# Abstract

This study sets out to explore the possibility of economic Lithuanian national migrants’ return back to their country of origin from the countries of highest level of development where they are granted employment and all-round material security, so also exploring the role or how significant is the less visible, cultural layer within the today’s international capitalist system. The paper begins by presenting the reasons for the massive Republic’s citizens’ migration right after its independence from the Soviet Union to occur: such as lower level of country’s economic development, visible differences in income size and unfavorable rate of unemployment. Various sources, however, speak of considerable backwards connection developed by the Lithuanian emigrants when staying in the societies to which they came with hopes of creating the new life. A couple of investigations on this matter have revealed that the migrants are tend to give priority to their country of origin: a certain tendency of migrants willing to exchange their life with surplus to a less materially overflowing life (not destitution) in the homeland is possible to observe, a bigger part of them are considering to repatriate to Lithuania, and a majority expressed that they would do so, in case the economic conditions turned equal in both: their country of secondary settlement and country of origin. The author of this paper spots a certain type of migration when constant moving between both ends takes place, while also often switching societies of settlement, a high number of migrants at the same time keeping connection with the homeland through, for example, inscribing themselves to the Lithuanian ethnic community, running in each particular country of settlement and always returning to Lithuania in between. Such intense transnationalism is seen by the author to be little by little changing the country of Lithuania itself for the better in various aspects. At the same time, the Lithuanian migrants, it could be said, add to the modern processes of deterritorialization, and are the ones who intervene the local markets and societies in a manner that can possibly contribute to social unrests. The many migrants living in-between are attracted back to the Republic of Lithuania, their homeland, by the call of home (representing security, the experienced past times and roots to be once again activated in senility, the mode of attachment), as well as efficient medical services, accustomed dietary in-take, desirable level of education, understandable cultural norms and certain structural factors, such as not feeling appreciated abroad, being put to stereotypes, not following one’s very own professional path (as qualitative content analysis of corresponding social media and own instrumented survey have shown). Simultaneously, should not be dismissed the emigrants who losing their hope of economic betterment in Lithuania have become rooted in the foreign societies and expressed no future intentions to return to the homeland. Even many of them, however, have retained their Lithuanian passports, are active participants of ethnic gatherings or live within ethnic Lithuanian quarters abroad, attend ethnic Lithuanian communities. The ethnic communities that always welcome those who feel alien in newly ingressed societies, according to the author of this paper, are those institutes that sustain the meaning of ethnicity, cumber assimilation, foster Lithuanian cultural traditions and continuous connection with the homeland. Eventually, such communities (springing abroad until the expatriates will perceive themselves as Lithuanian national arrivals needing to commemorate/respect their roots) will with their own presence continuously act as vessels for return potentiality.

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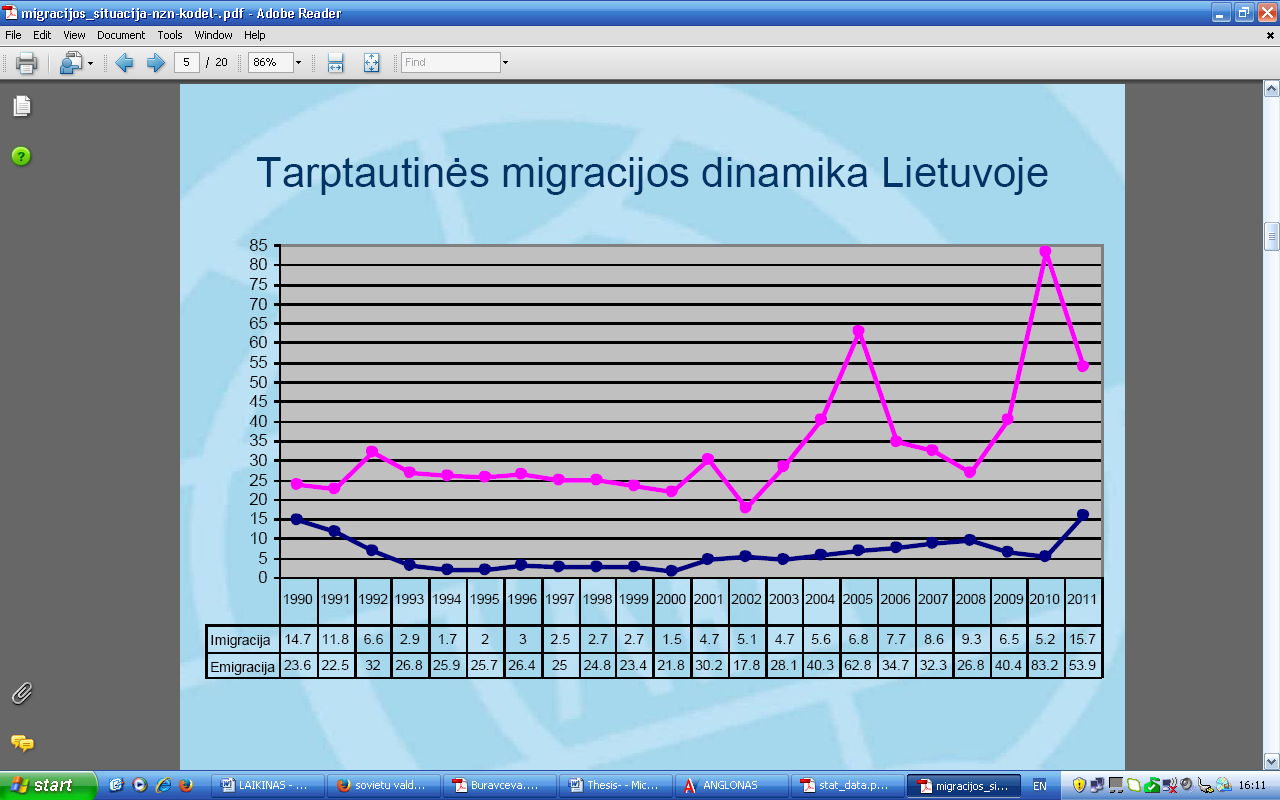
**Appendix A: Questionnaire – ‘’Return Migration in Contemporary Lithuania’’**

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# Background: context and reasons for the Lithuanian migration

The Republic of Lithuania been since the 18th century annexed by then-present Russian Empire, later torn in-between during both World Wars and forcefully incorporated into the USSR state for nearly half a century, has finally regained its actual independence in 1990, and in 2004 the entity, that in fact has always considered itself essentially European, has re-joined its European family by being accepted into the European Union. The nation that has long-suffered, fought so hard for its freedom and recognition, and indeed been a catalyst for many other former Soviet states to become released from the hands of foreign authorities, has had from 1990 until now around 800 000, or more than a sixth, of its nationals to emigrate abroad from the Republic (see picture 1 for illustration). Whereas presently usual emigratory frame is considered to be 3% according to the international experts, Lithuania’s rate is as high as 18%; particularly emigration from Lithuania has increased after its accession to the European Union, while the contrary scenario had been expected.

**Picture 1: International migration in Lithuania. Source: IMO Lithuania/Statistics Lithuania, 2011.**



**000**

**EMIGRATION**

**IMIGRATION**

**\*includes both declared and undeclared migration \*70% of immigrants – re-emigrants in 2008**

It may indeed seem from the above figures that the nation is dissolving, since immigration into the country is really small (although, for example, around 70% of the immigrants were the **nationals** with the Lithuanian citizenship in 2008). Other most incoming nationalities are Belarusians, Ukrainians, Russians, Americans and Third Country Nationals (this is in line with the governmental strategy for the lacking places to be filled in, yet, we know that even in the so-termed Third World Countries economic and social development levels are drastically rising (for example, China), many times also due to successful re-emigrant enticement strategies, hence, foreign skills obtained). All this situation is being increasingly depicted as ‘tragic’ in Lithuania’s public spaces, although there are also opinions that the nation has gone through even worse crises throughout its history, so it will also overcome this one.

The stimulants to emigrate from the homeland among the Lithuanian nation are mainly economic (and, to some extent, social): differences in level of economic development, income size and rate of unemployment. A clear measure of economic inequality between Lithuania and the established EU member-states would be GDP per capita, that, having considered differences in the purchasing power, in 2006 for a Lithuanian national only made up 57,7% of that for a statistical then EU-25 citizen (Buravceva, 2007). Another important indicator would be average working pay levels, please see Picture 2 for distribution:

**Picture 2: Average yearly (gross) salaries in Euros in the industrial, construction and service sectors in the European Union countries in 2010. Source: Eurostat data**



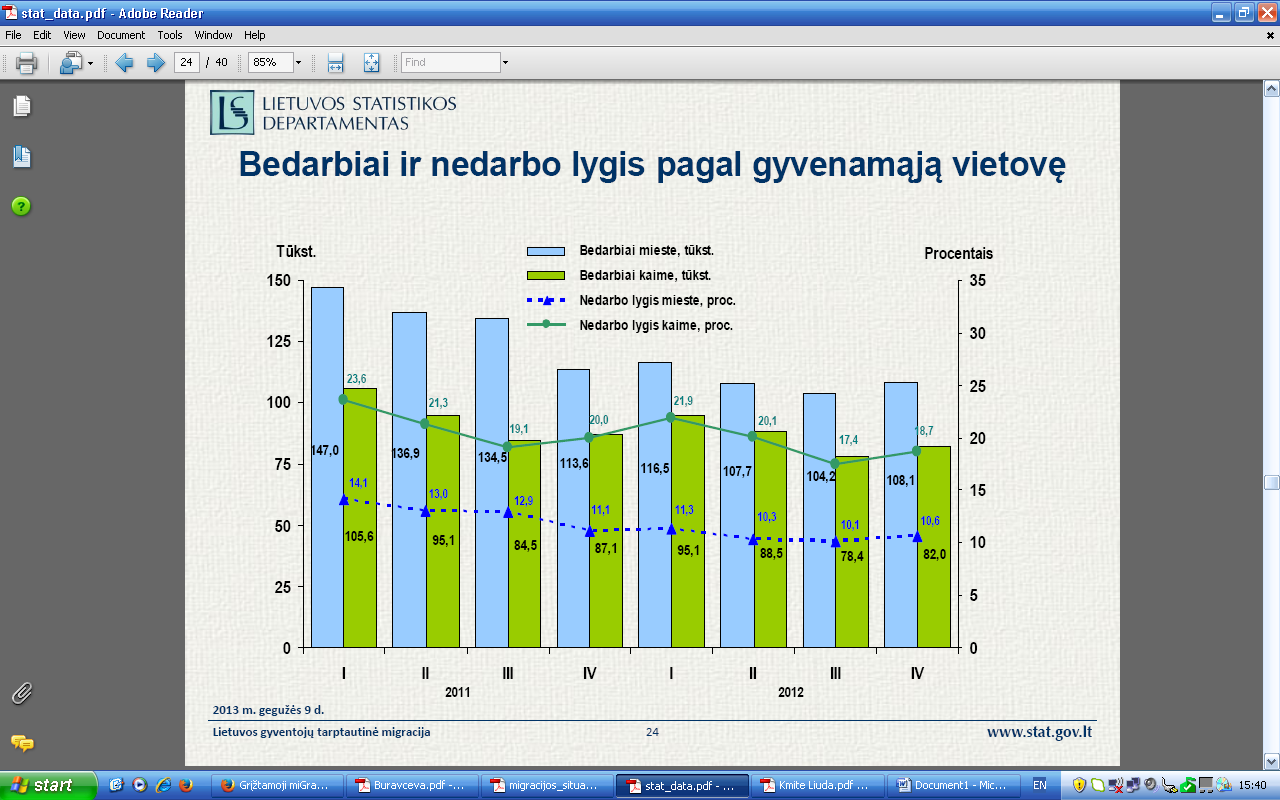
**UNITED KINGDOM**

**IRELAND**D

**LITHUANIA**

Alternative allusion to differences in income would be the government’s established minimal work pay, which presently equals to 300 Euros in Lithuania – for example, around five times less than in Ireland or the United Kingdom. In addition, we need to understand that in each country such minimally paid employees are valued differently, treated differently and subject to distinct working conditions. A further closely payment related issue exists in Lithuania: ‘’the gap between possession of a high qualification and the possibility for employment as a specialist in Lithuania. Therefore, part of employees with high qualifications made a decision to emigrate, whereas another part took low qualification jobs in Lithuania. In this case, individuals with low or no qualifications were constrained to find jobs in other countries’’ (Kmite, 2011). ‘’One of the main reasons for the young people to leave Lithuania is inability for them to realize their professional potential – the professional career model is missing in Lithuania […] such model should be based on knowledge and education’’ (Buravceva, 2007). Another important precondition for the Lithuanian population to emigrate is a high enough level of unemployment in the country throughout its history as an independent unit – prior to year 2000, for example, the registered unemployment in Lithuania was one of the leading in Europe. From the 2012 figures we can see that Lithuania has 7th highest rate of unemployment in the European Union. The below figure depicts how unemployment is divided in Lithuania between localities. It needs to be said that at all times many people have emigrated from the Lithuanian countryside.

**Picture 3: The unemployed and unemployment level according to locality, 2012. Statistics Lithuania.**



**Unemployment in countryside, %**

**Unemployment in town, %**

**Unemployed in countryside, thousands**

**Unemployed in town, thousands**

**%**

**000**

The problem of unemployment in Lithuania is, indeed, a structural one: the responsible department at the same time holds a job-advertisement-base full of posts for both qualified and unqualified workers, yet, as for certain (older) persons the unemployment benefit almost exceeds the established minimal pay, they prefer to better add up to that taking up some undeclared, private work activities (Buravceva, 2007).

From the social side, sources speak of the ‘’new start strategy’’, when one sees migration as possibility to change their social and economic environment and start their life anew. One other source that altogether encompasses a limited scale investigation, equally reports that Lithuanian citizens departed from their country in relation to material and financial security, broader professional self-realization prospects abroad, ampler social guarantees, possibility to perfect foreign language, experience cultural diversity and broaden their horizon, self-search and personal reasons, also, family reunification. It has been found that the so-called pull factors (i.e. the favorable and appealing conditions in the receiving country) were more influential in making the final decision whether to migrate (Ražanauskaitė and Brazienė, 2010). The Lithuanian emigrants coming from the zone that is in certain contexts referred to as the Second Development World are overall tend to portray the countries of so-called First Development (Western Europe, North America and Australia) as countries, with Scandinavia at the forefront, that are ‘’rich and socially-oriented, where the welfare is not only expressed in terms of material assurance, but also safety, human trust, belief that the government works for state’s advantage, where it is worthy to devote oneself to leading good and honest life’’ (http://www.lrytas.lt/-12471131331245389026-p2-i%C5%A1-vis%C5%B3-imigrant%C5%B3-norvegijoje-ma%C5%BEiausiai-savo-i%C5%A1silavinim%C4%85-pritaiko-lietuviai.htm, accessed 03 05 2015).

As it is possible to come across in the corresponding case studies of other nations, some Lithuanians who left the country (many times led by preconceived ‘’rosy’’ images of life in Western countries) have sworn Lithuania, what caused a rather deep social ‘’us’’ and ‘’them’’ divide: ‘’us’’ – loyal to the Homeland, work hard to solve the problems, and ‘’them’’ – traitors, easy-bite seekers. Not all the emigration stories are so successful, however, as there have been testimonies of Lithuanians who (unable to cope with migration tensions and adapt to overseas environments) beggared and broke in emigration, some appeared in psychiatric hospitals (this profuse emigration virtually separated families, left children without parents, etc). Such Lithuanians were discovered to avoid to return back home, as well as emigrants overall associate the return with certain hostility towards them, certain stigmatization. Although a special International Migration Organization Lithuania led (2009) investigation into the matter demonstrated that 72% of inquired Lithuanians abroad would ‘not mind that, if we would truly want to return’ as well as 91% of inquired Lithuania’s inhabitants actually displayed positive attitudes towards possible repatriates, although slightly worried about labor competition in case a massive re-emigration began. There are Lithuanians, it should be said, who have virtually entered the labor markets and successfully integrated into foreign societies (i.e. taking out loans, purchasing housing and properties, raising and educating children).

Prior to the accession to the European Union, most of the emigratory flows from Lithuania, as it is possible to imply, had been illegal, only later and gradually many countries opened their borders and markets to Baltic (including Lithuanians) and other East European citizens, picture 4 presents the geographical distribution of the Lithuanian migrant diaspora. The first points for the present-day Lithuanians to settle have been Ireland and the United Kingdom, followed by Spain, while Germany has at all times been desired due to its relative historic and geographic proximity. So was the United States of America, but physical distance as well as ungenerous entry policies have been



**IRELAND**

**SPAIN**

**THE US**

**NORWAY**

**GERMANY**

**Picture 4: Distribution of the Lithuanian migrant diaspora in 2012.**

**Source: Statistics Lithuania.**

**THE UK**

**OTHERS**

obstructing the relocation potentials. Whereas Lithuanian emigrants have just after the 2008-2009 year economic crisis ‘discovered’ Norway, and a massive movement began, also involving the national communities from other, more crisis-struck regions in Europe (so-called secondary migration). They have climbed to become the second largest national minority after the Polish in Norway, in Ireland – the third. The Lithuanian governmental statistics’ establishment portrays a standard Lithuanian emigrant as being 20-29 years old, a man or a woman, who most probably never before lived in marriage, secondary- and possibly higher-educated (Sipavičienė and Gaidys, 2009), and who due to language, competition as well as other complex circumstances to still be explored often find foreign employment as (though not limited to) cleaners, construction or factory workers, store or restaurant staff. In recent years there was also an increase in irregular, short-term migration, when one of the family members simply fulfils a strategic economic function, needed to prevent the social risks in the family (Kmite, 2011). Besides various formal professional channels, social migrant networks often aid in finding work positions for the Lithuanian migrants (as private local agencies in particular appear to be reputable of deceiving their clients). Although we could think that the educated people are aware more of the negative high emigratory flow consequences, and some of them really keep to patriotic ideals, it is estimated that Lithuania is losing hundreds of most able scientists, doctors, engineers, IT specialists and other highly qualified specialists each year, what is already negatively impacting country’s scientific and general advance. Economically developed countries embrace such specialists as fortune, enriching their already competent scientific potential, who instead of costs to prepare local staff, bring in their at home gained knowledge and experience (for comparison – around a thousand doctoral dissertations have been defended abroad by the Lithuanian citizens since the Independence (perhaps involving intent to emigrate), while approximately 150 such assignments are being defended per year in the Lithuanian institutions). This means that the migrant sending societies would progressively become dependent, lower scientific preparation level for future generations, would suffer from increased provinciality, etc), so the actual as well as the figurative come back home of such people is of primary importance (Buravceva, 2007).

It seems that the inclination for return of the mass of the emigrants would be worthwhile to explore because of their number, and because they are truly the ones able to compare all aspects of living at home and away, on the other hand, the feelings of those ‘niche’ specialists would be balanced/ripe, and their returns – almost crucial. While the Republic’s government finds lacking in experience and fearing impending demographic, structural changes, destruction of traditional family model, identity loss and implied unrests due to increasing cultural diversity, and at the same time unwilling to abide with the already mentioned economic and intellectual decline, hence, screening the international arena for successful solutions, the reader will be demonstrated in the next chapter that not necessarily this tiny Baltic state is losing this population, in strategic documents identified as treasured asset of its more and more service-oriented economy.

# Introduction or the case of Lithuanian return migration

As it has already been mentioned, immigration figures to Lithuania are low, although it is known that more emigrants returned in relation to critical economic situation in Ireland or Spain, as Lithuania has been speedier to recover (so increasing their rate among other immigrants to the country, yet, the entry figures still remain relatively low). Also, due to cases of serial migration (Sipavičienė and Gaidys, 2009), various casual/occasional returns, it is not completely clear who is actually ‘’in’’ or ‘’out’’, and for how long – it is not easy to follow all return migration. Finally, this migration period from 1990 is still rather young and dynamic, so it is yet early to speak of eventual results. Yet, the material that will now be presented is revelatory of return potential, hidden behind the official figures:

A generic informal investigation that did not concentrate too much on aspects of the Lithuanian return migration, but rather on country’s issue of emigration on the whole, demonstrated that 53% of the enquired emigrants are planning to return and live in Lithuania, while asked what would encourage them to return, 51% of all enquired responded that it would be ‘home-longing’, while 34% expressed that it would be economic and social betterment in Lithuania (though an overall factoral analysis showcased two major factors among all others that would encourage Lithuanians to re-emigrate: better work and professional conditions (agreed by 92%, many being youth and those who economically and professionally stood worse prior to their departure from Lithuania) and homeland’s longing and attraction (agreed by 78%, many being those who were relatively satisfied with their life in Lithuania prior to the departure). The authors then drew a conclusion that the emigrants would be inclined to return when the socio-economic context in Lithuania improves, and possibly that they are only there to save money, though many seem to have taken longer than they had initially intended. Whereas perhaps the vastest research into the field of Lithuanian return migration has been the already mentioned 2009’s study by the International Migration Organization Lithuania, that has indeed delved into the socio-economic side of the subject. The scholars that for reasons of comfort used own derived definition of return migrant – the person returning to Lithuania after having lived/worked for more than 6 months in a foreign country (the standard UN definition gives 12 months) – questioned rather a significant number of population throughout the Lithuanian diaspora community. 54,5% of all surveyed indicated that they ‘’want to return to Lithuania’’, 45,5% exhibited that the Lithuanian state should encourage return migration and shared the possible strategies to do that: such as returnee children adaptation facilitation in the Lithuanian environment (81% for), aid with finding employment before return (50% for), more than half of them even not having returned would like to actively participate in the social and political life of Lithuania: have central and communal voting rights (84% for), their own Seym representatives and to be able to become elected (64%), right to double citizenship (71%) (Sipavičienė and Gaidys, 2009 – represent **IMO**)

The Lithuanian press has reported about a number of Lithuanian emigrants returning with their new-born babies just unregistered from the current society of settlement to be Lithuanian registered and obtain the national citizenship (‘’I plan to my child to go to school in Lithuania’’, ‘’all my holidays are in Lithuania, I am not even planning to become a foreign citizen’’) (http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/emigrants/emigrantai-grizta-suteikti-vaikams-pilietybe.d?id=59248053, accessed 04 05 2015). This step could be explained by emigrants being loyal to their native land, still firmly identifying themselves as Lithuanians, and probably with intentions to return in the future, keep connected. While the Lithuanian government does, indeed, realize the strategic economic significance of providing its citizens the possibility to become double-nationals, the 20 years lasting discussions are often silenced by words of patriotism, while – a public secret – under that many times lie anti-global attitudes of nationally-oriented Soviet-grown generation (also, due to semi-occasional Soviet authority implemented reallocations of vast-Russian and Central Asian natives into the Lithuanian territory, a number of who, obiter, departed back after the Independence), watching for one’s own interest, envy. Lithuanians wherever they go to are hence meant to choose if to abandon their ‘’in-born significance’’ for a well-rounded material security, but it is known that individuals often identify with their homeland precisely through citizenship.

One other report on the Lithuanian migration thematics that also already had a mention in the first chapter, less in span, but profoundly goes into the aspect of the Lithuanian migrant repatriation motivations (Ražanauskaitė and Brazienė, 2010): it was showcased that 13 out of 20 enquired respondents revealed that they would return if work pay and other conditions turned the same in level. Truly, we need to understand that this mass emigration primarily is based on economic scarcity. The authors also emphasised a visible connection the migrants sustain with Lithuania, a strong expressed feeling of identity: ‘’I would like my children to grow in Lithuania, where our own roots are, not to lose the Lithuanian identity’’, ‘’I want my offspring to go to school in Lithuania, I want them to have the possibility of living in my own native-land’’. Queried to comment on their connection to the land of settlement 10 referred to as not seeing themselves as the locals, 11 showcased a strong perceived Lithuanian citizen’s and national’s status. The authorship takes it as perhaps the Lithuanians wanting to enter the foreign society on the basis of equal rights and opportunities, alluding at the same time at the inclination to see oneself as migrant. ‘’On the whole, the majority of this enquired Lithuanian emigrant population perceive their migratory status not by counting themselves as the local settlers, but rather by grown self-worth and the knowledge of their rights in the foreign country, also, by the competitiveness of human capital previously obtained in the Lithuanian labour market, and rather a strictly kept Lithuanian citizen’s status’’. The majority were found to rather intensively keep in contact with their Lithuanian close-ones (the electronic platform, phones, visits), almost all of these informants admitted following the Lithuanian news online, watching Lithuanian TV, subscribing to the Lithuanian press (the so-termed *figurative* return). Throughout all of these listed studies of the contemporary Lithuanian emigrant diaspora it has been underlined that the Lithuanian emigrants were willingly involved, and were glad to share their attitudes.

It should not be skipped that an organized body called ‘’Pasaulio Lietuvių Bendruomenė“ (World Lithuanians’ Community) functions presently encompassing 36 Lithuanian communities in distinct countries around the world. These ethnic Lithuanian communities organize their own schooling, have own press, online networks, stage various events. Although, paradoxically, Lithuanians in Norway are unwilling to share neighbourhoods with other Lithuanian nationals due to fear and negative connotations that surround certain Lithuanian nationality persons, perhaps in line with the generally high rate of citizen social activism in Norway, the ethnic Lithuanian Norwegian community has been of particular activity. The daughter organization of the global Community is Pasaulio Lietuvių Jaunimo Sąjunga (World’s Lithuanian Youth Union), while another (smaller) citizen organization ‘’Sugrįžus‘‘ (Came back Home) oversees the re-integration of the Lithuanians who have arrived home from different countries.

The representative of structuralist paradigm, Cerase, in 2004 (in Sipavičienė and Gaidys, 2009) has offered a return migration typology model, according to the reasons of return and level of initiative towards cherishing the homeland: return as a result of unrealized migration expectations, conservative return, return to retire, and a return out of innovation (others also include the already mentioned figurative returns, when migrants while not physically present do, nevertheless, participate in the social and economic life of their country of origin, and although such ‘returns’ do not in any way affect the actual number of the population, their social and economic convenience could possibly be ample, at the same time paving the way to a potential *de facto* return). All of these types of return have already been observed throughout this relatively short emigratory period of the independent Republic (in own personal opinion, the author of this assignment would highlight the type 1 and type 3 returns as so far the most common). Myself, author of this paper, am inclined to see a certain non-economic dimension in all of these four types of return migration that the scholar has pointed out:

-The so-termed *failed* return could mean that the person did not fulfil their economic migration expectations, but we could also say that the migratory experience turned faulty because of, for example, the individual’s inability to adapt to the changed social and cultural environment in the foreign country, i.e. certain non-material factors led to intended economic migration turning unsuccessful.

-The return out of *conservatism* that refers to an individual willing to spend the capital brought in the country of origin, buy real estate or start a business activity. Such individuals are thought to be less interested in bettering the socio-economic conditions in their mother-land, but instead care for their own good. Yet, I would say that creating extra work positions is already aiding one’s native-community, and there could also be certain invisible reasons behind why the intentant has actually left the society of settlement and started a business particularly in their natal nurse.

-Returns for *pension* are related to transferring the obtained funds to be consumed during senility in the country of origin, and indeed in many so-called Countries of Second or Third Development the medical or other services often are cheaper, but could at the same time be of high quality (we will still return to the issue of quality of the medical services in the Lithuanian context later in this report), yet, it would also be possible to think that such re-emigrants are used to the particular ways of servicing practiced in their home-country, they know how things work there/where to go/who to call/ they feel safe, at the same time, there is also a call for homeland – to be closer to the ones that one treasures, to be buried where one’s parents are buried and where one’s roots are.

-The *innovative* returns are referred to in literature as maximally using the gained material or non-material resources in order to benefit one’s country for the sake of innovation in one’s mother-country. In my opinion, this, first of all, speaks of high level of patriotic ideal – when one is wealthy enough to live anywhere, they chose to return to live in the homeland for the love of it. Or perhaps it could mean that the person nowhere find themselves as good as in the homeland despite of many experienced locations. Perhaps an individual, or a young man, has purposely planned to enter the foreign community to later bring the accumulated capital and international experience to benefit the homeland. The encouragement of this kind of heroism has in a way been possible to come across in the Lithuanian media.

Truly, while some other countries’ governments (for example, the Chinese government – since its imperial times) do rather successfully capitalize on the expatriates’ sense of identity and their natural homewards pull by creating rich emigrant enticement strategies (favourable investment environment, tax concessions, return donations, business parks and high-level academic/scientific exchanges), the Lithuanian government has for long mainly been reactive (i.e. facilitating the returns initiated by expatriates themselves as opposed to positively provoking them to accept such decisions), and only very recently, little by little it became more proactive in its potential repatriate pulling: (Sipavičienė and Gaidys, 2009) a special school opened in Vilnius, the capital, for the returnee children; additional pupil Lithuanian language training possibilities and extra classrooms for the repatriate children to adjust to the Lithuanian learning system due to international differences in high-school systems and pupil preparation; scholarships and quotas for youth of Lithuanian origin willing to enter the Lithuanian higher education institutions; special scholarships to the repatriated Lithuanian scientists; informational working fairs and conferences in Lithuania and the receiving societies; Lithuanian television abroad; psychologist consultations for re-emigrated individuals and their family members; young repatriated farmers’ financial support (5 projects by 2009); observing the activities of world’s Lithuanian communities, and a few other initiatives. And still, despite the ritually petty material encouragement, during the 25 years of independence there have been some very wealthy Lithuanian expatriates who transferred their businesses to Lithuania, opened new businesses in the Lithuanian setting, returned to live to Lithuania overseeing their businesses electronically.

Needless to say, that there have been expert strategic recommendations towards the returnee attraction policy: not to lose contact with emigrant communities, concentrate on cases of common casual/occasional returns, encouraging of figurative returns of highly intellectual cluster, all-sidedly embracing the repatriates after failed migration, developing schemes for employing the internationally accumulated migrant capital and experience of successful migrants: making environment favourable for investment and business development (Center for Strategic Studies, 2006). However, due to lack of financial resources, and inability to determinedly and concertedly act for one purpose various strategies and recommendations now and then partly remain on paper in the Republic of Lithuania.

Having outlined all of the above, various Lithuanian repatriates accounting that they have departed from foreign, more economically stable Western societies on the grounds that they ‘’do not belong there’’ (also, a number of emigrant enquiries if to return), and a mass of never-ending discussions in the public and private Lithuanian nationals’ circles on aspects of life in various foreign countries and whether it is better to live in Lithuania, though less financially secure (the fact that such discussions exist!), discloses a certain intangible, non-economic side of emigratory flows to the more economically-developed societies. This study will, hence, be the only, or one of the very few, focusing on particularly the cultural dimension of the Lithuanian economic migration, trying to establish how the economic and certain less material groups of factors interrelate with one another in the context of the economic migrant motivations to return, what could be said about each group’s of factors dominance one over another. The study is, therefore, further divided into five sub-questions as follows:

* Is there, and of what importance is the non-economic dimension in international migrants’ settlement in the more economically-developed societies?
* What would be the concrete cultural, and perhaps social, factors encouraging the Lithuanian nationals to return back from the present settlement in the so-called First World societies?
* (is there anything special about the Lithuanian nation, what would tend to increase the ratio of the cultural factor group versus the more material factors in the context of their repatriatory motivations?)
* What is the concept of *home* about, what elements does it include?
* Evaluated the above, in what way would be impacted both: such migrant sending and migrant receiving societies?

# Methodology

This work is a synthesis of theoretical and certain factual literature review (statistics, etc), a qualitative case study with the aim to establish how much the return of the dispersed Lithuanian nationals is possible (i.e. from the wealthier countries back to the less wealthy land of origin – there could also possibly be universal repercussions in this regard). This analytical work draws significant empirical material from the social media: emigrant interviews in the press, emigrant impressions/reviews in the specially online-press-designated sections, social networks online, private blogging spaces, et cetera. The four of these sources have been consulted more actively than the others: the biggest internet club in Lithuania – www.supermama.lt/forumas; the biggest online news portal – www.delfi.lt; one of the main newspapers in Lithuania, in its electronic version – www.lrytas.lt; TV documentary series on Lithuanian emigrant stories around the world –‘’Emigrantai’’, transmitted by the national channel. When dealing with the national media of such countries like Lithuania, the press stories could in a way be politicized in order to stop the emigratory flows, or scandal-oriented for commercial purposes, yet, the press is also an accredited institution, providing objective and credible information to be trusted. Own designed questionnaire (please see the enclosed Appendix A) forms an important part of the empirical investigation – the questionnaire consists of both: the open- and the closed-ended questions, and structured in a way, revealing the level of importance of material and non-material factors within the context of individuals’ deciding if to settle abroad. The questionnaire answers disclosed that Lithuanians are tend to return home and live in Lithuania as long as there is some economic solution for living in Lithuania, so showcasing a certain cultural dimension existing for the reallocatory matters. 10 people all in all expressed their attitudes (5 of them have already returned, what allowed to see their reasons for return) and 5 of them have not yet returned, providing the rate of 2 being sure of their to be realized return, 2 are potential future returnees and 1 has expressed to have left Lithuania for good, also providing reasons for their decisions. The Lithuanians who provided their replies have demonstrated considerable conservativism in their perceptions, and the proportion in returnee numbers – potential sedentarist inclination (we could say that these results are reflective of a larger number of Lithuanians since similar results have been obtained in other larger scale studies). Such results have not been too unexpected for the author of this assignment. This specific investigation allowed to see the correspondence of the previously studied material, served as an up-to-date, fresh illustration, a closer look at how things work. This in-depth questionnaire eventually, as mentioned, has allowed to understand more clearly the migrant motivations’ mechanism, to approach how migrants’ motives divide themselves between the two mentioned groups of factors. The questionnaire reached the respondents (members of the diaspora) residing in various countries electronically. In a couple of cases it was possible to meet and face-to-face interview the already returned Lithuanians, even then the pre-made questionnaire served as an interview basis, the respondent’s answers having landed into the form of questionnaire during the interview. The little personal visibility should have made the e-mailed respondents give long and open replies to questions, but it seemed that in several cases the little of personal prominence equaled to little involvement completing the provided form. During the private interviews, on the contrary, the respondents’ involvement was high, while the human contact might have somewhat impacted on their openness in relation to personal safety issues. The names in current format have been invented by the author. All the respondent material has been translated into the English language by the author of this assignment.

# Return migration theorized

A comprehensive study on the concept of home, alluding to return migration, has been developed by Mariann Märtsin and Hala W. Mahmoud in 2012. Home is presented in the text as a certain centre of culture, a reference point for human’s actions, through which they perceive and experience the world. A node in networks of social relations, characterised by relationships with others from various generations, bridging the past, the present and the future, so providing one a certain sense of continuity. Home is also a point of one’s self-identification – to situate yourself at home is to know where and who you are, to space-wise be oriented. The at once tangible and intangible home is a precondition for individual’s ‘’dynamic, relational, mutually defining’’ empathy and experience, since also involving the tension between being in place and journeying, security and insecurity, inside and the outside allows self-exploration to occur. We identify ourselves through those home-places and are tend to belong to the groups we engage within them, thus, familiarity and taken-for-grantedness are strongly characteristic to our identity, what leads to being able to term one’s identity as ‘’an intertwined and not easily disentangled whole of being in space and time, rooted in a subjective conception of home, and including idiosyncratic ethnic, national, religious, and other self-definitions’’. Indulging in migration, according to the authorship, the individual’s customary flow of life is intervened and disturbed – the sustainable patterns previously become no longer functional, all what was taken for granted becomes questionable, one’s values and beliefs are challenged – so at the same time the door to an unconscious, rather than its opposite, self-exploration opens up.

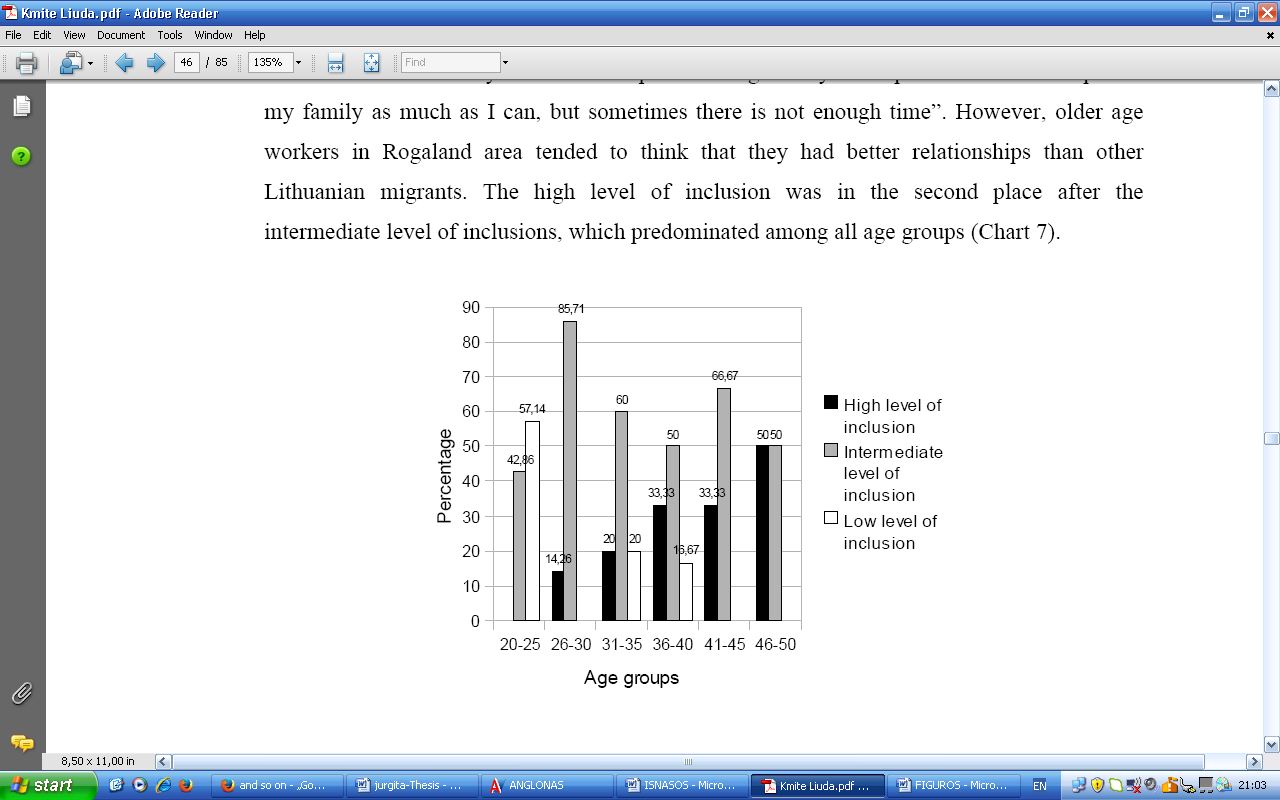
Finding themselves in a foreign, unfamiliar environment the individuals need to re-establish their sense of being at home, therefore, certain activities that were meaningful in the past, taken-for-granted routine (such as contacting the close-ones, taking up habitual activities (cooking own food, practicing ordinary habits and hobbies, possibly wearing traditional dress)) are involved in. Such practices act as a ‘safety net’ in the context of distinct environment, allowing individuals to gain a sense of security under those circumstances (Mahmoud and Märtsin, 2012). Myself, the author of this assignment, could relate such ethnic transnational practices to possible three different paradigmatic notional positions concerning the person who immigrated into a foreign society: first, this attachment to traditional ethnic attributes could be in a way superficial, short-term, and would be tend to decrease progressively with the individuals integration into the destination society, together with experiencing more and more safety; second, the individual has perhaps ingressed the host society having clearly formulated goals in mind, the individual’s stay is well thought of in terms of deadlines, and he or she performing own traditional practices has no interest or intention to overtake the usual modes of life of the receiving circle; and third, the individual is strongly, perhaps even without one self perceiving, anchored and guided by what one already brought from their previous context and environment, therefore, the all-involving functional framework of the society of entry seems to be not making sense, inorganic, uncongenial, and leads individual to not completely abandoning the usual all-sided expressions of being for no matter how long the stay will last, bespeaking also of the projected eventual return (a couple of such demonstrations will later be presented in this section). In addition, the authors of the above discussed study also mention a group of ingressers, whose determination to depart from the local society might have been induced precisely due to inability to feel themselves like at home in their native country, the certain ‘internal exiles’ or ‘homeless in mind’, drawn from their original sod in relation to miscellaneous reasons, like radical political change, belonging to a deprived ethnic population, feeling and acting differently from the accepted and so on (Truly, could we say that such negative-background-carrying immigrants will be subject to smoother contact with the non-habitual, ethnically external environment?) It is now about time to turn to John W. Berry, whose work ‘’Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation’’ (1997) has exclusively been precisely on the immigrant adaptation in the receiving societies.

This author, representing the cross-cultural branch of psychology, claims that there is a substantial evidence existing that showcases the influence of cultural factors on the development and display of individual human behaviour. The concept of acculturation means the phenomena that result from distinct cultural groups being involved in a continuous interrelation with the following changes in the original culture patterns of those groupings. Changes, according to Berry, take place in both: the dominating and the non-dominant half. He further maintains that there are two particular strategic issues that the interrelating entities need to resolve, one being – how firmly to keep to the own cultural characteristics and identity, the other – how intensely the contacting with the other group should be pursued, and based on thus selected alternatives, four strategic orientations are identified. Assimilation strategy denotes a group, whose determination to keep its cultural identity is nearly non-existent, whereas the contact with the other group is frequently and continuously sought; when the grouping is set to keep its identity high at the same time avoiding the mutual interaction, the position is equalled to the strategy of separation/segregation; meanwhile, practicing the original characteristics, unique to the entity while at the same time involving in the continuous contact with the other, the strategy of integration is the option; finally, when the cultural maintenance for one or another reason is not pursued, so as the relations with the other group are not intended, the standing is equalled to the outcome of marginalisation. Further, group-level acculturation (change in group’s culture) as distinct from the individual’s acculturation is outlined and involves possible urbanisation and increased population density, new dietary intake and exposure to new diseases, general loss of status as well as new employment opportunities, disrupted communities or new important friendships, changes in traditional dress, language shifts, religious shifts or core alterations to value systems. Whereas the acculturation at the individual scale is concerned with the change in human’s psychology, there are three subsequent levels of difficulties experienced during the process of acculturation as expressed by Berry: the first one is when the psychological change is minor and relatively not complicated to accomplish, meaning that the individual will need some ‘culture shedding’ to effect prior to mastering the new behavioural repertoire, typical to the new cultural context, and there could be some minor ‘cultural conflict’ for the individual to undergo as a result; the second dimension is that of acculturative stress, that occurs when differences between the two cultures are great, and the behavioural repertoire cannot be lightsomely changed; thirdly, ‘’the changes in the cultural context exceed the individual’s capacity to cope, because of the magnitude, speed, or some other aspect of the change, leading to serious psychological disturbances, such as clinical depression, and incapacitating anxiety’’. It should be said that the author also distinguishes between individual’s psychological (a clear sense of identity, good mental health, the achievement of personal satisfaction in the new cultural context) and socio-cultural (the ability to deal with daily problems in such fields as family life, work and education) adaptation, while economic adapting refers to labour market inclusion, one’s fulfilment through acquired work, and its efficacy in the new culture. While adaptation to the occurring changes, according to the author, can ensue immediately, or extend over the longer period of time. Short-term changes during acculturation are perceived as possibly negative and encumbering, although in most such cases observed, after a period of time, certain long-term positive adapting to the fresh cultural context began. The long-term adaptation, however, can be both: rather positive or more negative in its outcome.

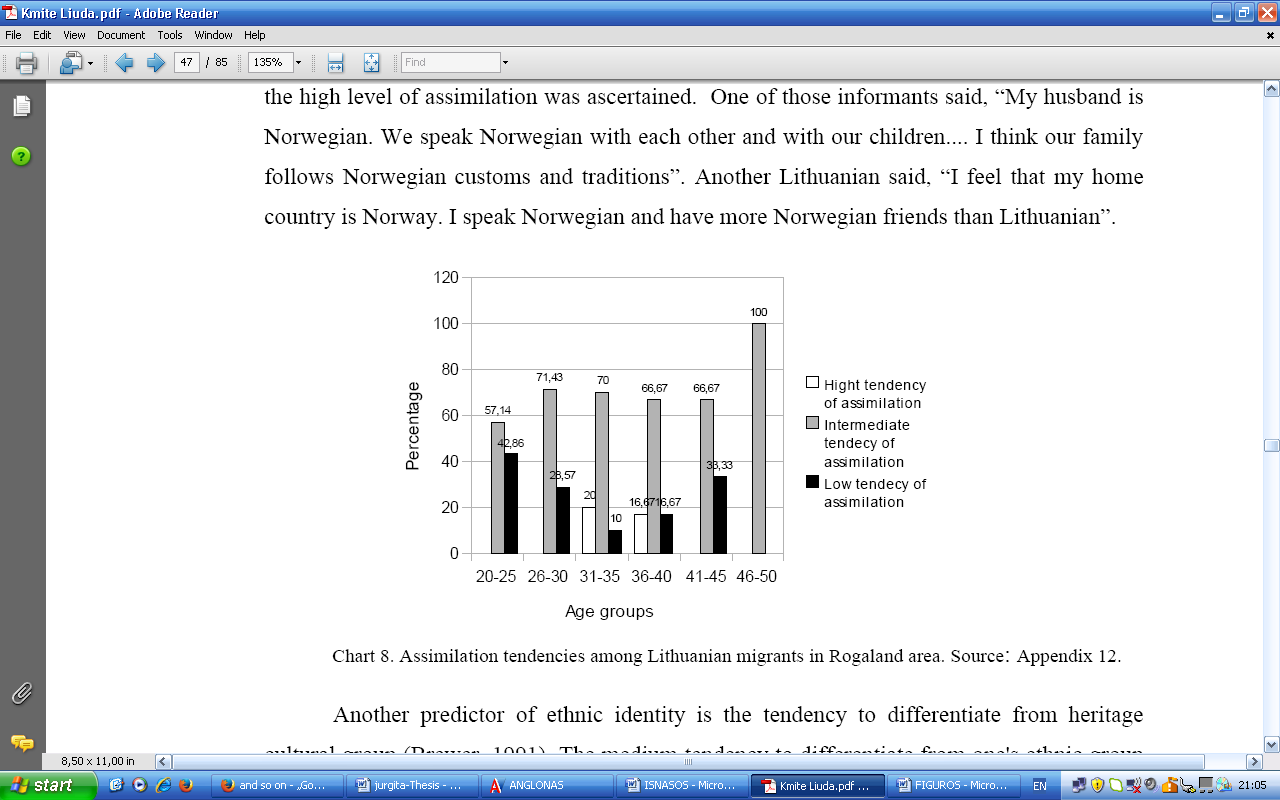
While understanding Berry’s position, I would like to slightly challenge his framework of acculturation, since there are examples, when one’s ethnic, hence, cultural identity, anchored in where one is coming from, seems to be more actively or passively present throughout the individual’s life-time, so remaining alert even through the most obvious cases of culture shedding in favour of prospective culture learning, through seemingly the most positive adaptation. For example, the Lithuanian national television documentary series centring on the realia of the Lithuanian emigrants’ life abroad, interviewed (‘’Emigrantai’’/’’Emigrants’’ on LRT, 14-10-2014) a Lithuanian man in his forties, whose parents in the peril of the Second World War desolating then independent Republic’s territory, moved to Germany the man, hence, being born to the Lithuanian parents in Germany, and lived in the city of Hamburg for all of his life. Yet, despite having gone to school, and mastered the local language at the national’s level, as well as currently being the owner of a couple of successful commercial establishments in Germany, this country, in fact, being his material provider, the man of distinct ethnic origins claims to only associate himself with Hamburg, and only in the form of his immediate environment, where his physical house, shop, work is. The true ‘home’, according to the respondent, is Lithuania, who he as a student discovered during his summer holidays, where he seems to be spending more and more time in, and eventually plans to land there for good at the right point in his life. The informant asserts that his greatest ‘discovery’ have been the Lithuanian people, who reminded him of his own ‘’stern, stubborn and determined’’ way of being while he stated that he had always felt that he could not identify himself with the Germans, he felt that he was not belonging among them or in their soil. Hence, we have a case here of the person who, though grew up in an ethnic Lithuanian family, had the German society open to him in terms of integration, altogether the majority of his life so far spent there, still, the interviewee of the Lithuanian origins maintains that he perceives himself to be closer to the Lithuanian nationals psychologically, in their circle he feels like belonging there. Another comparable example is possible to come across within the thoughts of one of the leader’s of the plenteous Lithuanian ethnic community in Norway: ‘’The Norwegian climate is so familiar, and them, just like us, also the northerners, are rather still and quiet, our [physical] cultures too seem to be similar, but at the same time we are different’’ (http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/emigrants/emigrante-norvegijoje-norvegai-gal-ir-naivus-bet-tikrai-nera-kvaili.d?id=63045896, accessed 13 05 2015). One more allusion to the case discussed has been noted by a young Lithuanian woman living in Ireland, when inquired by the press how she relates to the Lithuanian identity: ‘’I think it is too strongly said – culture, but there is something so hard to define what makes one Lithuanian: perhaps it is the way how Lithuanians see the world, the way we access things. I guess it is more found in those who have lived for the most part of their life in Lithuania, but then there is that something, what I also see in the Lithuanians’ children here in Ireland’’ (http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/emigrants/nesusiliedami-su-kitomis-tautomis-iseiviai-is-naujo-atranda-lietuva.d?id=19561802, accessed 11 05 2015). In my opinion, this side to one’s anchored-in-previous-context-identity of untraceably accompanying them throughout environments in life could in a sense serve towards their at a point in time departing back to the homeland, no matter how positive the accessory context be.

L. Kmite, a Lithuanian master student at Stavanger University in Norway, has devoted the space of her graduation dissertation assignment to exploring the level of acculturation among the Lithuanian immigrants in Norway, particularly the area of Rogaland (2011). Her research has found that the population questioned displayed intermediate tendencies towards cultural shift (multiple aspects, such as the rate and nature of contact with the locally- and internationally-based fellow Lithuanians, the state of assimilation into the local Norwegian majority, the level of personal/behavioural change (including values’ system) were investigated), please see Pictures 5, 6 and 7 for graphically depicted results. In a way, such outcomes could, as was elsewhere previously mentioned, signify that the Lithuanian migrants came having clear finance-related objectives in mind, and their stay is projected to eventually end, therefore, a closer opening up or integration to the majority group is not sought or required (although, why not to turn your short-term material objectives into an ever-lasting stay, when the host country enjoys one of the highest standards of living world-wide, according to multiple indices?), on the other hand, drawing from the paragraph that just previously followed, it could mean that for eventual, complete acculturation it is very complicated, if at all possible, to occur due to the in-brought identity, which makes one sense that the order, the atmosphere in the country of entrance is for one-self all uneasy and unnatural, the contact with the group that dominates is cumbersome and effort-requiring. Not feeling one-self naturally at home could make the overtaking of norms and way of life of the other society almost impossible, while the original home is back there, waiting for one to return, able to offer complete internal or spiritual rest.

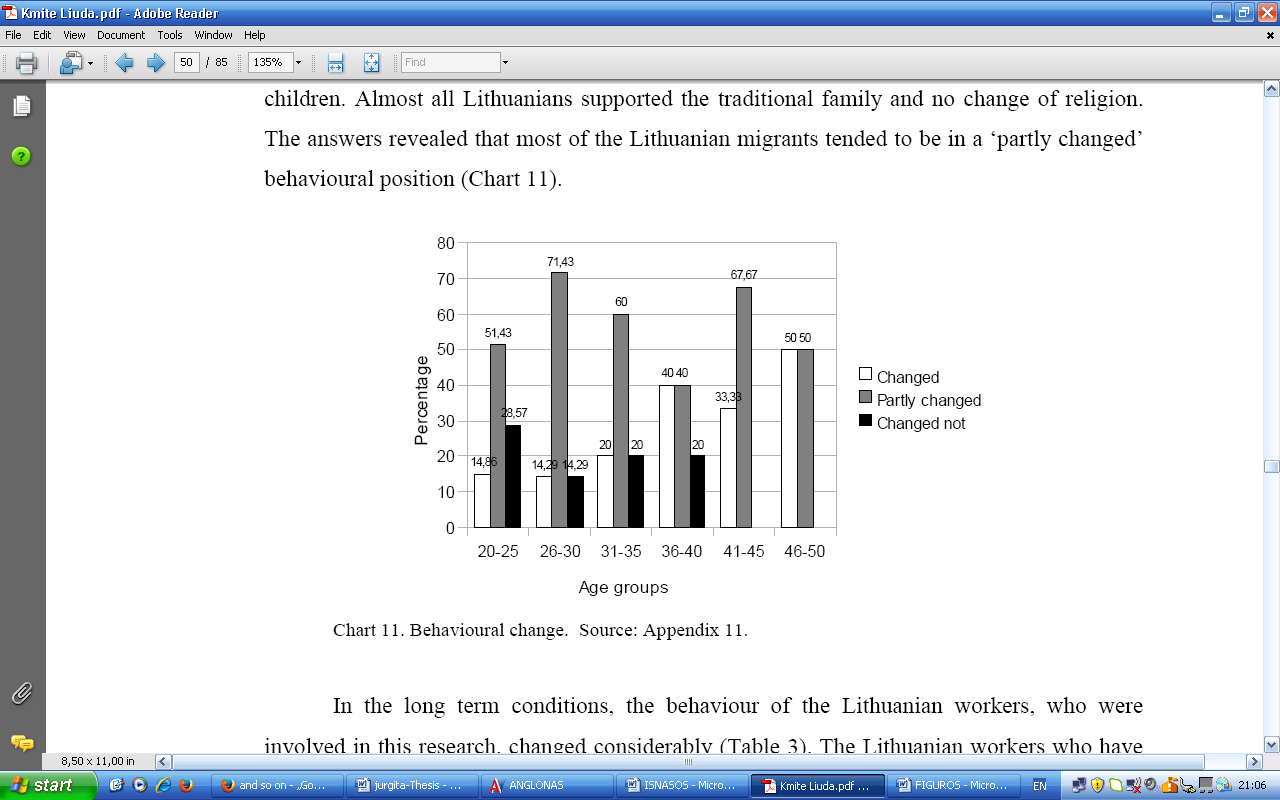
**Picture 5: Backwards-orientedness of the Lithuanian settlers in Norway distributed according to age groups. Source: Kmite, 2011.**



**Picture 6: Tendency of assimilation of the Lithuanian settlers in Norway distributed according to age groups. Source: Kmite, 2011.**



**Picture 7: Behavioural change chart for the Lithuanian settlers in Norway, indicative of situation among the different age clusters. Source: Kmite, 2011.**



The predominant type of change undergone by the Lithuanian settlers was such, that results from the financial betterment, while more profound changes or changes of different direction did not occur, according to the sampled population itself, due to cultural areal circumstances (43,75% of the questioned indicated that inability to speak the language and not being familiar with the traditional customs and habits is responsible for partly not being one with the majority so at the same time complicating their realization of migration expectations, and 18,75% thought that cultural limitations are preventing them from full integration) and the remainder 18,75% took that more time is needed for other processes to occur. True, as the considerable population enquired was greatly diverse in age, social status and length of stay, it was possible to observe that the individuals that had stayed in Norway for a longer period of time than the others experienced more profuse change and different in character, yet, these same people were noticed to also not be too prone to subsequently abandon their Lithuanian context, as one respondent has expressed: ‘’I have almost everything [in Norway]; however, sometimes I think if I am happy. Then I start to think about going back to Lithuania’’ (Kmite, 2011).

Meanwhile, let us return to the already commented outline by Mariann Märtsin and Hala W. Mahmoud (2012), who concern themselves with the migration induced changes, that Berry spoke about. The moving while distances us from our usual home and makes us feel unsafe, at the same time does activate the home and out-of-home division within our dailyness, as the old home is not anymore next to us, yet we look at the new things through our past being. We answer to the call of the new context spontaneously, without yet having internalized it, what makes us appear in certain liminal space, embedded somewhere in-between the two worlds. Such state is described as highly ambivalent, at the same time opening an unfamiliar space in us to still be accomplished, and such sensation in a way also excites us. We hereupon meet new social others in another cultural context, who through providing continuity, also become involved in changing and re-negotiating of our identity.

As this text then maintains about individuals returning, the question arises then, why would, such- changed individuals (the Lithuanians in this example) would still like to go home? Why would they still seek home? Let us turn to my own implemented qualitative investigation, pre-mentioned in the methodology’s section.

Out of the 10 people with who the contact was acquired 5 have already returned to Lithuania, while the remainder 5 divided itself into 2 who are certain of their come back, 2 who might return, and 1 that had no intentions to return. The findings of my implemented query were somewhat similar to what I imagined them to be. What now follows are the type of attitudes of these enquired respondents towards their position regarding repatriation: ‘’Lithuaniais my home-land, own-land, my relatives live there, my past, nostalgia. Of course, I am more integrated in Lithuania. In Norway the language issue in particular is disturbing for me to integrate properly. […] We both [husband and wife – auth.] plan to spend our retirement period in Lithuania’’ ‘’There [in Lithuania – auth.] is my home there, my country. I have a partner here [in Ireland – auth.] and some friends, also, my all-round material assurance is here, but my mother lives in Lithuania, my relatives and my old-good-buddies who I love to meet and chat with, I am not a „homegirl“ here’’ ‘’[…] no matter how welcoming and friendly the country may be to foreign arrivals, you will never feel like in your own home there. Your friends, your family, own language, own traditions – you feel belonging here [in Lithuania – auth.] […] My husband’s sister has already come back home after a decade spent in emigration in Ireland, so as my other friend who travelled, studied and lived in Denmark, West Europe, Canada and Australia said that it is the best for her in Lithuania. […] I had actually never been considering settling elsewhere. I always knew it was temporary. I always had this desire to come back and begin a sedentary life in my homeland’’ ‘’I wanted to settle somewhere, and I like Lithuania’’ ‘’[…] you are only an emigrant in that country, you are not their citizen. There you are not as appreciated, as you are in Lithuania. [...] But I suspect he [respondent’s friend – auth.] might return to Lithuania again at an older age. […] I do not think right now that I would ever set myself to do so [leave Lithuania for all times – auth.]. Unless there would be no alternative way out in connection with family reasons. Because as my own example has demonstrated [she presently works in the international banking community section’s management in Lithuania – auth.], that if one is able to work well, they will also manage to live well enough in Lithuania’’ ‘’Overall, I am choosing life in Lithuania, because I think that Lithuania is a home to every Lithuanian: everyone speaks Lithuanian, social integrating is easy. One’s family and close-ones are much closer than in case of situated abroad. […] All the goals I had set to myself [for emigration – auth.] became realized in the period of 4 years. Priorities have now changed. A very time has come to come back to the Homeland, and to apply here my foreign-gained knowledge and experience. It would be hard to set myself to do so [leave Lithuania for all times – auth.] What could lead up to that, it would be the peril of war.’’ Please see the first enclosed Appendix in form of Questionnaire for the full dialogue and the context for these selected answers. It should also be noted, that overall the respondents have demonstrated throughout their replies that a strong connection between their belonging and feeling for Lithuania and their planned or implemented return exists, quite a part of them maintaining that only unbearable material conditions could make them depart from, even though not so abundantly rich, Lithuania again/for all times.

Similar attitudes have also been possible to come across invoking the Lithuanian media: the already mentioned television documentary series, reporting on very diverse aspects, destinies and situations of the overseas Lithuanian population, spoke of a man (‘’Emigrantai’’/’’Emigrants’’, LRT, 09-12-2014) who has spent around a decade in Norway doing various (mostly unqualified) work, at the time of the reportage being particularly satisfied with his position, salary and working conditions. Nevertheless, the interviewee does not feel that he belongs there in Norway, and with inspiration constantly dreaming of Lithuania to his Polish and Estonian companions, he goes out to the street wearing the traditional Lithuanian costume during the national Norwegian celebrations. The man at the time of reportage was intending to spend 5-7 years more in emigration, before returning back to Lithuania to start a private business activity. The same TV-show also presented (‘’Emigrantai’’/’’Emigrants’’, LRT, 07-10-2014) a young woman of Lithuanian origins, recently married to a Dutch man, and successfully pursuing career in New York in the world of modeling. Yet, despite having the time of her life in the United States of America, and living in the spot many could only dream of, she still intends to return back to Lithuania (where she holds a personal accommodation) when the time is right, and work with asocial youth. Return from the United States, meanwhile, has already been implemented by another Lithuanian national of biochemistry profession who had for a certain number of years been working with the most prominent pharmaceutical companies while in that country of settlement: ‘’Us, scientists, are drawn to Lithuania because of the still unexplored opportunities. Working at home we feel beneficial and occupy specific niches, so creating the added value to the country, and ourselves feeling hugely content. I get many calls and contacts from other such emigrants, asking which companies are entering our country, as for them it is one of the greatest stimulants to return. Tired of dynamic work phase and constant effort to prove their value abroad, these Lithuanians wherever they live, they would like to come back. […] Foreign companies come to Lithuania, in the first place, due to highly qualified specialists, competitive ability and internet speed (Lithuania had the fastest internet speed in the world in 2011 – author of assignment)’’ (http://www.veidas.lt/kurti-sekmes-istoriju-emigrantai-vis-dazniau-traukia-namo, accessed 14 05 2015). Another source also suggests that Lithuania should be an attractive place to settle for the national Lithuanian well-off repatriates themselves due to presently favorable taxes, rational legislative base, an ideal geographical location in-between the vast East and West markets, highly developed road infrastructure, not overly demanding pay rates for the highly competent workforce, knowing the way things work in Lithuania, possibility of using the local’s status, however, to my mind, the person first needs to identify to oneself clearly that for one or another reason they choose to come back to their country of origin, and not stay in the secondary country of residence. Meanwhile, my extensive review of repatriate or soon-to-repatriate Lithuanian nationals’ expressions in other press interviews and sections for reflection, electronic social networks or private blogging has unclosed that emigrants re-enter Lithuania not in relation to certain alleviating circumstances, on the contrary, they expect that using the best of their effort and ability they will manage to survive in the complicated Lithuanian financial context, often choosing less but inhabiting the precious homeland instead, while some even have stated that perhaps it is more interesting and challenging to live when circumstances are not those of smoothest. However, it should not be forgotten, that Lithuania itself is with time changing, improving, what already does ant still will make people to re-emigrate. My review of emigrants’ expressions throughout the mediated communication spaces has highlighted the following most recurring motives to repatriate among the offshore-based Lithuanians: ‘’I want economics to improve, I will then return’’, ‘’I will achieve my goal, and will then return’’, ‘’I want to bring my international experience to Lithuania’’, ‘’I hope that I will earn better in Lithuania with my foreign experience’’, ‘’It’s you and me who build Lithuania’’, ‘’I have returned, because the desire to return has been with me all time’’, ‘’I long for Lithuania, it is a part of me, I kiss Lithuania’s soil, and pick up each rubbish’’, ‘’I feel that I do not belong in this foreign country, I am not able to strike roots in here’’, ‘’I want my children to be raised according to Lithuanian traditions, to be able to use our own language’’, ‘’My children have already accustomed in this new environment, I cannot take them out, but I hope that they will enter tertiary education in Lithuania later, and then we can come back’’, ‘’I want to be closer to my family and friends’’, ‘’I discovered a patriot in me overseas, now I understand that not only the money is what matters’’, ‘’I like to be easily understood, to communicate in the style we usually do’’, ‘’I miss seeing all the four seasons change like we have it in Lithuania’’. It also needs to be said, that the remittances brought in by internationally-based Lithuanians have recently equaled to over £1 billion, what was the same as a quarter of all paid salaries in Lithuania in that same year. And in this context we should also not forget the role of Lithuanian social migrant networks, gatherings, ethnic communities, that provide comfort to those who there feel alien, so altogether sealing Lithuanianism and fanning hopes to implement return.

The reader might form an impression from the above material that the Lithuanian nation is very sentimental, conservative. Indeed, we need to understand that during the 50 years in Soviet occupation, all foreign contact was forbidden, all trips, emigration was virtually non-existent. Only after the Independence emigration (and mainly economic) began, therefore, we could say that the Lithuanians still have less sensation of (global) freedom and more attachment to their native-land than, say, the West European nationals, who have long enough enjoyed the freedom to migrate and not necessarily due to economic reasons. One more inquiry has shown that Lithuanian nationals primarily relate Lithuania to its territory, later language and citizenship, followed by history, the Constitution, and love for Lithuania. For Lithuania’s inhabitants a denationalized person is such who forgets the language, refuses the citizenship, and holds no respect for Lithuania (http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/lietuvio-tapatybe-pavydus-vaisingas-darbstuolis.d?id=13068013, accessed 15 05 2015). On the other hand, the Lithuanian nation has been patriotic enough to fight against the Soviets, to start the chain of nations becoming independent, such patriotism, it is possible to think, has not formed itself within the Soviet occupation, but is known to have long before existed. Even the ethnic Lithuanian folk is full of nostalgic, sentimental, lyrical fragments on the importance of home, in particular mother, siblings, homeland, it needs to be said that the practice of accommodating one’s old parents in the specially designated retirement homes (widely popular in some other countries) is still not striking root in the present day Lithuania – daughter or son are the ones who need to take care of their parents till their last day. The Lithuanians themselves, indeed, treat their culture as conservative, nostalgic, what theoretical non-constructivist paradigms would perhaps ascribe it to being fixed features to Lithuania’s ethnic identity. Similarly to what has been mentioned previously, over 90% of Lithuania’s inhabitants would prefer the Lithuanian emigrants to return instead of the foreign workforce being imported to not to stop the state’s apparatus function (Sipavičienė and Gaidys, 2009).

Yet again, what precisely is *home*, the home that we always strive to return to?

On the one hand, I myself have got to know a number Lithuanians who call the societies to which they moved for and successfully acquired material stability (such like Norway), their home, yet, when the situation in Norway turned complicated due to children appropriation (the issue still to be discussed later in the text), the remarks of the Lithuanian community members seemed to decrease in certainty of this country being their home, a part of them has expressed in the peril, that their home is Lithuania – a safe place for themselves and their children to live. We see from this instance, that home relates to safety, to no one being able to harm you, to being in control, being one’s own boss.

At the same time, respondent ‘Jolanta’ (please see the first enclosed Appendix) maintains that even though she has a partner, new life and new friends in Ireland, in Lithuania there is her mother and her old-buddies with the old times and stories that they have gone through together. The television documentary ‘’Emigrants’’ (‘’Emigrantai’’, LRT, archive) has also interviewed a Lithuanian woman married to a French-man and raising two kids together. The elder couple’s daughter was born in Lithuania and lived there until 5 years old, while the younger daughter was born in France, where the family currently lives. Interestingly, despite the time passing, the elder girl is still seeing Lithuania as her home and repeats that she is going home when the family goes to Lithuania for holiday, the younger girl simultaneously sees France as her homeland, and perceives Lithuania as a place to go for holiday. These two instances reveal that home relates to one’s past, I would even dear to say, that home is that first place where one has entered this world, and had enough time spent there to identify with it. Then, returning home is related to leaving this world from where one started.

Will the Lithuanian-French girl continue to see Lithuania as her home, when more and more time passes? Perhaps it depends on whether there will be a possibility to return there (just like M. Märtsin and H. Mahmoud referred to home being perceived in its absence, but at the same time embracing continuity).

Psychology theory, meanwhile, speaks of the state of attachment (the very feeling of attachment needed to live), what is highly important and characteristic to all human beings, and losing this attachment is more complicated than one can first think. The healing from loss of attaching involves four gradual stages: denial (one does not yet realize the loss for a certain short period of time), negotiation (one tries to bring it back, one blames, what can last for months and years), desperation (one feels emptiness and depression next), finally, the stage of reconciliation (one tries to fill in the emptiness with newness, what can possibly last all of the individual’s life). Emigrant’s attaching to their soil is, hence, broken when the situation forces them to depart, therefore, they are thought to first neglect, and later in desperation to fling towards the side of their natal nurse (and cursing Lithuania is precisely the type of behavior that has been spotted among some of the Lithuanian emigrants).

At the same time, I myself would be tend to agree with Berry (1997), who also offered that the lesser distance among the two groups’ cultures correlates positively with successful establishment. For example, the most successfully integrated Lithuanians (having stayed for long, or wanting to stay for long, not considering to return back) during my relatively not compendious, intense research period have seemingly appeared to be those settled in Norway. As one emigrant that I know has put it: ‘’I have travelled a lot in my life: I worked in the United States of America first, then in the United Kingdom, but what I can say about Norway is that it is very similar in climate, crop available, and Norwegians are in a way similar to us, at the same time the country being richer and socially just. So I think in a place like that I could already consider settling!’’ Ireland has also been a place for many Lithuanians (although, as we know, a number of them has already moved out to Norway or other places, or returned to Lithuania), and we could perhaps say that similarity has also worked approvingly in this case: ‘’the Irish jig dance seems to partly resemble our Samogitian (a region in Lithuania – auth.) quadrille. Could it be that our nations have met before? Their dance of liberation and freedom, when men stand queued up giving the beat with their glass-tiled shoes, and girls emerge like roes, instantly touches my heart. Perhaps they are close to us, because they grow rues, are fond of potatoes, and their songs are somewhat sad like ours’’ (http://www.delfi.lt/gyvenimas/istorijos/airija-tolima-artima-sala.d?id=35296647, accessed 15 05 2015). Same could be said of Germany: ‘’We share with Germans equally serious attitude to life and obligations, climate and crops are so similar’’ (http://www.supermama.lt/forumas).

Nonetheless, we should never dismiss one’s personality playing a role in the choice of their residence, as that same context that could satisfy one might seem unlovely to another: the TV show ‘’Emigrants’’ (‘’Emigrantai’’, LRT, 21-10-2014) narrated about a woman who, oppositely to a considerable part of other Lithuanians, found the way, in which Englishmen that she faced during her period in the United Kingdom related to her, as rude and arrogant, while presently in employment in France she says to be enjoying the atmosphere of ‘cultured elegance’ inhabiting the air, and pleasant people striving for harmonious inter-relations. The consideration of same country’s nationals’ personality differences towards them making the country of ingress their home manisfestly unfolds in the discussion of two Lithuanian women within one of the most popular Lithuanian stations for mediated communication: -**byebyelondon** ‘’I am glad I left the United Kingdom […] Houses, all the architecture seemed to be so crooked, so much of untidiness, including also the people […] I am now based in Germany and I love it’’ -**uups** ‘’You might be right about the architecture, girl, but I find Germans to be so introvert and boring... I stayed in the U.K. myself and enjoyed the nice social mingling, the pub culture. I would instantly agree to exchange Germany to England. I hope that for me it will be possible to also move soon’’ (Re-emigrantai ir galvojantys grįžti į Lietuvą/Re-emigrants and those considering to return to Lithuania at http://www.supermama.lt/forumas, accessed 15 05 2015). In addition, I could say that I myself, the author of this assignment, have a personal liking for the country of Denmark, therefore, my personal liking has determined that I am planning to stay in this country for a number of years after I will complete my studies. However, no matter how (well) things would turn out for me in Denmark, I am not completely sure if I could ever abandon Lithuania for good.

Eventually, migration can be performed by way of rational orientation – what I would see as individuals considering the aggregate mass/level of benefits that living in their own country can offer, and leaving it for the other country that has the same level of advantageous functioning, but also exceeds it (the phenomenon of Lithuanians from a less abundant ex-Soviet-governed space moving to countries that for long have enjoyed freedom and economic prosperity). In such a case, it would be possible to think that if citizens of one nation-state massively depart from the country to which they immigrated, this country can offer lower net benefits than their original state (in this way we could also find out much about the actual level of development in different countries around the world, and so on). On the other hand, from the reported material that just followed, it was possible to envisage that attachment, belonging, nostalgia and patriotism towards the home territory/environment are rather strong human empathies, that could always act against the Lithuanians’ long-term establishment in foreign societies, no matter what material comfort they could provide (leading to eventual return that had primarily been not intended, decrease the period for stay, etc). In the chapter that will now follow I would like to acquaint the reader with the precise factors, socio-cultural in their sort rather than financial, that would act as serving for the Lithuania Republic’s avail, i.e. contributing to Lithuania returning its seemingly dispersed population.

# Non-monetary factors impeding monetary motivations

**Effective medicine and accustomed dietary in-take.** The Lithuanian nationals have been in various contexts commented by people of other nationalities to be outstandingly accurate, quick-oriented, witty and clever. This tiny Baltic state produces physics, chemistry, engineering and information technology specialists of the highest caliber (first place in the world according to laser technology production, the national professionals occupying positions in world’s most prestigious science laboratories, biggest international enterprises transferring their operations and technology departments to Lithuania’s territory). Some claim this intellectual ability to have formed due to the years in Soviet empire and the central educational policies therein, yet, this nation has assumed a nearly leading position in science while in the composition of Soviet Union, often serving as base of knowledge for other Soviet Republics (we can also testify how after the Soviet empire, other Baltic states so close in their resources and geographic location have developed other, different domineering positional fields). While perhaps such scientific/intellectual national inclination has been erected by some gifted personalities closer to the headwaters on nation’s ethnogenesis, the present generations seem to be faultlessly catching up and elaborating on such pre-formulated features. So is the case with medicine – medical staff spends long years in training, and turns out to be skilled, of advanced level of preparation. Almost all the medical services are free in Lithuania, and overall it could be said that medical field in the country is highly effective, excluding the same issues of inadequacy of funds for specific costly treatment and medication, bias and corruption at various levels of medical establishment. It needs to be said, that the Lithuanian emigrants while fleeing to wealthier, modern societies are also expecting for all-round fullness and quality in various fields and sectors to life. Unfortunately, with the medical services it has turned out often to not be the case. Most of such information reaches us through the (social) media: in forms of national press interviews, specifically dedicated emigrant reflection and impressions sections therein, private bloggings and designated social networking sites. As it has already been mentioned, emigration-related fragments in the national (online) press could to some extent be related to migrant detention in relation to anti-emigratory governmental policies, as well as media’s own apt for scandal on commercial basis, the information has also been objective, credible and authentic. Before we will go into a press interview with a Lithuanian woman on her experience and evaluation of the medical system functioning in her secondary country of residence, it should be noted that such emigration-related happenings (particularly within the specifically dedicated unedited emigrant ‘Reflection’ sections) are widely read and (online) commented by both – the inner and the outlandish Lithuanian public. Such entries usually get from the medium to a high number of comments in comparison to all other items, while the time-to-time springing articles on particularly the medical encounters (by now usually striking and negative), tend to receive mixed but approving reactions. Around a quarter (or even third?) of responses, it is possible to observe, habitually come from other outlandish Lithuanian emigrants claiming that they have faced and were shaken by very similar issues in their countries of settlement, while another division of commentaries in their own ways advice to not rebuke the country that has accepted them, others yet saying that this is the outcome one needs for abandoning Lithuania, others protesting that Lithuania has its own different issues.

The number-one-read online news portal in Lithuania, DELFI.lt, has published an interview with the Lithuanian woman who had left to Norway for work, expecting to stay there for the rest of her life. The interviewee was doing casual jobs first, in order to properly integrate and with time to assume a position according to her qualification (hairdresser). She told to be trying to be an exemplary incomer, at an early stage mastering the language, making friends and involving into a local community, becoming noticed for her elaborate needlework. Everything has, however, turned around after an accidental work-time trauma occurred: ‘’I worked at a nationally owned supermarket as a cleaner. I had to clean around three floors, but it did not look so much. Do, we, emigrants have much choice? I was also handling product shelves, and would get extra work rather often. […] To tell the truth, I saw Norwegian male workers walking around, but women were carrying boxes. I carried a full box in my hands and suddenly it fell onto my hand and shoulder. I suddenly felt that something has shifted inside of my elbow – I got afraid to be dismissed, but administration themselves saw that things were serious, so they told me to see a doctor. […] The doctor surprisingly did not do any radiograph or tests, but told me to stay at home for a week, taking pain-killers. I stayed at home crying, putting ice, eventually, the arm turned all dark blue. I went again to the doctor who said that it was going to pass, I should go to work, and eat more meat meanwhile. […] After five months in torment and not being able to sleep for days, there was finally a test done, that showed that the chords got torn, and due to no actions taken, they now knitted together in a wrong way. Also, the 4th and 5th spondyles were broken, therefore, an internal rupture has formed. The doctor then sent me to a Lithuanian orthopedist locally-based, who got struck to see the medicine I was told to take by that other doctor – the post-menopause pills – he told me to throw them immediately (and I already took 30). Then I also visited a couple of other Norwegian doctors, but no one was trying to properly help me out. […] The doctor was asked about my state by those controlling the benefit payments, but they did not believe him, they told that I should still go to work according to contract. […] I later found out that I was covered by bank insurance, but somehow I have never been told about that. After the trauma I could not pay more installments, so the bank disagreed to pay out this insurance for me. Also, after trauma I was entitled to compensation for accommodation, but no one ever told me, and I only got it paid for the two final months left. My work load decreased overall, and I was nearly able to survive of my earning. […] I left the work finally, and returned to Lithuania looking all crippled, I had an arm surgery in my Lithuanian city, also certain spine implanting, I have now shoulder surgery bewaiting, and the surgeons have told me straightforwardly to start seeking for a ‘’one-arm’’ type of job. […] The Republic of Lithuania has fixed all my disability papers, and forwarded them to Norwegians, because that is where all of my disability benefits should be coming from, but they hardly want to believe that. You see, all my financial life was in Norway, including the pension funds, but I still received no compensation for post-surgery period, nor for my rehabilitation in Lithuania. […] I know one other Lithuanian girl who had to go to work in nephritis and 40 degrees fever in Norway. I advice you all to collect each paper, each single document for your own future benefit. I knew I was an immigrant, but I worked honestly, paying all taxes, I was good and friendly to the locals, I will never return to Norway’’ (http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/emigrants/norvegijoje-nugydyta-lietuve-pasibaisejo-mediku-nemoksiskumu-ir-sistemos-ziaurumu.d?id=60806921, accessed 16 05 2015).

Prior to that, there was also a testimony on how for long months the medics in Ireland could not come across a rooted tumor in the little Lithuanian girl’s spine. Another Norway-based Lithuanian emigrant has shared in migrants’ online reflection section how he out of nowhere experienced a strong internal stroke while in Norway. The man felt sick and dizzy, with blood pressure jumped to 165 instead of the 122 as usual. He then called the ambulance, but was told to arrive by himself at the local clinic, based 6 kilometers away. The man paid the taxi and arrived at the clinics, yet, after the blood pressure test and electrocardiogram procedure, he was told to go home finely. The man felt even worse during the week after and said to have gone 10 times during that week to the clinic, but no one was able to help. He finally met some friends who happened to have blood-pressure regulating medications that turned temporarily helpful. He purposely returned soon enough to Lithuania and was accepted by his personal doctor in advance of the other planned patients – soon the issue, a certain hormonal dysfunction, was established and needed medicine prescribed, the man happily coming back to his usual life mode (http://bendraukime.lrytas.lt/isklausykite/norvegijoje-susirges-lietuvis-pasibaisejo-vietos-mediku-darbu.htm, accessed 15 05 2015). In addition, there was a testimony from the Lithuanian woman based in the United Kingdom, who told the story of losing her baby due to the country’s doctors’ negligence. Also, one of the two major national newspapers in the country – ‘’Lietuvos Rytas’’/’’Lithuania’s Morning’’ – in its online version has published an interview entitled ‘’The Irish medicine through the eyes of the Lithuanian: they find no slivers, neither veins, nor placentas’’ with a Lithuanian migrant based in Ireland. The interviewee told of him accidentally cutting his leg at home, and being taking to the hospital. The doctor there took out the slivers from leg, took a picture, and said there were no slivers left. After five weeks the man gets a call from the hospital to come, as another doctor has accidentally seen that picture, and found that a glass is left. The Lithuanian himself got to see the picture, and was surprised that not being a medic he could see rather big piece of sliver standing out. The leg that was gradually healing was now cut in another place to take the glass out, that after all the time has gone even deeper inside. He also commented there-present doctor’s behavior during the birth of his son in Ireland: the doctor with tremulous hands was stitching his wife’s wound, and the tools accidentally fell on the floor. The medic was about to use the same tools for stitching, but was stopped by the husband. Another case the same respondent remembered was when his little son had meningitis, and was also taken to hospital, one other medic could hardly perform catheter procedure, as was hardly able to find the vein, needling five times one leg and five times one hand. The strangest case in the eyes of the Lithuanian in the Irish hospital, he thinks has occurred to his friend’s wife while giving birth. The doctor was stitching the puerperal wound, and was about to let the woman go, while a nurse came in, and noticed that placenta should have been released first (http://www.lrytas.lt/lietuvos-diena/aktualijos/airiu-medicina-lietuvio-akimis-neranda-nei-stiklu-nei-venos-nei-placentos.htm, accessed 15 05 2015). Furthermore, the Lithuanian emigrant community in the United Kingdom jokes in its own circle that one needs to say their own diagnosis when visiting a doctor in Britain, and all the doctor will most commonly do is confirm it.

We could though argue, that the Lithuanian emigrants are not the cluster able to enjoy the most expensive clinics abroad, yet, for any of these instances above described the doctor might very possibly lose their work placement in a medical institution in Lithuania. Cases like these allow the Lithuanian nationals to see their mother-country with different eyes, they re-appreciate, re-discover their homeland in emigration, realizing that not everything is no negative about their country of origin, weighing things anew. In my opinion, this factor of medical accessibility and efficiency in the state of Lithuania is particularly enticing to those of an elderly age or migrants facing certain health issues.

For the Lithuanian nationals it is also customary to, first of all, take care of their internal health: it is usual in Lithuanian dietary in-take traditions to strive the food products to be modified as little as possible, dishes to be prepared of fresh and quality produce, getting the best mineral value possible from the food ration available, popular are also the city markets, where the individual farmers provide to the busy urban dwellers fresh, naturally country-side cherished growths. Various fast-food types and such restaurants (providing glairy, fat dishes associated with cancer, heart and other diseases), including certain canteen/oily type of Asian cuisine and carbonated drinks, are still not getting as much of popularity and rooting/naturalization as they get in some other countries around the world; on the contrary, more and more the Lithuanians try to eat in moderation, use healthy ways and technologies of preparation when cooking dishes for themselves at home. Appreciation of well kept, sound and salutary human physique, a habit for sports and critical views towards obesity, altogether with the genetically conditioned body constitution, mean that the majority of ethnic Lithuanians are tall and slender, attractive for an eye to look at, keeping all those proportions also to an old age. Therefore, the foreign (certain global Western) environments in which the frozen/pre-made dish or fast food culture is endorsed (or obesity dominating), are unattractive, off-putting for most of the Lithuanians, it is not what they would like themselves to identify with or adopt. The recurring types of remarks possible to spot within the (online) circles of the international Lithuanian community are criticisms surrounding the modification of products (‘’when you taste it, you cannot separate if you bit a cucumber or a tomato – they all taste the same’’ – http://www.anglija.com/forum), the way the food is prepared in catering establishments (‘’why is the food so grease-flowing and most of the time so overdone, overcooked in the U.K.?’’), criticisms of other national cuisines often emphasizing how ethnically-valued health and soundness principles are not kept (‘’The British have traditionally prepared their fish and chips wrapped in the newspaper, what is still practiced in certain places – how can they possibly eat the newspaper plumbum-imbued portion then?’’, ‘’While the Spanish cuisine looks healthy from the first glance, it is actually much about thick-breads, big sandwiches, smoked meats’’). Meanwhile, the Lithuanians abroad are missing the traditional Lithuanian dishes, what the lack of some very specific products and other circumstances in a foreign setting are preventing from practicing. We could see, on the one hand, the ‘’ours’’ – Lithuanians’, and ‘’theirs’’ – the foreigners’ dichotomy in the above critical examples, where more value is always accorded to the ‘’ours’’, simultaneously, there might be very diet-cautious individuals, truly positive and confident about the outcomes and benefits of own, original practices what could serve as forces leading to their return home, or in case of special circumstances, for example, families with children.

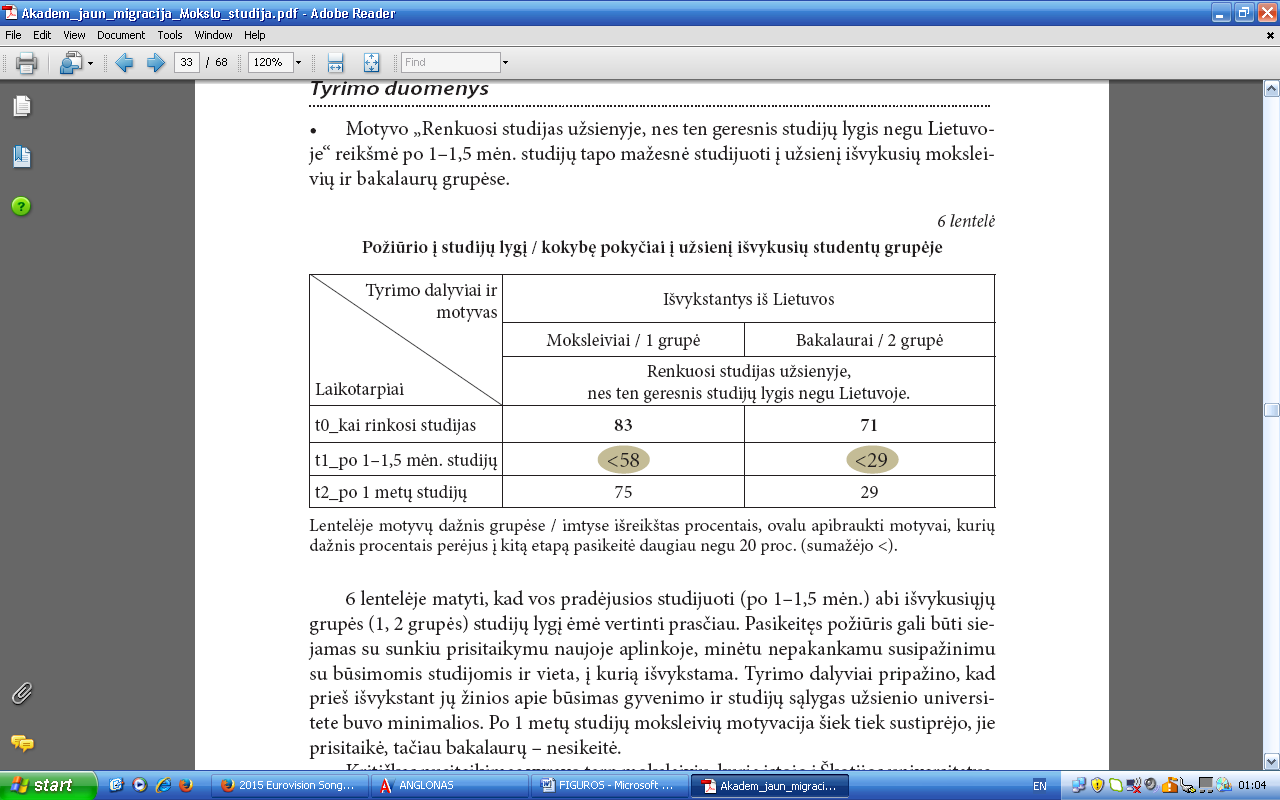
**Child raising and education.** The Lithuanian emigrants in Norway have been having hard times in this respect – the Lithuanian media for the last couple of years has been reporting of the Lithuanian families with children being approached by the Norwegian national child protection organization ‘’Barnevernet’’ on clearly unidentified grounds. The organization has been persecuting the standard, working Lithuanian families, and throwing almost absurd, inadequate accusations to their side, leading to resettlement of these Lithuanian children with the Norwegian foster-families, paid, in essence, to take care of the children resettled from asocial or sinister parents. Around 20 Lithuanian families have been crying to the media that the children have been legally appropriated (or are planned to appropriate) on most ridiculous bases, the parents only being able to meet their off-spring four times a year before them gradually disappearing from the parents’ life. A couple of these parents have managed to secretly bring their children out of the country during the meeting hours, and with help of other parties to bring them back to the Lithuanian territory, while the incident gaining most sorrowful public attention has been the one of seven year old Gabrielius, his mother being stopped by the officials in Sweden, the boy once again subsequently passed onto the Norwegian officials (despite him being the Lithuanian citizen, the Swedes explained their decision by absence of certain mutual agreement with Lithuanian Republic). Headings storming the Lithuanian media, it in turn emerged that the Polish, Czech, Indian and Nigerian families have had similar experiences in Norway, and in some cases the effort of these states’ governments’ have after lengthy debates been successful, the Lithuanians also blaming their own government for inactivity. The motives for ‘’Barnevernet’s’’ behavior have been causing turmoil among the Lithuanian public, some of them initially ascribing it to a certain strategic Norway’s behavior in order to smoothen immigrant assimilation, yet, among the local Norwegian majority there have also been parents subject to equal situations. Perhaps, the Lithuanians were initially thinking, it could be happening due to cultural differences in child raising – since Lithuanians come from the society that is less tolerant, less liberal, less modern, less civilized. And the child raising norms are less-child-sensitive, the United Nations Child Rights Convention is not followed word-by-word, some Lithuanian parents, hence, putting blame on themselves, trying to accurately absorb the Norwegian rules. Yet, nothing seemed to work out as the children were transferred due also to ‘’child eye contact with the mother of not enough frequency, the child eating for lunch not precisely what the Norwegian families are eating, a child weighing 1 kilogram less according to the Norwegian understanding, parents having renounced their pet (‘’so they will one day refuse their child’’), child attached to the mother (‘’so probably sexual abuse is involved’’)’’. This has resulted in public demonstrations and picketing next to the Norwegian institutions, but ‘’Barnevernet’’ (said to be an autonomous institution, confined even from the intervention of other Norwegian institutions, able to at the same time legally subject police at its availability) has for all time kept quiet. This case, perhaps due to internal defects, caused not few Lithuanian migrants to pass their off-springs to ward of their Lithuanian close-ones, a parent in the family to depart with children to Lithuania, sparked re-evaluation

However, there has been a certain (not so high) number of cases throughout the contemporary Lithuanian emigrant wave, when children were called off from their Lithuanian parents in the United Kingdom, Ireland, and other countries around the world. Due to the fifty years spent in Soviet occupation, various cultural influences were entering the ethnic Lithuanian mentality, the rate of alcohol consumption increased, so as rate of violating. It needs to be said, that a part of the (uneducated) emigrants coming from the least advanced Lithuanian country-sides, having themselves been raised in such an environment, are still tend to use reasonless violence and display unconventional behavior. In addition, the responsible Lithuanian institutions have not done all the possible work on their behalf in relation to instruction of child rights and parental responsibilities in Lithuania. The gap between immigrants’ child raising perceptions and the different practices in the receiving society can, in my opinion, have various effects towards successful integration: the individual family would suffer from stigmatization, at the same time bringing bad name to other same country nationals, such individuals may in course of time withdraw from the long-term settlement.

Speaking of child raising, we are also in the position to speak about education. As it has been mentioned earlier, Lithuania has for long had strongly oriented educational environment: prior to the country losing its independence, a number of schools and departments had been functioning throughout the country’s territory (for linguistic, arithmetic, history, natural sciences, medicine, arts, religion, also industry and agriculture, etc preparation), solidly moulding both, humanities and science specialists. The Soviets after their ingress have made various reforms in the country’s educational section: concerning the secondary education, some of the humanities (such as religion), as well as also the science disciplines have been removed from schools’ programmes, adding their own subjects, such as history and political science, all notebooks rewritten in the mode glorifying the Soviet empire and its leaders. According to some, the level of educational preparation in secondary schools has dropped since the Soviet ingress, however, the schooling system has become exceptionally nationalized, centrally controlled and obligatory. New types of learning techniques and models have been introduced: learning various disciplines expandedly and by heart, appropriating lengthy contents strictly the way the teacher told one to and the books wrote without personal involvement in exploration. After the Republic broke free various reforms have once again seized the educational sector – some old disciplines have anew been brought-in, various other novelties presented, yet, the learning models and techniques that for the 50 years had existed in the government-owned high-school establishments (forming also a generation of specialists and staff), were not so easy to change, until the very present day discussions occurring between Lithuanian specialists on what the right and perfect educational model should be. The Lithuanian schools, hence, are now a complex product, a meeting point of the Eastern and Western academic/scientific traditions for knowledge and discovery – each year a Lithuanian high-school is left by a number of youth, speaking at least two foreign languages, having extensive understanding of history/geography/biology, sophisticated in theoretical chemistry and physics, able to perform complex mathematical moves. It is not too hard to imply, thence, that the Lithuanian emigrants’ off-springs do often occupy among the leading positions in their secondary school class-rooms in Ireland, the United Kingdom, or other countries where pupils’ preparation is less wide-ranging, more practicality oriented. A part of the emigrants have expressed through technology-based communication being displeased with having to work with their children at home in order to catch up to the general Lithuanian educational standard (‘’since the most expensive private high-school in Britain comes close to an average secondary school in Lithuania’’ – http://www.supermama.lt/forumas). Many emigrants throughout my ample commentaries’ review have expressed a wish to return to Lithuania in order for their child to attend schooling there, since, indeed, the Republic has not provided a comprehensive framework for that to systemically occur outside Lithuania’s borders. And tearing the child out from their accustomed environment at a later stage is, as we have already read, complex, also due to the fact, that the pupil will have to enter lower Lithuanian class-rooms.

Having touched upon the subject of education, we should now also discuss the issues related to higher/tertiary education in Lithuania. So as in the case of the high-schools, the higher education programmes in Lithuania suffer from lengthy, abundant theoretical contents with little possibility for students’ involvement, impracticality, inflexibility, older equipment and study material, overemphasis on the role of the teacher. On the other hand, the advantage of such study model is that it produces a high, well-roundedly educated individual, able to well-orient themselves in versatile contexts and environments (please see the second included Appendix for a sample of contemporary university-qualification degree programmes according to the Lithuanian model). The responsible Lithuanian governmental department until now seeks the best possible combination to enact the higher education in the country – the presently administered study programmes are already shortened, certain subjects excluded, certain replaced. There has been a tendency among the Lithuanian youth to go abroad to seek for better quality of tertiary education since the Independence (often intending to later stay in those countries. For example, 2339 Lithuanian students were studying in the United Kingdom’s universities in 2010), the tendency that has particularly increased after the essentially unpaid studies at home have been instituted relatively high prices and unfavorably conditioned student loans a couple of years ago. Obviously, the Lithuanian youth are expecting for the same or even higher level of scientific students’ preparation in the First Developed countries, yet, this is not always the case. A special case study has been carried out (Ramanauskaitė and Vaišnys, 2013), measuring the attitudes towards the quality of their study programmes of Lithuanians primarily attending the British universities. Picture 8 below displays that the attitudes have changed significantly when the process began:

**Picture 8: The attitudes of the Lithuanian bachelor and master degree students in British universities**



**Source: Ramanauskaitė and Vaišnys, 2013.**

**In comparison to studies in Lithuania, in %**

**Bachelor (percentages)**

**Master**

**Time period**

**When choosing 1,5 months in 1 year in**

**\*The circled numbers mean that the shift occurred is more than 20%**

It should be said, at the same time, that the displeased students were mainly those who studied at not very highly internationally ranked higher education institutions, while others were pleased. Some young Lithuanians are already known to stop their studies in between in foreign universities due to the unfulfilled expectations, and to return home. In my opinion, the effect of that on these Lithuanian academics could be shifting their pre-formed image of those accepting environments and re-appreciating Lithuania; understanding that not necessarily all is negative or worse what the tiny, not materially abundant Baltic state can offer, and that there are also very diverse aspects within the so-thought most developed states. If the disappointment with the academic environment also transcends into other spheres within the same society, the result could be return home effectuated with intents for long-term establishment refused.

**Differences in norms, values and traditions.** Lithuanian United States of America-based emigrants seem to see there-present life-style as hectic and heavy. Themselves being thorough, hard-workers, a number of them has expressed that achievement-oriented culture and overworking is not precisely the conditions that one needs to lead a healthy and happy life. The modern Western megalopolises and career hubs, as noted by some Lithuanian expatriates, are also not the right places for balanced life to be enjoyed, since Lithuania is small, distances are short, population density – low, things function there simply and comfortably, and the global capitals mean the opposite – complicated and time-wasting commuting. For some of the Lithuanians not the easiest task seemingly has been to get accustomed to diversity in population’s characteristics in the global Western world, since Lithuania has for long, till the very present day been much more ethnically and culturally homogeneous in comparison to other societies. The expatriated Lithuanian nationals also touch upon longing for traditional Lithuanian scenery and the way in which nature is approached in the homeland: uncultivated, untouched, little human-mastered. It is usual for the Lithuanian inhabitants to spend timeless periods at sky-blue lakes or green forests, relaxing during holiday, exploring, gathering goods. While in most of the Western territories more attention has been devoted to nature protection and control (‘’The atmosphere here is not like cooking meat or porridge out at the lake like we do it’’). Lithuanians also mention missing the practiced natural way of socialization take place (‘’I offered my university course-mates to go for a walk in the forest in the United States, so they said that it is full of bugs and disgusting. The distances are so long there, I once asked one of my female course-mates to both of us be heading home together, and it looked like she took it as if I was going to rape her and she strictly said ‘no’’’).

German sociologist G. Simmel spoke of alienated individuals who feel like ‘strangers’ when they come into a contact with a differently historically formed group – such individuals perceive that culture distinctly, they do not find things natural and plain the way the other group does, they start being critical towards the world, and at the same time certain self-contained meaningfulness is lost for them. Indeed, more than a couple of Lithuanian emigrants throughout my extensive analysis have alluded to not being able to effectuate full-rate interactions, inability to catch up with the local communication context, ‘’get the jokes’’.

The recurring expressions on the part of the Lithuanian economic migrants are accurately summarized by ‘’First World’’-based woman’s testimony, equating emigrant’s life to prosthesis: ‘’I only made friends in here after good 5-10 years of residence, when the language was well-enough mastered, and still I needed to put constant effort in pursuing it: every contact is almost a job – you call, arrange a time for meeting in a week, two or a month, you put it to your calendar. I am not pleased about it, but I had to accept their rules. I now picture myself walking in streets of my native Vilnius – everything is moving me, each single corner speaks of my small years, my youth. I see my long-unseen class-mate passing by – we pause, we chat, so many old links connecting us. We take a coffee and chat for two hours, then we dine together. We suddenly see others that we know: we go to have a beer, and we cannot separate! We choose to spend a weekend together, what a joy! But, hold, I am now here. I walk down the street – no chances of buddy approaching me, because even if I am approached by my new mates, we will speak a traditional ‘hello’ or few classic phrases. Since they obviously have their own goals in mind, and no one is going to shift them for you. Spontaneity, surprises are non-existent, but a constant inner heartburn. […] During the first years abroad one has that feel of comfort: earnings rise considerably, being enough to survive and even to save, but time passing a realization occurs that the proper life is somewhere absent. Then one starts to seek alternate contacts (who probably ‘’care’’ about them as actually much as they do), to preoccupy novel hobbies, activities, to join fellowships and organizations – each time ending up in disappointment, yet again and again striving for finding fullness. Some practice travelling, or go to purchase expensive objects, some immerse into religious explorations or exhaust sports. Each of us we do not want to give up trying, if that happiness is not there yet, we need to employ substitutes, many times also failing to provide the fruit we desire. I could somewhat relate metaphorically the life of an emigrant with certain prosthesis: it is brand new, attractive to look at, and functions to walk. But much more effort is there to be inserted in order to be able to dance the jolly waltz of life’’ (http://www.lrytas.lt/-12078006831205923113-p4-%C5%A1okis-su-protezais-ar-emigracija-gali-b%C5%ABti-laiminga.htm, accessed 17 05 2015). This above testimony unveils how emigrant’s life can be subject to constant aloneness mode.

**External/host-society factors.** There are also certain structural factors impacting negatively on the Lithuanian emigrants’ successful establishment in the global Western countries:

Due to not speaking the local language, work placement needed instantly and foreign (Lithuanian) degrees being not recognized in certain countries, for some very highly qualified/educated individuals it is in a way humiliating to do the unqualified jobs, to work with other (local) people who strive for no higher ambitions in life, it hurts to spend a life like this – just existing, instead of doing the work one loves. Knowing that they are a very small fish in the big sea, not anyhow special, as well as in order to be more acceptable to the locals the Lithuanians need to compromise their ethnic/cultural identity in certain cases, and this could possibly be not very easy to bear. In addition, not all the locals do understand the worth that the emigrants bring, how they aid country‘s economy by saving certain sectors, by decreasing disproportions among various domestic economic fields, etc., so such emigrants are underappreciated, and even laughed at, mocked by local not the most intelligent circles. Also, the local inhabitants are tend to have stereotypes regarding emigrants coming from different countries, but not all the emigrants do match those stereotypes and not all desire to be measured by them.

Further, the hosts feel like the chosen ones in their own territory, what could relate to a higher human value by belonging to the dominating group and various benefits flowing from that (like N. Elias and J. L. Scotson have argued in their book of 1994). What means that there is a huge competition between the East European emigrants and the locals (also other EU country workers who usually have a higher status than the ones from East Europe), the locals most often getting the better job (an emigrant must be a much better specialist in order to get hired in such an instance), the locals being first to be hired, the locals getting better salaries even with lower qualifications. More than a couple of the Lithuanian economic migrants have expressed that they do not feel of equal value to the native workforce, they need to work very hard to prove their value, also, there usually is no one to recommend them or warrant them. The Lithuanian workers have been cheated by their foreign employers, used, disrespected, their opinion is no one important to, sometimes there was even no one to listen to their half of the story (since there are plenty of emigrants willing to take one position if the worker has complained). The Lithuanians have commented feeling like guests in the foreign lands, feeling that they do not belong there, and that the land is not in their hands, therefore, a part have said it to be better to live less materially abundantly but feel valued, respected, secure. The Lithuanians have also been subject to various forms of discrimination in diverse fields throughout the accepting society; not everywhere the incomers get their degrees and qualifications recognized, not everywhere they are allowed to participate in voting in the local environments, while one Lithuanian has been reported to have his campaign material damaged by Irish nationalists when heading towards the position in one of the cities’ councils in that country (http://www.lrytas.lt/-14000729071399517853-vald%C5%BEios-siekian%C4%8Diam-airijos-lietuviui-spj%C5%ABvis.htm). A proportion of the Lithuanians has complained of not being a possibility to completely integrate into the local society.

It so can happen in life due to various reasons that an individual decides to enter the foreign country illegally, of course, a bunch of problems to successful integration is to begin from therein. At the same time, the contracted Lithuanian workers do not always know the rules/laws in the country of resettlement, at least in the beginning they very often do not speak the local language. Their socialization due to similar language and, in a way, position in which they appear is often restricted to other East European emigrants what even more obstructs their successful integration. In order to earn/save more money (also, to send home) they often live together in full houses, in low conditions, eat expired articles

It has already been mentioned that the Lithuanian nation was subject to various influences while in the Soviet Union, one of them, also particularly visible in the early years of the newly independent country – the desire to have a lot, to own (as a result of long years of scarce and unfavorable living conditions). Therefore, criminality and mobster gangs have thriven in Eastern Europe, Lithuania, and outside of its borders (while I would also add ungodly Soviet upbringing, and these same features of logics and precision to some of the Lithuanian crimes being particularly well-planned, and of particular brutality). The receiving societies, meanwhile, do not forgive so easily to those who break their rules, they defend, subsequently stereotyping even those members of nation who came to honestly contribute with their work effort and lift the host economy with their most able hands (as one Lithuanian has once noted: we are thought to be the nation of scientists in the United States, where we are few, and the nation of criminals in Norway, where we are many).

Report concluded and implications of active transnationalism

The study revealed a certain overall trend: the Lithuanians tended to emigrate and stay in emigration in times of most complicated economic circumstances, however, given the situation of being able to live in their own country, although more moderately, less excessively, many Lithuanians exhibited a desire to return versus living in full comfortable material conditions, but outside of their country of origin. Given the situation of economic conditions being equal in level in both – the Western global societies and Lithuania – many emigrants would choose Lithuania as a place for their settlement. In this context, it should be said, that in the future Lithuania will not be regressing, but progressing: changing, improving not the least, of course, in economic, financial terms.

It should not be dismissed, that low cultural distances between the sending and the receiving societies are impacting positively on migrants’ resettlement out of home, their time of stay abroad. As well as certain personality inclinations, when an individual finds their own personality reflected in one or another country’s culture, when they are able to themselves identify with that culture in particular.

The precise (socio-cultural) factors attracting emigrants back to Lithuania are accessible and efficient medicine, the accustomed/perceived as healthy food culture, the desirable level of education/scientific preparation, certain basic cultural differences, and structural factors in the receiving societies working negatively on their successful stay and integration. Also, in case of this particular nation due to the reasons previously suggested, there is a strong conservativism, sense of nostalgia towards the home, longing for home, longing for attachment, not feeling like belonging anywhere else what contributes to intensely drawing them back to their source of origin. Whether there is the same level of attachment to their native soil among the other countries’ nationals, specific studies should be procured on the social and cultural historical context of those countries in order to ascertain that.

I am able to observe, personally, a certain type of migration among the Lithuanian expatriates, a certain migration model, when emigrating, but always keeping connected, when migrating throughout different most developed countries, but in between (or eventually) always returning, when migrating between the different countries, most often subscribing to ethnic Lithuanian communities functioning throughout many different economically advanced countries. I would term this as active, frequent, repetitive transnational activities. One specific enquiry has also shown that the Lithuanians in comparison to West European country nationals are much less inclined to identify themselves with and once-and-for-all attach to their immediate residential environment: village, town, local/communal government due at present to in particular scarce facilities within the smaller territorial units, what makes people to effortlessly move and forth-and-back migrate within the Lithuanian state as well as the outside (http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/lietuvio-tapatybe-pavydus-vaisingas-darbstuolis.d?id=13068013).

What would then be the impact of this on the Republic of Lithuania? Emigrant remittances and the returning emigrants themselves would change Lithuania from inside time passing: bring in different foods, clothing, and various cultural attributes, however, what is not the worst from outside, but all the best. We could speak in a way of Lithuania losing its traditional, cultural face, but not the patriotism of people that might even increase, not the virtue of seeing themselves as strictly the Lithuanian citizens. It is already possible to come across springing various associations and civil (youth) organizations arguing for tolerance and respect for ethnic and cultural diversity (mostly started by those who have a number of years spent abroad), while, seemingly, recently, almost a decade ago an individual of different biological characteristics could still have got aggressively physically dealt with in the streets of Lithuania.

What would be the impacts of that for the migrant receiving societies? As an anthropologist Arjun Appadurai has commented – certain de-territorialization, when diverse ethnic communities inhabiting the single politically-bounded physical territory actually work in the name of different nations. The emigrants do not have the kind of love for the resettlement country as they have for their mother-country, therefore, the remittances and everything else is projected towards the favor and benefit of the maternal country. A scholar S. Castles (2013) as well as many others spoke of emigrants entering the most-developed Western societies and staying there, accommodating, raising children, assimilating. However, I think that the majority of such migrants like Lithuanians would migrate forth and back, without attachment, any defined intention to stay. This could mean disrupting in various ways the local markets (including causing competition to the locals by providing high-quality services at lower prices, or making foreign companies to come to Lithuania to pursue their activities), certain disrupted social structures, perhaps, eventually a possibility for social unrests to arise.

On the other hand, there are such Lithuanian citizens who for long years live in various, different countries, with an attitude of ‘’I think someday I will return to Lithuania, but not now – one day’’, and there are those who have already returned from abroad, maintaining that their return is not the final point in their life yet, feeling free and unrestricted, they claim that their come back does not mean that they will now never again step out of the country. And there are also those, who have integrated as much as one could integrate: bought houses, obtained education, have good jobs and develop businesses, form families, who also have brought their old parents abroad (although some of them also have kept accommodations in Lithuania and – many – the Lithuanian passports). And still: ‘’We have our Lithuanian television broadcast in London, we often go to East London, where a big Lithuanian population has formed. There is a Lithuanian super-store, a couple of restaurants. It is nice to spend time there, to chat, to dance in the Lithuanian night-clubs, while if someone wants to pray or are preparing to get married, they can attend the Saint Kazimieras Catholic Church or the Lithuanian evangelical churches’’ (http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/emigrants/indre-i-lietuva-jau-nebegris.d?id=44145533, accessed 24 05 2015). Truly, for example in Ireland, Lithuanians have created a little ‘’Lithuania’’ of their own: with ethnic blocks and squares, shops, hairdressing, tailors, even the own theatre and medical establishments. It is even suggested that the in-coming Lithuanians are about not to need to be able to speak English, and some already now face no need to use the majority’s language. Also, a Lithuanian language examination has recently been started to organize by one official educational institution in Ireland.

One Lithuanian scholar has commented on Lithuanian emigrants losing the physical territory component of what the nation is about, but proudly retaining the elements of history and culture to their identity formation. And culture is always full of spirit. It allows them to see themselves as Lithuanians even being physically apart, to be proud world citizens knowing where they came from. To that also adds the longing for what has been lost, making them frontedly emphasize their origin, dwell on Lithuanianism, establish practices and communities.

‘’There are some 10 000 Lithuanians in the United States who work hard to cherish Lithuanianism. They own schools, stage exhibitions, concerts [the Lithuanian ethnic community in the United States also includes the post-second-world-war expatriates – auth.]. Some immigrate and get startled by the fact that their children stop speaking Lithuanian, so they organize various weekend facilities’’. ‘’We are coming to dance Lithuanian folk dances with the Lithuanian Canadian community in the national folk festival in Lithuania. The Lithuanian Fellowship in Canada is truly a strong organization, long-lived and unifying different generations. We are 30 Lithuanians coming: 8 couples of students and 8 couples of veterans. We put so much effort and heart into rehearsing, because we would like it to be visible that we have not forgotten, and how much we love the homeland, even though we are situated far away. Also, one of our community members had previously organized discounted tickets for us and various fun attributes to go to the basketball game to see Jonas Valančiūnas play in Canada [basketball is the most popular sport in Lithuania, many apt basketball players playing in different basketball clubs around the world –auth.], it was later arranged for us to also see him in person. Other, one of my favorite events, is the so-called baseball weekend, when our Canadian fellowship and Lithuanians from the United States stage baseball games a weekend in each summer, chatting after the games for hours about various occurrences in Lithuania, so altogether themselves staying in mutual contact. Us too, like you do it, recently celebrated Saint Jonas’ Festival in Canada, camping, burning fire and socializing – we try to commemorate all the Lithuanian celebrations, and not to abandon traditions’’ (http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/emigrants/lietuve-apie-emigrantu-rojumi-vadinama-sali.d?id=65211523, accessed 24 05 2015). One of the leaders of the Lithuanian Norwegian community uttered the following: ‘’Truly, I feel more Lithuanian in Norway than I used to feel in my own country. A certain desire appears to support Lithuania, to foster the culture. […] I mostly feel motivated seeing how everything is expanding here, I wish our nation to grow in here as well. It really motivates’’ (http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/emigrants/emigrante-norvegijoje-norvegai-gal-ir-naivus-bet-tikrai-nera-kvaili.d?id=63045896, accessed 24 05 2015).

At the same time, the original purpose of an ethnic community is to provide a temporary shelter, where ethnic identity and cultural practices do not lose continuity until better times come in the homeland and return is possible to in reality accomplish.

These migrant communities serve for impeding assimilation, ethnic communication hubs, contact with homeland, to seal Lithuanianism, return contributions, and they are powerful enough institutes in the context of the single-citizenship law, that the Republic of Lithuania has until the present days retained. Such communities, in my opinion, will exist until there will be the territorially-bounded political units present (the nation-states), the organisations might function as ethnic islands the way they are called, as satellites, nets. With the persistence of such ethnically/culturally underset formations, it then naturally follows, there will always be likelihood of returning to the homeland upheld. Even in the case of the first generation becoming somewhat distant, there could be the second generation wishing to discover their roots, to have an identity to separate oneself from the global mass (Lithuanians’ descendants from Ireland or the United Kingdom are already noticed to explore Lithuania, at all times various foreign Lithuanian offspring have been looking at Lithuania, working, benefiting the country with international experience). So there is always a potential for return. To put it otherwise, the central home divides the world into homelands

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