implemented? Were there any respondents from outside the “survey population”? If yes, how were they approached and were they also interviewed with the questionnaire?

Selection of the sample was based on the main criteria, i.e. low status of respondent’s parental family. Selected respondents were divided into two subgroups:

1. those who experienced upward social mobility in comparison with their parents (better education, employment, assessment of current living conditions and social status)
2. the ones who have not experienced upward social mobility

40 respondents were initially selected on the basis of the random sample survey database. 20 interviews with young adults were conducted in Jonava, September-October 2006.

- *Difficulties that appeared during fieldwork*

Were there many refusals? What were the reasons for them? Was it difficult to approach respondents? What were the constraints researchers experienced during fieldwork?

16 respondents refused to participate in the in-depth interviews because of family, health problems, also time constrains, also disinterest in the research topic. The main difficulty to approach the respondents was to find them at their home address, as not all the telephone numbers were collected during the survey. One of the major constrains during the fieldwork was visiting of respondents homes and getting inside them. Also, Jonava city is quite a scattered place because of its geographical location. The city is divided into several parts by the river Neris and the hill. That’s why some districts are quite far away from the others.

- *General conditions*

When, where and by whom were interviews conducted? What were the respondents’ attitudes towards the interview? Was it difficult to receive reliable and relevant information from the respondents? How long were the interviews?

3 experienced interviewers were conducting the field work in September-October 2006. All interviews took place in the respondents’ home place and sometimes it was difficult to control the external influences (children, spouse or other people’s participation). The length of the interview was very much dependent on the willingness, openness and readiness of the respondents to remember their past experience and talk about personal issues. Therefore, each interview took for 20 to 60 minutes. Although most of the interviews took place in a good and benevolent atmosphere, such factors, like exhaustiveness after a working day or night work played the role that a few people were not ready to develop their life stories and spend more time on the answers. One more interesting factor discovered during the field work was that those who experienced upward mobility were more open and ready to describe their life experience than those who did not belong to this group.