Study of Young People in Latvia

Aktuāla studija par jauniešu stāvokli Latvijā

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The article contains main results and conclusions of sociological survey of Latvian youth and is representative of young people aged 14-29. The report provides opportunity for the in-depth and critical insight into the attitudes of Latvian youth in number of areas: family life and leisure, education and employment, quality of life and risks of social exclusion, youth value orientation.

The aim of the present study is to produce a sociological portrait of the generation in the 14-29 years old age group and to report on the youth situation in Latvia. Society socializes youth and incorporates it into a system of norms, values and institutions. Youth is not a passive recipient, it is responsible for a reciprocal effect, bringing about Latvian society today. The purpose of the study can be refined and spelled out in more precise terms with this in mind. It is necessary to determine the effectiveness of socialization in its impact on the one hand, the potential offered by youth on the other, and the factors, guidelines and obstacles that exist in each of the cases.

Key words: youth socialization, potential, values.

Methodology

Early 2019 year there were 12 000 young people living in Latvia or residents, aged 18-24, which is almost two times less than in 2009 when there were 238 000 young people living in Latvia, data by the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia (CSP) suggest.

"The number of youth in Latvia is dropping steeper than the number of all residents, therefore their share in the overall population is declining considerably. In 2009, 11% of the residents were young people, but in 2019 this share has dropped to 6.4% of all Latvian residents, and it is the second – lowest share in the European Union," says Baiba Zukula, deputy director of the CSP social statistics department.

Number of population is decreasing in all three Baltic States whereas the average age of population grows ("Eurostat" prognosis is that in 2040 half of population in Latvia will be over 50). Consequently, the level of the demographic load is growing and less tax payers will have to provide for ever growing number of receivers of social support. Seeing from this perspective more successful involvement of young people into the labor market is outstanding.

Reasons for ageing of population are diverse. One of them is emigration of young people during last 15 years (total number of young emigrants reaches up to 76 000). According to data by CSP shows that average number of emigrants is 2 000-3 000 (15 – 24-years-old) against ca 1 000 of immigrants. Tendencies show that young people do not hurry to leave their parents' home, therefore decision to enlarge family is postponed for even later times. Today (late 2019) birthrate is average 48 children per 1000 young women, which is 3 times less than in 80-ies. Additionally, children are mainly born outside marriage relationships.

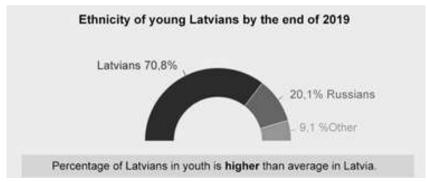


Figure 1. Ethnicity of young Latvians by the end of 2019

[Source: CSP Latvia]

The share of youth in regions differs – it is slightly higher than average in Latvia in Kurzeme, Vidzeme, Zemgale, and Latgale (7.2%, 7.1%, 6.7%, and 6.6% respectively). In the Pieriga region and Riga, it is lower (6.0% and 5.8% respectively) than average in the country (6.4%). Among Latvia's cities, the highest share of youth is reported in Liepāja (6.9%), and the lowest – in Jūrmala (5.3%). In regions, the highest share of youth is reported in Jaunpiebalga (9%), Rugāji (8.9%), Riebiņi (8.7%), Vārkava (8.7%), Brocēni (8.3%) and Naukšēni (8.3%) counties.

In 2018, 59.9% of all young people were learning or studying: 14.5% were going to general schools, 11% to vocational schools and 34.4% were studying in college or university.

Last year 47.8% of all young people in Latvia were working, 6.5% were unemployed (were looking for jobs and ready to start a new job in two weeks), but 45.7% were economically inactive. One-fourth of the employed youth combined work and studies. Among economically inactive youth, 87.1% continued their studies. 30% of all employed youth worked in trade, accommodation and catering sectors.

The survey was conducted in Latvia between December 20, 2019, and February 20, 2020.

Interviews were selected, instructed and vetted in accordance with professional standards.

Research is an observational study performed on the basis of questionnaire which was created with the aim to acquire data and information on issues typically felt by young people at 2009 (Latvian University) and 2019 (Latvian Christian academy). The only personal data it required was: gender, age, qualification and parental occupation. In order to be more easily understood, the questionnaire was written using colloquial terms which were closer to the mentality, habits and culture of respondents. The data were subjected to one-dimensional, two-dimensional and multi-dimensional analysis and hypotheses were checked by the Chi-squared method, t-test analysis and dispersion analysis.

The qualitative methodologies included in-depth interviews and focus groups. A total 7 in-depth interviews were conducted. The selection was made in accordance with the indicators of gender, place of residence, age and ethnicity. In the first group respondents were aged 14-19. In the second the age group was 20-29 years of age (Table 1).

Table 1
Structure of the sample

Gender				
Male	51%			
Female	49%			
Age g	roups			
14 – 15	11%			
16 – 19	21%			
20 – 24	29%			
25 - 29	39%			
Place of	residence			
Capital city	21%			
Regional centre	35%			
Town	20%			
Village	24%			
Level of	education			
Higher	16%			
Unfinished higher	19%			
Secondary	33%			
Unfinished secondary	21%			
Primary	6%			
Unfinished primary	4%			
Social-professional status				
Pupils	25%			
Students	10%			
Employed students	9%			
Employed	44%			
Unemployed and inactive others	11%			

Young Latvian people and new technologies: how do young Latvian people really feel about technologies?

We wanted to know how new technologies were influencing young people identity, their relationships, their personal well-being as well as their sense of place in the world and communities. It is something surprising: while students may love their devices, there was also more than a good deal of hate towards them, a lot of complication, and a massive effect on their part to control – and curb – their usage of their smartphones (which are basically social media delivery devices). Students spoke of how they regularly handed over their smartphones to a roommate or friend with express instructions not to

hand it back until they'd finished the paper due to the next day. It was fairly universal for Latvian young people don't have blissfully happy attachment to their smartphones. Even though it frustrates and embarrasses some of them to admit this, many long for help to unplug when they can't do it on their own. Rather than judging, here are a few ways we can become young people's allies in their technological struggle.

80% of young Latvians agree that this is the age of a technological worldview and human tools hold the central place in re-shaping the earth and its people. 30% agree that a shallowness that comes with abuses of privacy and surveillance and from a loss of cherished human contact. Young Latvians say that digital tools and ways of living are morphing beyond recognition. They live in a deep modern technological paradox and are left to their own devices to sort it out. They worry about what digital media is doing to the children they observe. Maija, one of youth participants, highlighted a feeling of vulnerability: "I don't know why, but it feels like they want to make us do damage. I feel like we are just the vulnerable crowd for them to zone in on, and for them to get as much as they possibly can out of us for their benefit."

Young people describing a loss of human contact, finding more freedom and having chance to consider ethical and moral problems of living on mobile phones, apps and media. Several persons suggested that without the phone they lacked the confidence to solve basic problems or feared to their safety. They reported a heightened awareness of a sense of acute conflict of missing instant online connection: living without their phones was "like the Earth stood still".

Young people expressed both deeply ingrained and taken-for-granted connection to their phones, while simultaneously feeling despair about a foreboding sense of technology taking over human lives.

We asked young people" Have we lost sight of emotional, spiritual and physical well-being of youth?" Young people in our interviews asked that adults better attend to the myriad ways in which the digital age affects well-being of youth. They showed how digital media affects all aspects of their lives in which well-being is measured such as health, education and social relationships.

It is time to as whether and how societies will support youth wellness in the digital age? To do it well, we must engage and listen to young people. Young people's relationship to technology is rather complicated: young people don't think technology is the panacea for well-being, they understand that access to technology has been driven by commercial interests.

Health problems

Among the most important things that affect the lives and attitudes of young Latvians is their health. In many ways, the formation of their values, the way they live and view surroundings, and their aspirations for the future are determined by how they feel physically, how they assess themselves as regards their health condition and appearance, and what material things they have in their possession: "to have" and "to be" are certain categories that are sometimes in conflict, yet sometimes they have a common base.

The usual premise is that the young person is healthy most of the time.

In the sample there were only two respondents who evaluated their health as bad. The highest level of excellent health is enjoyed by the early teen group (64% of 14 - 15-year-olds), whilst the trend dips slightly downwards with increasing age

(47% of 28-29-year-olds). The decrease in the number of "excellent" responses is, however, accounted for by the increase in the number of "very good" responses. The majority of young Latvian people do not report serious health problems.

Higher status seems virtually unrelated to self-esteem in this respect. We do not find a substantial accumulation of alarming responses in any social strata, interestingly, "excellent" health is more typical of small towns (69%) than the capital (51%).

Higher education brings with it a keener awareness of health issues and the potential dangers associated with them. A less educated person sometimes dismisses as insignificant some minor health problems that more educated persons would consider important, at least to a certain extent. This probably explains why young people who have only undergone primary or lower education state their health to be excellent much more often than college graduates (65%-42%).

Satisfaction with one's health and satisfaction with one's appearance are quite closely connected, and they make up an essential part of a young person's perception of themselves. On the whole, young people (71%) like how they look.

"Young Latvians in 2019 have the feeling of being healthy and good-looking."

Harmful habits, which are damaging to health in one way or another, usually have consequences in later life. It is interesting to examine their distribution.

Men are more regular smokers than women (34% to 25%). The survey does not fully corroborate WFO data, according to which Latvia is the only European country in which a larger proportion of women smoke than men. It is true that in this case we are talking about the age of youth, amongst whom stereotype typically held by more people have not yet formed. If, in the youngest age segment, 4% of 14-15-year-olds smoke regularly or occasionally, and this looks like a positive finding, the figure jumps to 60% for 28-29-year-olds and must be cause for concern. Tobacco smoking is a strong factor in social differentiation. Education, income and ethnic origin actually "filter" it. Smoking daily is a habit of 42% of people on average and 16% of university graduates. 39% of the poor and 28% of the rich, and 38% of young Latvians. The highest strata of society seem to be more resistant to the temptation of tobacco – whether this is because of a specific environment and lifestyle, in which smoking is not considered to be "modern" and "cool", or because they are more aware of the harm it causes (see Figure 2).

Like tobacco, the use of alcohol increases with age. Only 2% of the youngest and nearly 40% of the oldest in the youth population drink at least once a week. The overall trend still seems to be the same. The tendency to drink alcohol at least a few times a week differentiates people with secondary education from those with higher education (20% vs 5%), poor from rich (15% vs 7%).

It is not so much financial opportunities in life that contribute to the greater use of cigarettes and alcohol.

Unlike cigarettes and alcohol, which are more often associated with the more difficult life of the more "unprivileged" youth group, marijuana is an "elite" and "teenage" pleasure. Because of its greater cost, the specificity of the contacts through which it can be acquired, and the nature of the social environment in which it is used, "grass" is most widely used among 16-19-year-olds (9%), the rich (11%) and people living in the capital (20%).

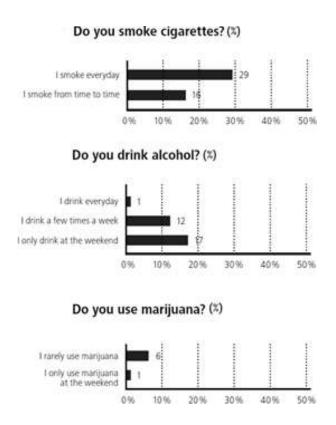


Figure 2. Use of cigarettes, alcohol and marijuana

Education

"Education plays a direct role in determining a higher standard of living."

The wealthier stratum includes half of the university graduates and one-third of respondents with primary or lower education. The same is confirmed by the educational level of parents. In the two highest categories of living standards, we find 55% of young people whose fathers have a Master's or PhD and only 13% of those whose fathers and mothers have (unfinished) primary education. In addition, we can detect a correlation between the level of education and the number of books that young people had in the home where they grew up. Those who stated that they had more than 100 books account for 53% of the rich and 18% of the poor.

The ethnic divide is particularly strong. Persons of Russian origin demonstrate material possibilities. It is noteworthy that citizens in the capital city (42%) do not live with much greater satisfaction than those in district centres (39%) or small towns (37%). This is certainly surprising, given the well-known fact that wealth in Latvia is concentrated mainly in Riga.

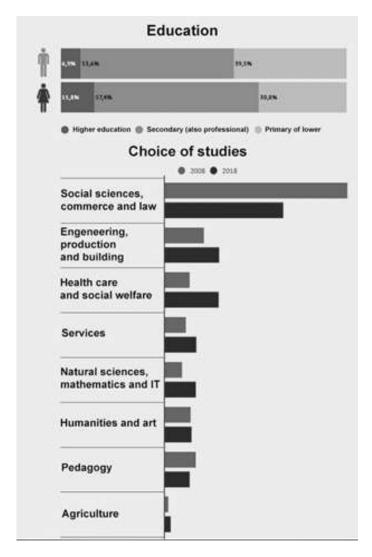


Figure 3. Education and choice of studies (by fields)

[Source: CSP Latvia]

"There are processes of social stratification that are increasingly dividing Riga from "poor" Latvia."

This is, by the way, a trend that is characteristic of big cities across Europe. And one observation: the "rich" are not so rich, nor are the "poor". One in every four wealthy youngsters in the sample (24%) stated that they experience material difficulties. All of this means two possible things – either we should gradually more in the direction of a revision of the categories with which we subdivide the different material possibilities of people or we should focus attention on the criteria which people themselves use to determine their status.

Free time and leisure time activities

Free time in modern societies is a vital area, alongside paid work, in which there are plentiful opportunities for the individual to invest time and money in entertainment and communication, creativity and personal expression. Participation in leisure activities contribute to the physical well-being of individuals and the quality of their lives as a whole. Sociological research unambiguously shows that the tendency towards globalization is reflected in human lifestyles, along with manifestations of global and local hybridization in tastes and preferences.

For young Latvians leisure time has become important and have been replaced by a distinct division into working time and time for rest and leisure. Such organized forms of leisure activities (e.g. well-known Latvian songs festivals as a means of protest) were imposed, while informal youth subcultures appeared as an expression of protest. With the social transformation that began in 1989, young people assimilated market-style forms of cultural consumption as a means of expressing their individual interests and tastes.

The current study has made it possible to compare the frequency of 18 activities on a five-level scale.

Amongst them we can distinguish between completely passive activities like "relaxation", activities that do not require a lot of effort on the part of young people, such as listening to music, and very active areas such as engaging in sports, creative activities and volunteer work. Many of the activities involve communication with other people – family and friends, while others as largely individual, such as praying and meditation. Some activities require more financial means, such as going to restaurants, cafes or bars, and shopping, others need less, like spending time with the family or listening to music. As a whole, passive activities, with a significant amount of "doing nothing" and communicating with family and friends, predominate in the leisure activities of young Latvians.

"The two activities that are most common in the everyday life of young people are listening to music and spending time with the family."

A comparison of the structure of free-time activities of young Latvians in 2019 with people from the younger generation in other countries would allow us to interpret the picture better. The data from the previous study of Latvian youth at Latvian University show that in the order of preference there are significant coincidences – for example, listening to music and going out with friends are among the three most frequently practiced activities in both surveys (see Figure 4).

In order to better understand the importance of leisure activities to young Latvians, it is necessary to look beyond the general structure and see how different activities figure in the everyday life in different groups of young people, and how they depend on age, gender, education, family and ethnic origin.

The most significant differences in the regularity of *listening to music* can be seen among the age groups, with listening every day decreasing with age. For adolescents (15-19), three quarters (73%) listen to music every day or almost every day, but this figure drops to 62% for young people over 19 years of age.

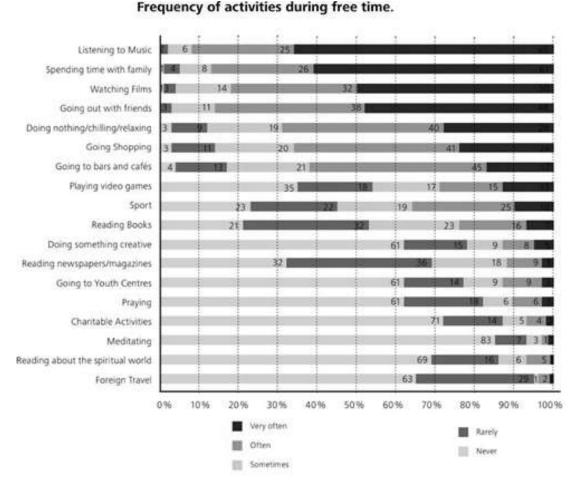


Figure 4. Frequency of activities during free time

Almost all young people state that they *spend time with their family*, with young women more often spending time with the family every day (67%) than men (55%). Daily communication with parents is characteristic of 70% of adolescents, and this figure decreases gradually with age. The proportion of those spending time daily with the family is higher in the case of unemployed people, ethnic Russians, as well as among those whose parents have primary and little higher education.

Going out with friends is also an important and fundamental activity for young people in their free time, but it is less frequent than communication with family members.

Reading books is a rare pastime for modern young persons. One third of young people read rarely – once a month or less, one fifth never do. Those who read most are university graduates and students, and those who do so least are people with primary and lower education and the unemployed. There are people who do not read at all in all groups, even among university graduates (10%).

Reading newspapers and magazines is an even less common activity among Latvian youth today.

Sport is also a rare pastime for young people. The proposition of men who take part in sporting activities is three times more than the respective number of women. The proportion of women who never do any sport (33%) is more than twice the figure for men in the same category (14%). Dependence on age is almost linear – the number of non-

122

active individuals grows with advancing age from 14% among the youngest to 29% in the oldest groups while, conversely, the proportion of regular participants in sport drops from 20% among the youngest to 5% among the oldest. Almost half of unemployed people do not exercise at all.

Watching TV every day shows a noticeable increase as a practice for unemployed people, reaching two thirds. The education of respondents and their parents, as well as the social status of their families, do not have a major influence, but the connection between the figures and place of domicile is significant in the expected direction. 59% of young people living in villages watch films every day, whilst the same is true for only 45% of those living in Riga. This is the most popular activity for young people.

Creative activities (writing, painting, playing a musical instrument) are pursued to a greater or lesser extent in the free time of just over one third of young Latvians. These activities are more prevalent among young women, among whom almost half are involved with artistic activities. Adolescents are more creative than young people aged 20 and over, and those without work are the group with the smallest interest in art. The influence of parents' social status is quite evident, with the proportion of young people not having any creative activities increasing from 46% among rich families to 69% among the poor.

Video games are popular pastime for young Latvians, more so among males than females -66% of men and 43% of women play video games more or less frequently during the week, with this figure including 20% of men on a daily basis, but only 6% of women. Frequency declines with age.

All young people *rest* ("chill, relax"). "Just resting" was chosen as a leisure activity by 70% of young Latvians. This is "done" every day more often by men, adolescent, and young people with primary education, unemployed people.

Going to restaurants (bars, cafes, clubs) is something that once again nearly all young people do (80%). Men do this on a daily basis more often (10%) than women (5%). The frequency increases with age, reaching a peak among 20-24-year-olds (students, unemployed people) and then falling in the upper age group.

Going to a youth centre or a club of interest figures in the free-time activities of one-third of young Latvians. Data show that this is dependent on the social status of the family – among wealthy people 44% have no such interest, with this figure rising to 69% for young people from poor families.

Voluntary work, such as participation in social projects, initiatives and associations, is much less popular among leisure activities: 51% of young Latvians do not engage in such activities. Participation in social projects and organizations is more widespread among young women than young men; mostly in the case of students, and at least in the case of the unemployed. Participation increases, albeit only slightly, according to parents' education and social status.

Praying does not figure in the activities of 81% of young people in Latvia, with this being more characteristic for young men (66%) than women (55%), respectively. The most influential factor is Christianity. Also, a great significance is the factor of age, with prayer playing no part in the lives of 74% of young people aged 14-15, 67% among those aged 16-19, 62% with 20-24-year-olds, and 52% for those between 25 and 29.

Meditation and practicing yoga or similar is an element in the lives of about 11% of young people, with this being more common among ethnic Latvians, university graduates, rich people and citizens of Riga.

Shopping is popular activity, with 41% doing this at least once a week, and another 24% almost every day. Women are twice as likely as men to go shopping daily. The strongest dependency is on age, with only 14% of teenagers going shopping on a daily basis, whilst this rises to 33% in the 25-29- year-old group. The proportion of shoppers is surprisingly higher for unemployed people.

63% of young Latvians have never *travelled* abroad, but his number falls to half in the group of 25-29-year-olds. Only 48% of university graduates do not travel abroad at all, whilst this is true for 75% of young people with primary and lower education. Once again, the most disadvantaged are unemployed. More often those from wealthy families with university educated parents and residents of the capital city have been abroad.

While *surfing the internet* stands out among the most wide-spread activities, the goals which young people are following in entering the web are different.

If young people as a general rule use the internet to communicate with friends, it is interesting to know that the number of friends online is and how many young people also communicate with outside of the network. Young people are equally divided into two groups: those with up to 100 "online" friends and those with over 100. The number of friends drops sharply when young people answer the question as to how many of them would identify as close friends in real life. Here, one half of young people have up to 20 "close" friends, the other half have more than 20. If half the youth have 20 or more friends both in social networks and outside them, we cannot extrapolate the negative impact of online communication to what counts as "live" at least in terms of the number of contacts with friends, if not as regards content and intensity.

Life stages and attitudes to life transitions

During the life stage of youth, there are at least two more exceptionally important transitions: from education to employment and from the parental home and family to the establishment of one's own home and family. At a certain historical stage, every society devises its own socially acceptable models for making these transitions in social time and space, for their duration and coherence. Although the real transitions are patterned on the dominant concepts of "ideal time" for key life events, such as finishing school, leaving the parental abode, starting a family etc., they still differ. Our results allow us to determine when these turning points occur in the life of the young generation today.

"The majority of young people in Latvia display the normal path in life transitions: finishing school, starting work, leaving the parental home, getting married and giving birth to the first child."

Life transitions in Latvia are comparatively short – by the time they are 19, 50% of men and women have completed their education, they have started temporary work (shortly before or shortly after leaving school) and for another year on average they move from temporary to permanent employment. Cohabiting and getting married are postponed in time, with children coming on average one year later. Gender differences are very small: on the whole, young men in Latvia start work one year earlier and start a home and family a year later than young women.

On the whole, young people in Latvia make the transition from education to employment faster than the transition to self-sufficient housing and their own family. At the end of the period of youth, practically everyone has made their way onto the labor market. The fact that only half of them have started a home and family, and the other half postpones these life events till the next stage of life, however, indicates somewhat unsuccessful labor integration (*see* Figure 5).

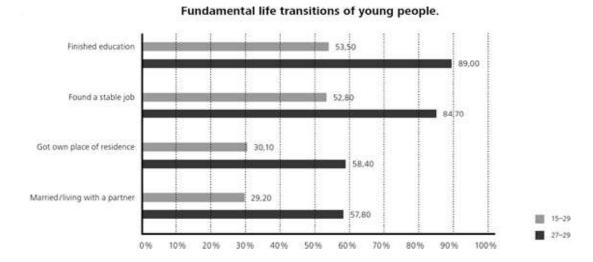


Figure 5. Fundamental life transitions of young people

Values and religious beliefs

Degree of socialization

In 2019 an indicator offered respondents a scale of 1 to 5 to rank the importance of 16 different values. The leading responses ("very important") are:

- Being true to friends 77%,
- Being true your partner 76%,
- Being independent 75%,
- Having children 70%.

"Youth's excessive individualism is decreasing on the account of youth sociality."

Table 2 Significance of European values for young people in Latvia (%)

Values 1997		2007		2014		2018		
vaiues	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Freedom	37	III	34	III	43	Ι	81	Ι
Democracy	42	II	43	II	40	II	62	III
Market economy	53	I	53	Ι	39	III	45	VIII
Equality	30	V	29	IV	36	IV	56	IV

Values	19	1997		2007		2014		2018	
values	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	
Free enter- prise	33	IV	28	V-VI	28	V	52	VI	
Solidarity	15	VIII	11	VIII-IX	20	VI	53	V	
Profit	20	VI	28	V-VI	18	VII	64	II	
Tolerance	15	IX	11	VIII-IX	15	VIII	49	VII	
Competition	16	VII	19	VII	14	IX	41	IX	

The new tendencies displacing the main values of the recent past - market economy, democracy with freedom and profit - display certain continuity. The situation today can be considered as a sign of growth, a reflection of more effective rationalization of realities, or of a realism with regard to values.

This is, of course, the positive interpretation. The fact that *freedom* and *democracy* are among the top four values gives cause to another moment of reflection. Love of freedom and democracy are highly valued when they are lacking. And this lack is mentioned in numerous political assessments.

The growing importance of solidarity as a value is noticeable from the fundamental results. Before us we see another sign of the fading impact of the transition, when the popular maxim was "it is every man for himself".

The aggregate data indicate that there is a trend towards greater sociality amongst the new generation, without this sociality being politicized or at least offering a civic impulse.

Strong interdependencies in factors underlie values. The logic according to which "health is the most valued by the sick" also stands out. Thus, for instance, equality is valued most by: women, the youngest (14-17 years of age); the poorly educated, the poor; village inhabitants, in other words – by social groups that to certain extent feel "less equal".

In other cases, motivation relating to real opportunities for expression and affirmation are striking. Thus, the market economy is valued more by the rich and wealthy, by highly educated people, university students and ethnic Latvians. It is very important to 49% of Latvians. Attitudes towards free enterprise are similar.

It should come as no surprise that solidarity is especially valued by the unemployed and those with work but, due to other motives – one's world view and life experience – by the highly educated and the highest age group of 25-29 years of age as well.

Freedom stands out as an extremely homogenizing factor valued greatly by men and women, school and university students.

Rejected practices

Additional, yet important insight into the overall predisposition is offered by attitudes toward several disputed, but prevalent issues.

A strong rejection of bribes and citizen's bad faith is evident in the general attitude. It is worth noting that the issue of paying taxes is nuanced – "given the opportunity to", hence attitudes here do not relate to fear of criminal prosecution, but rather to civic consciousness. It is in this context that answers indicate a relatively high level of civic loyalty. The predominantly negative attitude towards bribes is not surprising (*see* Table 3).

Combatting corruption, including at high levels, is acknowledged as a civic priority, legitimized and encouraged by the EU.

A negative attitude towards homosexuality dominates the picture. Homosexual practices are considered immoral but unacceptable in Latvian traditions.

Gay parades are not capable of removing the notion of "Sodom and Gomorrah". A relatively greater tolerance is displayed by women (22%) than by men (14%), as well as by people with higher education (21%) compared to poorly educated people (15%).

Attitudes toward abortion and "pulling strings", especially when it is specified that this involves access to services, including hospitals and institutions, are balanced.

Table 3
Rejection/ acceptance of some social practices

Practice	Rejection	Balanced attitude	Acceptance	Don't know
Abortion	48	24	29	14
Homosexuality	45	19	18	15
Cheating on taxes if you have a chance	62	14	14	8
Accepting/ giving bribe	66	15	10	7
Using connections to find employment	33	22	34	8
Using connections for access to services	34	21	37	8

Ontological and social fears

The less pronounced fear of unemployment is not accidental, it is easily understandable, considering the trend towards stabilization of the labor market. Nor is the high ranking of social issues like injustice and corruption accidental. The most common understanding of "social injustice" is polarization of society into poor and rich, where wealth is accumulated by dishonest means. An important role is played by lack of trust in the fairness of the judiciary. This undoubtedly makes the burden of corruption even more oppressive – it is possible for it to remain unpunished. Fears of poverty are not passe, although the most severe phase of impoverishment was more than two decades ago.

It is impossible to overlook the fact that more than one third of young people are very worried about air pollution and climate change.

"There is no overwhelming fear in the mass consciousness of the young generation."

Disturbing/troublesome issues for

society. Answer: "It worries me a lot".

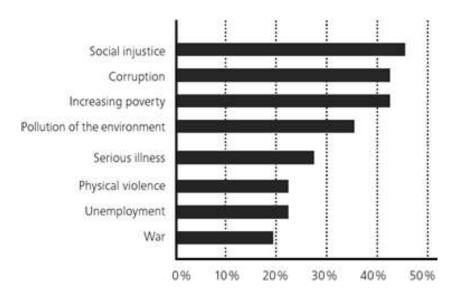


Figure 6. Disturbing issues for society (Answer: "It worries me a lot.")

Optimism and pessimism among young people

An optimistic predisposition comes naturally to young people.

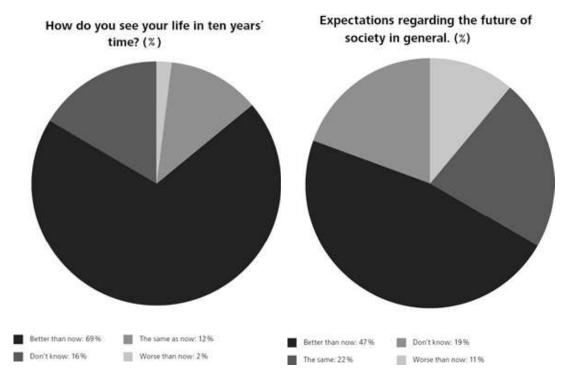


Figure 7. How do you see your life in ten years time? (%)

Figure 8. Expectations regarding the future of society in general (%)

Pessimistic attitudes are rare, but are slightly higher among poor people (4%) and those living in villages (4%).

Young women (71%) have more positive expectations than young men (67%)

The most optimistic age is between 16 and 19. An important factor in this optimism is higher education.

The expectations of Latvian society are once again positive, but not to the same extent (see Figure 7).

The number of optimists has risen to nearly half of the respondents (47%), and if one considers only the persons giving a specific response – more than half (see Figure 8). Attitudes of people with higher education, university students and working students are especially positive, however, they are not planning to stay in Latvia and their plans to materialize their positive outlook are focused onto some other place.

Pessimistic predispositions are salient among the unemployed (18%).

Religious faith

The self-assessments performed by the young people surveyed reflect the traditional Latvian religiosity: more than three quarters state that they are members of the Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox Churches. Only 5% are non-believers or religion undefined.

Certainly, the criterion is formal to a certain extent. In the survey, religious faith is explored using the question "How important is God for you?", and religious practice – by enquiring about attendance of religious ceremonies.

The indicator "How important is God for you" provides a scale of one to ten responses ranging from 1 ("not important at all") to 10 ("very important"). It is not clear how methodologically correct this is, i.e. how can faith be quantified with a specific number with significant differences being reflected between two numbers.

As tradition has it, women are more religious; relatively negative responses are provided by 27% of men and 14% of women; the exact opposite is the case with the most positive responses -14% of men and 23% of women.

Religious skepticism is more pronounced among younger people (14-16%), while religion is most important to the older age group -25-29 years age (22%).

Those persons in employment are more religious than school and university students. The fewest believers are to be found in the capital city (12% of responses in the 9- and 10-point range), with this figure rising in regional centres (18%) and reaching its peak in small towns (23%). As observed in other surveys, the poor are more religious than the rich.

Religious practice is quite limited. Only 6% of respondents attend a religious service once a week and 8% about once a month. The greatest attendance is registered by services during religious holidays (35%); events more of a ritual and celebratory than cult nature. 46% of respondents do not attend places of worship, or do less than – or no more than – once a year.

"Latvia stands out with its lower level of religiosity compared to its neighbors Lithuania and Estonia."

This is evident from data on parents' religiosity: one third (33%) are not religious at all or are more or less non-religious, 45% moderately religious, 15% more or less religious or very religious. This is the family environment in which young people grow up, and data as a whole show that it is passed on to the younger generation.

Family and friends

Data from the survey reveals that young Latvian people live in a relatively comfortable family and informal environment. This is visible most of all in the trust in family – parents, sisters, brothers, spouses and partners. 86% have complete trust, 10% - trust, or a total response adding up to 4 and 5 (on a scale of 5) are given by 96%. The attitude towards friends is also especially positive – 39% expressing complete trust, 43% trust – a total of 82%. In the third place is the attitude towards other relatives – 40% voice complete trust and 30% - a total of 70%.

"Young Latvians are comparatively satisfied with their informal environment."

It is worth noting the prevalence of age dynamics in attitudes towards friendship.

This is illustrated by the ontogenetic path of a young person. During the period when the individual matures, communicating with friends and peers is of paramount importance. With social integration the living environment changes. The new family becomes most important, but for many Latvians communicating with friends is important even after they have their own family.

The informal environment is an important factor in socialization. Relations between peers, classmates and colleagues from different ethnic and social groups are shaped in this environment and it is of importance to the social climate. Certain well-known phenomena include, for instance, banal nationalism and/or class resentment. The results of the survey provide no grounds for such fears.

Stay in parents' home

A young person becomes independent or, as they say, stands on their own two feet, by starting a job, i.e., when they have their own personal income, their own family and own home or renting a flat. Unlike countries in northern Europe where young people leave their parents' family relatively early, in Latvia two thirds (65%) of young people live in their parents' home, with their mother (67%), father (59%), brother/sister (35%), and grandparents (13%). Very few possess or live in their own home (3% were acquired by their parents, 3% by themselves, 7% paid by themselves).

The reasons for this situation are of an everyday nature – above all, material. Throughout the entire Baltic region, living with parents is more often explained by citing financial reasons.

"Material stimulus and convenience delay the process of moving out of the parents' home."

Family status and family perspective

The majority (61%), as can be assumed, are single. 16% live together with their partner; 13% are married; 9% are in a relationship without living together.

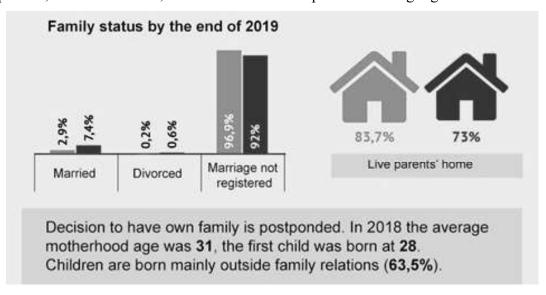
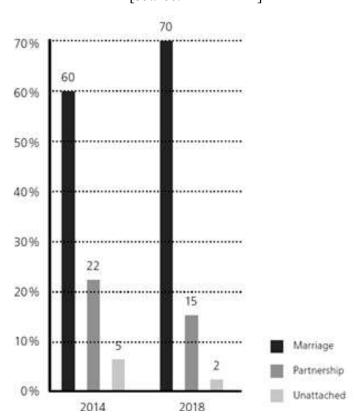


Figure 9. Family status by the end of 2019



[Source: CSP Latvia]

Figure 10. Expectations for the future of the family (%)

The transition towards independent family life is evidently still just beginning. How young people see their family future is of great importance.

"The value of a legal marriage is on the rise."

For a 70% majority (65% of men and 76% of women) their future lies in the classic monogamous family – legally married with children. 20% respondents see their future as married but without children. An unwedded partnership but with children is a prospect considered plausible by 13% and the same relationship but without children is envisaged by 12%. Apparently, the attitude towards children is an important motive in opting for the married family model. Children lend meaning to a legally married family.

Many think that marriage ceremony in the Church is not necessary.

It is worth emphasizing that marriage is most preferred by people with higher education (80%) and university students (61%), and significantly less by the poorly educated (60%). Marriage is positively viewed more by the rich and well-off (75-76%) than by the poor (60%). Social groups with a more stable social status – real or expected, are also more oriented towards a stable marital status.

The notion of a happy life is closely related to the family and friends. Among four proposed options, the respondents first of all assigned "very important" to having children in order to have a happy life (a total of 81%; 75% men and 87% women). This was closely followed, with almost the same results, by the macrocondition of living in a nice country (75%) and having a spouse or partner in life – 74%. The picture is completed by the presence of a lot of friends (very important to 48%, important to 28%).

Children, a spouse, a developed country, a lot of friends... A sensible and understandable youth ideal.

In view of national issues, it is very interesting that Latvia does not have good demographic prospects, but should have if the stated attitudes towards children are carried through with.

On the practical side of the issue, other questions are explored. Many agree that government doesn't do "anything serious" to better the situation.

In the awareness of an insecure world and lack of trust and confidence in the social environment, a successful career often assumes a higher priority than getting married. And the prevailing opinion is that former requires more time.

The problem of "children giving birth to children" is sometimes discussed in public. It is a question not only of the health risks to underage mothers but even more so their severely restricted socialization capacity. The problem was discussed in the focus groups within the survey.

The image of a two-child family is prevalent in the society in general despite the domination of the single-child constellation.

Motives behind the choice of a spouse

The indicator provides nine different options and is entirely rational. Emotional relations are not considered. No place for love?...

The designated motives are separated into three main groups according to level of importance. The first and categorically most important to young people is related to the personality.

Personality (82%) and common interests (77%) are "very important" for the choice of a partner. The focus is stronger than in 2014, when the personality was perhaps associated entirely with love.

The second group of factors relates not so much to inner qualities as it does external traits: appearance of the chosen one (39%), level of education (32%), approval of the family (10%) and national origin (31%). In all these cases, the assessment of "very important" accounts for about one third. Here we have another example of the growing importance of family for young people. We could infer that with the transition to adulthood the role of family approval would decrease and this is indeed the case, but not at such a rapid pace – in the upper age groups people are concerned about the approval of their family with almost the same relative share as the average result for the sample.

Special attention is drawn to the lack of a capitalist mindset. Wealth is stated to be important (32%) or of significance (28%), but it is not a determining factor for the vast majority. It is interesting to note that wealth is cited more often by the youngest. 14-15 years of age (29%) rather than the highest age group of 25-29 years of age (20%). We can suppose that wealth in this case is an expression of success.

Other than these three groups of factors, there is one which is marginalized: the importance of virginity. Only 5% of the respondents consider it is important and 5% consider it very important. For 57% this is not important at all or is of almost no significance.

The result is entirely in line with changes in sexual behavior and the sexual culture of the new generation.

Sexual behavior

Most frequently the first sexual contact occurs between ages of 15 to 18 (56%). In other words, by the time they have finished secondary education (and obtained full civil rights), the majority of young people have started their sex life.

"One positive result of the survey is that the sexual culture is also developing along with sexual openness."

Conclusions

- 1. Attitudes towards the informal micro and public macro environments are polarized. We observe a cohesion and high level of trust in the informal surroundings and clear distancing from political leaders, as well as civil discomfort. Rather ignorant attitude towards climate changes and Great Thunberg as political campaign.
- 2. We have registered trends towards a greater stability in family-marital relations. The image of a desirable two-child family still predominates, but there are still no guarantees that this can be achieved. The problems are a low birth rate among the majority and early "children's") birth among the Roma minority.
- 3. Sexual openness continues to develop, but has not yet reached the sphere of homosexuality. Sexual culture, measured by the use of contraceptive, has developed significantly.

Latvian young people high mobility levels

Preparedness to move

Moving abroad to study or work is a key event in the life of a young person, which changes almost all their habits, practices, stereotypes, friendships, educational and professional contacts up to that point in time. Any decision on such a life-changing step should be taken after several preconditions have been met and a certain level of preparedness attained.

It seems that over time the situation has settled somewhat, with the vast majority of young people being oriented towards staying in their home country (see Figure 11).

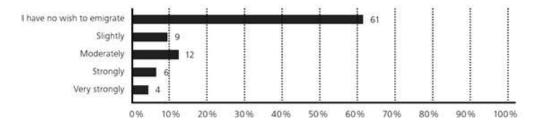


Figure 11. How strong is your desire to move to another country for more than six months? (%)

The desire to emigrate can be evaluated along diachronic lines: in comparison with previous 2009 surveys it is decreasing, and indeed drastically.

No "epidemic" is evident now, but we can certainly detect a "virus". Latvian democratic development is marked by constant fears of a chronic "train drain". A more appropriate framework with which to analyze the processes underlying youth mobility would explore not only the draining of "brains" but also of "hands", because data indicate a desire to emigrate among low-qualified groups, oriented mostly towards manual labor, as well as desire to emigrate after having HE diploma is very high. Many emigrants come from medicine, research, also social sciences and other human aid professions.

"The desire of young people to emigrate is decreasing."

The qualitative methods applied within the framework of the survey (in-depth interviews, focus-groups) confirm the hypothesis of a shift in the migration "peak". Young people face the question, but not as an imperative. An 18-year-old would go abroad to study and come back – he says he would come back due to ties to his home country. A 14-years-old girl says she knows many people who would like to study abroad but then come back later. A 24-years-old university student says she is sure that living conditions in the West are better than those in Latvia. An 18-years-old schoolgirl is surprised how many people actually prefer to live abroad; until recently she thought the opposite was the case. There is a feeling that migration is very high. In 2019 there were 122 000 young people in Latvia – less than a half compared to 1991. The number of young people decreases faster than the number of people in Latvia in general (in 2019 only 6,4% were young people, the lowest number in European Union).

Table 4 In what time frame do you imagine leaving country?

Time	per cent
Within the next	10
Within the next	40
Within the next	13
Within the next	5
Mote than 10 years from now	2
Don't know	44

To a large extent one could draw the same conclusion with regard to those persons who place their desire to migrate within a period of ten years or more (see Table 4) because this excludes any immediate actions on their part, nor can it be considered a firm and final decision. Adopting this perspective, we can once again discern two groups with more concrete plans for leaving fast are young people who have primary education or are uneducated, and second – richer people and citizens of Riga. Albeit in a different way, in both cases the plans are more specific, which implies some real preparation.

Expectations regarding the duration of the emigrational experience are, of course, relative, especially before having practically got off the ground. But this expectation is directly related to psychological readiness – it is one mindset to be preparing to leave the country "forever", and completely different one related to the idea of finding a job to make a living in another country or the so-called work abroad.

Among richer young people there is a strong trend towards conscious life decisions being made in favor of a life abroad - a choice for which they have been preparing themselves for a longer period. The wider opportunities and better qualifications in Latvia offer a potential these young people would like to leverage there, where opportunities are even greater and the qualifications even higher.

"Plans for short- and medium-term mobility are the most prevalent, but emigration is quite often considered to be a "life decision".

Motivation for emigration

Different reasons can make a young person prefer life as an *emigree*. Our survey allows for them to simply the subsumed under the rubric "wants to live better".

Financial motivation dominates across the board. A better standard of living and higher pay are closely related and correspond to the desires of 61% of those planning to emigrate. Of course, this percentage should not close our eyes to differences in focal points. Thus, for instance, in comparison with men, women prefer a higher standard and are not so fixated on their own pay. On the other hand, working students and poor people consider the financial aspect to be a far more important factor. This would appear to be the vital issue that they need to resolve, while other aspects of this standard have, at least for the time being, have assumed a secondary role.

If we add opportunities for a better jobs and new business to the first two options, then the "material" side accounts for more than two thirds of the responses. This is the trend in the region as well, where this "material cluster" attracts between 65% and

85% of young people planning to emigrate in all the countries. A better education is important as a stimulus, especially for the lower age groups, where it ranks first, but this decreases in importance with age. Even if education remains an intention, it becomes more of a means to achieve a better life. Cultural and emotional considerations rank for lower in importance. As qualitative data shows, the cultural and emotional connection with Latvia remains strong and for the time being it has not been shifted to the society (or even friends and relatives) in the target countries for migration.

"Material stimuli to emigrate predominate across the board."

The survey does not specifically address the "internal" factors underlying migration, what is happening in Latvia or in the respondent's life that makes them want to leave. Many mention low salaries and no hopes to find well-paid job in Latvia. We can discover these in a negative way: those positive goals whose realization they see abroad would evidently be unachievable here, ranging from a better standard to better education. But life "abroad" is not idealized. The group discussions display some more critical assessments. Thus, for instance, a 17-years-old girl we will call Maija imagines that more optimistic opportunities in a possible future Latvia might look like this – "people do not go to work outside the country", because "they are being misled"; as well as "fairer", and "better".

No matter what potential migrants are striving for, they need a place where they believe they can find it. The choice of country to emigrate to (mainly Great Britain, Ireland and Germany) is an integral part of the motivation to leave.

"Young Latvians have a practical attitude towards migration, viewing it as internal mobility within the EU."

Adaptability of potential migrants

Speaking the language of the desired country of emigration is a key precondition for integration into its society. Establishing institutional contacts or maintaining social and collegial relations, and most of the time even performing the job itself (excluding both extremes with regard to the spectrum of worker's qualification – domestic care, nursing and the IT sector) is impossible without fulfilling this precondition.

Of course, better language skills are stated to be possessed by groups having more possibilities and/or who are more exposed to education involving language training. 24% of persons with higher education state that they possess excellent knowledge of the language, compared to just 10% of those with secondary education. The coefficient for rich and poor is 36% and 7%, respectively, while for the capital city and small towns it is 21% to 5%, respectively.

Youth and employability

Scope of realization in employment

5,3% of all working young people in the sample work with a temporary ("civil") contract, while 4,7% work as temporary labor. Job security is directly dependent on the level of education. 72% of those with higher education, 44% with secondary education and just 4% of young people with lower education work full-time.

The number of young people who are unemployed and actively looking for a job is 37%, while 10% do not work and are not looking for a job – a total of one in ten of all respondents.

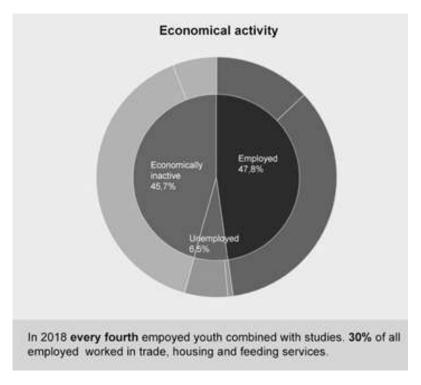


Figure 12. Economical activity [Source: CSP Latvia]

Public and private sphere

Sociological surveys in Latvia as early as in the 90-ies, when the state sector dominated, have shown that young people unlike older ones prefer to work in a private company. The generational gap has been preserved in the new century as well. Our new survey does not highlight any new findings – it simply confirms an already established pattern.

"The tendency towards working in the private sector – both as an aspiration and as an actual situation – remains consistently high."

One specific question in the Latvian survey focuses on the intention of young people to start their own private business. The results are as follows (*see* Table 5):

Table 5

Is starting a private business part of your personal plans? (%)

Answers	Total	14-15	16-19	20-24	25-29
Yes	3	10	18	20	26
No	57	50	48	58	62
I have already started	3	_	1	2	6

The age graph shows the origin, growth and decline in business enthusiasm.

In the context of surveys carried out over the entire duration of the transition period of the country we see a relatively constant share of about fifth of young people who are inclined towards starting their own businesses.

The beginning of the post-communist transition, when "business" too often meant "trickery", in modern-day European Latvia, willingness to take the economic initiative is relative to greater sense of responsibility and accompanied by a desire to test one's strength and not easy gains.

Socially important factors in obtaining work

The public opinion of young people can be mapped by ranging responses according to how often the highest category ("very important") has been selected.

The summary of the results offers some unexpected and contradictory results: the role of chance and predestination stands out. Both factors devalue personal efforts and skills.

The magic aura of luck seems more appropriate for the poorly educated. Indeed, belief in luck in Riga is greater than in the countryside.

"Luck turns out to be a key factor in finding a (suitable) job."

Individual motives for work orientation

Conclusion as to individual motives can be drawn based on an indicator on the standardized response card as well as on questions used systematically in Latvian surveys. A general idea is provided by the following responses:

Factors	Very important (5)	Important (4)
1. Income/ Salary	87	21
2-3. Job security	81	16
2-3. Job satisfaction	81	24
4. Working with colleagues you like	69	23
5. Perspectives for career development	63	54
6. Enough free time	60	27
7. Working with people	55	25
8. Opportunity to do something useful for society	52	27

The paramount importance of the amount of pay for labor is confirmed across the board, especially among young men -89% (83% among women).

It would be overly hasty to conclude that the new generation of young people is grossly capitalistic. It is typical among university students (92%). Evidently, it is a matter of more valued criteria, and greater expectations of the standard of living. In the capital city Riga, where there are more possibilities for use of money than in villages, the temptations of consumerism are more pronounced. In the wake of the transition, money has been affirmed as the universal key to achievement of life opportunities and a criterion of success.

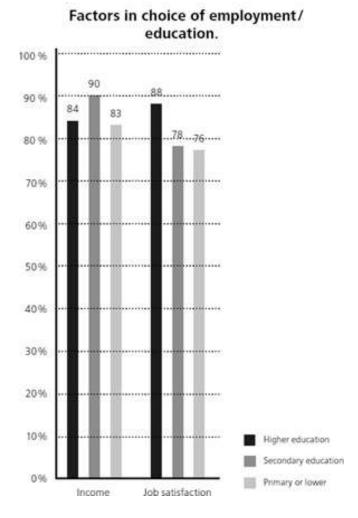


Figure 13. Factors in choice of employment / education

A specific question in the Latvian survey provides an opportunity to evaluate to encroachment of capitalism. The question is "What is more important to you personally – success in life at any cost, albeit with moral compromises, or honesty and integrity, whilst sacrificing personal interests?" Among all respondents, 40% prioritize success, 46% stated honesty, and 14% could not state an answer. Young women (52%) value honesty significantly more than young men (40%). Age dynamics are also interesting. The focus on success grows between 14 and 24 years of age. After the age 25 it drops to the levels of early youth. The aspiration of self-affirmation naturally grows during adulthood after adolescence and encounter with the realities of life demonstrates the importance of the moral criterion. This is the most pronounced among the highly educated (55%) and least marked among the poorly educated (41%).

"Success at all cost in life is highly valued by the young, but with age it gradually succumbs to moral criteria."

Satisfaction

The in-depth interviews and focus groups in the survey showed that the main topic is the gap between expectations and the realities of the labor market. These include expectations of both young people and employers.

One 19-years old boy put it this way: "You can always find job. What is important to me is that I like what I do, and I hope that it's in my line of studies. My friends are oriented towards the modern field and where a lot of jobs can be found. Now that's IT, but personally wouldn't specialize in that because I don't like it, but young people are keen on well-paid jobs."

The level of satisfaction is assessed with a very specific indicator on the response card: "If you had the opportunity to change your profession would you do it?" The responses of young people in work do not show a favorable picture.

Logically enough, those who would not change their profession are most numerous among the highly educated (52%). Higher education makes the bond between persons and their professions stronger. We could expect to see a higher percentage. Among those with secondary education, more people would change their occupation, albeit not a vast majority (39%). It follows that we should bear in mind the fact that Latvian secondary education is still inadequate in preparing people for occupations. Thus, starting a job depends on chance factors, and the notion of an "occupation" itself is, to a great extent, relative.

A desire to change one's occupation can be witnessed among people with lowerthan-average income and the poor. It is not difficult to decipher the motives: paths top a better start are sought.

Conclusions

The study makes it possible to construct a sociological portrait of modern Latvian youth. We have a generation more open to the world than before — European and cosmopolitan identification are almost twice as pronounced, but not at the expense of national self-esteem. Fear for unemployment as well as unemployment itself in the country is quite high.

The inner dynamics of youth as a socio-value-biological grouping are of very high importance. We can observe homogenization, but also make out an important stage in the reproduction of social inequality.

The question of the new historical access posits a new angle. Through new technologies, young people are intensively caught up in the processes of globalization. Consumer culture has developed to a new level. Trust in social networks is high. "Connectivity" is available. At the same time, physical communication with family and friends is growing in importance. The informal environment is of increasing importance to the socialization, thinking and behaviour of a young person. Intergenerational cohesion has greatly alleviated differences between the parents' and their children's generation. Parental influence is key in a very wide variety of ways, from reading books to forming political convictions. Upbringing in the family is highly valued. There is no lack of pedagogical practices in the parent family that youngsters would like to pass on to their children.

The study does not suggest any alarming precursors of social conflicts – generative, ethnic, or ideological. There are no particularly intense, acute or overwhelming anxieties revolving around a single specific problem. At the same time, sensitivities regarding social injustice and corruption should not be underestimated. Optimism about the future has grown, without having reached the point of seeing things in overly rosy terms, nor is this optimism evenly distributed.

The data indicates that conservative attitudes are on the rise. Conservative values do not manifest themselves in more retro-urban and closed groups, but rather in those groups that are more modern and more open to the world. It is not a matter of bringing the past to the present day, but about an orientation towards the world that is fueled by the aspirations of security and stability in one's own life. Life transitions that young people undergo, from education to employment and from parenting to family, are not seamless, but they appear to be free from severe shocks, and relatively smooth and normal. It is not even so much the results as it is the intentions that display a proximity to tradition – one's own home, marriage (typically: the inclination towards a legally married, rather than a free partnership) has increased: two children, guaranteed work. Of course, sometimes realities do not quite align with plans.

Societal issues of importance to young people that were perceived in the past are being reproduced now. They are deepening, not because they are becoming more widespread – in some cases, they are more limited – but because they are not being resolved, and are becoming chronic. Certain vulnerable groups remain at the "bottom" socially speaking, without any clear prospects of their "pushing" their way out of it. Young people who do not study or do not work, the inhabitants of economically backwards regions.

The classic "capital-provincial" divide, which has become a *cliche* in the media and among experts, rarely offers an explanation for processes characterizing Latvian youth.

The amount of serious criticism levied at education most often relates to the lack of practical preparation for future occupations. However, education is the most consensual path to success in life, and this is good news from the study. Higher education leads to be associated with more prestigious and better-paid work, higher material standards, and greater wealth. Many seek ways to apply for studies abroad.

Latvian youth is moving away from the extreme individualism. Solidarity is more highly valued. Sensitivity to social injustice is more salient. The need to care for all members of society is acknowledged. At the same time, for young people, the search for a social solution remains in the realm of the informal environment, in the dialogue with relatives and friends, and not in political institutions. Political leaders and parties do not possess the necessary authority. Young people have distanced themselves further from politics. Deinstitutionalisation is a fact of life.

Europe is a reference point for the vast majority of young people. In many ways, from community principles to actual realization, from material to personal perspectives, Europe expresses what young people do not see in Latvia. Europe in their eyes is doing what they would like to do in their country. Unlike at the end of the last century, even emigration is usually associated with Europe. National and European are the main categories that are employed to refer to the surrounding world. The socialization of young people is effective, if we measure it in terms of integration with public values and traditions, and deficient if we look at it through the prism of their participation in social processes and practices.

The rejuvenating potential of the new generation remains largely limited to the aggregate effect of individual life trajectories. Society needs institutional mechanisms that encourage and make possible the accomplishment of social aims and initiatives spearheaded by young people.

Every fourth young person in Latvia faces material or social deprivation – economic strain, insufficient resources to buy durables, housing deprivation. Approximately every tenth young person in Latvia declares the difficulty to make ends in the household.

The rates of social tensions are also rather high – about 90% young people considers there is tension between poor and rich people in the society.

Satisfaction rate with the present standard of living in Latvia is slightly lower than in the EU in average. Still young people express very divergent views of satisfaction with their income -62%.

Generally speaking – young people are happy because they have the capacity to see beauty of life. Anyone who keeps the ability to see beauty never grows old.

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Aktuāla studija par jauniešu stāvokli Latvijā

Kopsavilkums

Raksts apkopo socioloģiskā pētījuma par Latvijas jaunatni galvenos rezultātus un secinājumus, atspoguļojot jauniešu situāciju vecumā no 14 līdz 29 gadiem. Raksts sniedz iespēju padziļinātam, kritiskam skatījumam uz Latvijas jauniešiem vairākās jomās: ģimenes dzīve un brīvais laiks, izglītība un nodarbinātība, dzīves kvalitāte un sociālās izslēgšanas riski, jauniešu vērtīborientācija. Pētījuma mērķis ir sniegt jauniešu paaudzes portretu vecumā no 14 līdz 29 gadiem un jauniešu situācijas aprakstu Latvijā. Sabiedrība socializē jauniešus un inkorporē tos normu, vērtību un institūciju sistēmās. Jaunieši nav pasīvi saņēmēji, sabiedrība ir atbildīga par savstarpīguma efektu, veidojot Latvijas sabiedrību mūsdienās. Ir nepieciešams noteikt socializācijas efektivitāti un tās iespaidu, no vienas puses, un potenciālu, ko var sniegt jaunieši, no otras puses, kā arī vadlīnijas un šķēršļus, kas pastāv katrā no aplūkojamām jomām.

Atslēgas vārdi: jauniešu socializācija, potenciāls, vērtības.



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