

VYTAUTAS MAGNUS UNIVERSITY

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**LITHUANIAN MILITARY AVIATION PILOTS'  
ACTIVITIES AND LIFESTYLE IN THE SOCIAL AND  
CULTURAL CONTEXT AT THE END OF THE 20TH  
CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING  
OF THE 21ST CENTURY**

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VYTAUTO DIDŽIOJO UNIVERSITETAS

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**LIETUVOS KARO AVIACIJOS LAKŪNŲ  
VEIKLA IR GYVENSENA  
XX a. PABAIGOS – XXI a. PRADŽIOS  
SOCIALINIAME IR KULTŪRINIAME KONTEKSTE**

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## INTRODUCTION

Although the aviation in the world is existing for more than 100 years, for military history and human development it is a new and modern socio-cultural phenomenon. Civil aviation has changed human possibilities to travel and has become an important mode of transport, and military aviation during the two world wars revealed as a new modern type of military forces. Since the aviation occurrence the pilot was required to have a good health and education. Risky work continually forces to develop practical and theoretical skills. Flying expensive aircrafts develops the sense of responsibility and pride in his activity. This definitely formed and forms the lifestyle of war pilots, a unique outlook, traditions, norms of behavior that are different from those of the military and the public. For this reason, pilots say about their work as follows: *it is not a service, it is a way of life* (VDU ER 2582 1 / II-1), *where aviation begins - military ends* (VDU ER 2582 1 / II-3). The current Lithuanian military aviation structure, activities, lifestyle are determined not only by requirements for that specific profession, but also by our country's social, economic, geopolitical, historical, cultural context. In the country cities of Kaunas, Šiauliai, Panevėžys during interwar equipped military aerodromes became an integral part of Lithuanian aviation history.

**Exploratory problem:** military aviation pilots service and activity's relationship with the social and cultural environment of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

**Hypothesis:** the military aviation pilots' activity and lifestyle at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries is influenced not only by service, Lithuanian military aviation history and traditions, but also by close links with the modern society lifestyle features, determining the exploratory group's integration into our country's social and cultural life. But the most important factor in the formation of the pilots' service and lifestyle's social and cultural characteristics, is aviation's particularity.

**Subject:** Lithuanian military aviation pilots' activity and lifestyle at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**Purpose:** to analyze Lithuanian military pilots' activity and lifestyle, to determine peculiarities expression forms in society, distinguish characteristic pilots' activity and lifestyle features and reveal their singularities in the social and cultural context of the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **Objectives:**

1. discuss the historical, geopolitical, legal, economic and cultural contexts affecting military aviation and pilots' lifestyle;
2. analyze Lithuanian military pilots' service social and cultural characteristics and their impact on the exploratory group's activity and lifestyle;
3. assess military aviation's social and cultural relationship with cities and suburbs, as well as expression forms of the relationship;
4. analyze pilots' casual, recreational social and cultural features, that form their lifestyle.

**Relevance and novelty.** Today we have relatively large numbers of science works for analyzing the Lithuanian military and aviation history. This is not surprising, because our country's military aviation in the interwar period and the current period by the number of people and the technique was not and is not large, so it is analyzed in detail by historians. Worth mentioning "Lithuanian aviation" (Ramoška 2009) by Gytis Ramoška, "Aviation in Lithuania 1919-1940" (Gamziukas 1993) by Algirdas Gamziukas, and "Two decades on the sky guard" (Gamziukas 2012). Algimantas Liekis "Lithuanian military aviation 1919 - 1940" (Liekis 1999) and "Winged Lithuania" (Liekis 2008), Waldemar Rezmer "Litewskie Lotnictwo Wojskowe 1919 - 1940" ("Lithuanian military aviation 1919-1940") (Rezmer 1999).

Nevertheless, there are no studies on the pilots, as a specific society group's activity and lifestyle, so this dissertation is the first *integrated* analysis of the Lithuanian military group's activity and lifestyle from ethnological point of view.

This type of study has become possible only in a democratic, independent country, where the military is open to the public. Now you can learn about it in military web pages, published magazines, in public soldiers' speeches, scientific researches. Journalists are allowed in the bodies of troops, there are organized celebrations for getting the military and society closer together, soldiers along with the country's population participate in development and upbringing of the young generation.

Despite the above-mentioned circumstances, we see that the complexity of the study and in particular data collection was determined by military statutory environment, whose requirements and procedures had to be respected not only by the respondents but also by the author of the dissertation.

The work is *relevant*, since analyzing pilots' lifestyle from ethnological point of view, it is aimed to explore the most characteristic features of pilots' activity and lifestyle. The work examines how Lithuanian military aviation pilots lifestyle's social and cultural characteristics are associated with the selected professional specifics and pilots living environment in urban and suburban areas. In order to understand this group's social and cultural environment, pilots' factors affecting pilots' lifestyle are discussed: historical, geopolitical, legal, economic and cultural context.

The military aviation pilots' group studied in the dissertation is statistically very small, amounting to only 0,0044 per cent of the country's population. Although the pilots' service is as if well seen outwardly, but the soldiers' daily life, their family environment, the relationship with the public and to it related social and cultural activity and lifestyle features of the studied pilots' group is almost completely unknown to the public. The author, by exploring this topic and bringing scientific publications (Griškus 2009, 2011a; 2011b; 2012 2013, 2014), noticed that the pilots' activities and lifestyle is closely linked not only with the service and work environment, which is completely understandable, but also with the Lithuanian cities and their suburbs, which are located near military airfields. Pilots also blend into urban life, both in the past, and nowadays. A complex study of a small military group becomes also significant for all of our country people's lifestyle in the context of changes of cultural and social processes. A community also becomes an instrument of a public analysis (Čepaitienė 2013: 80).

The study of this specific group also allows to understand our country's modern lifestyle problems, with new insights enrich the research of military and social groups. The work could help in the preparation of the guidelines of the country's army, military aviation strategy and structure, as well dealing with social society issues.

### **Defensive statements:**

1. The environment that surrounds the Lithuanian military aviation, has formed military pilots' activity and lifestyle that is specific only for our country, which, among other factors, is also determined by a political West-Eastern countries as well as the periphery of military and political blocks.

2. Singularity of pilots' lifestyle is also determined by social and cultural military aviation activity peculiarities that are related with the service.

3. Military pilots' activity and lifestyle is historically, culturally, socially, geographically closely related with urban and suburban areas.

4. Pilots' family traditions, though determined by peculiarities of the service, are mostly taken from the parents, and leisure time interests and forms are closely related to the requirements of the service.

**Methods.** *Field research methods:* observation, interview (structured and unstructured) conversation, keeping researcher's diaries, collection of visual material (photos, films). *Methods used for analysis of the collected material:* comparative, descriptive, analysis of ethnographic material data, visual study method.

### **Structure of dissertation**

The dissertation consists of introduction, an overview of the study, four parts, conclusions, a list of sources and references, and annexes. The first part deals with military pilots' activity and the environment, affecting the military aviation pilots' service and lifestyle. The second part analyzes the reasons for the choice of the service, pilots' training, skills, behavior and outlook identities. Analyzed their symbols, the pilots group's traditions. The third part focuses on the analysis of aviation significance for development of these cities, its forms of expression, discusses the basic aviation infrastructure object - aerodrome's relationship with the social and cultural urban environment. Analyzed aviation's festivities, as an important part of aviation city traditions and culture. The fourth section analyzes the impact of service for choosing the place of residence, housing, family social and cultural environment. Examined pilots' hobbies and leisure time.

## I. CONTEXTS OF LITHUANIAN MILITARY AVIATION PILOTS ACTIVITIES

Lithuanian military aviation, in comparison with military air force held in great states, is small and can only carry a specific - logistics and servicing activities. In order to save the country's money, together with the military civilian search and rescue functions are carried out. The available capacity is an important part of NATO's military structure, according to the alliance needs and special preparation being able to participate in the integrated military missions with other countries. The Lithuanian military aviation consists of Transport planes, Helicopters squadrons and Light attack aircraft link.

The past is inseparable from the current changes. It was not a coincidence that in 1988-1989 during *perestroika* and the Movement revived pre-war Lithuania's 1918-1940 historical mentality and stereotypes. Interwar aviation and its achievements became the basis also for the restoration of the Lithuanian military aviation. This for many new information has become important in shaping these days pilot's outlook. According to historians, the doctoral observations, there can be distinguished four Lithuanian military aviation development periods that are most important for the historical context: 1) the inter-war Republic of Lithuania, 1919 - 1940; 2) Lithuania occupied by Nazi Germany, 1941 - 1944; 3) Lithuania occupied by the Soviet Union, 1940 - 1941 and 1944 - 1990; 4) restoration of the Republic of Lithuania, 1990 - 2015. All the four listed aviation historical development stages differently shaped the current social and cultural features of military aviation.

Lithuania is a relatively small country, which borders with the Russian Federation, Poland, Belarus, Latvia. A small area is determined by the current aviation infrastructure layout: aviation base in Šiauliai, search and rescue stations in Kaunas and Nemirseta serving for civil and military aviation, giving assistance to other national authorities. Historic periphery between East and West led to the emergence of military aviation facilities in certain areas as well as the NATO air policing, based in Šiauliai, generally protected area status.

Military legal system is of one type at peacetime and another at wartime. Since Lithuania belongs to NATO, our country's laws must be consistent with this military

bloc's judicial system. Another legal aspect forming socio-cultural environment of this group is its legal rules governing behavior military service. Situation of military pilots is even more complicated because their work and activities are established by aviation regulations.

The economic context reveals the country's economic situation, aviation technology, high costs of preparing pilots, pilots' social benefits and rewards. It is necessary to bear in mind that the state provides good social benefits for military aviation pilots, and their fair salaries influence not only for motivation of service, but also for the quality of life. Thus, economic opportunities in Lithuania also determine the conditions to have aerial powers.

Military pilots' activities are also under the influence of our nation's cultural development peculiarities. More than half a century of occupation period and the existence in the constitution of the Soviet Union left not only Russian, but also relicts of the Soviet culture. A change in the political situation, after opening of borders, after Lithuania's accession to NATO and the EU, in the country began to increase Western cultural traits. They are noticed in military aviation environment too. Aviation traditions are also influenced by military culture. Like in the military, aviation structure and hierarchy are defined by a system of signs and symbols. It is used as a communication tool. In the army a lot of events, dates, ceremonies are ritualized replete with a variety of symbolic actions. Although they are defined as normative acts there also exist informal ones, revealing the features typical for pilots' community. Religious aspect is important too, because Christianity is an integral part of our national culture, in the military composition chaplaincy is functioning, with its active participation in military events and ceremonies. Military aviation pilots' traditions differ in abundance of aviation symbolism. The most important reason for forming these traditions is the desire to fly.

## II. PECULIARITIES OF MILITARY PILOTS' SERVICE IN THE AIR FORCE

Since differ not only flying aircraft personnel functions, but also education and military ranks, so reasons of choice of pilots, onboard technicians, onboard operators and rescuers professions are ventilated, discussing them separately. 33,33 per cent of surveyed aviators got acquainted with aviation in childhood and adolescence. They started to fly early enough as people close to them encouraged to do it. This sort of early experience should be identified as particularly significant for pilots' socio-cultural environment, since becoming members of pilots' community, officers, they continue the traditions even thinking and behavioral elements taken from their previous generations. Striving to become a pilot - it's childhood and youth's dream that become true, which prompted to find a favorite work, improve not only the quality of the work, motivation but also self-identification with the profession. Respondents' survey data show that even 68,34 percent of military aviation pilots were born and raised in avionics environment-related areas. 33,33 per cent of all respondents indicated that one of the reasons to become a pilot was nearby airfields and airplanes, helicopters, gliders often flying over the place of residence. However, it should be borne in mind that most of the respondents coming from influence of airfields spheres were born and raised in the four largest cities - Vilnius, Kaunas, Šiauliai and Panevėžys or come from places close to those urban areas.

According to the learning time and place pilots can be assorted into 4 groups. The first group - the pilots, who completed University and higher military schools during the Soviet era (pilots and technicians on-board); second - graduated from Vilnius Gediminas University Antanas Gustaitis Aviation Institute (pilots and technicians on-board); the third group of pilots have completed a joint training program at the General Jonas Žemaitis Lithuanian Military Academy along with Antanas Gustaitis Aviation Institute (pilots); the fourth group – the pilots prepared at an Air force structure by special training programs (on-board technicians, on-board operators, rescuers). 90 percent of respondents have higher education diplomas.

Common goals, interests, standards of conduct and traditions also form the community features of the tested pilots' group. Pilots' communication at service is

closely related to the specifics of work: flight in team, different degrees, education, age and specifics of the pilots close communication. This type of communication during a flight and at service (on duty) creates a good pilots' relationship. The circle of people with whom they are interacting, becomes a whole generating common goals, ideas, which uses symbols characteristic only to it. Flying not only determines the most important features of the community, but over the pilots' identity also reveals uniqueness of this community. Pilots are quite sceptical at estimating non flying personnel serving in the air force and not directly linked to flying (except aircraft technicians and previously flying colleagues now staffs working in headquarters). During the study, respondents confirmed that pilots have their own behaviour and communication norms, even relatively liberal order. Meanwhile, the land military order, to their opinion, not fully meets the needs of the aerospace and in many places even is contrary to the hierarchy typical to the officers of military air forces and so on. In addition to this in military aircraft, there is also established much more liberal attitude when subordination under a soldier's hierarchy is not so important, especially during flights - in the first place is a group communication and a crew's concord.

The study revealed that most, even 62,75 per cent of used symbols are directly related to aviation. For the identity of the tested group also are important the songs that are loved by its members. Important words which can not be called jargon, but having different than usual meanings and expressing *self*-compliance with the flight. Pilots' service-specific, social relationships are determined by flying a particular type of aircrafts. The military labelling system, clothes allow to identify themselves with their group. In particular, it helps the pilots whose clothing (suits, leather jackets, blue go-to-meeting uniforms) is different from the other forces.

Although official state and military events are celebrated, a very important place is also given to pilots' community traditions. They can be divided into six groups. They are: the state, the army, military aviation, personal and calendar holidays, and other military aviation traditions. The most significant is the first independent flight which by its cultural and spiritual environment in aviation is equated to the commemoration of real christenings, second birthday- this tradition can be regarded as the main part of aviation culture, having links with male initiation rites, successful integration into the community and socialization.

### **III. LITHUANIAN MILITARY AVIATION IN THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF CITIES AND SUBURBS**

Pilot's occupation by its nature is urban. So military pilots from occurrence of the aviation have become an integral part of urban and suburban population. Emergence of aviation infrastructure has contributed to the streamline of urban development, forming their suburbs, in one way or another, had impact to people's social relationship, created a history. The research has shown that a crucial element of aviation is airfield. This object should be considered as a major element of communication with the city, the structure of which has changed and evolved along with the needs of aviation and the surrounding cities influencing their history, urban development, culture and even identity. Historical, military, natural circumstances, determined that the most important military aviation airfields in Lithuania in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were set up in Kaunas, Šiauliai and Panevėžys suburbs. Even after the destruction of the Lithuanian military aviation in 1940, the Soviet Union, then Nazi Germany's air forces used them. Therefore, not only them, but their history have become an integral part of the pilots lifestyle, leading to the choice of place of residence, development and support of aviation traditions. The review of the cities and aviation objects related with aviation also revealed that the main military aviation zones must be kept Kaunas, Šiauliai, Panevėžys, because in these cities in the interwar period, during the Soviet era, after restoration of an independent Lithuania, was stationed the military aviation. At present, aviation is concentrated in Šiauliai, in Kaunas is only a search and rescue station and the headquarters of the Air Force, and occasionally S. Darius and S. Girėnas aerodrome is used by NATO helicopters. However, in spite of commonalities, since the inter-war these cities led to a different environment.

The military airfield, acting near the city as a large and strategically important object, also affects an urban lifestyle. The military airfield as a large object on the edge of the city forms streamlines of development of the city, the surrounding architecture, transport infrastructure. The operating airfield as Šiauliai case showed, are direct and indirect economic benefits to the city. In Soviet times, for this reason there used to live foreign military families. The military airfields determined that next to them or in place of them would also emerge civil airports, for which maintaining the military funds are

used. In Soviet times, and after the restoration of independence around aviation centers there were created a number of jobs (DOOSAF aero clubs, factories), which also had an impact on the urban development.

At that time existing aero clubs as well in their own way cherished aviation traditions, and also saved the possibility to fly. Classes and practical activities for some future pilots was the only option to obtain a pilot's license. Successfully flown in aero clubs, they could join to learn at DOSSAF - semi-militarized USSR flying schools. In this way lots of pilots came to the Lithuanian air force, after the restoration of independence. A significant reason for the formation of the aviation environment is that in all of these discussed places was created the necessary aviation infrastructure. Its development was stimulated by military needs: first, during the war, then in Soviet times, when Lithuania became a boundary zone with the West and the East. Although the airfield is considered to be an object of noise, pollution, it is the element reflecting the city's specifics and colouring of the city. The inter-war and even the Soviet aviation's tangible and intangible heritage becomes an integral part of the city's history.

The study of cultural military aviation means of expression in the city, it became clear that in addition to other methods of operation, the most important role is the aviation holidays. They often become an integral part of aviators' community lifestyle and the city's cultural life. This is not surprising, because in the cities and suburbs features of aviation holidays were already formed in the interwar period. During them a lot of attention was paid to the aviation history and pilots' social and cultural activities. The present holiday traditions develop this trend, and the festive theme is significantly expanded by the cooperation with the NATO military aviation forces. The analysis of the present day aviation holidays and assess of their specificity, allows to distinguish three types of this sort of holidays: 1) *aviation festivals for Lithuanian military aviation history*; in festivities, as an integral part of it also participate representatives of civil and sports aviation; 2) *aviation festivals for sport amateur aviation*; they are based on this type of aircraft performance, but as a major accent also participates the military aviation; 3) *society and the military depolarizing and other holidays*; military aviation is involved minimally.

Arranging aviation holidays Air Force seek to present their activities. In Lithuania at the moment we can distinguish three types of aviation holidays: festivals organized by

the Air Force, amateurish aviation festivals; society and the military depolarizing holidays, where the military aviation is involved. Because of the country's small size, the economic situation, amateur aviation participates in the military festivals, sometimes other army forces are involved. NATO aircrafts and pilots, as the partners, participate in the events too. Air Force aircrafts as an accent are invited to the amateurish and sports events. The interest in festivals is revealed by the number of people involved. These events must also be considered as the holidays of the cities where they are held.

#### **IV. MILITARY AVIATION PILOTS' LIFESTYLE: HOME, FAMILY, LEISURE**

The airfield has always been a focal point for determining a choice of pilots' residential area. Comparing the inter-war period, the Soviet and the current situation, it is different in the distance from work to their place of residence and residential housing, its property. Unlike the interwar period and the Soviet era, today a number of pilots living in residential areas or suburbs located near the airfields is relatively small. They are mainly located in cities, suburban, urban areas or settlements little related to aviation. Service location is also a significant cause determining the choice of residential place, because a number of respondents living in Šiauliai, Panevėžys, Nemirseta and Kaunas military aviation zones is as much as 81,66 percent. An important aspect is that the service in Lithuanian Air Force enables comparatively to have a sedentary family life. Small distances and permanent service places make it possible to plan the purchase of residential housing, to adjust to a wife's work. Place of residence, housing also determines a human's lifestyle. Some Lithuanian military pilots have their own, the other (younger) have apartments for rent, the third live in their own houses in the city or suburb, still others for their leisure activities acquired cottages in the country, collective gardens. Knowing the military service specificity associated with business trips, duties, missions, it means that when a pilot is away, domestic work, children's care fall to his wife. Opportunity to gain a private house, a cottage in the country also shows financial possibilities of the tested group of the military aviation pilots. Residence data analysis showed that today the Lithuanian military aviation pilots have a pretty good life and living conditions, which allow to choose - to live in an

apartment or buy a private house. These lifestyle features also reflect the needs to have a land ownership, grow their own vegetables, after a long work week to spend time working on a farm. It should be noted that the interviewed pilots, who have newly built their homes, most of the work did by themselves or with the help of relatives and friends. Development of changes of pilots' lifestyle confirms problems of suburban accommodation and needs, also revealing rural experience of population of our country.

It was recorded that Catholics -98 percent compose the majority of the studied group. For a higher proportion of the respondents – 66,67 percent, religion is an important element in their current family cultural environment. The study noted that the military chaplain services are mainly used by pilots when getting married and baptizing children. This is a clear sign that shows the religion ratio not only in pilots' service and everyday life but also the religiosity of pilots themselves. 35 percent of pilots' family wedding, baptism sacrament has been given by the Air Force Chaplain. The data and analysis indicate that when pilots grew up, religious holidays were an integral part of family traditions, connecting family, promoting communication with relatives, as well as from the childhood formed the pilots' approach to religion and family traditions. The answers revealed that Christmas, Christmas Eve, Easter, New Year, birthdays at pilots parents' homes were important family holidays, having affected the current pilots' family traditions.

It is fixed that religion in war aviation (including the military), also intertwines with the pilot's routine because in the military structures the spiritual life of the staff is supported by clergy - chaplains. Therefore, religiosity in the service is also directly related to the pilots' spiritual life in the family.

The study of the analysis enables to state that the military aviation pilots' family holidays at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century reflect the Lithuanian family traditions. Holiday taken over from parents dominate, but having become the military there increased celebrations of public holidays. It is connected with the military structures' participation in the commemoration of national holidays. Polls have shown that pilots' families also take part in the Air Force and Air Base events, so family holidays naturally blend with the festive traditions held in the service. It is also observed that for family traditions of the tested group are also typical aero elements that show respect for the pilot, a family man and a father's chosen profession. This is considered to be very strong

stimulus, forming aviation traditions in service and family. Visiting pilots homes it was noticed that they are rich in photos and souvenirs with aircraft, children's toys, as well as shirts with avionics symbols worn in free from service time and so on. It is obvious that pilots their identity seek to preserve not only at work but also at home. Other important attributes - T-shirts, caps, key chains. In this way, by the initiative of the pilots, signs confirming their aviation-related identity appear in everyday environments, in a car. Elements of military pilots' uniform, even the same uniform is increasingly becoming a symbol. As the study showed, pilots often wear it during the wedding, and it gradually becomes a tradition in the Air Force.

The study showed that pilots are not particularly fond of the academic music events, but they also attend them together with their wives –initiators of this sort of tours. Analysis of the survey data suggests that the pilots' interests in this regard are broad, and though clearly dominate historical, technical and popular scientific literature related to the profession, in the sense of theme it is quite diverse, and reading books for some is a form of recreation, for others - a tool for improvement. Summarized the importance of television for pilots' life, it can be seen that it is different than reading a book. If in the previous case clearly dominated desire to get historical and technical knowledge related with pilots' profession, educate and expand their professional competence, so watching TV programs, military aviation pilots mostly satisfy their cultural and informational needs. Although pilots, often listen to music, they do not name it as a form of leisure. Even if they listen to various genres of music, mostly through the radio stations, have their own favourite music, performers, all kinds of music for them is mostly just as a natural background, conductor of their busy daily life, without which, as we have seen from the survey results, the members of the tested group, can not imagine their activities and rest.

Sport is a very important pilots' hobby. It was pointed out by even 46,66 per cent of respondents, so almost half of the tested group. Sport as a pilot's leisure hobby was indicated not by chance, since it is directly related with the service. As it is known, one of the most important a pilot's working conditions is good health and physical preparation, so sport as a hobby naturally links pilots' daily life and service. A large part of pilots, their leisure time also connect with aviation. The range of interests related to aviation, as presenters indicated, is quite broad: flying in air clubs, model making,

management of their own aircrafts, interest in aviation history, development of aviation websites, collecting aviation items. Like all people, in their spare time pilots work at their homes, farmsteads, or just spend time with the family. Pilots also enjoy active recreation in nature, fishing, cycling, canoeing, skiing. 16,63 percent of respondents indicated motorcycles as a leisure hobby. According to pilots, motorcycles are related to the Lithuanian aviation history. Today links between motocyclusm and aviation are testified by bikers' meetings often held in aerodromes.

## CONCLUSIONS

1. Social and cultural situation of the Lithuanian military aviation was conditioned by our country's geopolitical position, namely, the boundary between the West and the East, which determined by hitherto used occurrence of aviation facilities. Military, aviation, NATO, the EU and Lithuanian legal norms today set the pilots' activities and standards of behaviour, also influence traditions. The economic situation of the country defines the country's air force capabilities and strategic guidelines. The cultural context also forms norms and traditions of social conduct in the service, family, reveals the general socio-cultural features of the Lithuanian military aviation. These circumstances formed the possibilities of the Lithuanian military aviation to carry out mostly logistic and serviced nature activities related to civil society needs, and participation in the NATO structure.

2. Aviation environment had an important impact on pilots' choice of profession. Most pilots grew up in Šiauliai, Panevėžys, Kaunas, Vilnius cities and next to them, where in Soviet times were the biggest Lithuanian military airfields, military aviation bases and civilian airports. Some of them attended aviation clubs, others decision to become a pilot was also determined by family members aviators, having conveyed the traditions, thinking and behavioural elements of previous generations.

3. The examination of the qualifications of pilots, found that 90 percent of respondents have gained University, more rarely - a college education. The most important link in the military aviation personnel are pilots - aeronautical officers, constituting a majority in the tested group. They become Air Base, Air Force commanders, occupy high positions in headquarters, they determine the Air Force strategy, structure-forming vision, personnel policy, traditions. The study showed that after having graduated aviation schools pilots are more motivated, have a common understanding of aviation (compared to those who graduated from the common Aviation Institute and the Military Academy program). In order to preserve the aviation thinking, behaviour norms, traditions, pilots have to be prepared not at the Military Academy, but at Antanas Gustaitis Aviation Institute, where aviation environment prevails, most of the teachers are former pilots or people closely related to aviation.

4. The military aviation pilots cultural environment is an important feature of the uniqueness of this group, revealing the sense of community, identification with their profession using the symbols, distinguishing by peculiar behaviour rules. There is also significant abundance of traditions, some of which are formed by military environment, emphasizing pilots' belonging to the aviators' community. The most important feature of these traditions need to be kept the young pilots' christening ceremonies, after the first autonomous flight and emphasizing that a new pilot was born. The specifics of military aviation cultural environment is also revealed by a chaplain's operations, psychologically reinforcing pilots' behaviour in communication and service.

5. An important pilots' service lifestyle environment are cities. In the Lithuanian cities - Kaunas, Šiauliai and Panevėžys, since the inter-war, in addition to commonalities, evolved different aviation environment. The study showed that namely the military not a civil aviation airfield is the main object in relationship to each of the cities. An airfield determines investment, streamline of urban development, disposition of districts that are next to airfields, composition of the population, as well as the city's identity and cultural background. Inter-war and even the Soviet aviation's tangible and intangible heritage becomes an integral part of the city's history. Investments in the military airfield infrastructure, as demonstrated the studied case of Šiauliai, stimulated the city's economic recovery too. Meanwhile, in Panevėžys after closure of a military airfield and absence of a civil airport, aviation activity weakened, the city lost the ability to be an air transport hub, decreased opportunities for development. The analysis of the cultural ways of expression in aviation, found that the most important role goes to aviation celebrations held in aerodromes, which often become an integral part of aviators community's lifestyle and the city's cultural life.

6. Pilots' residential places and their choice most often are associated with aeronautical zones, i.e. Šiauliai, Kaunas, Panevėžys, Klaipėda (Nemirseta), Vilnius districts. Another important aspect is that the service in Lithuanian Air Force gives a possibility to a comparatively settled family life. Small distances and permanent service make it possible to plan the purchase of residential housing, to adjust to a wife's work. Pilots earlier than other military personnel can begin to form a sedentary family living environment. Due to the possibility to choose a permanent place of residence, financial resources, a private house is often constructed (purchased). This choice is determined by

the current lifestyle and fashion change, colleagues examples, and other circumstances.

7. Lithuanian military pilots' family holidays reflect the festivities that are celebrated in our country. Comparing pilots' childhood and current family traditions it was observed an increased celebration of public holidays, that should be attributed not only to the restoration of independence, but also the service. Another distinctive feature is usage of the aviation elements during weddings, christenings. Impact of a pilot's service on everyday life is revealed by aviation symbolism at home: clothes, toys, souvenirs. This is an important factor forming respondents' daily life, family home environment, family identity in relation to aviation.

8. Most of the pilots' interests are related to the nature of the service, less to the personal needs. The themes of read literature, watched movies, shows, point out that these means are used to obtain information, education and self-improvement. From all respondents' hobbies and pastime forms, the most important is sport, which is needed in maintaining physical fitness necessary for the pilot. Identity is revealed by aircraft hobbies - flying other means than military aviation aircrafts. This hobby was named by 35 percent of respondents. There was also distinguished a passion to ride motorcycles, which most respondents link with the history of aviation. The mentioned free time forms connect pilots' daily life and service, confirming the assertion that aviation is not a service, but a way of life. A substantial number of respondents spend their free time in active work, travelling. The study shows that almost all pilots' ways of rest are active connected with the new knowledge, work, activities. According to the survey, pilots can be described as an inquiring and active group, integrated into modern society.

# LIETUVOS KARO AVIACIJOS LAKŪNŲ VEIKLA IR GYVENSENA XX a. PABAIGOS – XXI a. PRADŽIOS SOCIALINIAME IR KULTŪRINIAME KONTEKSTE

## Santrauka

Nors aviacijai pasaulyje jau daugiau nei 100 metų, karybos istorijai ir žmonijos raidai tai naujas ir modernus sociokultūrinis reiškinys. Civilinė aviacija pakeitė žmogaus galimybes keliauti ir tapo svarbia transporto rūšimi, o karo aviacija per du pasaulinius karus atsiskleidė kaip nauja moderni karinių pajėgų rūšis. Nuo pat aviacijos atsiradimo lakūnui buvo keliami dideli sveikatos ir išsilavinimo reikalavimai. Rizikingas darbas verčia nuolat lavinti praktinius ir teorinius įgūdžius. Skraidymas brangiais orlaiviais ugdo atsakomybės ir pasididžiavimu, savo veikla, jausmą. Tai neabejotinai formavo ir formuoja karo lakūnų gyvenimą, savitą pasaulėžiūrą, tradicijas, elgesio normas, kurios skiriasi nuo kitų kariškių ir visuomenės. Lakūnai dėl šios priežasties apie savo darbą sako: *tai ne tarnyba, o gyvenimo būdas* (VDU ER 2582 1/II–1), *kur prasideda aviacija – baigiasi kariuomenė* (VDU ER 2582 1/II–3). Dabartinės Lietuvos karo aviacijos struktūrą, veiklą, lakūnų gyvenimą lemia ne tik šiai profesijai būdingi reikalavimai, bet ir mūsų šalies socialinis, ekonominis, geopolitinis, istorinis, kultūrinis kontekstas. Šalies miestuose Kaune, Šiauliuose, Panevėžyje tarpukaryje įrengti kariniai aerodromai tapo sudėtine Lietuvos aviacijos istorijos dalimi.

Tiriamoji **problema**: karo aviacijos lakūnų tarnybos ir veiklos santykis su socialine ir kultūrine XX a. pabaigos – XXI a. pradžios aplinka.

**Hipotezė**: karo aviacijos lakūnų XX a. pabaigos XXI a. pradžios veiklai ir gyvenimui įtakos turi ne tik tarnyba, Lietuvos karo aviacijos istorija ir tradicijos, bet ir glaudžios sąsajos su šiuolaikinės visuomenės gyvenimo ypatumais, lemiančiais tiriamos grupės integravimąsi į mūsų šalies socialinį ir kultūrinį gyvenimą. Tačiau svarbiausias veiksnys, formuojantis lakūnų tarnybos ir gyvenimo socialinius ir kultūrinius bruožus, yra aviacijos specifika.

**Objektas**: Lietuvos karo aviacijos lakūnų veikla ir gyvenimas XX a. pabaigoje – XXI a. pradžioje.

**Tikslas:** analizuojant Lietuvos karo lakūnų veiklą ir gyvenimą, nustatyti savitumus ir raiškos visuomenėje formas, išskirti būdingiausius lakūnų veiklos ir gyvenimo bruožus bei atskleisti jų ypatumus XX a. pabaigos – XXI a. pradžios socialiniame ir kultūriniame kontekste.

**Uždaviniai:**

1. aptarti karo aviaciją ir lakūnų gyvenimą veikiančius istorinį, geopolitinį, teisinį, ekonominį ir kultūrinį kontekstus;
2. išanalizuoti Lietuvos karo lakūnų tarnybos socialinius ir kultūrinius bruožus ir jų įtaką tiriamos grupės veiklai ir gyvenimui;
3. įvertinti karo aviacijos socialinį ir kultūrinį santykį su miestais ir priemiesčiais bei šio santykio raiškos formas;
4. išanalizuoti lakūnų kasdienos, laisvalaikio socialinius ir kultūrinius bruožus, formuojančius gyvenimą.

**Aktualumas ir naujumas.** Mokslo darbų Lietuvos kariuomenės ir aviacijos istorijai analizuoti šiandien jau yra palyginti nemažai. Tai visiškai nenuostabu, nes mūsų šalies karo aviacija tarpukariu ir dabartiniu laikotarpiu žmonių skaičiumi bei technika nebuvo ir nėra didelė, todėl ji istorikų išgildenta detalai. Paminėtini Gyčio Ramoškos „Lietuvos aviacija“ (Ramoška 2009), Algirdo Gamziuko „Aviacija Lietuvoje 1919 – 1940“ (Gamziukas 1993) ir „Du dešimtmečiai padangių sargyboje“ (Gamziukas 2012). Algimanto Liekio „Lietuvos karo aviacija 1919 – 1940“ (Liekis 1999) ir „Sparnuotoji Lietuva“ (Liekis 2008), Waldemaro Rezmerio „Litewskie Lotnictwo Wojskowe 1919 – 1940“ („Lietuvos karinė aviacija 1919 – 1940“) (Rezmer 1999).

Nepaisant to, tyrimų apie lakūnų, kaip savitos visuomenės grupės veiklą ir gyvenimą, nėra, todėl ši disertacija yra pirmasis Lietuvoje kariškių grupės veiklą ir gyvenimą etnologiniu požiūriu *kompleksiškai* analizuojantis darbas.

Šio pobūdžio tyrimas tapo galimas tik demokratiniame, nepriklausomoje šalyje, kurioje kariuomenė yra atvira visuomenei. Dabar apie ją galima sužinoti kariškuose internetiniuose puslapiuose, leidžiamuose žurnaluose, viešuose kariškių pasisakymuose, moksliniuose tyrimuose. Į karinius dalinius įleidžiami žurnalistai, rengiamos šventės

kariuomenės ir visuomenės suartinimui, kariškiai kartu su šalies gyventojais dalyvauja kuriant ir auklėjant jaunąją kartą.

Nežiūrint minėtų aplinkybių, tenka pastebėti, kad tyrimo sudėtingumą ir ypač duomenų kaupimą, lėmė kariška statutinė aplinka, kurios reikalavimų ir tvarkos privalėjo laikytis ne tik respondentai, bet ir disertacijos autorius.

Darbas *aktualus*, kadangi analizuojant lakūnų gyvenimą etnologiniu požiūriu, siekiama iširti būdingiausias lakūnų veiklos ir gyvenimo bruožus. Darbe gvildinama, kaip Lietuvos karo aviacijos lakūnų gyvenimo socialiniai ir kultūriniai ypatumai siejasi su pasirinktos profesinės veiklos specifika ir lakūnų gyvenamąja aplinka miestuose ir priemiesčiuose. Siekiant suvokti šios grupės socialinę ir kultūrinę aplinką, aptariami ir lakūnų gyvenimą veikiantys faktoriai: istorinis, geopolitinis, teisinis, ekonominis ir kultūrinis kontekstas.

Disertacijoje tiriama karo aviacijos lakūnų grupė statistiškai yra labai maža, sudaranti vos 0,0044 procento šalies gyventojų. Nors lakūnų tarnyba išoriškai yra lyg ir gerai matoma, tačiau visuomenei bemaž visai nežinoma šių kariškių kasdienybė, jų šeimų aplinka, santykis su visuomene bei su tuo susiję socialiniai ir kultūriniai tiriamos lakūnų grupės veiklos ir gyvenimo bruožai. Autorius, tirdamas šią temą ir skelbdamas mokslines publikacijas (Griškus 2009; 2011a.; 2011b.; 2012; 2013; 2014), pastebėjo, kad lakūnų veikla ir gyvenimas glaudžiai susijusi ne tik su tarnyba ir darbo aplinka, kas yra visiškai suprantama, bet ir su Lietuvos miestais ir jų priemiesčiais, šalia kurių įsikūrę kariniai aerodromai. Į šių miestų gyvenimą ir praeityje, ir dabar įsilieja ir lakūnai. Kompleksinis nedidelės kariškių grupės tyrimas tampa reikšmingas ir visos mūsų šalies žmonių gyvenimo kultūrinių ir socialinių procesų kaitos kontekste, nes anot Roberto Redfieldo, tik tyrinėjant mažą bendruomenę kaip visumą, galima priartėti prie visuomenės (Redfield 1967: 1–2). Būtent tokia bendruomenė tampa ir visuomenės analizės instrumentu (Čepaitienė 2013: 80).

Šios specifinės grupės tyrimas leidžia suvokti ir mūsų šalies šiuolaikinės gyvenimo problemas, naujomis įžvalgomis praturtinti kariuomenės ir socialinių grupių tyrimus. Darbas galėtų padėti ir ruošiant šalies kariuomenės, karo aviacijos strategijos ir struktūros gaires bei sprendžiant pilietinės visuomenės kūrimo problemas.

### ***Ginamieji teiginiai:***

1. Lietuvos karo aviaciją supanti aplinka suformavo tik mūsų šaliai būdingą karo lakūnų veiklą ir gyvenimą, kurią, be kitų veiksnių, lemia ir politinis Vakarų – Rytų valstybių bei karinių ir politinių blokų paribys;

2. lakūnų gyvenimo savitumą lemia ir su jų tarnyba susiję socialiniai bei kultūriniai karo aviacijos veiklos ypatumai;

3. karo lakūnų veikla ir gyvenimas istoriškai, kultūriškai, socialiai, geografiškai glaudžiai susijusi su miestais ir priemiesčiais.

4. lakūnų šeimų tradicijos, nors ir nulemtos tarnybos ypatumų, daugiausia perimtos iš tėvų, o laisvalaikio pomėgiai ir formos glaudžiai siejasi su tarnybos poreikiais.

**Metodai.** *Lauko tyrimo metodai:* stebėjimas, interviu (struktūruotas, nestruktūruotas) pokalbis, tyrėjo dienoraščių pildymas, vaizdinės medžiagos rinkimas (nuotraukos, filmai) *Surinktos medžiagos analizei naudoti metodai:* lyginamasis, aprašomasis, etnografinės medžiagos duomenų analizės, vizualinis tyrimo metodas.

### **Disertacijos struktūra**

Disertaciją sudaro įvadas, tyrimų apžvalga, keturios dalys, išvados, šaltinių ir literatūros sąrašas bei priedai.

*Įvade* keliami tirimoji problema, nurodomas tyrimo objektas, apibrėžiamas tikslas, formuluojami uždaviniai, aptariami pasirinkti metodai, apžvelgiami šaltiniai ir literatūra, pristatoma kokiomis teorinėmis priegomis vadovaujasi tyrėjas.

*I dalyje* aptariama karo lakūnų veikla bei aplinka, daranti įtaką karo aviacijos lakūnų tarnybai ir gyvenimui. Nagrinėjamos kariškoms struktūroms ypač svarbus istorinis kontekstas, leidžiantis pažvelgti į priežastis, suformavusias Lietuvos aviacijos pareigūnų socialinius santykius bei tradicijas. Įvertinamas svarbus karybai ir kariškai gyvenimui geopolitinis, teisinis bei ekonominis kontekstas. Gvildinama, kaip lakūnų veiklai ir kasdienybei daro įtaką ir kultūrinės aplinkybės.

*II dalis.* Karo aviacijos tarnyba – viena iš svarbiausių faktorių, formuojančių tiriamos grupės tapatumą ir lemianti lakūno gyvenimą. Todėl šioje dalyje analizuojamos tarnybos pasirinkimo priežastys, lakūnų išsilavinimas, gebėjimai, elgsenos ir pasaulėžiūros savitumai. Tiriama lakūnų socialiniai santykiai su visuomene ir kitomis kariuomenės pajėgomis, kaip svarbūs faktoriai, veikiantys ir respondentų kasdienybę.

Įvertinami ir kiti veiksniai, būtent, lakūnų bendravimo ypatumai, jų naudojami simboliai, įtakos elgesiui ir bendravimui. Nagrinėjamos ir susiklosčiusios tiriamos lakūnų grupės tradicijos.

*III dalis.* Karo aviacija glaudžiai susijusi su Kauno, Šiaulių, Panevėžio miestais ir čia įrengtais kariniais aerodromais, šiuose miestuose gyvena lakūnai, gausu ir aviacinių objektų. Todėl šioje dalyje gvildenama aviacijos reikšmė šių miestų raidai, jos raiškos formos, aptariama pagrindinio aviacijos infrastruktūros objekto – aerodromo santykis su socialine ir kultūrine miesto aplinka. Gvildenamos aviacijos šventės, kaip svarbi aviacijos miesto tradicijų ir miesto kultūros dalis.

*IV dalyje* analizuojama tarnybos įtaka gyvenamos vietos, būsto pasirinkimui, šeimos socialinei ir kultūrinei aplinkai. Nagrinėjami lakūnų pomėgiai ir laisvalaikis. Analizė vykdoma bendrame XX a. pabaigos – XXI a. pradžios socialiniame ir kultūriniame kontekste.

*Darbo pabaigoje* pateikiamos disertacijos išvados. Skelbiamas šaltinių ir literatūros sąrašas, pridedami reikalingi priedai.

## TYRIMŲ REZULTATŲ APIBENDRINIMAS

1. Lietuvos karo aviacijos socialinę ir kultūrinę situaciją lėmė mūsų šalies geopolitinė, būtent, paribio tarp Vakarų ir Rytų padėtis, kuri apsprendė iki šiol naudojamų aviacijos objektų atsiradimą. Kariškos, aviacinės, NATO, ES bei Lietuvos juridinės normos šiandien nustato lakūnų veiklos ir elgesio standartus, daro įtaką ir tradicijoms. Ekonominė šalies situacija apibrėžia šalies karinių oro pajėgų galimybes ir strategines gaires. Kultūrinis kontekstas formuoja ir socialinio elgesio tarnyboje, šeimoje normas bei tradicijas, atskleidžia bendrus sociokultūrinius Lietuvos karo aviacijos bruožus. Šios aplinkybės suformavo Lietuvos karo aviacijos galimybes vykdyti daugiausiai logistinio bei aptarnaujamo pobūdžio veiklą, susijusią su civilinėmis visuomenės reikmėmis bei dalyvavimą NATO struktūroje.

2. Lakūnų profesijos pasirinkimui svarbią įtaką padarė aviacinė aplinka. Dauguma lakūnų užaugo Šiaulių, Panevėžio, Kauno, Vilniaus miestuose ir šalia jų, kur sovietmečiu veikė didžiausi Lietuvoje kariniai aerodromai, karinės aviacijos bazės bei civiliniai oro uostai. Dalis lankė aviacijos klubus, kitų apsisprendimą tapti lakūnu lėmė ir šeimos nariai aviatoriai, perteikę ankstesnių kartų tradicijas, mąstymo ir elgesio elementus.

3. Tiriant lakūnų kvalifikaciją, nustatyta, kad 90 proc. respondentų įgiję aukštąjį, rečiau – aukštesnįjį išsilavinimą. Svarbiausia personalo grandis karo aviacijoje, – pilotai – aviacijos karininkai, sudarantys tiriamoje grupėje daugumą. Jie tampa Aviacijos bazės, KOP vadais, užima kitas aukštas pareigas štabuose, nuo jų priklauso KOP strategija, struktūros formavimo vizija, personalo politika tradicijos. Tyrimas atskleidė, kad baigę aviacijos mokyklas pilotai yra labiau motyvuoti, turintys bendrą aviacijos suvokimą (lyginant su baigusiais bendrą aviacijos instituto ir karo akademijos programą). Norint išsaugoti aviacinį mąstymą, elgesio normas, tradicijas, lakūnus būtina ruošti ne Karo akademijoje, o Antano Gustaičio aviacijos institute, kuriame vyrauja aviacinė aplinka, daugelis dėstytojų buvę lakūnais arba yra artimai su aviacija susiję žmonės

4. Karo aviacijos lakūnų kultūrinė aplinka yra svarbus šios grupės išskirtinumo bruožas, atskleidžiantis bendruomeniškumą, tapatinimąsi su savo profesija naudojant simbolius, išsiskiriant savitomis elgesio taisyklėmis. Reikšminga ir tradicijų, kurių dalis suformuotos kariškos aplinkos, gausa, pabrėžianti lakūnų priklausymą aviatorių

bendruomenei. Svarbiausiu šių tradicijų bruožu reikia laikyti jaunų lakūnų krikštynų apeigas, atlikus pirmą savarankišką skrydį ir akcentuojant, kad gimė naujas lakūnas. Karo aviacijos kultūrinės aplinkos specifiką atskleidžia ir kapeliono veikla, psichologiškai sutvirtinanti lakūnų elgseną, bendraujant ir atliekant apeigas.

5. Svarbi lakūnų tarnybos ir gyvenamosios aplinka – miestai. Lietuvos miestuose – Kaune, Šiauliuose ir Panevėžyje, be bendrumų, jau nuo tarpukario formavosi skirtinga aviacinė aplinka. Tyrimas parodė, kad būtent karinis, o ne civilinės aviacijos aerodromas yra pagrindinis, santykio su kiekvienu šiuo miestu, objektas. Aerodromas lemia investicijas, miesto plėtros kryptis, šalia aerodromo esančių mikrorajonų išsidėstymą ir gyventojų sudėtį, taip pat ir miesto tapatumą bei kultūrinę aplinką. Tarpukario ir net sovietmečio aviacijos materialus ir nematerialus palikimas tampa miesto istorijos sudėtine dalimi. Investicijos į karinio aerodromo infrastruktūrą, kaip parodė ištirtas Šiaulių atvejis, paskatino ir šio miesto ekonomikos atsigavimą. Tuo tarpu Panevėžyje uždarius karinį aerodromą ir nesant civilinio oro uosto, aviacinė veikla susilpnėjo, miestas prarado galimybę būti oro transporto mazgu, sumažėjo plėtros galimybės. Analizuojant kultūrinius aviacijos raiškos būdus mieste, nustatyta, kad svarbiausias vaidmuo tenka aerodromuose rengiamoms aviacijos šventėms, kurios dažnai tampa neatsiejama aviatorių bendruomenės gyvenamosios ir miesto kultūrinio gyvenimo dalimi.

6. Lakūnų gyvenamosios vietos ir jų pasirinkimas labiausiai susijęs su aviacinėmis zonomis t. y. Šiaulių, Kauno, Panevėžio, Klaipėdos (Nemirseta), Vilniaus miestais ir rajonais. Kitas svarbus aspektas yra tai, kad tarnyba Lietuvos karinėse oro pajėgose sudaro sąlygas palyginti sėsliam šeimos gyvenimui. Maži atstumai ir nuolatinės tarnybos vietos sudaro galimybę planuoti gyvenamojo būsto įsigijimą, derintis ir prie žmonos darbo. Lakūnai anksčiau nei kiti kariškiai gali pradėti formuoti sėslią šeimos gyvenamąją aplinką. Dėl galimybės pasirinkti nuolatinę gyvenamąją vietą, finansinių resursų dažnai statomas (perkamas) nuosavas namas. Šį pasirinkimą lemia ir dabartinė gyvenamosios kaitos mada, kolegų pavyzdžiai ir kitos aplinkybės.

7. Lietuvos karo lakūnų šeimos šventės atspindi mūsų šalies švenčiamas šventes. Lyginant lakūnų vaikystės ir dabarties šeimos tradicijas pastebėtas išaugęs valstybinių švenčių minėjimas, kurį reikia sieti ne tik su nepriklausomybės atgavimu, bet ir su tarnyba. Kitas išskirtinis bruožas – aviacinių elementų panaudojimas vestuvių, krikštynų

metu. Lakūno tarnybos įtaką kasdienybei atskleidžia aviacinė simbolika namuose: rūbai, žaislai, suvenyrai. Tai svarbus faktorius, formuojantis respondentų kasdienybę, šeimos namų aplinką, šeimos tapatybę, susijusią su aviacija.

8. Dauguma lakūnų pomėgių susiję su tarnybos pobūdžiu, kiek mažiau su asmeniniais poreikiais. Skaitomos literatūros, žiūrimų filmų, laidų tematika parodo, kad šios priemonės naudojamos informacijai gauti, savęs lavinimui ir tobulinimui. Iš pomėgių ir laisvalaikio praleidimo formų respondentams svarbiausias yra sportas, svarbus palaikant būtiną lakūnui fizinį pasirengimą. Tapatybę atskleidžia aviaciniai pomėgiai – skraidymas kitokio tipo nei karinės aviacijos orlaiviai priemonėmis. Šį pomėgį įvardino 35 proc. respondentų. Išryškėjo ir pomėgis važinėti motociklais, kurį patys respondentai sieja su aviacijos istorija. Minėtos laisvalaikio formos jungia lakūnų kasdieninį gyvenimą ir tarnybą, patvirtindamos teiginį, kad aviacija ne tarnyba, bet gyvenimo būdas. Nemaža dalis respondentų savo laisvalaikį leidžia aktyviai dirbdami, keliaudami. Analizė rodo, kad beveik visi lakūnų poilsio būdai yra aktyvūs, susiję su naujomis žiniomis, darbu, veikla. Remiantis tyrimo duomenimis, lakūnus galima įvardinti kaip žingeidžią ir aktyvią grupę, integruotą į šiuolaikinę visuomenę.

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF DISSERTATION

### **Articles on the subject of dissertation in scientific journals refereed in international databases:**

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### **Articles on the subject of dissertation in other reviewed Lithuanian scientific journals:**

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

In 2005 - 2009 the author studied at Vytautas Magnus University, Faculty of Humanities, where he gained Ethnology bachelor's degree (thesis *Helicopters' Squadron: social group study*). From 2009 – 2011 at the Humanities Faculty studied the ethnic culture, where he gained a master's degree (thesis *Creating of aeronautical traditions in Lithuania after the restoration of independence*). From 2011 - 2015 the author studied at Vytautas Magnus University, the Faculty of Humanities, Cultural Studies and Ethnology Department, Ethnology postgraduate studies.

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**LITHUANIAN MILITARY AVIATION PILOTS' ACTIVITIES  
AND LIFESTYLE IN THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT  
AT THE END OF THE 20TH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING  
OF THE 21ST CENTURY**

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