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RETURN MIGRATION PROGRAMMES FOR THE LITHUANIAN MIGRANTS IN THE UK FROM 2016 ONWARDS AND ITS COMMUNICATION

MASTER'S THESIS

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This research analyses how return migration programmes are communicated in the media content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom from 2016 onwards. Framing theory and migration theories are used while conducting content analysis of the three media sources frequently used by the Lithuanian migrants in the UK – portals "Anglija.lt", "Tiesa.com" and a TV documentary show "(Ne)emigrantai". The findings reveal the main trends, differences and similarities in communication of return migration among the media sources analysed.

Confirmation

I confirm that I am the author of submitted thesis: *Return migration programmes for the Lithuanian migrants in the UK from 2016 onwards and its communication*, which has been prepared independently and has never been presented for any other course or used in another educational institution, neither in Lithuania, or abroad. I also provide a full bibliographical list which indicates all the sources that were used to prepare this assignment and contains no un-used sources.

Aušrinė Aurelija Apanavičiūtė

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INTRODUCTION

Lithuania's migration story contains high waves and low tides even since its first emigration wave in the second half of the XIXth century. More recently European Union enlargement had a significant impact on migration flows[1] including the large-scale Lithuanian emigration. Since 2004 more than seven hundred thousand have emigrated from Lithuania and in 2006 emigration process was identified as the biggest non-military threat for Lithuania[2]. The numbers of emigrants are very large in the context of country's population size and population growth rate but even more alarming are the demographic characteristics of the ones leaving Lithuania. With some minor fluctuations each year producing slightly different specific numbers, among the ones who emigrate the most numerable group contains people from 15 to 44 years old[3].

The United Kingdom has steadily remained the top destination country among the Lithuanian migrants even though EU citizens moving to the United Kingdom after Brexit are facing more restrictions due to the new immigration rules. Norway, Germany and Ireland since 2016 onwards also are very often chosen by the Lithuanians who emigrate but not as often as the United Kingdom. Besides the English language which is more known for Lithuanians than German language and Norwegian language, a fact that only United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden did not opt for transition restrictions on job-seekers from the new Central and Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004 also helped explaining why the United Kingdom is so often chosen by Lithuanians who are leaving their homeland[4]. By the time when restrictions were lifted in other countries, there were various Lithuanian communities built and networks organised in the United Kingdom already.

In order to attract Lithuanians back to their homeland several return migration programmes have been designed as a part of a broader Lithuanian return migration policy. Also, both Lithuanian emigration and more recently return migration has been attracting attention from the scholars. In some cases, their findings helped unveiling positive trends as for instance when it was discovered that the factual numbers of return migration are larger than it was believed. While in the official statistics only the ones who have formally declared their return are included, in the cases of emigration not only the formally declared emigration was included but the efforts were made to also evaluate the undeclared

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[1] Martin Kahanec, Klaus F. Zimmermann "Migration in an enlarged EU: A challenging solution?", 2009, 2.

[2] The Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, *Rezoliucija dėl nuoseklios valstybės politikos emigracijos procesams valdyti*, 2006, [Accessed on 2022.05.15], https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.280660?jfwid=rivwzvpvg,

[3] The Migration in Numbers, [Accessed on 2021.12.07], https://123.emn.lt/en/

[4] Laura Thaut, "EU Integration & Emigration Consequences: The Case of Lithuania" *International Migration,* Vol. 47 (1) 2009, 192, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2008.00501.x

emigration which 1990-2011 made up 45 percent of the whole calculated emigration flow.[5] Thus it was concluded that the formation of the commonly spread views that the emigration flows from Lithuania were massive and that return migration to Lithuania was not happening were influenced by the different methods of calculation.

In summer 2021 almost 250,000 Lithuanians applied to stay in the United Kingdom resulting in at least 175,000 receiving settled status and in another 50,000 Lithuanian citizens receiving pre-settled status, which means that they will need to register again once they reach the five-year mark[6]. There are some media sources specifically designed to meet the needs of the majority of Lithuanians living in the United Kingdom where the viewers can find not only the sports or political news, lifestyle rubrics and weather forecasts but also very relevant information about renting accommodation and applying for jobs. One of the portals where communication for the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom has been analysed in this master thesis claims to reach 380 thousand viewers each month while the other one states an audience of 200 thousand viewers each month. Having in mind the approximate numbers of Lithuanians living in the United Kingdom it suggests that these media sources reach the majority of them. Thus, it can be concluded that the most appropriate spots to spread out any information targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants, including the return migration programmes would be in one of these media sources. Besides, the state of migration programmes and its communication to the Lithuanian migrants in the UK especially from the 2016 onwards has not been researched yet although Lithuanian emigration to the United Kingdom still continues. This phenomenon becomes even more interesting as such an important global occurrence as Covid-19 pandemic have been affecting it and Brexit. All these factors make the research on return migration policies and their communication targeting Lithuanians in the UK particularly timely and relevant. Taking into consideration such problematic, this master thesis **focuses on** return migration programmes for the Lithuanian migrants in the UK from 2016 onwards and its communication. The main **research question** is: How return migration programmes and measures are framed from the 2016 in the media content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom? The **aim** of my master thesis is to study how return migration programmes are framed in the media content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants from the 2016 onwards.

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[5] Egidijus Barcevičius et al., *Vicious circle? Return and repeated migration of Lithuanians*, (Vilnius: Vaga, 2012), 85-86.

[6] BNS, "Some 250,000 Lithuanians register to stay in UK", DELFI EN, seen on the 25th of October, https://www.delfi.lt/en/world-lithuanians/some-250-000-lithuanians-register-to-stay-in-uk.d?id=87567537

In order to achieve the aforementioned aim, the following **objectives** were set:

- to review the academic literature in order to choose suitable theoretical concepts for analysing media framing;

- to review the academic literature and existing policy documents to identify existing return migration programmes and measures for the Lithuanian migrants in the UK;

- to prepare methodological guidelines for media sampling and select content for the content analysis;

- to carry out content analysis to reveal how return migration programmes for the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom are framed in the media content targeted towards them.

1. RETURN MIGRATION AND ITS FRAMING IN MEDIA

1.1. Framing theory and its application in media

Framing theory as understood nowadays in the social sciences and applied in the media analysis has its roots in psychology. In 1972 an anthropologist Gregory Bateson used the word frame in the context of psychology in his essay while comparing the phenomenon of play and the process of therapy and arguing that their resemblance is profound.: "Both occur within a delimited psychological frame, a spatial and temporal bounding of a set of interactive messages."[7] It was pointed out that frames are tools with which human mind is capable of defining specific characteristics and features among different things and thus able to separate one from another. For example, we know that a table is a table and not a car because their features are different.

Just a couple of years later the frame concept received much more attention from Ervin Goffman who is considered to be the first who put forth the framing theory in 1974 in the first edition of "An Essay on the Organization of Experience". While defining it in his work he points out two separate types of primary frameworks – natural and social frameworks[8]. The first identify occurrences seen as undirected, unoriented, unanimated, unguided, "purely physical" and are understood to be due totally, from start to finish, to "natural" determinants. Physical and biological sciences are the ones facing the first type of frameworks. The second type, social frameworks, provide background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim and controlling effort of an intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being.[9] As opposed to the first type social frameworks deal with the "guided doings" which subject the doer to the "standards" referring to honesty, efficiency, economy, safety, elegance, tactfulness, good taste and so forth. Thus, the latter type is the most relevant to the current thesis.

As framing theory has been evolving all the time back since its first scholars started defining and conceptualising it so has the framing theory's context and the related terms. Framing now is considered to be one of the media effects alongside with agenda setting and priming. About twenty five years ago McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver suggested that not only are agenda setting and framing effects related, framing is, in fact, an extension of agenda setting.[10] Media effects are typically defined as social or psychological responses occurring in individuals, dyads, small groups, organizations, or

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[7] Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*: *Collected Essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, Evolution and Epistemology* (Chandler Publishing Company: San Francisco, 1972), 197.

[8] Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organisation of Experience* (Northeastern University Press: Boston, 1974), 22.

[9] *Ibid*, 22.

[10] Dietram A. Scheufele, "Framing as a theory of media effects", *Journal of Communication*, 49 (1), 103, 1999, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x, 103.

communities *as a result* of exposure to or processing of or otherwise acting on media messages.[11] It is worth mentioning briefly the main stages chronologically[12] and the dominant attitude of the researchers towards the media effects in general in order to present how framing is approached currently and what is related to the current thesis.
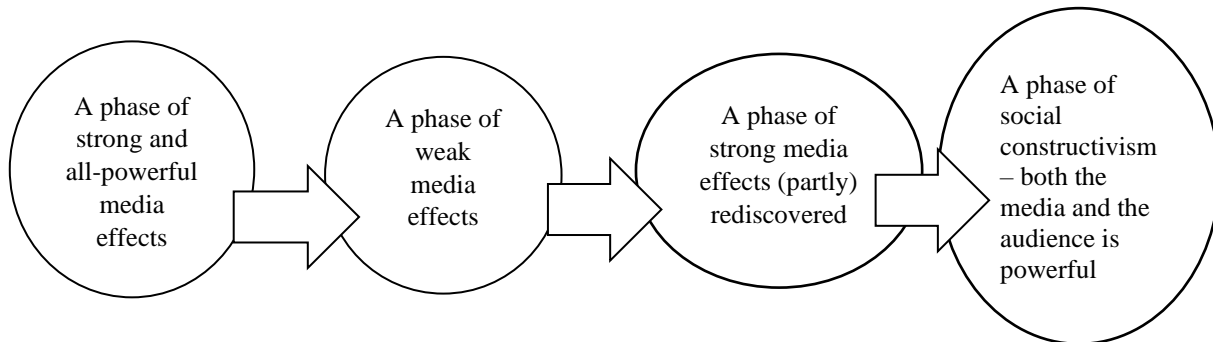

Figure 1. Summarised history of media effects according to Denis McQuail. Created by A. A. Apanavičiūtė

The first period which encompasses the beginning of World War I and leads up to the end of 1930s is described as a phase of strong and all-powerful media effects. However, it is worth mentioning that the conclusions were made based upon empirical observations of the rapid growth of the film, radio and newspapers' audiences but the detailed research was not conducted. This all-powerful media approach started changing in the beginning of the 1940s and it is indeed the time when some scholars mark the beginning of the "weak effects" phase. Prior attitudes of the audience members were taken into consideration and a conclusion was formulated that there was no direct link between the media and the users' response.[13] The classical stimulus-response model was extended with an added organism component then and was later used in Klapper's limited effects theory, according to which media can merely confirm prior beliefs but not cause an attitude change.[14] However, this phase had been followed by a contrasting one once some narrowly defined research programmes provided opposing results. Eventually strong media effects were rediscovered by focusing on long-term impact on the audiences. Even so, it ought to be mentioned that the influence of media was not yet regarded as strong as during the first, all-powerful media effects' phase. Finally, the longest period and the one which continues to this day is the one in which social constructivism theoretical framework started to be used more frequently and for that reason named after it by McQuail a social constructivism phase. It is distinctive by such definitions as "negotiated" and "transactional" media effects used by many

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[11] Yariv Tsfati, "Media Effects", *Oxford Bibliographies*, 2017, doi: 10.1093/OBO/9780199756841-0081
[12] Denis McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory* (London: SAGE Publications), 2005, 458-461.
[13] *Ibid, 9.*
[14] *Ibid, 11.*

scholars in the field. This fourth phase is essentially different from the first three because an idea is proposed and developed that both the media and the audience is powerful.

Besides the scholars who use and promote the framing theory there are the ones who criticise the way it has been used recently and even go as far as calling to eliminate the general term "framing": "We urge scholars to abandon the general term "framing" altogether, and instead, distinguish between different types of framing. We also propose that, as a field, we re-focus attention on the concept's original theoretical foundations and, more importantly, the potential empirical contributions that the concept can make to our field and our understanding of media effects"[15]. Some critique however is more modest and only targets the idea that framing is an extension of agenda setting promoted by McCombs, Shaw and Weaver.

There are also researchers who oppose the idea that agenda setting and priming, on the one hand, and framing, on the other hand, are based on the same theoretical premises and are therefore all extensions of the larger agenda-setting construct[16]. Price and Tewksbury summarize this distinction as follows: "Agenda setting looks on story selection as a determinant of public perceptions of issue importance and, indirectly through priming, evaluations of political leaders. Framing focuses not on which topics or issues are selected for coverage by the news media, but instead on the particular ways those issues are presented, on the ways public problems are formulated for the media audience"[17].

In this section the main ideas of the first two scholars who contributed considerably to the framing theory – G. Bateson and E. Goffman – have been summarised and also the most related contextual aspects have been presented. In order to operationalise framing theory for this current thesis it is also necessary to focus on the main ways in which framing theory has been classified in the field.

1.1.1. Classification of framing

Application of the framing theory, attitudes towards it, even the spectrum of the fields where it is being used is wide – psychology, media, economics, even history. That is why it is important to outline the most common classifications at hand and present the ones most relevant to this work.

First, Dennis Chong and James N. Druckman have noticed two main ways in which communication scholars and political scientists generally use the term "frame": First, a frame in communication or a media frame refers to the words, phrases, images and presentation styles that a

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[15] Dietram A. Scheufele "The End of Framing as We Know it … and the Future of Media Effects", *Mass Communication & Society,* 2015, August, 2.

[16] Dietram A. Scheufele, David Tewksbury, "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models", *Journal of Communication,* 57 (2007), 15, doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00326.x

[17] Vincent Price, David Tewksbury, "News values and public opinion: A theoretical account of media priming and framing", *Progress in the Communication Sciences,* Vol. 13, 1997, 184.

speaker uses when disseminating information about an issue or event to an audience. The chosen frame reveals what the speaker sees as relevant to the topic at hand.[18] The word "chosen" in this definition refers to a more conscious, deliberate, willful and prepared act. As for the second way, Chong and Druckman have called it a frame in thought or an individual frame. Unlike the frames in communication, which reflect a speaker's emphasis, frames in thought refer to what an audience member believes to be the most salient aspect of an issue[19]. There are different opinions in the field on how the two correlate and although both cases fall into Goffman's social frameworks category the first group, frames in communications or the media frames can be detected much more clearly while analysing the media content than the frames in thought. The frames in communication are also much more relevant to the current thesis and thus will be researched. The terms communication frames and the frames in media afterwards will be used interchangeably. For even more in-depth classification a process-based typology formulated by another well-known scholar in the field of framing, Dietram A. Scheufele is outlined. Although only the first part of this model, "frame building" will be applied while researching the framing of return migration programmes for the Lithuanian migrants in the UK in this current thesis it is worth presenting all the parts of the process because then it can be noticed that this model reinforces the fourth period of the media effects discussed in the previous chapter. Thus, it first proves that there is a broad agreement among the scholars towards this twofold approach even though it can be named differently and secondly, it proves that because the audiences affect the frame building process the substance of the individual frames are also therefore partially analysed even without intention to do so deliberately. In order to summarise and systematise the fragmented approaches to framing Dietram A. Scheufele has developed a process model of framing in which he has identified four key processes:

a) "frame building", which is focused on addressing the processes that influence the creation or changes applied by journalists[20];

b) "frame setting" which focuses on the impact the frames in communication make on the frames in thought and is addressing such aspects as the salience of frames and the perceived importance of frames[21];

[18] Dennis Chong, James N. Druckman "A theory of framing and Opinion Formation in Competitive Elite Environments", *Journal of Communication*, 57 (2007), 100, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00331.x

[19] *Ibid,* 101.

[20] Dietram A. Scheufele, "Framing as a theory of media effects", *Journal of Communication*, 49 (1), 103, 1999, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x, 115.

[21] *Ibid,* 116.

c) "individual-level effects of framing", which concerns the influence of frames in thought on subsequent behaviours or attitudes of the audiences[22];

d) "journalists as audiences" which analyses how the audiences affect the primary frame-building process and the frames that the journalists pick[23].

1.2. Concept of migration

Migration phenomenon is manifold and complex thus the amount of academic literature related with migration topic is huge. That is why it is worth dividing the review on academic literature into three categories. Firstly, some co-existing definitions of a word 'migrant' will be outlined. Secondly, a summary of the ideas of scholars researching emigration, circular and return migration globally will be presented. Thirdly, the findings and conclusions from the works on Lithuanian migration most relevant to the current thesis will be discussed.

All definitions of migration share the movement, changing of a location aspect and it is clearly understandable because the word *migrant* is directly linked with Latin *migrare* "to remove, depart, to move from one place to another"[24]. However, the secondary aspects are more contradictory. The searching for a job aspect is more emphasised in a definition of a migrant in the Cambridge Dictionary: "a person that travels to a different country or place, often in order to find work"[25]. The European Union (EU) version for instance is more attached to the length of the period for which a person is away: "In the global context, a person who is outside the territory of the State of which they are nationals or citizens and who has resided in a foreign country for more than one year irrespective of the causes, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate"[26]. As for the EU/European Free Trade Organisation (EFTA) context, a person who either: "(i) establishes their usual residence in the territory of an EU/EFTA Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another EU/EFTA Member State or a third country; or (ii) having previously been usually resident in the territory of the EU/EFTA Member State, ceases to have their usual residence in the EU/EFTA Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months"[27]. Moreover, The United Nations Migration Agency (IOM)

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[22] *Ibid*, 117.
[23] *Ibid*, 117.
[24] "The Online Etymology Dictionary", [Accessed on 2022.03.15], https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=migrant
[25] "The Cambridge English Dictionary", [Accessed on 2022.03.16], https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/migrant
[26] An official website of the European Union, [Accessed on 2022.05.24], https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/pages/glossary/migrant_en
[27] *Ibid*

attributes even less prerequisites while defining a word 'migrant' and only the movement aspect remains relevant in order to call someone a migrant[28]. In the Migration in Numbers website which represents migration situation in Lithuania a period of twelve months is also used as a reference point while describing immigration: "arrival to a country with an intention to reside in it permanently or no shorter than 12 months"[29]. A definition of return migration however is not linked neither with the length of time a person has spent abroad nor with the length of time one is planning to remain in one's country of origin: "Return migration is defined as return of Lithuanian citizens who have been living abroad"[30].

Although Ban Ki-Moon, who served as the 8th Secretary-General of the United Nations called the XXIst century the "new migration age", a second stage of globalisation, the first being the movement of goods and capital[31], international migration is not a new phenomenon and it has been ongoing for decades and to some extent for centuries. Emigration and immigration concepts have been receiving attention in the academical sphere as well as public space much longer than return migration and even though the emigration and immigration processes are described more clearly than return migration some scholars are pointing out that the return migration phenomenon is not new either. Historical investigation of return migration and remigration "shows that [these processes have] continued through three centuries of American settlement"[32]. In the middle of the seventeenth century, during the 1640-1660 period, annual departures of English people from the America colonies for England were higher in numbers than the numbers of the immigrants from the British Isles in the context of the English Civil War which occurred in England during the 1642-1651. The authors also point out that the large return migration of Irish as well as British nationals continued onwards and did not end in the seventeenth century but was taking place also in the twentieth century. "By the early 1930s, as many English people left the US as came every year. During the Great Depression, British return migration doubled"[33]. This trend was also observed among the immigrant population in general between the 1880s and the 1920s. During the 1899-1952 period, a full one-third of all immigrants in

[28] "International Organization For Migration" (IOM), [Accessed on 2022.03.12], https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms
[29] "The Migration in Numbers", [Accessed on 2022.05.24], https://123.emn.lt/en/glosarry/
[30] "The Migration in Numbers", [Accessed on 2021.12.07], https://123.emn.lt/en/#-migration-trends
[31] Madeleine Arnot and Loraine Gelsthorpe, "Understanding the "new migration age"", University of Cambridge, 2014, [Accessed on 2021.12.17], https://www.cam.ac.uk/research/discussion/understanding-the-new-migration-age
[32] Betty Boyd Caroli, "Italian Repatriation from the United States", 1973, 5.
[33] Wilbur S. Shepperson "Emigration and Disenchantment: Portraits of Englishmen Repatriated form the United States", Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, 4-5.

the US either returned or moved on; between 1925 and 1943, almost two-fifths of all migrants returned"[34].

In retrospective there has been some evolution of the terms related with the return migration. As M. Wyman points out returning migrants first were called 'the repeater', then 'the birds of passage'[35]. Another relevant term, emphasising the returning action is used for example for a resident of Hong Kong who emigrated to a foreign country and after living there for an extended period of time came back to Hong Kong - it is namely a Hong Kong returnee. Circular migration can be linked with return migration depending on what is the final place for settlement – a country of origin or a country of destination. Simply defined, circular migration refers to temporary movements of a repetitive character either formally or informally across borders, usually for work, involving the same migrants[36]. Circular migration is temporary migration and can be differentiated from return migration and permanent migration, however there are interfaces between them with circular migration in some cases leading to final return or permanent migration. One example of a circular migration chronologically could be: a) an individual has emigrated from a country of origin to a country of destination; b) the individual has returned to his/her country of origin c) the individual has repeatedly emigrated from his/her country of origin to the same or another country of destination. Whereas return migration is used to describe a situation when a person returns to his/her country of origin to stay for good. Also, circular migration is classified by the level of its preplanning. First, 'spontaneous circular migration' which describes back and forth movements of migrants from origin countries or the diaspora in destination countries. Secondly, the managed or regulated circular migration programmes. It is the second mode, managed or regulated circular migration which has been promoted as carrying a triple win potential. A decade ago, both the European Commission and the Global Forum on Migration and Development have been promoting the idea of managed circular migration[37]. At first, 'circular migration' has received a title of a so-called triple win solution where the benefits apparently are brought to the countries of origin, to the destination countries and to the migrant workers themselves. However, in the programmes promoting circular migration some negative aspects have been noticed too. Such as: the short duration of contracts, especially in non-seasonal work, high costs of the re-migration process, potential risks for the migrants to be defrauded by labour brokers and

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[34] Dirk Hoerder, "Acculturation Twice: Return Migration", *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies: The European Experiences of Immigration*, Dirk Hoerder, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, 353-354.
[35] Katrina Miriam Wyman, "Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe 1880-1930", 1993
[36] Piyasiri Wickramasekara, "Circular Migration: A Triple Win or a Dead End", Global Union Research Network, International Labour Office, Geneva, 2011, 1.
[37] *Ibid,* 1.

intermediaries, the undue power of employers in the selection of workers and even some realistic doubts that employers would invest in training circular migrants in lower skilled categories[38].

In terms of how positive or how negative views towards return migration are, in Lithuania as well as in other parts of the world different opinions co-exist. In 1885 "The Laws of Migration" by Ernst Georg Ravenstein were published and it was regarded as the first scholarly contribution to migration[39]. Before outlining his classification of migrants Ravenstein states that the motives which lead migrants to leave their homes despite being various in most cases will be related with their search for a better job[40]. This economic rationale later on was included in the basic model of neoclassical theory and the dominant point of view was that the returning migrants were usually the unsuccessful, less skilled and less educated ones[41]. In the end of the XXth century attitudes towards return migration started changing even though the economic aspects still remained intact. Since then the return migration has started to be viewed also as a pre-planned and rational activity and even a part of a long-term strategy[42] which is an important aspect of the new return migration theory. From this point of view, it is more likely that the return migration encompasses not only the unsuccessful but in fact more likely the successful migrants who have achieved their desired goals. Besides, new interpretation of the theory of human capital has occurred where the possibility of emigration raises motivation of a society to learn and to use that possibility in their near and distant future[43]. It is important to add that once return migration has started receiving more attention circular migration started to be acknowledged more frequently too.

Transnational migration theory[44] and migration network theory[45] are among the ones viewing return migration as possibly one stage of a migration circle as there are cases when returnees come back to their country of origin and then emigrate repeatedly either to the same destination or a new one. Transnationalists identify "family bonds and ideological reasons as causes of return. It provides for the preparedness of returnees, achieved through systematic visits home"[46]. Migration network theory while primarily explains how the migrants create new social networks expanding to reach more

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[38] *Ibid,* 2.
[39] Hein De Haas, "Migration and Development. A Theoretical Perspective", 2008, 4.
[40] Ravenstein "The Laws of Migration", 181.
[41] Egidijus Barcevičius et al., *Vicious circle? Return and repeated migration of Lithuanians*, (Vilnius: Vaga, 2012), 52.
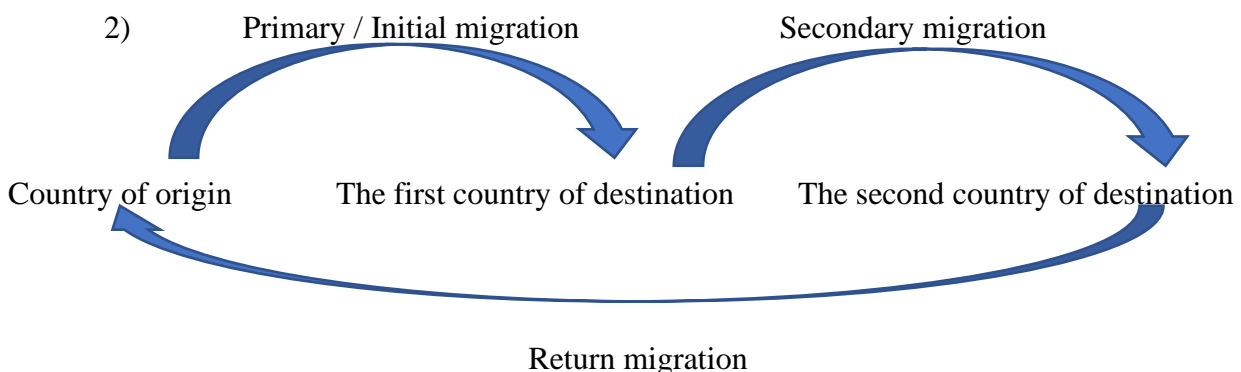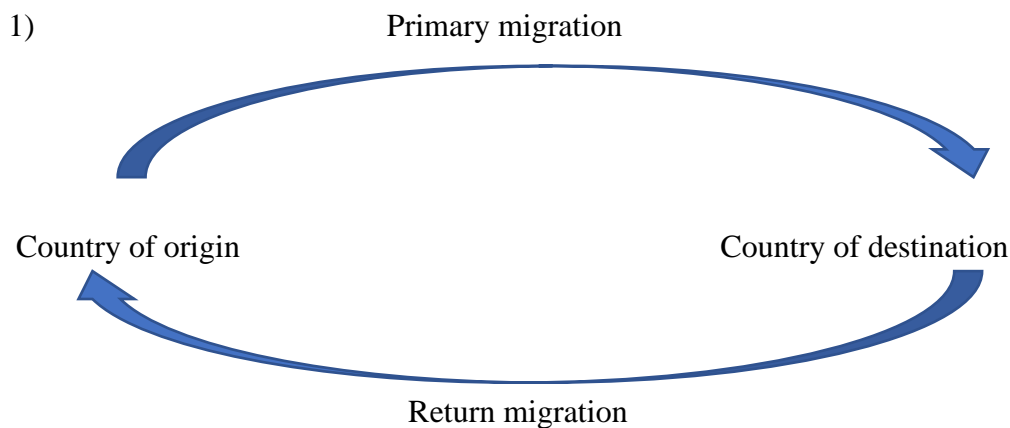[42] Egidijus Barcevičius, 52-53.
[43] *Ibid,* 53.
[44] *Ibid, 66.*
[45] Amelie F. Constant, "Time-Space Dynamics of Return and Circular Migration: Theories and Evidence", Global Labor Organization, 2020, 8-9.
[46] *Ibid,* 9.

migrants and reinforcing the net, also helps in understanding the migration circles as migration network theorists note that "once someone has migrated, they are very likely to migrate again"[47].

In Lithuania, first valuabe research on return migration has been conducted by Dr. Audra Sipavičienė, Dr. Vladas Gaidys and Dr. Margarita Dobrynina. In their study "Return migration: theoretical insights and situation in Lithuania" academics outline three main typologies of return migration[48]. First of all, three different types are laid out in relation to migration history. The authors form three different schemes. The first one shows an example when a migrant emigrates to a country of destination and then returns to a country of origin. In the second one a migrant emigrates to the first country of destination and then moves to the second country of destination. The final return to a country of origin occurs from the second country of destination. Finally, the third scheme demonstrates a case when a migrant emigrates to the first country of destination, then moves to the second country of destination. Later, the emigrant comes back to the first country of destination and eventually returns to the country of origin.

1)

Primary migration

Country of origin   Country of destination

Return migration

2)

Primary / Initial migration   Secondary migration

Country of origin   The first country of destination   The second country of destination

Return migration

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[47] *Ibid,* 8.
[48] Audra Sipavičienė et al., *Return migration: theoretical insights and situation in Lithuania*, (International Organization for Migration Vilnius Office, 2009), 8-10.
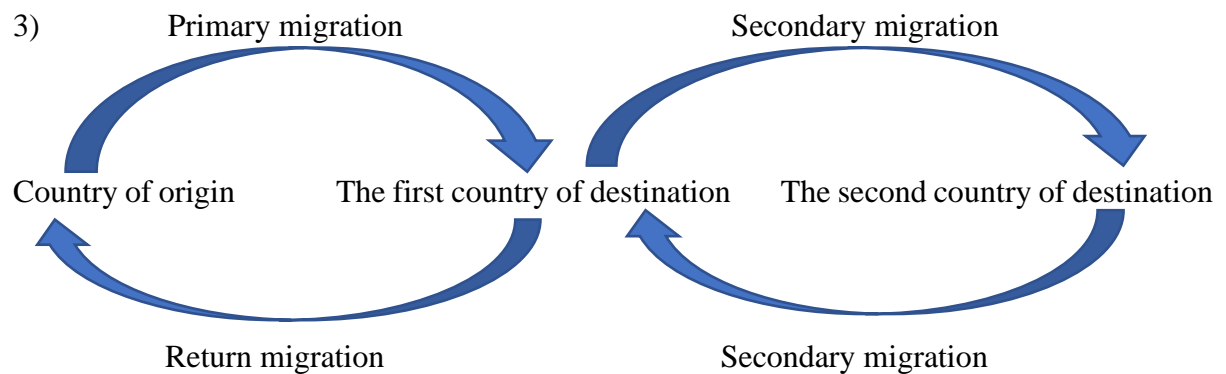
3) Primary migration   Secondary migration

Country of origin   The first country of destination   The second country of destination

Return migration   Secondary migration

Figure 2. Return migration types in relation to migration history. Source: Audra Sipavičienė et al., Return migration: theoretical insights and situation in Lithuania; International Organization for Migration Vilnius Office, 2009

Second typology is focused on the time of return spent in a country of origin. Hence, the returns are categorised as accidental, seasonal, temporary and permanent. The authors of the first comprehensive study on return migration also highlight that intentions to come back to the country of origin and the real outcomes can differ. Consequently, the third typology is focused on the level of congruence between the intentions and the outcomes. It encompasses four categories:

1) Migrants who plan to come back to their country of origin and do return;
2) Planned temporary emigration when the migrants do not return to their country of origin;
3) Planned permanent emigration but instead the migrants return to their country of origin;
4) Planned permanent emigration when the migrants do not return to their country of origin.

Alongside the main three typologies also the structuralists' point of view ought to be mentioned as it is very relevant to this master thesis. Later on it will be used in the empirical part frequently. In this case permanent returns are categorised by reasons for return, to be more precise, by the aspirations, expectations and needs of the returning migrants[49]. Thus, four main types are defined:

1) Return of failure
2) Return of conservatism
3) Return of retirement
4) Return of innovation

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[49] Jean-Pierre Cassarino, "Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited", International Journal on Multicultural Societies, 2004, 6 (2), 257-258.

In order to identify the patterns and characteristics of return migration it is vital to research as much as possible who are the ones who have emigrated and can potentially return or have already returned. Besides academic literature on migration theories, also return and circular migration as a phenomena on a global scale there have been some substantial research done on Lithuanian return and circular migration by a group of scholars (Egidijus Barcevičius, Dovilė Žvalionytė, Irma Budginaitė, Justina Ivanauskaitė, Mažvydas Jastramskis, Žilvinas Martinaitis) who have been able to approach Lithuanian return and circular migration from various angles. In *Vicious circle? Return and repeated migration of Lithuanians* trends of return and circular migration have been identified, challenges related with calculating returning migrants revealed as well as macroeconomic, political and social factors influencing return and circular migration processes in Lithuania.

Covering Lithuanian emigration as well as return migration a study on migration trends in relation to the country's European Union accession in May 2004 has produced some manifold insights. While acknowledging the large scale and the negative consequences of emigration from Lithuania Laura Thaut has also presented a list of positive outcomes in case of the high-skilled migrants and students returning home but with some conditions to be met: "Return migrants are better equipped to engage in their country's socio-economic development if they return with new values, knowledge, skills, and income to invest in their home country. The benefits of return migration are "most likely if migrants are abroad for only a short time, send back remittances, and return with new skills and links to industrial countries that lead to increased trade and investment""[50].

Some other works specifically focused on the Lithuanian case or Lithuania at least being one among the other countries in the spotlight draw attention to several aspects. First, to the emigration of Lithuanian students and the characteristics of their return migration. Secondly, to Lithuanian migration trends in relation to Lithuania becoming a member of the European Union and finally the economic impact of high-skilled migration on Lithuania being a country of origin. Number of Lithuanians emigrating from their country is sufficiently large to guarantee serious social, economic, and cultural consequences in itself argue two Lithuanian scholars who have prepared an article with a title resembling William Shakespeare's character Hamlet. Students as a focus group have been chosen because the consequences of their departure would have been even more profound than of some other groups: "Because a significant part of the outflow consists of academic youth one can expect only magnification of the consequences, even if some students return home after their studies."[51] Relevant to this paper is also another study conducted by a group of Lithuanian scholars where the

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[50] Laura Thaut, "EU Integration & Emigration Consequences: The Case of Lithuania", International Migration, Vol. 47 (1), 2009, 209-210, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2008.00501.x
[51] Egidija Ramamauskaitė, Rimas Vaišnys "To stay or not to stay: that is a question", *European Scientific Journal*, 2015, 11 (3), 110.

characteristics of a 'typical' student who is planning to work abroad have been summarised. The authors conclude that such a student would most likely be "studying at an internationally oriented university such as ISM, studying economics or business administration, being a younger-aged student, being male and having previously worked abroad"[52].

Negative effects on Lithuania's economy, especially long-term were noted in a study conducted by two Lithuanian scholars in 2020. The authors conclude that their "empirical findings suggest a "pessimistic view" of high-skilled migration from EU8 to the UK"[53]. Such significant economic indicators as GDP per capita, wage growth and unemployment rate were observed while researching the impact of high-skilled migration to the UK on the source countries (EU8) economies. The authors have found out that 1% increase in brain emigration rate results in 1% long-term reduction in an average monthly wage by 0.55 percentage point, whereas the effect on GDP per capita is 0.63 point reduction thus in the long term, emigration of highly skilled from EU8 to the UK has a negative impact on main economic indicators[54]. An earlier work by Gindra Kasnauskienė and Loreta Vėbraitė highlights the challenges Lithuanian emigration create for an ageing society and urges to improve tools for promoting return migration. "Such demographic changes as a decline in fertility rate, longer life expectancy, and an increased proportion of population over 65 years old reflect the rapid population ageing in Lithuania in recent years. <…> One of the possibilities for overcoming challenges of ageing in order to ensure the necessary amount of labour force can be the promotion of return migration <…>"[55].

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[52] Rūta Aidis, Dovilė Krupickaitė, Lina Blinstrubaitė, "The Loss of Intellectual Potential: Migration Tendencies Amongst University Students in Lithuania", Socialinė geografija, 41(2), 2005, 39.
[53] Gindrutė Kasnauskienė, Justė Palubinskaitė, "Impact of High-Skilled Migration to the UK on the Source Countries (EU8) Economies", *Organizations and Markets in Emerging Economies*, Vol. 11, no. 1(21), 2020, 64.
[54] *Ibid*, 64.
[55] Gindra Kasnauskienė, Loreta Vėbraitė, "The Impact of Migration on Lithuanian Economy in an Ageing Society Context", International Journal of Business and Management, Vol. II (4), 2014, 40.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. Data collection

In the empirical part of this master thesis data was selected after taking into consideration the main research question: "How return migration programmes and measures are framed from the 2016 in the media content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom?". This question directed the author of this master thesis towards firstly defining a data category that will be analysed. It is outlined in the research question that at the centre of the attention is the framing of the return migration programmes in the media content and not the return migration programmes and measures themselves. Consequently, media content will be analysed and not the statistical or informative content in government documents and publications. The latter will be used as contextual information. Below the summarised analytical framework used in this master thesis is outlined.

Analytical framework	In this master thesis
Data category	Media content
Analytical items	Return migration programmes and measures, return migration stories and statistical data on return migration, opinions and forecasts on return migration from the experts and politicians, letters from the emigrants
Type of data	Mostly qualitative data and quantitative data as contextual information
Theoretical approach	Framing theory
Data Sources	"Anglija.lt", "Tiesa.com", "(Ne)emigrantai"
Time Frame	2016-01-01 – 2022-10-01

Table 1. Representation of summarised analytical framework. Created by A. A. Apanavičiūtė

Return migration programmes and measures, also return migration stories and statistical data, opinions and forecasts on return migration from the experts and politicians, letters from the emigrants with the words and phrases that accompany them in the media content were identified as the main analytical items. In order to successfully collect data, it was important to also define what type of data was required for answering the research question. The two basic groups are qualitative and quantitative data and for this work mostly qualitative data is needed. Data collection process of these different types of data differ as "qualitative data collection and analysis usually proceed simultaneously;

ongoing findings affect what types of data are collected and how they are collected."[56] As in this research the framing of the return migration programmes is at the centre of the research question and not the impact of the return migration programmes on their target audience, mainly data collection from the media sources and websites has been chosen as the most appropriate method. Data collection from the official government documents has been conducted in order to find contextual information.

Analysis of how the return migration programmes are being framed in the media content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom is a new case in the field. However, the return migration programmes themselves have been examined previously. Thus, the author of this master thesis has turned to a research study conducted by three sociologists[57] on the implementation of the return migration policies in Lithuania where nine return migration programmes are presented but also has done more research on the newest and most recent government documents in Lithuania on return migration programmes and measures. Hence, the programmes are used as a starting point. All the chosen media content targeting the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom where the programmes are mentioned directly but also the content where their measures, policies and tools are mentioned in a more descriptive way will be analysed. At the section 2.2., "Return migration programmes and measures in Lithuania" of this master thesis a number of return migration programmes and measures used as a reference point in this work will be presented.

The second step in data collection process was to identify media content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom. The inclusion and exclusion criteria for selecting the media sources and the presentation of the ones eventually chosen is outlined at the section 2.3. "Media sources targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom". After this step, a sample for in depth analysis was designed. The sampling process is described more in depth later in this master thesis at the section 2.4. "Approach to data analysis". The research question also clearly defined the time frame. Following this, all the articles featuring information about the return migration between 1 January 2016 and 1 October 2022 in the internet portals were analysed and five selected episodes from a TV documentary show "(Ne)emigrantai" were included in the sample.

In terms of research techniques in this master thesis, note taking, categorising, data reduction and frame identification have been implemented in order to find rich data, define and analyse it. Data collection process has been conducted by making notes, drawing plans and diagrams, highlighting and

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[56] William Newton Sutter, *Introduction to Educational Research: A Critical Thinking Approach,* 2004, 346.
[57] Irena Juozeliūnienė, Indrė Bielevičiūtė, Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė, "Grįžimo politikos įgyvendinimas Lietuvoje", 2019.

underlying the most important content and searching for the frames used in the content analysed. For data reduction sampling technique has been implemented by the author of this master thesis. William Newton Sutter acknowledge that the entire process of making sense of qualitative data requires creativity and that patterns and themes among complex data do not usually pop out.[58] It has been acknowledged that qualitative analysis requires both critical and creative thinking and that creative side of the research although easily prescribed often is harder to teach and possibly harder to learn. Thus, some guidance can be very helpful in trying to overcome the challenge of creative thinking necessary for working with qualitative data. Michael Quinn Patton suggests a list of techniques which can evoke creative thinking more easily[59] and some of them such as diverge-converge-integrate technique, using multiple stimuli, changing patterns and making linkages have been used for this work. Once the sample was selected each article and five episodes were analysed using a coding scheme which will be outlined at the section 2.4. "Approach to data analysis".

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[58] *Ibid,* 346.
[59] Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, 2002, 514.

2.2. Return migration programmes and measures in Lithuania

International Organization for Migration in one of its most recent policy papers on return migration claims that "more than ever, migration today is not a linear phenomenon starting with emigration and ending with permanent settlement in a new country. Rather, migration is increasingly multidirectional, frequently involving return to countries of origin for short or long periods of stay, often followed by back-and-forth movement between two or more countries, or migration onward to new destinations"[60]. In order to answer the research question of this master thesis it is necessary to identify the return migration programmes and measures which are active in Lithuania. Once they are identified, it is workable to start collecting their manifestations in the media content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom from the 2016.

In Lithuania the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, the Ministry of Social Security and Labour, the Ministry of Economy and Innovation are mostly involved in relation to return migration policies in Lithuania. Besides, the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania is also officially responsible for forming state's policy in the area of migration and for organising, coordinating and controlling its implementation. Authorised administrative subdivision of the Ministry of the Interior in Lithuania is the Migration Policy Group. State's policy in the areas related with migration and commissioned for the Minister of the Interior are being implemented by four main bodies – the Migration Department, the Lithuanian State Border Guard Service, the Police Department and the Identity Documents Personalisation Centre, all four under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania.

The most recent and timely document which tackles return migration situation in Lithuania at the moment is the Strategy for demography, migration and integration 2018-2030. It was endorsed by Seimas in September 2018 and is aimed at systemically addressing demographic challenges, increasing the birth rate, reducing emigration, promoting return migration, and improving the quality of life of the senior population[61]. In the second part of the Strategy which is called the vision, it is the 4th section that covers return migration topic alongside emigration and other related social issues. There the developed system for attracting human resources is outlined, including well-prepared

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[60] "International Organization for Migration" (IOM), The UN Migration Agency, *IOM'S Policy on the Full Spectrum of Return, Readmission and Reintegration*, [Accessed on 2022.10.22] https://www.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbdl486/files/documents/ioms-policy-full-spectrum-of-return-readmission-and-reintegration.pdf

[61] Lietuvos Respublikos Seimas, *The Strategy for the Demographic, Migration, and Integration Policy for 2018–2030*, [Accessed on 2022.10.22], https://www.lrs.lt/sip/portal.show?p_r=35403&p_k=2&p_t=260865

integration of the ones coming to Lithuania, good conditions for living and working, strong communities, low inequality, high trust in government institutions, positive relationships, decreased emigration numbers, increased return migration and such immigration of the foreigners which meets the needs of the state. Thus, altogether these processes would lead to a balanced migration situation (i.e. balanced net migration, close to zero)[62]. The fact that in the implementation part of the strategy boosting return migration is stated as the first goal in the whole migration section illustrates what an important role it plays. Attracting the Lithuanian emigrants to return to their homeland, providing them with relevant information during good quality consultations, ensuring appropriate integration of the Lithuanian emigrants who have returned, maintaining connections with the Lithuanian diaspora - these are among the goals listed in the Strategy which actually point straight towards the return migration programmes and measures created even before this Strategy was formulated. Nevertheless, the endorsement of this document by Seimas and its design proves that the amount of attention on return migration is not decreasing but rather increasing.

In 2015, migration information centre (MIC) "I Choose Lithuania" („Renkuosi Lietuvą") was established in cooperation of the International Organization for Migration and the Government of the Republic of Lithuania. This centre is responsible for providing information about immigration, healthcare, the labour market, education and many other aspects related to living in Lithuania. Now it echoes the need expressed by the migrants themselves and later on emphasised by the experts during research on return migration – the method of single point of contact. It is stated and even highlighted at the moment on their website: "The centre, using the method of single point of contact, provides consultations to those Lithuanians who are returning from abroad or anyone thinking of moving to Lithuania.""[63] In 2019 during a study on return migration policy and its implementation in Lithuania, excess bureaucratic requirements and duplication is stated as the first area to be corrected and improved.[64]

Confirming the findings that the United Kingdom is the main and the most important country in terms of Lithuanian return migration is a fact that in the migration information centre "I Choose Lithuania" contact numbers' list the only one non-Lithuanian number is starting with +44 which is the UK country code. Among the forty-seven success stories thirty-nine are of the Lithuanians coming

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[62] Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybė, *Demografijos, migracijos ir integracijos politikos 2018-2030 metų strategijos įgyvendinimo 2020-2022 metų tarpinstitucinis veiklos planas,* 2.
[63] Migration information centre (MIC) "I Choose Lithuania", [Accessed on 2021.12.10], https://www.renkuosilietuva.lt/en/about-us/
[64] Irena Juozeliūnienė, Indrė Bielevičiūtė, Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė, „Grįžimo politikos įgyvendinimas Lietuvoje", 2019, 26.

back to Lithuania after some time spent in emigration abroad, whereas the other eight features individuals from Spain, France, Estonia, Ukraine, the Republic of Lebanon, Taiwan, the Republic of Azerbaijan. United Kingdom has been either the main destination or one among several countries for fifteen Lithuanians who have returned to their homeland[65]. This representation gives a clear idea of the design and the priorities of this programme – it focuses more on return migration of Lithuanians but also to a certain degree on immigration of non-Lithuanians. In terms of definitions returning Lithuanians are called "returnees" and non-Lithuanians immigrating to Lithuania are called "foreigners".

While "I Choose Lithuania" platform is open to the Lithuanians from a wide range of professions and varied educational levels, "Create Lithuania" ("Kurk Lietuvai") is designed specifically to target the highly-skilled emigrants. Launched in 2018 "Create Lithuania" has been attracting and inviting professionals with internationally acquired experience to take part in their programme. The selected participants as it is stated on the programme's website are then being positioned in the public sector bodies: "For 12 months participants of "Create Lithuania" advise public sector bodies on national and regional issues in the areas such as the improvement of Lithuania's image, the enhancement of competitiveness and business environment, the promotion of entrepreneurship and foreign direct investment, etc."[66] Besides the clear benefits to the participants' career the social networking aspect is being outlined: "expand your network of professional contacts and attend meetings with strategic political, economic and social decision makers from Lithuania and abroad"[67].

"Global Lithuanian Leaders" (GLL) is a network also targeting the brain drain group and the aspiring members have to meet at least two requirements. To become a member one firstly, has to be a mid- to senior- level professional of Lithuanian affiliation with international experience and secondly, willing to become an active participant of GLL programs and events and contribute to creating global opportunities for Lithuania. The network connecting more than two thousand Lithuanian professionals with international experience from 49 countries and 25 clubs claims to be contributing to the prosperity of Lithuania and building global opportunities for the Lithuanian professionals with international experience. GLL defines itself as a high-impact non-governmental not-for-profit platform established in 2009 after the first World Lithuanian Economic Forum.[68]

[65] "I Choose Lithuania", [Accessed on 2022.05.30], https://www.renkuosilietuva.lt/
[66] "Create Lithuania", [Accessed on 2023.01.03], https://kurklt.lt/en/apie-mus/
[67] "Create Lithuania", [Accessed on 2023.01.03], https://kurklt.lt/en/apie-mus/
[68] "Global Lithuanian Leaders", [Accessed on 2021.12.12], https://lithuanianleaders.org/contact-us/

Related with the GLL, formerly known as "Talents for Lithuania" („Talentai Lietuvai") and now operating under a title "A Fund for the Talents for Lithuania" („Talentai Lietuvai Fondas") initiative targets the students who strive to study in the prestigious universities abroad but because of the financial obstacles cannot continue or even start their desired study programmes. It was running successfully in 2018 and 2019, was stopped in 2020 due to the Covid-19 global pandemic and then renewed in 2021 but with the updated requirements. At the moments the candidates have to meet four conditions:

- Their or their family financial circumstances do not allow them to pay their tuition fees or to travel abroad;
- They are officially invited to carry out their practice in a prestigious university;
- They have already started their studies but do not have enough income to fully accomplish it;
- They strive to use the knowledge acquired during their studies in contributing to the welfare of Lithuania or to making Lithuania's name known in a positive way.[69]

Because of the last criteria, it becomes clear that this fund is directed towards improving Lithuania's competitiveness and although promoting Lithuania's name in a positive way abroad does not equal to return migration but yet still can considerably contribute to boosting tourism and/or investments.

An internship programme "We Connect Lithuania" also stems from the GLL. Targeting individuals of Lithuanian origin and with the roots in Lithuania but most likely born abroad it serves a purpose of a taster session for the ones who are interested in Lithuania but most likely do not have real experience of how would it be to actually live in this Baltic country. The six-week programme is run in English as there are cases when the candidates do not speak Lithuanian.[70] The requirements for the candidates is that they would come from Lithuanian diaspora and would be between 18-25 years old.

"Global Regions" („Globalūs regionai") initiative in the meantime is not limiting its membership access in terms of career achievements but in relation to a place of origin for the basic entry level. So far 17 global regions of Lithuania are listed – global Alytus District, global Birštonas, global Druskininkai, global Kaišiadorys, global Klaipėda, global Klaipėda District, global Kretinga, global Mažeikiai, global Panevėžys, global Panevėžys District, global Šiauliai, global Šilalė, global Šilutė, global Širvintos, global Tauragė, global Utena, global Vilkaviškis. A programme initiated by the Association of Lithuanian Municipalities aims at reaching Lithuanians across borders by

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[69] "Talentai Lietuvai Fondas", [Accessed on 2021.12.17], https://www.tlfondas.lt/fondas/lt/node/61
[70] Irena Juozeliūnienė, Indrė Bielevičiūtė, Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė, "Grįžimo politikos įgyvendinimas Lietuvoje", 2019, 47.

integrating them in the public life and activities of their hometown. All Lithuanians living abroad are invited to join an become global citizens of their town (for example, global citizen of Birštonas, global citizen of Tauragė etc.) and this informal status is open to anyone who is active and willing to offer any kind of initiative which could possibly contribute to improving economic prosperity or just promoting positively the potential of their region. However, the same initiative also presents some success stories naming the individuals representing their hometowns as Ambassadors. Besides that, this programme claims to promote building of diaspora communities abroad and only as the last activity an attempt to create a talent pool of the emigrants, who could be offered job opportunities in case a new investor shows up in their region is listed. To sum up, it is obvious that this programme only partially is designed to boost return migration. By presenting successful individuals, so-called global ambassadors who have accumulated very presentable achievements in their professional field this programme can also inspire the ones who are still in Lithuania to emigrate and to try achieving their goals and fulfilling their dreams thus it can instead of boosting return migration also boost emigration from Lithuania. Also, after analysing "Global Regions" it became clear that the differences remain distinct among the various regions – some, for example Global Tauragė presents 25 global ambassadors at the moment and a reasonably active Facebook page, whereas Global Utena – only three global ambassadors and the most recent post in their news section is from year 2019.

A programme "I Choose to Teach" („Renkuosi mokyti") since 2008 is open to everyone with no regard to what kind of experience the candidates have accumulated while abroad. It aims to attract the young alumni who would work for two years in the selected schools. Some experts value very highly this programme: "Come, return to Lithuania, be a teacher. The content of such an idea is *super.*"[71]

"The Wings" („Sparnai") although is not positioned and presented like a programme designed to boost return migration as such but because its focus is on improving the knowledge of the export markets it does in fact encompass the high-skilled emigrants who have gained either related studying or working experience abroad. Limited knowledge on export markets and the lack of competences on export are among the main obstacles preventing small and medium size of enterprises expanding abroad claims "The Wings" programme thus the talents are supposed to help in improving such a situation. The selected candidates become the team members of "Enterprise Lithuania" (VšĮ „Versli Lietuva"), a non-profit agency under Ministry of Economy and Innovation which is established for promoting entrepreneurship, supporting business development and fostering export. In comparison to

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[71] Irena Juozeliūnienė, Indrė Bielevičiūtė, Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė, „Grįžimo politikos įgyvendinimas Lietuvoje", 2019, 47.

other programmes this programme which is being run since 2013 is specific also because of the rotation principle applied – the candidates spend half a year in one company and the other half in another one. The positions given to the candidates are senior – they are working as the managers of the export projects thus it is clear that the target group is the brain drain as well.

A database of frequently renewed job offers for the English-speaking professionals "Work In Lithuania" is presented with the three main slogans – achieve your career goals faster, release your full potential, enjoy the lifestyle you deserve – and is obviously accepting Lithuanian diaspora but only that part which is fluent in English and is not specifically targeting it. Job offers are written in English and although the majority of the positions are located in Lithuania (some offers require the candidates work remotely) Lithuanian language is not listed among the requirements the potential candidates ought to possess. Vilnius is the most popular location but among the options six other biggest towns in Lithuania are listed alongside five fields of work - Business Development and Financial Services, Business Services and Operations, Manufacturing and Engineering, Sales and Marketing, Technology.

The results of the surveys from Lithuanian diaspora are presented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 2012 and the most recent data was collected from the 12th of December 2021 to the 17th of January 2022. It was found out that nearly sixty percent of the respondents would not rule out a possibility of returning to Lithuania whereas 12% said they were planning to return within 1 to 5 years and 23% believed they would never return to Lithuania. Among the reasons which would strenghten motivation to return an opportunity of working in a foreign country online (70%), an opportunity to receive financial support for professional development or retraining in Lithuania (53%), legal assistance to start a business (50%), financial assistance to start a business (50%) and assistance for a foreign national (spouse/partner) to settle in Lithuania (50%) were mentioned by the respondents planning to return to Lithuania[72]. Once the motives behind return migration are being addressed programmes designed to boost return migration could be overviewed in order to check how much they reflect the needs of their target audience and more importantly how well the programmes are communicated. Afterwards, recommendations on how they ought to be improved can be formulated. To sum up, in this section nine return migration programmes were presented: "I Choose Lithuania", "Create Lithuania", "Global Lithuanian Leaders", "A Fund For The Talents For Lithuania", "We Connect Lithuania", "Global Regions", "I Choose To Teach", "The Wings", "Work In Lithuania".

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[72] Visuomenės nuomonės ir rinkos tyrimų centras Vilmorus, "Lietuvos diasporos apklausa", tyrimas atliktas Užsienio reikalų ministerijos užsakymu, Vilnius, 2021,
https://urm.lt/uploads/default/documents/Lietuvos%20diasporos%20apklausa_2021.pdf

They were used as a starting point while conducting content analysis of the media sources targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom.

2.3. Media sources targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom

The research question also directed the analysis towards the specific sources. The content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom was found in two internet portals - "Anglija.lt", "Tiesa.com" and a TV programme "(Ne)emigrantai". In this master thesis content related with the return migration programmes for the Lithuanians in the portals and the TV programme "(Ne)emigrantai" will be analysed since 2016 onwards. Two main criteria for the media sources were that first, it would be a source which is targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom and secondly, it would be widely accessible to the public. As for targeting the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingom, it could be as in the case of "Anglija.lt" and "Tiesa.com" where the whole media source is designed for the Lithuanian migrants and a lot of information there is relevant only to the ones who live in the United Kingdom (job advertisements in the United Kingdom, advertisements for renting rooms, flats and houses, large amount of news articles about the United Kingdom politicians and the Royal family etc.). Also, it could be a source which has a very large Lithuanian audience and produces some content specifically featuring Lithuanians still living abroad and the ones who have come back to Lithuania after living abroad for some time as in the case of a TV programme in a Lithuanian National Radio and Television called "(Ne)emigrantai". In order to find and analyse rich data media sources that produce different types of communication have been chosen. "Anglija.lt" and "Tiesa.com" generate written and visual content as the articles are often accompanied by the photographs whereas a team behind "(Ne)emigrantai" TV programme creates examples of audiovisual communication.

It ought to be mentioned that firstly an internet magazine and portal "Londoniete.com" was among the options to be analysed too but two reasons evoked a decision to stay away from this source. First of all, although as the name of the magazine suggests itself it is indeed targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants living in the United Kingdom, especially the ladies, it mostly covers the content which strenghtens and reinforces the identity of a Lithuanian migrant living in the United Kingdom, principally in London and returning to Lithuania is not among its priority topics. Secondly, full content of this magazine is only available for the readers (subscribers) who pay for it thus it does not meet a criteria of widely accessible media source. Besides, as it would be allowing to analyse examples of the written texts along with some photographs and this kind of communication has been already

presented in two media sources, namely "Anglija.lt" and "Tiesa.com", "(Ne)emigrantai" has been chosen as a more enriching alternative.

As it is presented in "Anglija.lt" 'About us' section this media source is active since 2005 and is the most popular portal for the Lithuanians in the United Kingdom. Besides, it is also stated there that under 200 thousand unique viewers per month visit "Anglija.lt". It belongs to a company registered in the United Kingdom called Anglija.lt Ltd and several more portals also are owned by this company – AngliaMea.ro, Gyvenu.de, Mzirafos.lt, StreetRu.co.uk. It is important to note that "Anglija.lt" is a portal, not a website which means that it is more user-centric. In this case there is even an option for the registered users to upload information. Once opening this portal, a visitor sees at the top a list of announcements shared by the users which belong to two main categories – searching (*ieško*) and offering (*siūlo*). In order to see the news category (*Naujienos*), one needs either to scroll down a little bit or to choose from the menu at the top of the front page. Other categories besides the news category are as follows: Coronavirus, Brexit, List of companies, Life in England, Topic of the week, Events, Advertorials, An Emigrant. Altogether 63 articles related with return migration have been found in "Anglija.lt": three in 2016, nineteen in 2017, twenty-four in 2018, eleven in 2019, two in 2020, three in 2021 and one in 2022.

On the social media networking site *Facebook* it is stated that "Tiesa.com" is the largest news and free advertising portal for the Lithuanians in the United Kingdom. It is added there that the portal and the free weekly newspaper "Tiesa" presents the most relevant news on the United Kingdom, Lithuania and the world and that each week more than 95 thousand readers use their media source. It is not specified whether this number depicts the unique portal viewers only or it is a sum of the unique viewers and the average weekly newspaper circulation. At first sight the number of the viewers presented by "Anglija.lt" looks bigger but it ought to be mentioned that "Tiesa.com" presents the amount of readers who visit their portal each week whereas "Anglija.lt" presents a number of viewers visiting their media source each month. Once mothly numbers are compared it is 380 thousand viewers each month for "Tiesa.com" and 200 thousand viewers for "Anglija.lt". The number of the followers on Facebook however shows an opposite trend as 37,5 thousand users follow "Tiesa.com" and 43 thousand follow "Anglija.lt". In terms of the structure of "Tiesa.com", the front page shows the latest news from Lithuania, the United Kingdom and the world while the advertisements' section although still visible at the front page is opened only after clicking on it. Besides the advertisements' section the menu at the top of the front page presents categories such as: News, In England, Life, Lithuania, World Lithuanians, World, Entertainment, Health. The advertisements' section is the last one in the list if one reads them from the left side towards the right side, it is on the same level as all the other

categories but is written in a different font than the rest. Altogether 18 articles related with the return migration have been found in "Tiesa.com" since 2016 and all will be analysed: one in 2016, four in 2018, seven in 2019, four in 2020 and two in 2021.

"(Ne)emigrantai" is a documentary TV show where the stories of the Lithuanian migrants living abroad and also the ones who had lived abroad for some time but have returned to Lithuania are covered. Most of the episodes are around fifty minutes long and present three stories. Two of them are about the Lithuanians still living abroad whereas one is about a Lithuanian who has returned to Lithuania. The stories of returned Lithuanians are presented in a rubric called "Welcome back" („Sveiki sugrįžę"). One new episode of "(Ne)emigrantai" TV show is being broadcasted on the Lithuanian National Radio and Television channel once a week, firstly on Tuesdays at 7.30pm, then the same episode is being replayed during the non-prime time and also available on a website of the Lithuanian National Radio and Television channel. 149 episodes were looked over altogether and it was discovered that in 50 episodes Lithuanians returned to their homeland after being emigrants abroad either in the United Kingdom only or in several countries with the United Kingdom being one of them.

2.4. Approach to data analysis

Although the intellectual roots of content analysis can be traced far back in human history, to the beginning of conscious use of symbols and voice, especially writing[73], the term content analysis itself is about 78 years old. According to Robert Philip Weber a central idea in content analysis is that the many words of the text are classified into much fewer content categories[74]. Besides noting that content analysis is a versatile method and has several advantages in comparison with other data-generating as well as analysis techniques, Weber also points out two sets of problems of content analysis. The central problems for Weber originate mainly in the data-reduction process where the first set of problems concerns the consistency or reliability of text classification and the second set concerns the validity of variables based on content classification[75]. What Weber called problems is related with what Kimberly A. Neuendorf includes among the criteria a scientifically grounded social research ought to meet: objectivity-intersubjectivity, an a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability[76].

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[73] Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, 2004, 18.
[74] Robert Philip Weber, *Basic Content Analysis*, 1990, 12.
[75] *Ibid*, 9-15.
[76] Kimberly A. Neuendorf, *The Content Analysis Guidebook*, 2002, 11-13.

In addition, modern scholars in journalism or mass communication, researchers from other disciplines such as sociology and psychology have focused on mass communication processes and effects, enriching and defining mass communication as a field by contributing their own most productive theoretical perspectives and research methods. Regardless of whether they were optimistic, pessimistic, certain or uncertain about mass communication's effects, researchers have often recognised content analysis as an essential step in understanding those effects[77]. Content analysis can serve as a foundation for achieving multiple goals. Researchers use content analysis to discover the purposes, messages and effects of communication content[78], to find the themes and concepts in the qualitative data. The two basic types of content analysis are quantitative content analysis and qualitative content analysis. In this thesis qualitative content analysis will be conducted thus the conclusions will be drawn by analysing the purposes, messages and effects of communication content, categorising themes and concepts and studying the essence and semantic relationship of concepts and words.

There are two main sampling strategies – random probability sampling and purposeful sampling. While the first one entails random selection and is mainly applied in quantitative research, the second strategy, purposeful sampling uses certain criteria for selecting data for a sample and is non-random. Purposeful sampling can also be used for the quantitative, mixed research designs and for qualitative research which is conducted in this master thesis thus this strategy of sampling will be applied while answering the main research question. M. Q. Patton identifies sixteen different types of purposeful sampling: extreme or deviant case (outlier), intensity sampling, maximum variation, homogenous, typical case sampling, critical case sampling, snowball or chain sampling, criterion sampling and theory-based sampling (operational construct, theoretical), confirming and disconfirming cases, stratified purposeful sampling, opportunistic and emergent sampling, purposeful random sampling, sampling politically important cases, convenience sampling, combination or mixed purposeful sampling[79]. In this thesis mostly typical case sampling strategy will be applied in order to analyse whether there has been some change in a way how the return migration programmes and measures have been communicated for the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom throughout these years and to analyse how typically these programmes and measures have been communicated.

The sample is composed of news and media content targeted towards Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom. The sample frame in this work encompasses content where the return migration

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[77] Daniel Riffe, *Analyzing Media Messages Using Quantitative Content Analysis Research*, London, 2005, 5.

[78] "Scribbr.com", [Accessed on 2022.10.12], https://www.scribbr.com/methodology/content-analysis/

[79] Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, 2002, 243.

programmes, measures and returning migrants have been mentioned directly or in a more descriptive way since 2016 onwards in the media sources targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom. Sample size – all articles from the internet portals "Anglija.lt" and "Tiesa.com" on return migration, its programmes and measures since the 1st of January 2016 to the 1st of October 2022 and selected episodes from a TV documentary series "(Ne)emigrantai", the Lithuanian National Radio and Television. The three media sources meet the criteria first for being widely accessible and second, for being targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom. From a TV documentary series "(Ne)emigrantai" five episodes will be analysed. In 2016 and 2017 this show was not called "(Ne)emigrantai" but "Emigrantai" and was covering only the stories of the Lithuanians living abroad. In the first half of 2018 this show also presented only the Lithuanian emigrants with the last episode still keeping its original name "Emigrantai" and broadcasted in 2018.05.29. Then in 2018.09.04 the TV series were titled in a different way, namely "(Ne)emigrantai", with a new rubric called "Welcome back" in which one story of a Lithuanian who came back after living abroad started to be shown. This show began covering stories of the Lithuanians returning to their homeland from September 2018 and the first episode where a story of a Lithuanian who had lived and worked in the United Kingdom for some time was broadcasted on the 18th of September - the first two episodes in September 2018 featured Lithuanians coming back from another countries. One episode for every year featuring Lithuanians who have returned to Lithuania after living in the United Kingdom only for some time or in some other countries besides the United Kingdom since 2018 has been selected. The first one, in 2018 was from September that is why for the other years September was kept so that one-year distance would be kept constantly between the episodes. To sum up, sixty-one articles from "Anglija.lt", eighteen from "Tiesa.com" and five episodes from a TV documentary series "(Ne)emigrantai" will be analysed in this master thesis.

After choosing the sampling strategy and designing the sample the fourth step will be taken. In order to successfully conduct qualitative content analysis, it is necessary to formulate how this sample will be analysed. The words and phrases surrounding the return migration programmes and measures and returning migrants themselves will be at the centre of the attention. The categories that will be used for coding are as follows: more conceptual ones like positive, negative and neutral frames used in describing return migration, its programmes and measures and returning migrants and more objective ones like central figure (s) of each article/episode and main themes (e.g. education, criminals, success stories, statistics etc.). Thus, the analytical units (assessment units) mentioned earlier - return migration programmes and measures, stories and statistics, opinions and forecasts on return migration

from the experts and politicians and the words and phrases that are used to describe them – will be organised into the previously defined categories.

First of all, the analysis of the results will be structured by breaking down "return migration" into several basic frames depending on whether the words and phrases surrounding it create an impression that return migration is a positive phenomenon, negative or neutral. The rules for what is included are as follows: a) positive frames related with successful return of the Lithuanian migrants, information about the tools used to attract the migrants, framing of Lithuanians as full of new ideas, talents, innovations, creativity and patriotism b) negative frames related with unsuccessful return, hardships and unpleasant experiences Lithuanians face when they return to Lithuania c) relatively neutral frames related with statistical data on migration and opinions on what is needed for the Lithuanians in order for them to return to their homeland. Because this research is about return migration programmes and their communication to the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom, positiveness is measured in relation to the Lithuanian migrants returning to Lithuania whether the words themselves carry more positive or more negative connotations while used out of this context. For example, a headline *"Iš Airijos į Lietuvą grįžęs emigrantas: pavargau vergauti pinigams"* contains such words as *pavargau* (I am tired) and *vergauti* (to be a slave) which suggest a gloomy story however the final result is presented as a successful return of a Lithuanian migrant. The negative aspects are the ones attributed to the former emigrant's past while he was living abroad and not with the present. That is why such headlines are classified alongside the positive ones. In order to attribute the content to a positive, negative or neutral category both the titles as well the articles were analysed.

As for a category of a central figure(s), content will be attributed after analysing the whole article/episode, not only the titles. Authors of the articles, the main character(s) featured in the cases of successful/unsuccessful return migration stories, the experts and politicians are the most commonly occurring central figures in the content researched. The main coding rule for this category is that the central figures will be noted down as precisely as possible - when a concrete name and/or a surname is revealed or a name of an organisation is known it will be included in this way into the category of central figure(s) and where it is not known it will be put down as an anonymous writer.

After attributing content in the articles and episodes to the four basic categories – positive, negative, neutral and the central figure one, more in-depth analysis will be started. Specific leading frames of all eighty-one articles and five episodes will be noted and then their occurrence in terms of media source and year will be calculated and presented.

3. FRAMING OF RETURN MIGRATION AND ITS PROGRAMMES TO THE LITHUANIAN MIGRANTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

3.1. General trends of communicating return migration in "Anglija.lt", "Tiesa.com" and "(Ne)emigrantai" since 2016

While analysing communication of return migration programmes and measures in the media content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom it is important first to name the main trends. In the time span selected for this master thesis, namely since January 2016 to October 2022, there is a tendency for more content on return migration in years 2018 and 2019 in comparison with the years 2016, 2017, 2020, 2021 and 2022 in "Anglija.lt" and "Tiesa.com" (see Figure 3). Such fluctuations in the number of articles could very likely be related with the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum, commonly called the Brexit referendum. It took place on 23 June 2016 and the following four years were full of discussions about it, debates, presumptions and uncertainty about how practically it will be implemented. The United Kingdom formally left the European Union on 31 January 2020 but in the UK-EU Withdrawal Agreement there was a transition period agreed which ended on the 1st of January 2021. Besides, the coronavirus disease started in December 2019 and quickly spread worldwide which strongly effected people who travel internationally often. As for the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom their short and frequent returns and departures due to seasonal work, studying or having family in Lithuania and jobs abroad were severely interrupted.
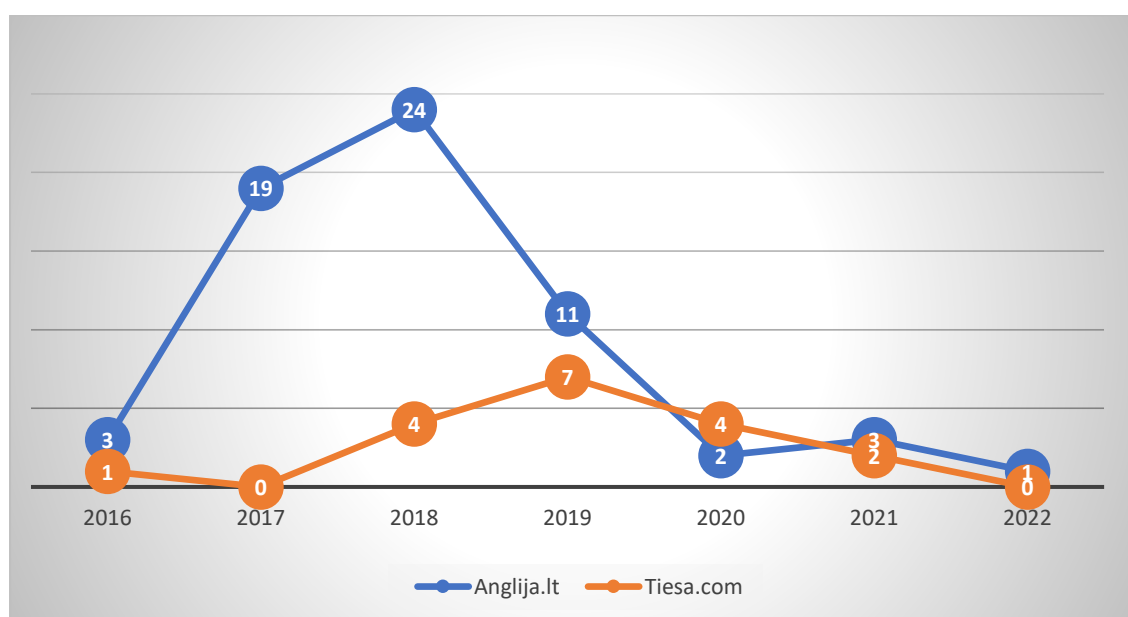

Figure 3. Dynamics of articles on return migration in "Anglija.lt" and "Tiesa.com". Created by A. A. Apanavičiūtė

As for the TV show "(Ne)emigrantai", a rubric featuring former emigrants only started to be broadcasted in September 2018 so it reinforces the same trend like the portals for the year 2016. In the following year, 2017, no attention for the returning Lithuanian emigrants is observed in "Tiesa.com" as well as in "(Ne)emigrantai" but "Anglija.lt" is different – even nineteen articles could be found same year on the topic researched. As showed in Figure 4 below, there were sixteen episodes of "(Ne)emigrantai" broadcasted in year 2018 and in all of them one story was about the returning Lithuanian migrants. Besides, more than a half (nine out of sixteen, 56%) of the episodes featured Lithuanians coming back from the United Kingdom. However, it could be noticed that later on, in 2019, 2020, 2021 and 2022 not all episodes had a story on returning Lithuanian migrants. In 2019 two episodes had no content on returning migration although the majority (34 out of 36; 94%) did feature the Lithuanians coming back after emigration and the United Kingdom was one among the former places of residence in less than a half of the stories (13 out of 36, 36%; 13 out of 34, 38%). Covid-19 pandemic undoubtedly influenced the content broadcasted by "(Ne)emigrantai". The number of episodes in 2020 reached 38 and four episodes were focused exclusively on the Lithuanians sharing their stories related with the Coronavirus disease and in one episode a story of a Lithuanian medic working in Switzerland was presented alongside two other stories where Covid-19 was not the focal point. Three of the episodes in 2020 covered stories about the Lithuanians who live abroad only and are not planning to come back but their decision is not influenced by Covid-19. Next year the same trend of declining attention to the returning Lithuanians in general could be observed but the ones coming back from the United Kingdom were as often presented in "(Ne)emigrantai" as in year 2019. In 2021 even eight episodes featured stories only of Lithuanians who lived abroad and were not planning to return to Lithuania whereas the remaining twenty-eight still had a rubric "Welcome back" ("Sveiki sugrįžę"). The most recent content is also moving in the same direction as 23 episodes have been broadcasted since the beginning of the year 2022 to the 1st of October and only five contain the stories of Lithuanians who have come back from the United Kingdom. To sum up, altogether there were 149 episodes of "(Ne)emigrantai" in the timeframe chosen for this master thesis. In 127 episodes there was a story featuring one or two returned Lithuanian migrants. More than one third of all episodes, precisely 50, were on returned Lithuanian migrants who had been living in the United Kingdom only when they left Lithuania or it was one of their countries of destination.
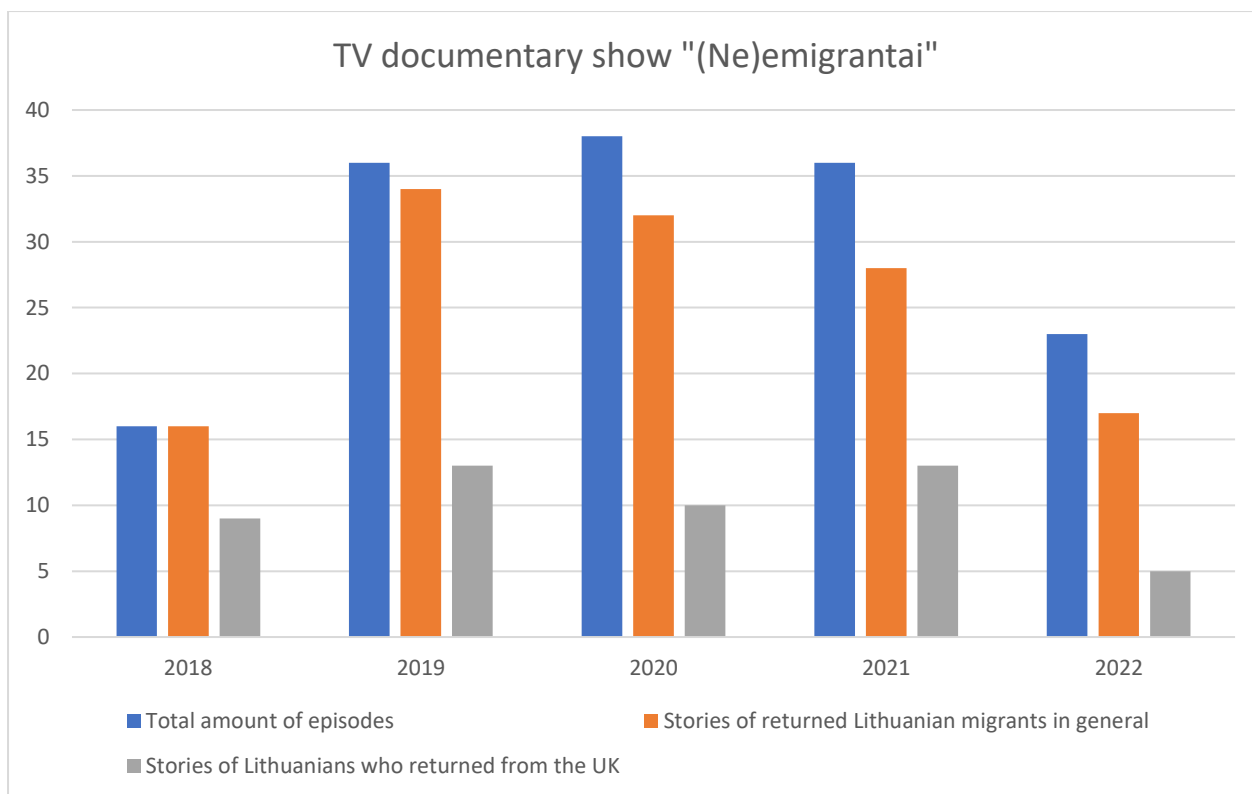
Figure 4. Characteristics of content in "(Ne)emigrantai" 2018.09.04 – 2022.09.27. Created by A. A. Apanavičiūtė

During the first stage of analysis content from the articles and episodes was attributed to the categories such as positive, negative and neutral. The findings reveal that the most recurring cases where those when content was not only positive, only negative or only neutral but where more than one category could be identified. Thus, the latter type of the articles after calculating were put into a graph called 'mixed'. To sum up, fourty-one items had a mixture of basic frames, thirty-four items only positive ones, seven only negative ones and four only neutral ones. In the first appendix of this master thesis summarised content of all articles and episodes could be found. Date of each item, its title and graphs named 'positive', 'negative', 'neutral' and 'central figure(s)' are present in that appendix separately for each media source.

Content	Number of items (articles and episodes) in all three media sources
Mixed	41
Positive only	34
Negative only	7
Neutral only	4

Table 2. Distribution of basic frames in "Anglija.lt", "Tiesa.com" and "(Ne)emigrantai". Created by A. A. Apanavičiūtė

In addition, among the central figures of the articles titles of the return migration programmes usually with their representatives could be found, also returned Lithuanian migrants, politicians, experts on return migration, Lithuanian emigrants in the United Kingdom, representatives of the Government ministries in Lithuania and state institutions. Two articles in "Anglija.lt" did not possess clear central figures and the authors were anonymous. However, specific leading frames were still detectable.

The findings from deeper content analysis reveal the most recurring specific frames and categories concerning the communication of return migration, its programmes and measures and returning migrants themselves. In most of the articles and episodes it was undoubtedly clear which frame was the leading one. However, in some publications several frames were occuring simultaneously thus the titles then were used as the dominant factors for determining the leading frame. As mentioned earlier, sixty-three articles have been analysed from "Anglija.lt" portal, eighteen from "Tiesa.com" and five episodes from "(Ne)emigrantai" TV documentary show. Thus, altogether the content of eighty-six items has been analysed and below are the categories of the leading frames of these items:

1. <u>Successful return migration stories reinforcing a frame of innovative, creative and optimistic Lithuanians, improving living conditions in Lithuania</u>. Successful return migration occurred as the leading frame in ten articles in "Anglija.lt". Furthermore, in "Tiesa.com" seven articles had success return migration frames used as the leading ones. In "(Ne)emigrantai" one success story was presented in each episode analysed and was its leading frame. To sum up, the successful return migration was the leading frame in seventeen articles (ten in "Anglija.lt", seven in "Tiesa.com") and in five episodes.

2. <u>Opinions and forecasts from the experts and politicians on return migration</u> was also a very common leading frame and was found in twelve publications. Eleven articles in "Anglija.lt" and two articles in "Tiesa.com" had this frame as the most important one.

3. <u>Promoting return migration measures</u> formed the leading frame in ten articles in "Anglija.lt" only. Besides, in "Tiesa.com" it has occurred as a supporting frame too.

4. <u>Statistical data and research</u> related with the return migration and returning migrants was a very common frame used to support other frames such as return migration measures, success stories of return migration and opinions and forecasts from the experts. However, as the leading one it was found in seven articles in "Anglija.lt" and in two articles in "Tiesa.com".

5. <u>Ideas for boosting return migration</u> were outlined as the leading frame in six articles. Three of them were found in "Anglija.lt" and one in "Tiesa.com".

6. Return migration in some cases was framed through the <u>letters from the emigrants.</u> All of them were discovered in "Anglija.lt".

7. <u>Raising awareness about return migration</u>. This frame was used in four articles altogether – three of them were found in "Anglija.lt" and one in "Tiesa.com";

8. A frame of <u>Lithuanian migrants as criminals, lazy and not willing to work but rather relying on state benefits</u> was the leading one in two articles in "Anglija.com" and in three articles in "Tiesa.com". In two articles in the latter media source, namely on the 14th of February, 2018 and on the 24th of November, 2021 stories of Lithuanians with criminal records were depicted with their names and age whereas the rest of the publications were less concrete.

9. <u>Educational matters</u> came to be the leading frame in four articles altogether. Two publications were found in "Anglija.lt" and two in "Tiesa.com";

10. <u>Return of overpaid taxes</u> is one of the positive consequences of coming back to Lithuania after working abroad for some time and it is the leading frame in three articles in "Anglija.lt";

11. <u>Unsuccessful return migration</u> as the leading frame results in three articles in "Anglija.com" only.

The distribution of the leading frames in the time span selected for this master thesis is exhibited visually in a chart above *(Figure 6).* The leading frames are calculated and presented from all three media sources analysed, namely "Anglija.lt", "Tiesa.com" and "(Ne)emigrantai".
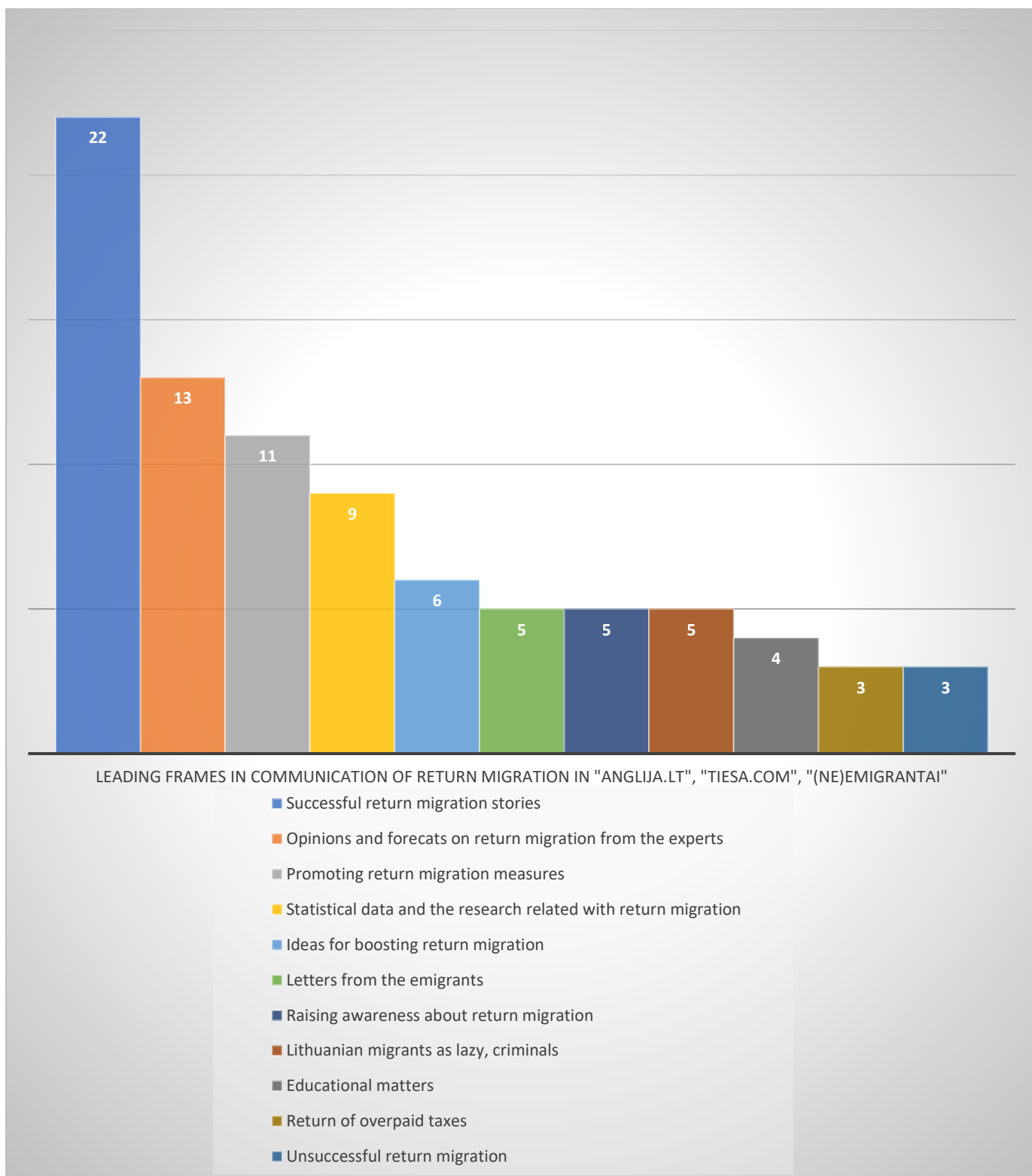
LEADING FRAMES IN COMMUNICATION OF RETURN MIGRATION IN "ANGLIJA.LT", "TIESA.COM", "(NE)EMIGRANTAI"

- Successful return migration stories
- Opinions and forecats on return migration from the experts
- Promoting return migration measures
- Statistical data and the research related with return migration
- Ideas for boosting return migration
- Letters from the emigrants
- Raising awareness about return migration
- Lithuanian migrants as lazy, criminals
- Educational matters
- Return of overpaid taxes
- Unsuccessful return migration

Figure 6. Distribution of the leading frames in communication of return migration in "Anglija.lt", "Tiesa.com" and "(Ne)emigrantai" 2016-2022. Created by A. A. Apanavičiūtė

3.2. Framing of return migration used by the portal "Anglija.lt"

"Anglija.lt" is a media source where return migration topic receives more attention than in other media sources, even in comparison with the ones targeting the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom. From 2016 onwards every year return migration programmes have been covered either literally or more in a indirect manner or in some cases both ways. Thus, it is the only media source chosen for this master thesis where the return migration programmes and their measures are depicted every single year since 2016. As it has been already mentioned earlier, sixty-three relevant articles were found: three in 2016, nineteen in 2017, twenty-four in 2018, eleven in 2019, two in 2020, three in 2021 and one in 2022. In terms of quantity and the amount of attention on the return migration topic it can be clearly seen that year 2018 were the most numerable and that in year 2017 a number of articles associated with the topic analysed in this master thesis was also large.

In "Anglija.lt" general trends observed in all media sources were common in relation to the basic frames. Altogether in the time period analysed thirty articles were attributed to a category called 'mixed', twenty-five articles presented positive frames only, five only the negative ones and three only the neutral ones. As for the central figures, the same trends as for other two media sources were prevalent with an exception of two articles with no clear central figures. Such occurrence was not found in "Tiesa.com" and "(Ne)emigrantai" – every article and episode had one or more central figures.

As it was presented earlier, some of the leading specific frames were found only in "Anglija.lt" and it could prove that this media source exhibits the widest variety of content on return migration. Besides, it also offers the largest amount of content on this topic in comparison to "Tiesa.com" and "(Ne)emigrantai". Hence, this chapter is devoted to illustrating the dynamics of the leading frames in "Anglija.lt" and to showing some examples of how coding was applied the extracts of some of the articles. In this way, the content analysis process conducted for this thesis will be presented.

In 2016 only three articles related with return migration were found in "Anglija.lt" and all three had different leading frames. Thus, each leading frame received the same amount of media coverage. Framing of return migration in the first analysed publication in 2016 was conducted by outlining the ideas on how to boost return migration. The ideas were collected from people who are young, enthusiastic and who highly appreciate Lithuania, as it was presented by a writer of that article. Then, in the second one the leading frame was applied by raising awareness about return migration in general. Three Baltic countries are often compared in various contexts - from tourism and cultural life to the country's gross domestic product size. Thus, for Lithuanians Latvia's example is an interesting

one. Besides, at the very end of that article some return migration programmes and measures active in Lithuania are also mentioned. Finally, the content of the third article was focused on promoting return migration measures. Its title was: *For the ones planning to come back to Lithuania – individual consultations*. Besides the title also the beginning clearly proves that the leading frame in this case is promoting return migration measures:

Are you planning to come back to Lithuania but still have many questions about social sector, healthcare and educational matters? Come to the Lithuanian Embassy in London on the 29th of September (Thursday) and from 9.30 AM to 1.00 PM receive individual consultations on all questions related with the return to Lithuania. Consultations will be given by a team of consultants from the Migration Information Centre "I Choose Lithuania".[80]

The ones who have emigrated from Lithuania often among the reasons list burdensome and intricate bureaucratic procedures. Thus, it is explained in the article that the consultations will happen in a single-window principle:

Consultations on all questions related with the return to Lithuania will be provided in a single window principle, including questions about the marriages with non-Lithuanians, integration of the school age children into Lithuanian educational institutions, remote Lithuanian language lessons, work record transfers from one country to another, unemployment benefits etc. [81]

Besides an invitation to attend a free consultation at the Lithuanian Embassy in London a supporting frame also occurs in this publication. In addition, return migration was also framed through raising awareness about it in general:

Migration Information Centre "I Choose Lithuania" was established in the International Organisation For Migration Vilnius Office in cooperation with the Government of the Republic of Lithuania. International Organisation for Migration is the only international intergovernmental organisation in the field of migration. It was established in 1951. [82]

As for the basic frames both positive and neutral frames were present in the article. In terms of central figures "Migration Information Centre" and "I Choose Lithuania" were the main alongside with the "International Organisation For Migration".

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[80] „Planuojantiems grįžti į Lietuvą – individualios konsultacijos", Anglija.lt, [Accessed on 2022.12.28], https://www.anglija.lt/straipsniai/planuojantiems-grizti-i-lietuva-individualios-konsultacijos-17163
[81] *Ibid*
[82] *Ibid*

2017 content related with return migration in "Anglija.lt" in comparison to 2016 content on the same topic differs both in quantity and in variety. Altogether nineteen articles relevant to this master thesis were found in year 2017. Successful return migration frame came to be the most frequent among the leading frames and was used for five articles. Return migration framing through the opinions and forecasts on return migration from the experts and politicians also was a recurrent frame and dominated throughout three articles. Besides, it received the same amount of attention as return migration measures and as the ideas for boosting return migration as it can be seen in the *Figure 7* below.
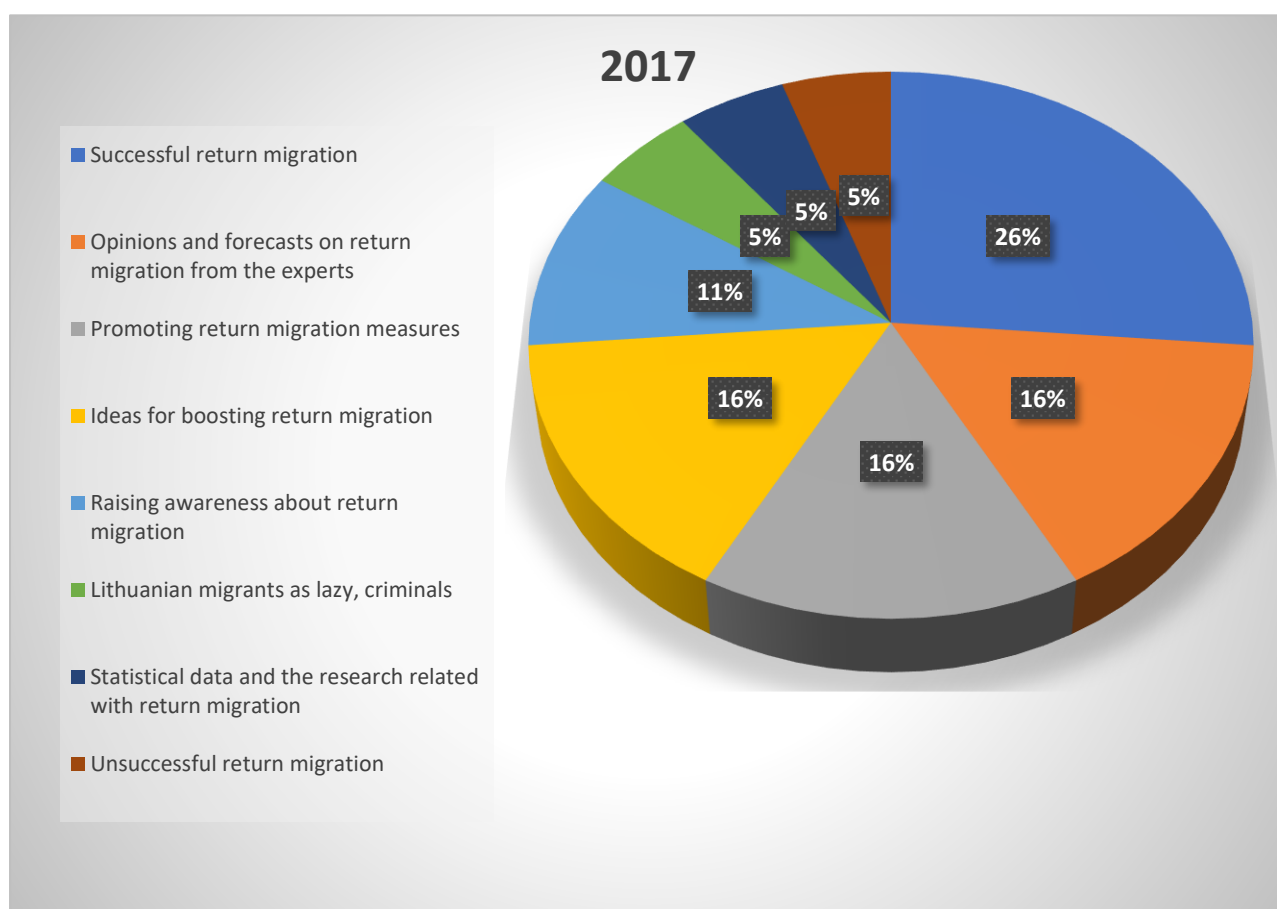
Figure 7. Distribution of the leading frames in "Anglija.lt" in 2017. Created by A. A. Apanavičiūtė

The number of articles per year is the highest in 2018 in "Anglija.lt". Twenty-four publications relevant to this master thesis were discovered with nine distinct leading frames. Three new leading frames occured in comparison to the year 2017: letters from the emigrants, educational matters and the reminders for the returned Lithuanian migrants to get back their overpaid taxes after working abroad. However, two of the leading frames used in 2017 – the ideas for boosting return migration and raising awareness about return migration - did not dominate any articles in 2018. Also, framing

through the opinions and forecasts on return migration from the experts and politicians decreased dramatically in comparison to the previous year. In addition, successful return migration frame and the articles dominated by the promotion of return migration measures remained steadily frequent.
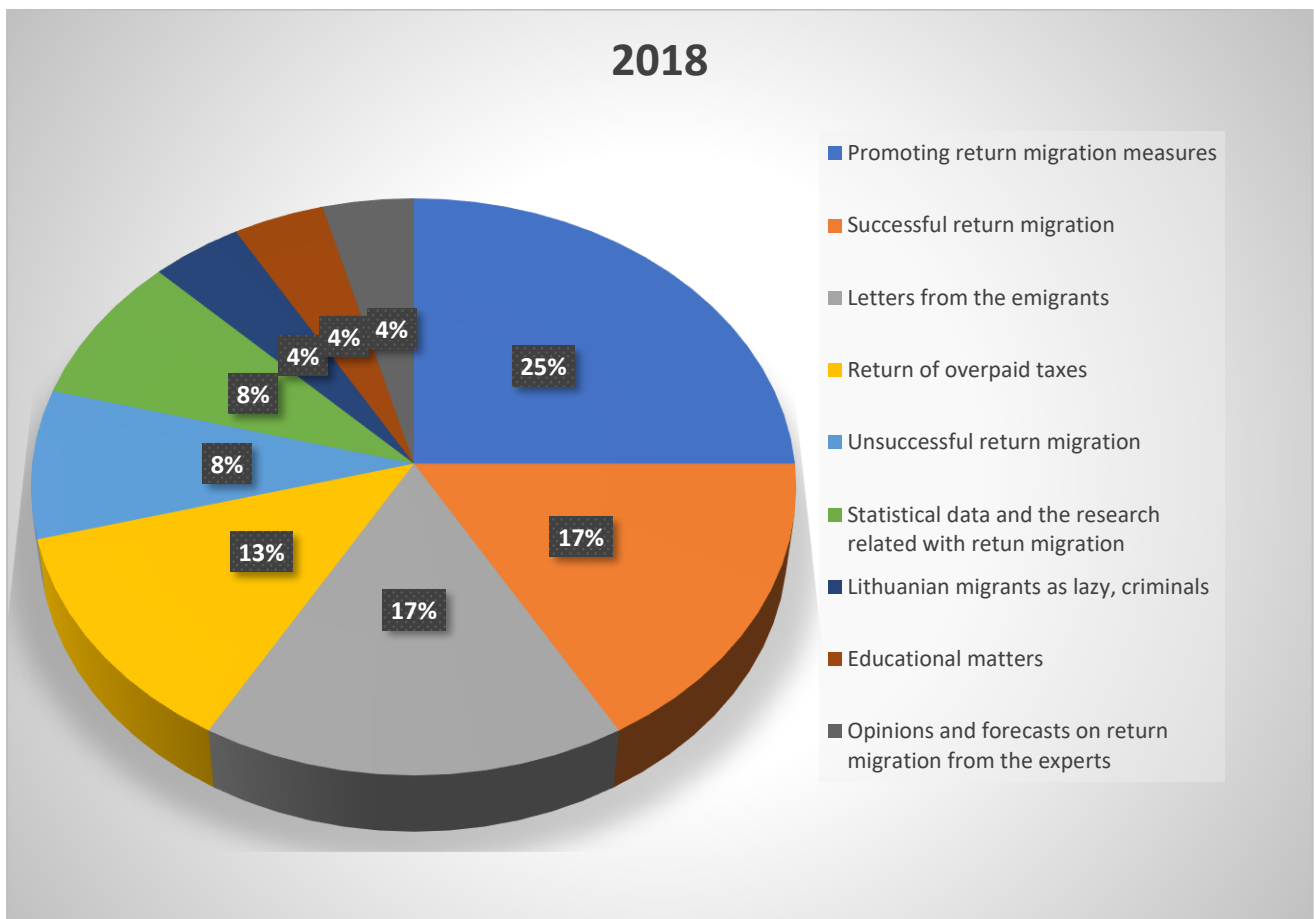

Figure 8. Distribution of the leading frames in "Anglija.lt" in 2018. Created by A. A. Apanavičiūtė

2019 content related with return migration in "Anglija.lt" is different from 2018 content on the same topic in a number of respects. First of all, eleven relevant articles were found in 2019 whereas twenty-four publications related with return migration were discovered in 2018 as mentioned earlier. Secondly, variety of leading frames also differs. In 2019 five specific leading frames where noticed. Most frequently return migration was framed through the opinions and forecasts on return migration from the experts. In contrast, this frame was among the least popular ones in 2018. In addition, statistical data and the research related with return migration and letters from the emigrants were common too whereas raising awareness about return migration and educational matters came to be less frequent leading frames in 2019.
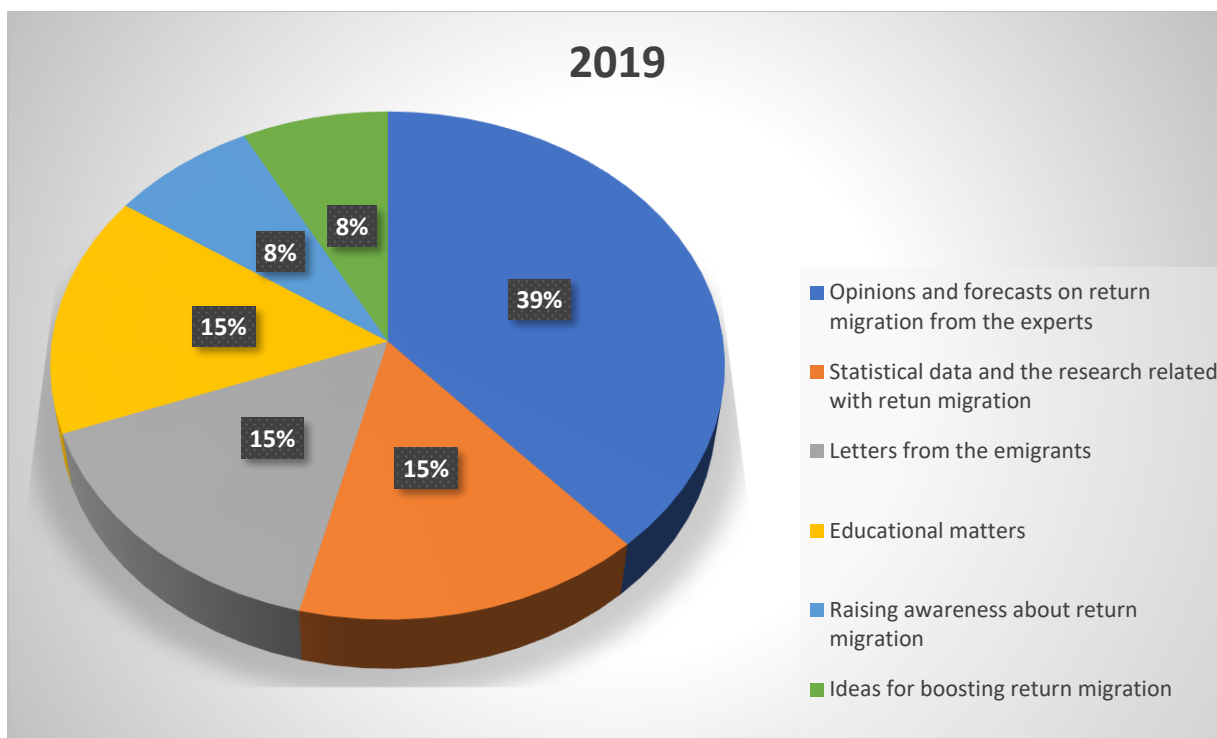
Figure 9. Distribution of the leading frames in "Anglija.lt" in 2019. Created by A. A. Apanavičiūtė

As for 2020, 2021 and 2022 the findings from content analysis reveal a sharp decline in the number of the articles on return migration. Thus, the leading frames will be described without showing it graphically for those years. In 2020, only two articles were found and their leading frames were different. The first article in "Anglija.lt" in 2020 is framed through promoting return migration measures and the second one through opinions and forecasts on return migration from the experts. In 2021, three relevant articles were noted and two of them were framed primarily through the statistical data and the research on return migration and one through the opinions and forecasts on return migration from the experts. Finally, only one relevant article was found in 2022 and it was a success story of return migration.

To sum up, return migration was mostly framed not through positive, negative or neutral frames only but using a mixture of them per article. Besides, the most frequent leading frame from 2016-2022 was the one where the opinions and forecasts on return migration from the experts had the leading position. In addition, framing through promoting return migration measures and through success stories of return migration was also conducted very often. In terms of quantity, the number of articles on return migration peaked in 2018 in "Anglija.lt".

3.3. Framing of return migration used by the portal "Tiesa.com"

"Tiesa.com" was the second media source analysed in this master thesis and eighteen relevant articles were found. It was 2019 when the number of articles per year peaked and reached seven, not 2018 as it was in "Anglija.lt". In addition, there were no articles in years 2017 and 2022.

In contrast to "Anglija.lt" the number of articles with positive frames only was bigger than the number of the articles attributed to a category 'mixed'. However, the neutral only category was the least numerous in "Tiesa.com" as it was in "Anglija.lt" too.

Content	Number of articles in "Tiesa.com"
Positive only	8
Mixed	7
Negative only	2
Neutral only	1

Table 3. Basic frames in the portal "Tiesa.com" 2016-2022. Created by A. A. Apanavičiūtė

Seven leading frames were present in "Tiesa.com" from 2016 to 2022. Return migration most often was framed through success stories of return migration. Even for 41% of all the articles in "Tiesa.com" that was a leading frame. However, return migration was also framed using a frame of Lithuanian migrants as lazy, criminals rather often. Besides, some of the leading frames which were found in "Anglija.lt" were not manifested as the leading frames in "Tiesa.com": letters from the emigrants, promoting return migration measures, a reminder to get the overpaid taxes back, unsuccessful return migration stories, ideas for boosting return migration. Yet, some of them were still used as the supporting frames - promoting return migration measures and ideas for boosting return migration.
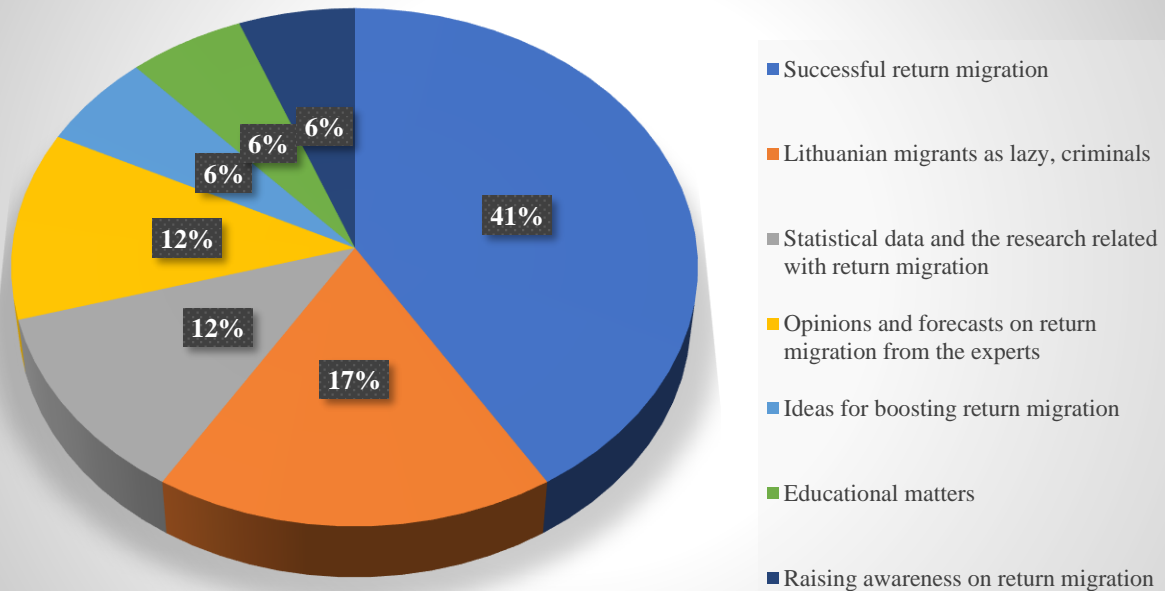
Figure 11. Distribution of the leading frames in the portal "Tiesa.com" 2016-2022. Created by A. A. Apanavičiūtė

This section has shown that some of the main trends observed in "Anglija.lt" were manifested in "Tiesa.com" too. 2016, 2020, 2021 and 2022 were the years with the least amount of content on return migration in both portals and the number of articles was considerably higher in the years from 2017 to 2019. However, the peak was reached in the year 2019 in "Tiesa.com", not in 2018 like it was in "Anglija.lt". In general, the number of articles was significantly smaller in "Tiesa.com" (18) than in "Anglija.lt" (63). Also, from the basic frames positive ones dominated in "Tiesa.com". This section has also reviewed the leading frames in "Tiesa.com" and in summary successful return migration was the most frequent one.

3.4. Framing of return migration in the TV documentary show "(Ne)emigrantai"

Thus far, the main trends in "Anglija.lt", "Tiesa.com" and "(Ne)emigrantai" and the distinct tendencies in the first two media sources have been discussed in the third chapter of this master thesis. Moreover, this section is focused on five episodes from the TV documentary show "(Ne)emigrantai". First of all, the content in "(Ne)emigrantai" is generally framed in a more positive way than in the portals. It can be noticed easily as the success stories were the leading frames in all five episodes. In 2019 return migration was framed through a positive frame only and in the remaining four episodes a combination of positive and neutral content was present.

The episode from 2018 featured a returned Lithuanian migrant Simonas Sonkinas. After living in three different countries Simonas came back to Lithuania and started a unique business. In this case permanent emigration was planned but the outcome was different from the initial plan – he became a returned Lithuanian migrant. Simonas reveals that he left his homeland with many negative thoughts about it:

It seemed very empty here. <...> I simply left. My friend was in England. He called me and invited to come. I was angry at Lithuania although there was no clear reason for that. Most likely others have thrusted this idea upon me, that there are no prospects in our country. Now I understand that it was an absolute nonsense.[83]

Although Simonas claimed he would definitely stay away from Lithuania and was planning to remain an emigrant for good an accidental return for a funeral changed his attitude. According to Simonas, abroad you are a slave to money, every day thinking how to earn more. Now Simonas claims to realise that hapiness is not measured by money. Abroad he was working a lot, earning a lot but was constantly tired, nervous, absent-minded. After seven years in emigration former emigrant came back to Vilnius and noticed a free niche. That is how he got back to his youth's great affection – skateboard sport. Simonas came up with a unique business plan in Lithuania as he is creating various goods from the broken skateboards. People interested in his sustainable work not only in Lithuania but even more in foreign countries – Japan, Australia, the United States of America. It is an example of an innovative return however Simonas openly reveals that first of all he thought about himself: "I was thinking first that I need a job so I could sit here and think about the skateboards"[84] Now Simonas encourages other Lithuanian emigrants to return as he still sees many new niches in Lithuania.

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[83] "(Ne)emigrantai", LRT, 18th of September 2018, 42:03 – 49:55, https://www.lrt.lt/mediateka/irasas/1013702596/ne-emigrantai
[84] *Ibid*

As it was mentioned previously in 2019 return migration was framed through a positive frame only. A well-known photographer Neringa Rekašiūtė returned to Lithuania after living four years in London. In "(Ne)emigrantai" she talked about her attempts to fight her way to the top in London fashion industry and how she touched her dream quickly but also burned herself quickly.[85] In contrast to the previous character Simonas, Neringa did not say she was angry at Lithuania when she was emigrating but that she had an ambitious dream to become a world famous fashion photographer so that her photographs would be published in such magazines as "Vogue". However, the well-known photographer stated she faced not quite she expected to:

A lot of vanity, chats about nothing, making photographs twelve hours a day, meaninglesness. Then you understand that life is too short – do you want to spend it chatting even though with some very famous people but about nothing?[86]

Neringa also openly revealed that in her work she met a lot of very unhappy people, addicted to drugs, alcohol, experiencing burnouts because of very stressful life-styles, enormous competition, non-stop work regime. Besides, there was one occasion when she worked with a photographer who later got a criminal record for sexual assaults on the under-aged models. Neringa understood what kind of person he was and it was one of the reasons she stepped back from the fashion industry:

If such people are in a position of authority, then I definitely do not want to do anything in there. [87]

While Neringa was living in London she did not have stable income and although there we were periods when she was earning money her family in Lithuania was still supporting her financially. Back in Lithuania she lives only from her photography work. A decision to return permanently to Lithuania was made after a short return for holidays and a family celebration. Neringa revealed how she started thinking that she would be happier living in her homeland:

I think it was early autumn. It was a wedding of my father and his current wife in Palanga. The weather was very beautiful. It was after August I spent here and felt very well. Then I realised that I really want to return to Lithuania. Although it still took about six months until I moved back for good

[85] "(Ne)emigrantai", LRT, 10th of September 2019, https://www.lrt.lt/mediateka/irasas/2000078450/fotografe-neringa-rekasiute-norejau-kad-mano-nuotraukas-spausdintu-visi-mandri-zurnalai

[86] "(Ne)emigrantai", LRT, 10th of September 2019, https://www.lrt.lt/mediateka/irasas/2000078450/fotografe-neringa-rekasiute-norejau-kad-mano-nuotraukas-spausdintu-visi-mandri-zurnalai
[87] *Ibid*

to Lithuania, that was the day full of emotions, the culmination: all those people around, who are important to you, wonderful nature.[88]

As a returned Lithuanian migrant Neringa does not dwell on her years in London but sees a positive side of her four years spent in emigration:

Once I was living here, in Lithuania before leaving I did not appreciate a lot of things which I took for granted. <...> How much greenery we have, how much space to create here, how many niches, how many things which are not yet done. Also, the small size of our country - even though there are negative aspects to it also is wonderful as one can connect with others fast, approach them, write to them and things are done quickly in Lithuania. [89]

One of the characters of the TV show "(Ne)emigrantai" in 2020, Deivydas Kasiulis became an emigrant after his dream to be a soldier in Lithuania had been broken. It happened because of a medical check-up. Because his parents were already living abroad it made it even easier for him to make such a decision. However, Deivydas revealed that he had not planned to emigrate from Lithuania permanently:

I have never seen myself there, that I could live there for good, buy some real estate or something else. Just all the time deep in me there was a thought that I would return.[90]

In his case repeated accidental returns resulted in a permanent return. Deivydas emphasises that a strong friendship with his school friends was the main motive for coming back to Lithuania for good:

It was perhaps a lack of friends. Here, in Lithuania I have a really wide circle of friends since my childhood. Eight of us, from the same class at school, we even bought our homes in the same area close to one another.[91]

In this case there was a plan to return and the former emigrant did actually return. Deivydas was working abroad, gained a university degree there, also was on demand in the combat sports thus his return to Lithuania was not a return of failure. When he returned to Lithuania, he found a well-paid job as a manager in a logistics company and later became a president of World Raw Power Federation

[88] *Ibid*

[89] "(Ne)emigrantai", LRT, 10th of September 2019, https://www.lrt.lt/mediateka/irasas/2000078450/fotografe-neringa-rekasiute-norejau-kad-mano-nuotraukas-spausdintu-visi-mandri-zurnalai

[90] "(Ne)emigrantai", LRT, 10th of November 2019, https://www.lrt.lt/mediateka/irasas/2000128297/netapes-kariu-deividas-pasirinko-sportininko-kelia-siandien-jis-tarptautines-trikoves-federacijos-vadovas

[91] *Ibid*

in Lithuania also a champion of the sport of power triathlon in Lithuania. Thus, in this case it could be called a return of innovation.

Evelina Šimkutė came back to Lithuania with an intention to promote Šilainiai, her birthplace area in Kaunas after 12 spent years abroad. Her story in "(Ne)emigrantai" was framed through a successful return migration frame. It was one of the best examples of an innovative return from all the epiosdes as Evelina clearly had an intention to make a positive impact on the community of Šilainiai. She also revealed that once she made a clear decision to return to Lithuania questions started to arise:

Evelina, what will you work? How will you support yourself?[92]

It shows that the neoclassical economics theory rationale is still rather common among the Lithuanians. However, when she was leaving Lithuania in contrast to Simonas she was not angry at her homeland (or at least did not revealed that) nor left with a very ambitious goal like Neringa. According to the returned Lithuanian migrant Evelina, her creative quests urged her to move abroad. Now she leads projects in Šilainiai, invites and unites other artists and creative people, encourages and supports her community. Also, in her case repeated short returns to Lithuania served as a prelude to a final return.

The last episode from "(Ne)emigrantai" analysed in this master thesis depicts a story of a Lithuanian couple of returned migrants. An opening sentence presented by a narrator were as follows: Justas and Kristina were planning to live in England but realised that with their Lithuanian passports they would not achieve anything – that is why they became businessp in Klaipėda. It was one of the cases when the initial plan was to emigrate permanently but the Lithuanian migrants came back to Lithuania. Kristina openly revealed that it was not easy to return to her homeland:

I realised at that moment that I wanted to try myself in Lithuania although it was difficult to come back. It is because you think that it is a step backwards, that you are returning to the same place from which you wanted to run away. [93]

Although Kristina is a young returned migrant (late 20s – early 30s) her words illustrate typical statements defined by the neoclassical economic migration theorists. Hence, return migration is perceived as a failure and the dominant point of view is that the returning migrants are usually the unsuccessful, less skilled and less educated ones. However, now Justas and Kristina run two businesses

[92] "(Ne)emigrantai", LRT, 21st of September 2021, https://www.lrt.lt/mediateka/irasas/2000174772/meile-silainiams-is-londono-menininke-grizo-tam-kad-populiarintu-rajona-kaune
[93] "(Ne)emigrantai", LRT, 27th of September 2022, https://www.lrt.lt/mediateka/irasas/2000233694/anglijoje-gyvenima-planavusi-pora-nusprende-versla-kurti-lietuvoje-jie-negalejo-suvokti-kaip-kitatautis-gali-buti-vadovu

in Klaipėda and what first could have been categorised as a return of failure by the structuralists turned to be an innovative return. Besides, in terms of typology by the level of congruence between the intentions and the outcomes this episode depicts a case where the migrants were planning to emigrate permanently but instead returned to their country of origin. In addition, the returned migrants said that their "best decision was to come back to Lithuania"[94].

To sum up, all five episodes in "(Ne)emigrantai" were framed through successful return migration stories. Besides the clearly positive content on return migration four episodes had some mixed content in relation to return migration to Lithuania. The first character, Simonas, revealed that initially he was not planning to return and was holding views that it was empty in Lithuania, that there were no prospects in the country. The third character Deivydas also left Lithuania after a negative experience - his dream to be a soldier in Lithuania had been broken. The fourth character, Evelina had doubts about how she would live and where would she work once returned. In the last story besides positive content some anxious thoughts about coming back were unveiled too by the returned Lithuanian migrants. However, in the second story there was only positive content about former Lithuanian emigrant's return to Lithuania. The negative situations she had experienced in London actually served as the triggers to return. In terms of typolugy by the level of congruence between the intentions and the outcomes only in a story of Deivydas in 2020 it was clearly stated that he always had an intention to return to Lithuania and it did actually happen. Stories in 2018 and 2022 depict situations when the outcomes differ from the initial plans – the characters of those stories reveal that they were planning to emigrate for good but eventually returned. As for the remaining two – 2019 and 2021 episodes it was not clearly stated what the initial plans of the former emigrants were in relation to returning. In addition, all returns to a lesser or greater extent could be categorised as returns of innovation.

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[94] "(Ne)emigrantai", LRT, 27th of September 2022, https://www.lrt.lt/mediateka/irasas/2000233694/anglijoje-gyvenima-planavusi-pora-nusprende-versla-kurti-lietuvoje-jie-negalejo-suvokti-kaip-kitatautis-gali-buti-vadovu

CONCLUSIONS

This master thesis aimed to analyse the communication of return migration, its programmes and measures from the 2016 in the media content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom. The framing theory together with the neoclassical theory, new return migration theory, also structural approach to return migration have been used to identify, categorise and depict content on return migration in three media sources: portals "Anglija.lt" and "Tiesa.com" and a TV documentary show "(Ne)emigrantai". After the content analysis of three media sources it was revealed how return migration programmes for the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom were framed in the media content targeted towards them and thus the research question of this master thesis was answered. The main findings were divided in three parts and each part reflected the results from one media source. Below are the major conclusions of the research that were revealed by carrying out the tasks of this master thesis:

- Conducted content analysis of eighty-one articles from two media portals – "Anglija.lt" and "Tiesa.com" and nearly one a hundred and fifth episodes from a TV documentary show "(Ne)emigrantai" in the timeframe from 2016 to the October of 2022 allowed to discover that genereally, there was a tendency for more content on return migration in years 2018 and 2019 in comparison with the years 2016, 2017, 2020, 2021 and 2022;

- There was three and a half times more content on return migration in "Anglija.lt" than in "Tiesa.com";

- After analysing a sample which encompassed all articles on return migration alongside some episodes from "(Ne)emigrantai" and categorising media content into three basic categories in relation to return migration to Lithuania – positive, negative, neutral - it was discovered that the most common where the cases where more than one category was present. Besides, positive only content was numerous too, negative only content was far less common and the neutral only cases were the least frequent ones. In contrast to the portals, "(Ne)emigrantai" contained no episodes framed through negative only or neutral only frames. In addition, "Tiesa.com" was exceptional for its exclusively positive articles as only in this media source they slightly outnumbered the ones where more than one category was present;

- Secondly, state institutions, government ministries, organisations responsible for return migration, their representatives, politicians, experts and the Lithuanian migrants usually were the central figures in the media content analysed. A couple of articles had no clear central figures and it occurred only in "Anglija.lt";

- Thirdly, identification of specific leading frames of each article and episode allowed to conclude that most often return migration was framed through successful return migration stories whereas framing through opinions and forecasts from the experts and politicians on return migration was also a very common leading frame. Promoting return migration measures formed the third most frequent frame. Several specific leading frames were found in "Anglija.lt" only;

- Framing through successful return migration stories dominated in all episodes of "(Ne)emigrantai" in the sample, returns of innovation were the most common ones and further in depth analysis revealed that some of the returning migrants demonstrate views the neoclassical theorists hold. Namely, that a return is a failure and a step backwards;

In some articles in "Anglija.lt" return migration was framed using the letters from the emigrants and their content revealed that one of the reasons the Lithuanian emigrants do not want to come back to Lithuania according to them is the intricate and burdensome bureaucracy in their homeland. This aspect was touched in another frame too – ideas for boosting return migration. Yet it was discovered that some of the most recurrent frames were constructed using a very formal writing style. Besides, state institutions involved were often named and listed very much in detail, also politicians and officers from the ministries. All these aspects taken together only reinforce an impression of a bureaucratic, burdensome experience which the Lithuanian migrants wish to avoid. Thus, besides answering the research question of this master thesis the findings also suggest that the communication of return migration programmes and measures only partially meet the expectations of their target audience.

This master thesis has clearly illustrated how return migration programmes and measures have been framed from the 2016 in the media content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom. It also creates guidelines for potential future research. For example, communication of return migration programmes and measures could be analysed in other media sources which even though are not targeted specifically to the Lithuanian migrants but are often used by them still – *Delfi.lt*, *Tv3.lt, Lrytas.lt, 15min.lt, Lrt.lt*[95]. In addition, communication of return migration programmes and measures could be analysed in the media sources targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in Norway, Spain or Germany. As findings of this research also raise a question, how often measures and programmes implemented by the government institutions are communicated in a way

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[95] "GemiusAudience: gruodžio mėnesio apžvalga", Gemius Baltic, [Accessed on 2023.01.10], https://www.gemius.lt/interneto-ziniasklaidos-naujienos/gemiusaudience-gruodzio-menesio-apzvalga-6787.html

which is appropriate to their target audiences future research could aim to examine the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom as a target audience more in depth too.

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ANNEX

1 Annex, *2016 January - 2022 October articles from "Anglija.lt" on return migration*

Date	Title at Anglija.lt	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Central figure(s)
27/07/2016	Ideas gathered to induce emigrants to come back to a better Lithuania	Gather ideas from young, enthusiastic people who appreciate Lithuania dearly. - Ideas were analysed and used in other projects and events on reducing levels of emigration.			Lithuanian World Youth Association, International Organization for Migration (IOM), Migration Information Centre (MIC), "I Choose Lithuania"
19/08/2016	Eastern European countries try to get their emigrants back…with songs	Latvia uses a title of a pop song as an official slogan for enouraging the Latvian migrants to return besides various advantages for the returning migrants and job vacancies; Return migration measures in Poland and Romania; Reminder of return migration programmes in Lithuania.			"Global Lithuania", "Big Brother", "Create Lithuania", Prime Minister of Lithuania Algirdas Butkevičius (2012-2016)
15/09/2016	For the ones planning to come back to Lithuania – individual consultations	An invitation to attend a free consultation at the Lithuanian Embassy in London in relation to returning back to Lithuania.			Migration Information Centre (MIC), "I Choose Lithuania", International Organization For Migration (IOM)

26/01/2017	Lithuania needs ideas from the emigrants	Encourage Lithuanian migrants to share their ideas on how to improve the conditions in Lithuania so that no one would want to leave Lithuania; Presentation of a new platform called "An Idea Bank For Lithuania".	Emigration from Lithuania is not decreasing		Migration Information Centre (MIC) "I Choose Lithuania", "An Idea Bank for Lithuania"
21/02/2017	After spending twelve years in England and creating a career there a Lithuanian found happiness in Lithuania	Former emigrant is back to Lithuania, enjoying her life today while trying to create positive changes in Lithuania. A participant of a programme "Create Lithuania" is fulfilling her dream.			Former emigrant Viktorija Folk, "Create Lithuania"
20/04/2017	Shows an example how to get the emigrants back to Lithuania: there was no need to search far away	A Lithuanian eonomist Nerijus Mačiulis suggests an income tax exemption for 1-2 years for the returning migrants coming back from the long-term emigration; Another senior economist (current President of Lithuania) Gitanas Nausėda believes that people under the age of 45 ought to receive more attention in the context of emigration	Forecasts from demographers that Lithuania's population will decrease most rapidly among all the EU countries		Integration and migration centre in Estonia "Our People", senior Lithuanian economists Nerijus Mačiulis and Gitanas Nausėda

		problems and calls them a risk group.			
29/06/2017	Young UK football talents are invited to represent Lithuania	An invitation for young Lithuanian football talents who live abroad to get in touch and try reaching their career heights while representing Lithuania; A success story of Lukas Spalvis whose family emigrated to Germany since he was six years old and who became a player of the year in 2015 in Lithuania; Another success story of Paulius Ditkevičius.			Lithuanian Football Federation, Tomas Danilevičius, London "Arsenal"
18/07/2017	Tools outlined which would make all emigrants return		Criticism on the currently working institutio ns and NGOs in the field of return migration		Anonymous author
20/07/2017	Open invitation to offer ideas, how to get the emigrants back to Lithuania	An invitiation to suggest the candidates for nominations in three categories for "Direction Lithuania" awards; An attempt to show appreciation and express gratitude to the initiatives, organisations and			The Office of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, "Direction Lithuania" Awards, Prime Minister Saulius Skvernelis, "Create Lithuania"

		individuals who are successful in getting the Lithuanians back; Also, an open invitation to offer new ideas on how to get the Lithuanian emigrants back.			
10/08/2017	The newest data: immigration to Lithuania is growing – the reasons behind it revealed	63 % of all the immigrants were the returning Lithuanians for the past seven months (March-September 2017)	Emigration is also growing - it is 7 % higher than in the summer last year	Possibly, higher numbers of emigration are evident because of the need to declare the departure in relation to the renewed rules on compulsory health insurance	The Lithuanian Department of Statistics, a representative Birutė Stolytė
24/08/2017	Dalia Grybauskaitė: "More and more emigrants are returning"	Number of emigrants interested in consultations from "I Choose Lithuania" each year doubles; A number of Lithuanians coming back grows slightly since 2016; Letters President receives and impressions she gets in the meetings with Lithuanians abroad.	An academic expert from Vytautas Magnus University does not treat a minor growth in numbers of returning Lithuanians as a clear trend	An academic expert from Vilnius University states that it is risky to claim trends while looking at the data from a couple of years but adds that if it was constantly repeated that the returning Lithuanian migrants are	Lithuanian President (2009 – 2019) Dalia Grybauskaitė, "I Choose Lithuania", experts from academia Vlada Stankūnienė and Dovilė Jonavičienė

			welcome it was more likely that we would actually see more Lithuanians coming back.	
28/08/2017	Emigrants revealed the amount of salary for which they would return to Lithuania	Suggestions to create more well-paid job vacancies instead of improving infrastructure; Suggestions to raise non-taxable income threshold	Many teenagers at a school in Plungė reveal that they are planning to emigrate; A Lithuanian migrant in Norway plans to come back to Lithuania only to study but is not planning to live and work; it costs approximately 60 thousand euros to raise one citizen thus Lithuania has lost	When citizens emigrate the salaries for the ones who remain in Lithuania grow but on the other hand the brain drain is an untapped potential	Minister of Economy, Vice-president of Social Democratic Party Mindaugas Sinkevičius; A member of the Seimas conservative Žygimantas Pavilionis; A migration expert Dainius Paukštė; Senior economist Rokas Grajauskas; Head of the European Commission Representation in Lithuania Arnoldas Pranckevičius

			60 billion euros; it is a demographic crisis.		
28/09/2017	Sad love story: a decision to return to Lithuania broke up a couple		A couple of Lithuanian emigrants returned to Lithuania, one of them could not find a job in half a year but decided to remain in Lithuania whereas the other left Lithuania again.		An emigrant who returned to Lithuania with his girlfriend but then emigrated again
29/09/2017	One more idea for getting the emigrants back home announced	A project for the new return migration law is registered by a member of Seimas Kęstutis Masiulis in which national return migration policy, rights of the returning migrants and their protection is outlined;	K. Žibas criticises the new return migration law project and believes that unless structural problems in Lithuania are solved it is naive	A suggestion to attract not only the Lithuanian citizens back but also people who have links with Lithuania	A member of the Seimas Kęstutis Masiulis; Migration expert Karolis Žibas; "I Choose Lithuania"; "Create Lithuania"

			to expect large Lithuanian return migration		
18/10/2017	Foreign companies invite emigrants to come back to Lithuania: jobs offered	Foreign companies based in Lithuania invite Lithuanian migrants to come back and find information on new job vacancies in a new internet portal workinlithuania.lt			"Invest In Lithuania" and its CEO Mantas Katinas, "Workinlithuania.lt"; Lukas Savickas, an adviser of the Prime Minister of Lithuania; a representative of "Danske Bank" Audrius Radišauskas
25/10/2017	An emigrant returned from Ireland to Lithuania: I got tired of being a slave to money	A former Lithuanian emigrant comes back to Lithuania and claims that good health, friends and family nearby are more important than wealth			Former emigrant Kęstutis Navaras
02/11/2017	An Irish woman suggests an idea for Lithuania: bonuses to the emigrants for a minute service	A suggestion to create a Lithuanian version of a platform "ConnectIreland" where Lithuanian emigrants could share the contacts of the potential investors with a centre in Lithuania. If investment successfully takes place in Lithuania and new job vacancies are created, the			"The Apprentice" reality show star Joanna Murphy from Ireland, "ConnectIrenalnd"; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania; Global Lithuania Forum "The State and Diaspora Alliance"

		Lithuanian who has found the investor receives a bonus.			
06/11/2017	A returned emigrant will live in Lithuania without modern conveniences and without electronic equipment	A former Lithuanian emigrant comes back to Lithuania and claims that good health, friends and family nearby are more important than wealth			Former emigrant Kęstutis Navaras
10/11/2017	Emigrants who came back to Vilkaviškis started constructing ships: have many orders	A success story of two cousins, former emigrants who now work in Vilkaviškis district, Čyčkai village and have plenty of orders to build luxury yachts and other types of boats			Former emigrants Marius Pautienius and Tomas Kupčinskas
19/12/2017	An emigrant who came back to Lithuania: it is possible to earn five thousand euros here too	A success story of a former Lithuanian emigrant who hosts events, is a head of his own construction company in Lithuania and claims that he has no regrets for returning to Lithuania			Former emigrant Dovydas Petrošius
20/12/2017	Dalia Asanavičiūtė. Are all emigrants really welcome in Lithuania?	An idea for the Lithuanian business people who need employees to connect with the Lithuanian emigrants who are still abroad but	The return migration initiatives outlined targets mostly the highly	Return migration programmes manage to reach Lithuanians living in the most remote places in the	"I Choose Lithuania"; "Create Lithuania"; "Back To LT"; "Global Regions"; "Talents For Lithuania"; "Work In

		potentially willing to return to Lithuania, post information about job vacancies they can offer; A brief success story where a head of one Lithuanian construction company now employs former Lithuanian emigrants in Lithuania; A success story of a former emigrant who now lives and works in Lithuania.	skilled emigrants however the majority of Lithuanian society is from the middle class; a young emigrant's story who is disappointed about the return migration	world and the Lithuanian professional clubs are active in many countries. Their members contribute with their ideas to the creation of welfare in Lithuania.	Lithuania"; "Invest In Lithuania"; Dalia Asanavičiūtė; a young emigrant who wants to return to Lithuania; A Lithuanian construction company; former emigrant
21/12/2017	A. Užkalnis: „Emigrants, put your best tracksuits on"		Sarcastic text where A. Užkalnis is claiming to address the Lithuanian emigrants who return to Lithuania for Christmas holiday period; the emigrants are portrayed as rude, boastful, arrogant, uneducat		Andrius Užkalnis, former well-known emigrant, an author of several books on emigration, a TV show host, runs a magazine named after him

		ed, mostly liars.		
02/01/2018	An emigrant's letter: I would like to come back to Lithuania but I am afraid[96]	New return migration law raises hopes and warmer feelings as the emigrant claims that abroad no Lithuanian will ever become a citizen of the same standing like one could become in Lithuania because here is one's birthplace, the place of the birth nest, our homes, parents and forefathers.	Strong criticism of existing laws and bureaucratic procedures, of the politicians and government with one exception – the Mayor of Palanga		A Lithuanian emigrant Romualdas who would like to come back to Lithuania
03/01/2018	International companies in Lithuania are waiting for the professionals living abroad	An invitation to visit workinlithuania.lt where the Lithuanian emigrants can find open job vacancies and useful information needed for smooth returning process			"Work in Lithuania", "Investuok Lietuvoje", President of Lithuania Dalia Grybauskaitė (2009-2019)
11/01/2018	For the returning emigrants – more attention from the municipalities	Half of the Lithuanians living abroad are interested in returning possibilities, 89 % cherish their Lithuanian	A study conducted by International Organisation for Migratio	It is recommended to assign a so-called "coordinator of returning"	President of Lithuania D. Grybauskaitė (2009-2019); mayors of places in Lithuania; "I Choose Lithuania",

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Some doubts arise about the genuineness of this article, as the author claims to be an emigrant, but in one of the paragraphs writes: "More and more it becomes less safe and less cosy for me in my homeland. Each year the faces of the passers-by become sadder and sadder." He carries on descirbing situation of medics, firefighters as if he was actually living in Lithuania.

		heritage and claim that its preservation is very important to them; Alytus, Tauragė, Prienai and Birštonas districts, Akmenė are mentioned as good examples where measures for the returning Lithuanian migrants are working effectively.	n reveals that municipalities do not dedicate enough attention on the returning Lithuanian emigrants	in each municipality	International Organisation for Migration; "Global Tauragė"
22/01/2018	Fear of Lithuanian schools is hindering emigrants from returning	Children of the returned Lithuanian migrants can attend equalizing classes and groups if they do not speak any Lithuanian; for the ones who are familiar with the Lithuanian language there are possibilities created to develop their Lithuanian command (individual learning plans, extra consultations and Lithuanian language lessons) and they are integrated with their peers; children are not only taught the Lithuanian language but also introduced to the	Lithuanians had returned from the USA but because their children did not adapt to their new schools they repeatedly emigrated; Lithuanian emigrants in Norway would like to return but are worried about their children's	Concrete stories from the families who have returned with their children would be helpful in order to evaluate how the integration mechanism works in reality	Families of Lithuanian emigrants; Rima Palubinskienė-Juškūnė who has three children and is planning to return to Lithuania with her family; Lithuanian Ministry of Education and Science and its representative Ona Čepulėnienė; Aušra Dambrauskienė, a teacher from the "Lithuanian House" school; Giedrius Griškevičius, a teacher from Alytus Likiškėliai lower secondary school's Lithuanian centre

		Lithuanian culture, customs, history while visiting museums, going on excursions, attending town's (Alytus) feasts.	education; Lithuanian emigrants had returned from the UK but only stayed for half a year because their children were shocked by the communication among the pupils and the disrespect towards the teachers.		
27/02/2018	Important news for the emigrants who have returned to Lithuania – a possibility to get back their overpaid taxes	Returned Lithuanian emigrants can get their overpaid taxes back from a country they used to work in			"RT Tax" company and its managing director Vaidas Paknys
28/02/2018	Do the emigrants who have returned to Lithuania find jobs?	A number of returned Lithuanian migrants is the highest in the past couple of years	A higher number of job-seekers is not detected although the number of returning	A part of the returning migrants is coming back to Lithuania with their new job positions already	"The Employment Service" and its representative Milda Jankauskienė, "Cv.lt" employment website and its chief Domantas Žičkus,

			Lithuanians is increasing; Lithuanian emigration is still higher than the return migration		Lithuanian economist Rokas Grajauskas, the UK's "Office for National Statistics" and its representative Nicola White
15/05/2018	Statistics: Lithuanian emigrants – uneducated and unemployed	Once back to Lithuania, the next year after returning only around 11% of former emigrants repeatedly emigrate which shows that the majority manage to consolidate their positions in Lithuania	Mostly people aged between 16-29 are leaving Lithuania and 75% of them before departing are neither working nor studying		Analysts, Lithuanian migrants
21/05/2018	A head of a global services' centre: return to Lithuania - a step forward	Young people who some time ago emigrated in order to find new possibilities and challenges abroad now come back and find it in Lithuania; in the first quarter of the year 2018 six thousand Lithuanians returned to their homeland.			"Danske Bank" and a head of its global services' centre Rosita Vasilkevičiūtė; "Work in Lithuania"
03/07/2018	An emigrant's letter: I would return if I was		An emigrant criticises the		A Lithuanian emigrant

	offered at least 1500 Eur		situation in Lithuania – expensive rent, low wages, also it was difficult to find a job which would match his skills		
02/08/2018	For an emigrant who has come back to Lithuania the State Tax Inspectorate issue a bill of a couple of hundred euros		A returned emigrant was shocked once told that she had to pay 300 euros for the State Inspectorate after living in Lithuania for one year since her return	After four months, the State Inspectorate apologised the returning migrant for the misleading consultation, for any inconveniences caused and expressed gratitude for her patience	A returned Lithuanian migrant, The State Tax Inspectorate in Lithuania and its representative Stasė Aliukonytė-Šnirienė
09/08/2018	For the third month in a row in Lithuania immigrants outnumber the emigrants	In July 2018, more people immigrated to Lithuania than emigrated – the positive difference is 324; also in May and June the positive differences were detected; the minister E. Misiūnas claims	A number of the Lithuanians emigrating also grows, as in July there were 869 more		The Lithuanian Department of Statistics, Minister of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania Eimutis Misiūnas (2016-2019)

		hearing from the Lithuanian builders who worked for him that it was now possible to earn the same money in Lithuania like in England.	people emigrating from Lithuania than in June		
01/09/2018	An emigrant: we will come back and change everything for the better	A Lithuanian emigrant plans to return and improve situation in Lithuania	A Lithuanian who before emigrating lived her whole life in Lithuania is disappointed that her driving licence could not be renewed because in this year she did not live in Lithuania for 185 calendar days – in case she remained in Lithuania as a jobless person her licence would have		A Lithuanian emigrant who is planning to return to Lithuania soon (in 2-6 months); "Regitra"; The State Tax Inspectorate in Lithuania; "Sodra"

			been renewed; also difficulties while contacting "Sodra"; The State Inspectorate.		
03/09/2018	An emigrant urges to stop complaining about Lithuania	A Lithuanian emigrant during his short return to Lithuania received the best service, in a shop the cashiers also were smiling and greeted him because he did so too; Lithuania is far less polluted and there is definitely less waste in Lithuania than there is in Germany.			A Lithuanian emigrant
10/09/2018	An emigrant exchanged London to Biržai without hesitation: everything is for the future of children	A success story of return migration - a former long-term emigrant (14 years) chose Lithuania because she and her children prefer Lithuanian education and peaceful atmosphere in Biržai; a mother of two also was missing Lithuanian food while in London – it was not possible to cook Lithuanian traditional dish		During their summer returns to Lithuania one of Jūratė's daughters attended a Lithuanian nursery in Biržai	A returned Lithuanian migrant Jūratė Vanagienė and her family

		cepelinai from the potatoes sold in London, the prices in Lithuanian shopsnwere very high; also prefers Lithuanian healthcare and having her parents close by.			
12/09/2018	A warning for the emigrants: you are losing your money	Returned Lithuanian emigrants can get their overpaid taxes back from a country they used to work in			Tax return companies
18/09/2018	For the emigrants in the United Kingdom – free telephone consultations	Free telephone consultation service for the Lithuanian emigrants in the United Kingdom is presented		Usually the Lithuanian emigrants enquire about the documents they ought to bring while returning so that their work experience abroad will be added to the total work record, also question arise about social grants and unemployment benefits, procedures on enrolling children to schools and nurseries.	The Prime Minister's of Lithuania press office; Migration Information Centre.

22/10/2018	Emigrants packing suitcases to Lithuania: a helpline is loaded with questions about returning	Coordinators of the project "I Choose Lithuania" before opening the free consultation line had expected only a few calls a day but now receive more than five a day		Most of the consultants working have themselves been emigrants for some time; Most of the questions are about documents, taxes and schools	"I Choose Lithuania" and its coordinator Justinas Uba;
27/10/2018	Free anonymous telephone line is open for the current and former emigrants	A Lithuanian emigrant, returned emigrant or one who is planning to return soon to Lithuania can receive one psychological consultation free of charge via Skype or email.			A centre of training and psychological consultations; Ministry of Social Security and Labour of the Republic of Lithuania
01/11/2018	Business of a Lithuanian who has returned from emigration collapses in a month		A Lithuanian after 16 years of emigration in Ireland returned to Lithuania where he tried to start a new business but is planning to emigrate again to Ireland.		Linas Janavičius, an emigrant from Ireland who tried running two restaurants in Lithuania; "Snow Arena" and its owners

			According to him people who were renting premises were responsible for the failure of his business.		
10/11/2018	"Whole Marijampolė" departs from Lithuania this year	Trends are promising as emigration slowly declines whereas return migration increases	Even though emigration is declining (14,2 % smaller than last year) it still remains at high levels		International Organization for Migration, Audra Sipavičienė;
20/11/2018	A reader's letter: Many people who have "spit in the face of Lithuania" now come back	Many people who have "spit in the face of Lithuania" and some time ago emigrated to the United Kingdom now come back because they understand that economic situation of a country is not the most important aspect			Anonymous author – it is not clear whether he or she is a Lithuanian emigrant, returned migrant or someone who has never emigrated
29/11/2018	Government has devised new measures for tempting emigrants back to Lithuania	New return migration measures: free telephone consultations for the Lithuanian emigrants calling from Norway and Ireland, free	Although in the Government plan it is stated that there will be no	Voting for the new return migration measures has been postponed by the Government	"I Choose Lithuania"; "Tele2" telecommunications operator and its Lithuanian representative Andrius Baranauskas;

		psychological consultations for the returned Lithuanian emigrants, free individual consultants for the returned Lithuanians who are job-seekers, free Lithuanian language lessons for the non-Lithuanian spouses of the returned Lithuanian emigrants.	additional funds needed for the free consultations, a representative from "Tele2" states that in any case there will be extra funds required to cover the expenses of the free telephone consultations		Minister of Social Defence and Labour Linas Kukuraitis (2016-2020)
03/12/2018	A mistake of the emigrants returning to Lithuania: leave overpaid taxes	Returned Lithuanian emigrants can get their overpaid taxes back from a country they used to work in			Former emigrant Jovita Sadauskienė and her family; a tax returning company and its chief Žydrūnas Janušauskas; The State Tax Inspectorate of Lithuania;
05/12/2018	Remember emigration with horror: was languishing for the same amount that receives now in Lithuania	A returned Lithuanian migrant is happily surprised that once back living and working in Lithuania she has the same amount of spare money and that is because	Emigrants have fears of returning to Lithuania related with low wages and high	It is important to have like-minded people who understand what a returning migrant experiences	A Lithuanian returned migrant; "I Choose Lithuania" and its representative Justinas Uba;

		although her income was larger in Germany but the cost of living there was higher too	prices, political scandals in the country	and also to plan ahead the process of returning.	
15/01/2019	A reader's letter: I know a way how to stop emigration and get the departed ones back		An author writes that perhaps it is time to forget current Lithuanian emigrants, <…> and focus on emigration prevention	Suggestions to focus on higher education in Lithuania – making it more accessible for the students (flexible loans, free of charge studying for the most gifted ones, scholarships) also assuring somehow that it is widely well-known abroad	Anonymous author – it is not clear whether he or she is a Lithuanian emigrant, returned migrant or someone who has never emigrated
17/01/2019	The president of *United Kingdom's Lithuanian Community:* many Lithuanians thinking about returning	After the Brexit referendum, some Lithuanian emigrants in the United Kingdom are seriously considering to come back to Lithuania according to the president of United Kingdom's Lithuanian community Dalia Asanavičiūtė; more Lithuanians in the United			The president of *United Kingdom's Lithuanian Community Dalia Asanavičiūtė (2014-2020)*

		Kingdom bring their children to the Lithuanian Saturday schools so that they could integrate better once back			
23/01/2019	Emigrants: "After Brexit we will not come back to Lithuania"	Experts claim that because of uncertainty in relation to Brexit, more and more Lithuanian emigrants are coming back to Lithuania	Emigrants from Lithuania state that it is much better for them to live in the United Kingdom than in Lithuania and if they have to leave the UK because of Brexit rules the Lithuanian emigrants will emigrate to other rich EU countries	According to D. Asanavičiūtė, the Government in the UK is trying to reduce the number of people who receive social benefits and induce them to work instead	Experts; an emigrant from Lithuania Vasilijus; The president of United Kingdom's Lithuanian Community Dalia Asanavičiūtė (2014-2020); a Lithuanian emigrant Irena.
24/01/2019	"Brexit" has urged an emigrant to come back home: everything is in our hands, not in the hands of the government	After seven years in London a Lithuanian emigrant realises even more that her home is Lithuania and that only in Lithuania she feels well			A returning Lithuanian migrant
28/01/2019	One out of two qualified workers from	The Brexit referendum and the general mood		In the case of "no deal" scenario	Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA); a

	Lithuania plan to leave the United Kingdom	in the UK after it prompted A. Ropolas to come back to Lithuania		after the Brexit referendum certification process for the architects and other professionals who are not the citizens of the UK will be more problematic	returned Lithuanian migrant architect Andrius Ropolas; a Lithuanian emigrant architect Andrius Volungevičius; Architects' Association of Lithuania and its representative Rūta Leitanaitė; Architects' Chamber of Lithuania and its representative Daiva Veličkaitė; Ministry of the Environment of the Republic of Lithuania and its representative Algimantė Treinienė
28/01/2019	Lithuania for the returning emigrants already can offer various jobs	Lithuanian economists claim that for the returning Lithuanian migrants various job vacancies now can be offered; more and more young returned Lithuanian migrants apply for jobs in Lithuania	20 % of companies in Lithuania have to limit their work because of staff shortages		Lithuanian economists; returned Lithuanian migrants; a chief of social business Jevgenijus MališenkovasThe Lithuanian Employment Service
29/01/2019	President of the Lithuanian Business Confederation V. Sutkus about the return of the emigrants: people are not stupid	S. Malinauskas forecasts that the year 2019 will be the most successful for Lithuania in relation to returning Lithuanian	It was highlighted by Ž. Pavilionis that most of the return programmes are	D. Henke adds that the emigrants are missing good news from Lithuania; A. Lašas summarises	Adviser of the Prime Minister of Lithuania Skirmantas Malinauskas (2017-2020), from the Lithuanian Farmers and

		migrants; V. Sutkus claims it is important to increase a number of well-paid jobs creating added value in Lithuania and also to encourage the returning Lithuanian migrants to improve their qualifications.	targeting the highly-skilled Lithuanian professionals who moved abroad even though the majority of the Lithuanian emigrants do not belong to that category	that for a returning Lithuanian migrant three core questions are about the accommodation, jobs and about education of their children and the financial aspect of these three questions.	Greens Union; a conservative Žygimantas Pavilionis; chairwoman of Lithuanian World Community Dalia Henke (2015-); an academic Ainius Lašas; President of the Lithuanian Business Confederation Valdas Sutkus
30/01/2019	A Lithuanian economist: we are a country of average income but emigration is ruining us		The GDP in Lithuania even though growing is still one of the lowest in Europe (2019) but the biggest threat to Lithuania is not economic problems, it is emigration according to P. Kunčinas	P. Kunčinas urge to implement the tax reform as the current situation when advocates, solicitors and farmers get tax advantages implemented 20 years ago those who do not get these advantages to emigrate	Lithuanian economist Paulius Kunčinas

07/02/2019	62% of the Lithuanians living abroad do not reject the possibility of returning	16% of Lithuanian emigrants claim they will return to Lithuania and 62% say they do not reject the possibility of returning at some point in the future		1851 Lithuanian emigrants from 61 countries took part in a survey	Lithuanian emigrants; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania; Market and opinion research centre "Vilmorus"
09/02/2019	Returning emigrants – jumping the queues for schools in Vilnius		A resident of Vilnius who has had her place of residence declared in Vilnius for more than a decade becomes indignant about the rules allowing children of returning migrants to jump the queues in schools (she has a daughter who will start school next year)	Children of returning Lithuanian migrants can jump the queues for their places in schools in Vilnius alongside with the children of diplomats, of school staff and also children with special needs.	Vilnius city municipality, department of Education, sport and culture and its director Alina Kovalevskaja
18/02/2019	Emigrants coming back to Latvia: what should			80 businesses unite in a social movement	Social movement "Latvia is working"

	Lithuanians learn?			"Latvia is working"	
20/02/2020	Lithuanians living abroad are coming back to Lithuania? Record numbers have been noted	A number of Lithuanians contacting "I Choose Lithuania" grows considerably in a month (From 900 in December to 1200 in January)			"I Choose Lithuania"
15/12/2020	The ones who have returned to Lithuania will face strict quarantine conditions – their homes they will be allowed to reach			People will be allowed to travel to the airports (even if they are in other municipaliti es) and meet their relatives, close ones returning to Lithuania; Lithuanians coming back from abroad will face the same strict quarantine conditions as everyone else in the country;	Police Commissioner General Renatas Požėla; Prime Minister of Lithuania Ingrida Šimonytė; Minister of the Interior of Lithuania Agnė Bilotaitė; Member of Seimas Dalia Asanavičiūtė
23/12/2021	Pandemic and Brexit has caused less money transfers from Lithuanian emigrants to Lithuania			It could not be stated that Brexit is the main reason for the return migration of the Lithuanians but is likely that uncertainty	The Bank of Lithuania; A senior economist Mantas Vilniškis

				and limitations of movement and activities contribute to the decreased emigration to the UK. (In 2011, 26 thousand Lithuanians emigrated to the UK and in 2019 just a little more than 10 thousand.) Return migration from the UK numbers have increased.	
23/03/2021	Many Lithuanians would like to come back	40,5% of Lithuanians living abroad are seriously considering a return to Lithuania; 12.4% not only seriously think about the return but also state that they really want to come back to Lithuania.		Among the ones who are seriously considering their return and want to come back very much the main motivation is their family, friends and relatives and for the ones who are not yet sure or would not like to come back the main	Lithuanian emigrants; The Lithuanian Employment Service and its representative Giedrė Vitė;

				motivation is their salary and financial stability.	
24/12/2021	Research: the ones who have returned from emigration stay in Lithuania and contribute to the welfare of the country	Lithuanians with Higher education degrees who emigrated after 1990s contribute significantly to the welfare of Lithuania when they come back - a study conducted by the academics from Vytautas Magnus University reveals			Vytautas Magnus University, Professor Dr. Vytis Čubrinskas
11/04/2022	The ones who have returned from the United Kingdom to Lithuania after "Brexit" revealed, how life has changed	A story of successfully returned Lithuanian family; a story of returned Lithuanian migrant who has experienced more challenges but now still lives in Lithuania			A family of returned Lithuanian migrants: Julius, Vaida and their son Benas; a returned Lithuanian migrant Dovydas Petrošius; International Organisation for Migration and its representative Arminas Jurgaitis.

2 Annex, *2016 January – 2022 October articles from "Tiesa.com" on return migration*

Date	Title at Tiesa.com	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Central figure(s)
20/02/2016	After emigration a a former Lithuanian emigrant values Lithuania truly differently	Success story of a returned Lithuanian migrant Irma; in her hometown Anykščiai Irma feels she can do everything she wants; a former emigrant has joined the Anykščiai Arts Incubator where her own original products from linen and leather are being sold; she also works in an insurance company			A returned Lithuanian migrant Irma Laurinavičiūtė; Anykščiai Arts Incubator established by Anykščiai district municipality using support from the European Union; Incubator's chief Daiva Perevičienė
14/02/2018	Return to Lithuania started with a visit in a custody		Four Lithuanian emigrants with criminal records were detained by the officers from the Lithuanian State Border Guard Service and then handed		Four Lithuanian emigrants with criminal records; Lithuanian State Border Guard Service

			over to state police		
01/08/2018	Lithuanians who had been living abroad are invited to share their stories of return	The newest statistical data reveals that the number of Lithuanians coming back to Lithuania from abroad is growing; an invitation to share in the website www.lietuva.lt until the 20th of October 2018 the success stories of return migration to Lithuania; an invitation to register in the same website the initiatives that help Lithuanians to come back to Lithuania or to reintegrate successfully			Prime Minister of Lithuania Saulius Skvernelis (2016-2020); "Kryptis Lietuva"; www.lietuva.lt
02/08/2018	An integration problem of the returned emigrants' children is being solved	A success story of return migration		A Minister of Science and Education discussed with the representatives of World Lithuanian Community the problems children	A minister of Science and Education Jurgita Petrauskienė; a chairwoman of Lithuanian World Community Dalia

					of returned migrants face	Henke (2015-);
24/08/2018	A Lithuanian who has come back to his homeland revealed about the other side of emigration	A success story of return migration				A former Lithuanian emigrant Joris
03/03/2019	Lithuanian schools are getting ready to welcome the children of Lithuanian emigrants	Some Lithuanian companies are looking for the Lithuanian emigrants and offering them new job vacancies; There are equalising classes formed for the children of returned Lithuanian migrants; some aspects in the Lithuanian educational system seem positive for a former emigrant; returned Lithuanian migrants can get their overpaid taxes back;	A former emigrant is shocked by some aspects in the Lithuanian education system and a return to a Lithuanian school was painful for her teenage daughter			Returned Lithuanian migrants; two teachers from the "Lithuanian House" in Vilnius Greta Botyriūtė-Skiotienė and Aušra Dabrauskienė; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania; State Tax Inspectorate
16/03/2019	In the agony of "Brexit" - bad news for the emigrants from Lithuania:	Statistical data shows that the returns to Lithuania are happening	It is possible that "Brexit" will urge Lithuanian			The president of *United Kingdom's Lithuania*

	deportations have begun		migrants to move to other countries instead of returning to Lithuania; Dalia Henke notices the absence of a clear invitation from the Lithuanian leaders, presidential candidates for the Lithuanian migrants to come back to Lithuania; some Lithuanian migrants do not return to Lithuania voluntary but are deported		*n Community Dalia Asanavičiūtė (2014-2020)*; the chairwoman of Lithuanian World Community Dalia Henke (2015-); Eastern European Study Centre and its chief Linas Kojala
23/04/2019	Emigrants are returning to Lithuania. Are the ones who have tasted work abroad superior to locals?	Numbers of returning Lithuanian migrants are slowly growing whereas numbers of the Lithuanians emigrating from Lithuania slightly decrease; former Lithuanian emigrants after	Some of the more mobile Lithuanian migrants after leaving the United kingdom plan to move to other countries, for		CVMarket.lt personalo atrankų partnerė Birutė Vilčiauskaitė; bendrovės „Biuro" direktorius Valdas Strazdas; „Girteka

		working abroad are more realistic about the salaries and are more financially literate	example, Norway, Iceland or Holland instead of returning to Lithuania; long-term emigrants sometimes are at loss with the current situation in Lithuanian job market, evaluate themselves adequately		Logistic" talentų pritrauki mo partnerė Vaida Rimkūnė; „Aprango s" grupės personalo direktorė Audronė Martinkut ė
29/04/2019	A Lithuanian in England has lost everything: with his ninety old mother has ended up alongside the homeless and the rats	Once information became public that Darius with his 87-year old mother came to be homeless in the United Kingdom, 1200 pounds were donated in a couple of hours. Then, with this money a lodging for a night in a hotel and tickets back to Lithuania were bought for them.			A former emigrant Darius Nėnius and his mother
10/09/2019	An author of a novel "Hide and seek in England" K. Baubinaitė: England is not a country of miracles	A success story of return migration; a novelist K. Baubinaitė urges the ones living in Lithuania to encourage the Lithuanian		An invitation to a reading festival "Be like You" ("Būk, koks esi") organised by Vilnius	A novelist Kristina Baubinaitė ; Vilnius County Adomas Mickev. či us Public Library

		emigrants to return Lithuania; she also notes that emigrants have helped with their money transfers during financial crisis and wishes that the Lithuanians living in the country would help the ones returning		County Adomas Mickevičius Public Library	
18/12/2019	18 December – International Migrants Day			Raising awareness of the different types of migration - it is presented as a complex and dynamic occurrence not as a static, one-way movement. Also, the negative consequences of the "brain drain" emigration on the countries of origin have been highlighted.	Migration Department under the Ministry of the Interior
20/12/2019	The president of *United Kingdom's Lithuanian*	The numbers of Lithuanian returning			The president of United

	Community D. Asanavičiūtė: returning home is like the second emigration	migrants grow and the numbers of the Lithuanians leaving the country decrease; measures used by "I Choose Lithuania" presented: free telephone consultations, a single-window service are presented			Kingdom's Lithuanian Community ty Dalia Asanavičiūtė (2014-2020); "I Choose Lithuania";
02/01/2020	A woman who has returned to Lithuania: I do not want to lose positiveness, whatever happens	A success story of return migration; measures used by "I Choose Lithuania" are presented: free telephone consultations, a single-window service			A former emigrant; "I Choose Lithuania"
21/01/2020	Has come back to a changing and developing Lithuania, to be a part of this transformation again	A success story of return migration; measures used by "I Choose Lithuania" are presented: free telephone consultations, a single-window service, useful information on their website for the returning Lithuanian migrants and the ones considering to do it in future			A former emigrant Tomas Loiba; "I Choose Lithuania"
14/07/2020	Emigrants are coming back to	Two success stories of return	Although the		Returned Lithuania

	Lithuania but are not in a hurry to find a job	migration; Statistical data reveals growing numbers of returning Lithuanian migrants; also, the fact that the numbers of returning Lithuanians grow more than the numbers of the ones searching for jobs can be related with the cases of returned migrants who work remotely	numbers of Lithuanian returning migrants grow, Lithuanian Labour Exchange office workers do not notice growing numbers of job seekers which can suggest that the returned Lithuanians do not plan to stay for long but instead leave Lithuania again		n migrants; Lithuanian Labour Exchange
19/08/2020	Research has revealed that returning Lithuanians are not as welcome as they used to be	The majority of Lithuanians still think positively of their returned compatriots: 39% positively and 12% very positively	A number of Lithuanians who think of their returned compatriots negatively grows more than six times in comparison to the year 2008 – from 3% to 20%		"I Choose Lithuania"; International Organization for Migration and its representative in Lithuania Audra Sipavičienė
25/04/2021	Lithuanians who have come back to Lithuania: money has been better in	A success story of return migration			Returned Lithuanian migrants Alma,

	Ireland but here is our place, our tribe				Adomas and their son
24/11/2021	A Lithuanian in Ireland was given an unusual verdict: either behind bars or back to his homeland		A Lithuanian with a criminal drug charge returned to Lithuania when a judge postponed an investigation of his case for ten years. It was done with a condition that the charged Lithuanian would leave Ireland in three weeks time and would not return for at least ten years		A Lithuanian emigrant with a criminal record

3 Annex, *2016 January – 2022 October episodes from "(Ne)emigrantai"*

Date	Title at (Ne)emigrantai	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Central figure(s)
18/09/2018	After living in three different countries Simonas came back to Lithuania and started a unique business	A success story of return migration: a returned Lithuanian migrant has started a unique business in Lithuania – he reuses the skateboards. New products such as key rings, car accessories, small wooden boxes etc. are being made in his company from the wood previously used for the skatebooards; he actively encourages Lithuanian migrants to return because he sees many niches in Lithuania which are not yet filled		A final return to Lithuania happened after a short return to Lithuania for a funeral	A returned Lithuanian migrant Simonas Sonkinas
10/09/2019	A well-known photographer Neringa Rekašiūtė about her attempts to fight her way to the top in London fashion industry - she has touched her dream quickly but	A success story of return migration: Neringa is a popular photographer in Lithuania, some of her projects are known abroad as well			A returned Lithuanian migrant Neringa Rekašiūtė

	also burned herself quickly	and she can live from her photography work only			
10/11/2020	After failed attempts to become a soldier in Lithuania, Deividas moved to England and became a combat sport star	A success story of return migration. When Deividas returned to Lithuania, he found a well-paid job as a manager in a logistics company and later became a president of World Raw Power Federation in Lithuania; a champion of the sport of power triathlon in Lithuania; his close circle of friends served as a stimulus to return to Lithuania		A final return to Lithuania from long-term emigration occurred after a short return to Lithuania for holidays. Deividas always believed that he would not stay abroad for good but would return to his homeland at some point.	A returned Lithuania n migrant Deividas Kasiulis
21/09/2021	Evelina came back to Lithuania with an intention to promote Šilainiai, her birthplace	A success story of return migration: Evelina came back to Lithuania with an intention to promote Šilainiai, an area in Kaunas where she grew up. She leads projects in Šilainiai, invites and unites other artists and creative people,		Repeated short returns to Lithuania served as a prelude to a final return	A returned Lithuania n migrant Evelina Šimkutė

		supports its community.			
27/09/2022	Justas and Kristina were planning to live in England but realised that with their Lithuanian passports they will not achieve anything – that is why they became businessmen in Klaipėda	A success story of returned migration: a couple of Lithuanians, Justas and Kristina returned to Lithuania and now run two businesses in Klaipėda; firstly, Kristina started fulfilling her dream of running a small family friendly Italian style restaurant and then Justas followed – he opened a bar in a boat. They say that their best decision was to come back to Lithuania.	It was not easy to return as at first it seemed as a step backwards		Returned Lithuanian migrants Kristina ir Justas

Summary (English)

Return migration programmes for the Lithuanian migrants in the UK from 2016 onwards and its communication

Return migration can be defined as the act or process of going back to the place of departure. However, there is no universally accepted definition of return migration. Besides, emigration and immigration concepts have been receiving attention much longer than return migration both globally and in Lithuania. European Union enlargement at the beginning of the 21st century had a significant impact on large-scale Lithuanian emigration since 2004. The United Kingdom has steadily remained the top destination country among the Lithuanian migrants. English language and a fact that it was one of the countries which did not opt for transition restrictions on job-seekers from the new Central and Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004 helped explaining why the United Kingdom was so often chosen by Lithuanians. In order to attract Lithuanians back to their homeland several return migration programmes have been designed and this master thesis aimed to analyse the communication of return migration, its programmes and measures in the media content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom. The timeframe of this research was from January 2016 to October 2022.

The framing theory which has its roots in G. Bateson's work together with the neoclassical theory, new return migration theory, also structural approach to return migration have been used to identify, categorise and depict content on return migration in three media sources. The concept of social frameworks, first characterised by E. Goffman was relevant while conducting content analysis of portals "Anglija.lt" and "Tiesa.com" and a TV documentary show "(Ne)emigrantai". In addition, migration theories were intrumental in identifying content on return migration and creating a sample which encompassed eighty-one articles and five episodes. Some core aspects of the neoclasscial theory which derived from E. G. Ravenstein's "The Laws of Migration" were noticed in all three media sources when the former or present emigrants were explaining their motives for leaving Lithuania. Besides, this economic rationale was also observed in several episodes of the TV documentary show "(Ne)emigrantai" when the returning migrants were describing how they came back to Lithuania. Besides, operationalisation of migration theories and framing theory allowed to categorise content into three basic categories in relation to return migration to Lithuania and then later aided in detecting and defining the leading frames. Relevant research of such Lithuanian scholars as A. Sipavičienė, V.

Gaidys and M. Dobrynina alongside with works by E. Barcevičius, D. Žvalionytė, I. Budginaitė-Mačkinė, I. Juozeliūnienė, I. Bielevičiūtė, M. Jastramskis, J. Ivanauskaitė and Ž. Martinaitis also influenced the theoretical and analytical frameworks of this master thesis.

Even though return migration programmes and measures have previously received some attention from academia in Lithuania, analysis of how the return migration programmes are being framed in the media content targeted towards the Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom is a new case in the field. The major findings of this research revealed that there were some similarities in communication of return migration among all three media sources analysed such as more content in years 2018 and 2019 and frequent framing of return migration through success stories. On the other hand, it was discovered that there were differences in distribution of basic frames and specific leading frames as well as general amount of content on return migration in each media source. Thus, the research question was answered and the aim of this master thesis was achieved which also created the guidelines for potential future research.

Santrauka (Lietuvių kalba)

**Grįžtamosios migracijos programos lietuvių migrantams Jungtinėje Karalystėje nuo 2016-ųjų
ir jų komunikacija**

Grįžtamoji migracija gali būti apibūdinta kaip grįžimo iš vietos, iš kurios buvo išvykta veiksmas ar procesas, tačiau šiuo metu nėra vieno universaliai priimtino grįžtamosios migracijos apibrėžimo. Emigracijos ir imigracijos sąvokos daug ilgiau susilaukia dėmesio tiek globaliu mastu, tiek Lietuvoje nei grįžtamoji migracija. Europos Sąjungos plėtra XXI-o amžiaus pradžioje padarė didelę įtaką plataus masto lietuvių emigracijai nuo 2004-ųjų metų, o Jungtinė Karalystė stabiliai išlieka dažniausiai pasirenkama tikslo šalimi tarp lietuvių migrantų. Anglų kalba ir faktas, kad tai buvo viena iš valstybių, kuri netaikė pereinamųjų apribojimų darbo imigrantams iš Centrinės ir Rytų Europos šalių prisijungusių prie Europos Sąjungos 2004-aisiais padėjo paaiškinti tokį lietuvių pasirinkimą. Siekiant pritraukti lietuvius atgal į Lietuvą buvo sukurtos grįžtamosios migracijos programos ir priemonės. Šiuo magistro darbu siekiama išanalizuoti tai, kaip grįžtamoji migracija, jos programos ir priemonės komunikuojamos žiniasklaidoje skirtoje lietuvių migrantams Jungtinėje Karalystėje. Žiniasklaidos turinys analizuojamas laikotarpyje nuo 2016-ųjų sausio iki 2022-ųjų spalio.

Rėminimo teorija, kurios ištakos siekia G. Bateson'o darbus drauge su neoklasikine teorija, naująja darbo jėgos migracijos ekonomikos teorija bei struktūralistiniu požiūriu į grįžtamąją migraciją buvo naudojami identifikuoti, kategorizuoti ir apibūdinti turinį trijuose žiniasklaidos šaltiniuose. Socialinio tipo rėminimas, pirmiausia apibūdintas E. Goffman'o buvo aktualus atliekant turinio analizę „Anglija.lt" ir „Tiesa.com" portaluose bei TV dokumentikos laidoje „(Ne)emigrantai". Migracijos teorijos taip pat tapo įrankiu identifikuojant turinį susijusį su grįžtamąja migracija ir kuriant imtį, kurią sudarė aštuoniasdešimt vienas straipsnis ir penkios serijos. Kai kurie esminiai neoklasikinės teorijos aspektai kilę iš E. G. Ravenstein'o „Migracijos įstatymų" buvo aptikti visuose trijuose žiniasklaidos šaltiniuose, kai buvę ar esami emigrantai pasakojo apie savo išvykimo iš Lietuvos motyvus. Ekonominiai neoklasikinės mąstysenos bruožai buvo aptikti ir keliose „(Ne)emigrantų" serijose, kai grįžę lietuvių migrantai pasakojo apie savo grįžimo į Lietuvą procesą. Migracijos teorijų ir rėminimo teorijos operacionalizavimas taip pat leido suskirstyti turinį į tris pirmines kategorijas pagal tai, kaip tas turinys susijęs su grįžtamąja migracija ir vėliau padėjo aptikti ir apibrėžti esminių rėmų kategorijas. Įtaką šiam magistriniam darbui taip pat padarė ir kai kurių lietuvių akademikų tyrimai. Tarp jų A. Sipavičienė, V. Gaidys ir M. Dobrynina bei E.

Barcevičiaus, D. Žvalionytės, I. Budginaitės-Mačkinės, I. Juozeliūnienės, I. Bielevičiūtės, M. Jastramskio, J. Ivanauskaitės ir Ž. Martinaičio darbai.

Grįžtamosios migracijos programos nors ir yra sulaukusios tam tikro dėmesio iš Lietuvos akademikų, grįžtamosios migracijos programų rėminimo analizė turinyje skirtame lietuvių migrantams jungtinėje Karalystėje yra naujas atvejis tyrimo lauke. Pagrindiniai tyrimo rezultatai atskleidžia, kad yra tam tikrų panašumų grįžtamosios migracijos komunikacijoje visuose trijuose šiame darbe analizuotuose žiniasklaidos šaltiniuose. Visų pirma buvo pastebėtas didesnis turinio kiekis 2018-aisiais ir 2019-aisiais metais bei dažnas grįžtamosios migracijos rėminimas per sėkmės istorijas. Kita vertus, aptikta ir pirminių bei esminių rėmų skirtumų tarp atskirų žiniasklaidos šaltinių, o žiniasklaidos turinio susijusio su grįžtamąja migracija kiekis kiekviename šaltinyje taip pat buvo nevienodas. Taigi, šio magistrinio tyrimo klausimas atsakytas, o tikslas pasiektas ir tai taip pat gali tapti potencialių tyrimų ateityje gairėmis.